

Investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National
Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide

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ABSTRACT

Gender-based violence (GBV) is not a minor novel societal challenge occurring in certain pockets of society. It is a pervasive global social justice issue, which transcends race, class, religion and geographical location. The policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators within national policy presents a barrier to curbing gender-based violence and promoting social cohesion. A broad knowledge base exists regarding the drivers and implications of gender-based violence, however, there is a disconnect between gender-based violence national policy and the subjects inflicting the violence. This research therefore aims to broaden the discussion on the polarised narrative of heterosexual male perpetrators in the gender-based violence policy environment.

A qualitative methodological approach is utilised to analyse the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide report and two associated reports in relation to the role and reference of heterosexual male perpetrators. Thematic content analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis of the reports and 15 semi-structured interviews with government officials, non-governmental organisations and subject matter experts are methods used in the research to enhance the understanding of the data gathered. The intersectionality theory and ecological framework form the analytical lens shaping the research, these theories form the intersecting ecological factors at play informing policy and the policy stakeholders who passively and actively influence gender-based violence policy decisions.

The findings show that factors in national policy formulation provide exclusionary barriers to heterosexual male perpetrators. The target group is not prevalent in stakeholder participation in consultations, patriarchal ideologies remain intact shaping gender-based violence and femicide policy. Local grassroots consultations with specific focus on un-converted heterosexual male perpetrators in various locations need to be provided platform. Also, applying inclusive gender transformative approaches in policy formulation are key determinates to effective policy implementation and inclusion of all policy stakeholders. In conclusion, the meaningful insights on gender-based violence perpetration will guide both future research and policy initiatives driven by government officials, civil society and private stakeholders in South African society.

Keywords: policy exclusion, heterosexual, male, perpetrator, gender-based violence, femicide

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public Policy) in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------|---|
| APP | Annual Performance Plans |
| DPME | Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation |
| DNA | Deoxyribonucleic Acid |
| DSD | Department of Social Development |
| DWYPD | Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disability |
| ERAP | Emergency Response Action Plan |
| GBV | Gender-based Violence |
| GBVF | Gender-based Violence and Femicide |
| IDP | Integrated Development Plans |
| IPA | Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis |
| IPV | Intimate Partner Violence |
| LGBTQIA+ | Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual individuals. The plus (+) signifies the expanded form of the acronym to include more diverse forms of gender and sexual identities (Gold, 2019). |
| MDG | Millennial Development Goals |
| NGO | Non – Governmental Organisation |
| NSP | National Development Plan |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SAPS | South African Police Services |
| SDBIP | Service Delivery Budget and Implementation Plan |
| SDG | Sustainable Development Goals |
| SGJ | Sonke Gender Justice |
| UN | United Nations |
| VAW/C | Violence against Women and Children |
| WHO | World Health Organisation |

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1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research seeks to investigate the policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide henceforth the “National Strategic Plan on GBVF”. Over the past three decades, there has been increased global information regarding the violent oppression of vulnerable populations based on gendered lines (Heise, 1998; Merry, 2009; Britton, 2020). The term that broadly defines the above-mentioned violence is gender-based violence or gendered violence. It is a comprehensive expression encapsulating violence rooted in traditional gender norms and gender inequality (Bloom, 2008). It encompasses a categorisation of violence that includes, *inter alia*, violence against women and children (VAW/C), intimate partner violence (IPV), domestic violence, state violence, and sexual abuse. These aforementioned categories of gendered violence can lead to fatalities referred to as femicide, which is described as the “*killing of women because they are women*” (Brodie, 2020: 14). This definition expands to include the brutal killing of individuals who identify as LGBTQIA+ and gender non-confirming persons (Wirtz et al., 2018).

Gender-based violence is not a minor novel societal challenge occurring in certain pockets of society. It is a pervasive global political and health issue, which transcends race, class, religion, and geographical location. Despite the widespread impact has on a global scale, there is enlightening information on the Wape community of Papua New Guinea where this form of violence is not prevalent (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005). In societies that experience high numbers of gendered violence, gender-based violence is devastating, causing major damage to the well-being of victims and disadvantaging victim participation in both private and public life. The term “gender-based” is synonymous with violence against women (Kaeflein, 2013). It is acknowledged that violence against women is mostly perpetrated by men. Men are predominately viewed as the gender that commits acts of gendered violence against vulnerable populations and towards other men and boys (Peacock, 2013). This social phenomenon is deeply rooted in both institutional and individual structures (Lang, 2003). Institutionally, patriarchy entrenches gender inequality, by maintaining male privilege over women. Male-dominant power structures prevail in social orders across the world, upholding the status quo that men hold a dominant part of power and strength, (Abrahams et al., 2010). Male dominant power is evident in decision-making institutions within the state and business leadership. In the gender pay gap and the impunity from prosecution that heterosexual male perpetrators receive from the state (Bhorat & Goga, 2013; Jaga et al., 2018). Individually, traditional gender norms within families and

communities enforce belief systems of violence, especially toward women, children, and other vulnerable groups. Literature shows that the most violent heterosexual male perpetrators, as children, grew up in homes where domestic abuse, IPV, and child abuse are common (Heise, 1998; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; Kaeflein, 2013). Cultures of patriarchy are formed in families through the socialisation of children, this permeates into other social spheres, such as the community, economy, and political environments (Thaler, 2011; Yesufu, 2022).

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) reports (2013; 2018) gendered violence affects one in every three women worldwide. Statistically, women and young girls are more likely to be victims, however, adult and younger males can be susceptible to being victims of gendered violence (van Niekerk et al., 2015). Hassan et al., (2015) argue that males are at greater risk of sexual abuse at a young age. The World Health Organisation (2013) report on prevention of child maltreatment, approximated that about 73 million (7%) boys worldwide were being sexually abused. However, this number is an underrepresentation due to the reluctance of heterosexual young boys to report sexual abuse, based on the fear and stigma of being possibly labelled as homosexual (Ranney et al., 2011). Pathania (2017) argues that sustainable development is key to empowering women and girls. Gender-based violence is a deterrent to the objectives of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). It poses a threat to goal number 5, which aims to “*achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls*” (United Nations General Assembly, 2015:22). The SDGs were built to surpass the limitations of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), aiming to address the root causes of poverty and inequality in all countries associated with the United Nations. According to Muluneh, et, al, (2020), the 17 SDGs broadly aim to eradicate all forms of violence and achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls by 2030. Gender-based violence is a threat to SGD number 5 and associated targets, due to its regressive nature of limiting women and girls.

In order to strengthen the fight against gender-based violence various international and regional instruments such as the 1993 United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development have been ratified by member states within these institutions (United Nations, 2020). These international and regional policy instruments provide member states with a blueprint on how to conceptualise national legislation which can be effective in addressing the scourge. Guided by the above-mentioned policy instruments laws, policies, and national action plans are implemented to curb gender-based violence and lead to national changes in gendered behaviours and attitudes. The World Health Organisation (2013), states that to achieve desired changes toward

non-violent societies, laws, and policies should be gender progressive to mitigate reinforcement of negative traditional values and norms.

The broader South African national policy framework while recognising gender-based violence as a social challenge has been, in crucial aspects, limited in scope. Legislation and policy have essentially placed much emphasis on violence against women, children, the disabled, rural citizens, and the LGBTQ+ community whilst gravely neglecting the implications arising from the large numbers of male violence (van Niekerk et al., 2015). Most of the information surrounding gender-based violence is commonly found in governmental crime statistics, community self-reporting surveys, and consultant reports conducted with limited samples. Which poses a concern in overestimating or underestimating the issue (Brodie, 2020). Scholars agree that the country lacks official statistics provided by a central reliable source regarding the detailed extent of the issue (Mogstad, Dryding, & Fiorotto, 2016; Moore, 2019; Brodie, 2020; Britton, 2020). Reports such as the victims of crime survey and crime statistics released on a quarterly and annual basis tend to provide information about sexual offenses and do not include information regarding other forms of gender-based violence, which do not take the form of an assault committed against a victim (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2016).

During the course of 2018 and 2019, an increased wave of awareness on the issue of gender-based violence enveloped South Africa, with countless deaths of young women being reported on the news and social media platforms (Brodie, 2020). This brought to light the profound impact of gender-based violence and the need to further research measures to curb this form of violence more collaboratively and sustainably (Theletsane, 2019). Amnesty International, Sonke Gender Justice and other civil society organisations had been calling for the establishment of a National Strategic Plan, years prior to the increased reporting of related killings and assaults (Amnesty International, 2021; Sonke Gender Justice, 2019). The increased awareness led to the #TotalShutdownMovement which marched to the Parliament on 1 August 2018 with 24 demands (Benya, 2018). Subsequent to the marches, a presidential summit was held in 2018, where a report was issued with the recommendation of the establishment of a National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence (Naidoo, 2022).

The National Strategic Plan on GBVF was finalised in April 2020. It is a multi-sectorial policy framework aiming to create economic opportunities for women, widen access to justice services for vulnerable groups, and streamline funds to the network of sexual offenses courts and government rape care centres termed Thuthuzela Care Centres (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The plan provides a list of the targeted groups that will be assisted, with a vision of creating a South Africa free of gender-based violence directed at women, children, disabled

individuals, rural citizens, and LGBTQIA+ persons (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The National Strategic Plan on GBVF is a social policy document described as having a unified approach that includes all relevant stakeholders. It is viewed as a step above previous policy initiatives on gender-based violence by the government such as the National Strategic Plan Shadow Framework, the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME) report on Diagnostic Review of the Response of the State to Violence Against Women and Children, and the National Plan of Action undertaken by the Department of Social Development (DSD) (Stop Gender Violence Campaign, 2017; Department of Planning Monitoring and Evaluation, 2017; Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020).

A wide and detailed knowledge base exists regarding the social and economic implications of gender-based violence in South Africa (Abrahams et al., 2010; de Villiers et al., 2021; Meyiwa et al., 2017; Yesufu, 2022). However, the perpetrators predominately inflicting the violence and their intersecting social identities in a patriarchal system may be overlooked in policymaking, specifically, in public participation initiatives that are discussed in detail in section 2.7. There appears to be a gap in defining the labelling and approach to the role played by heterosexual male perpetrators when formulating laws, policies, and plans. Research focusing on the social phenomena of heterosexual male violence in national policy in South Africa is scarce (Casey, 2010; van Niekerk et al., 2015). This gives rise to the relevance of placing analytical emphasis on the possible policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in national policy formulation for the production of novel research and practical objectives. The National Strategic Plan on GBVF will form the key policy document guiding the analysis, based on the description that it is comprehensively inclusive of most policy stakeholders in the policy discourse landscape of gender-based violence and femicide. The information drawn from studying gender-based violence with a focus on male perpetration in national policy formulation may form the bedrock for national policy formulation reform. A qualitative research approach was utilised, incorporating the interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and content analysis and document analysis and semi-structured interviews as research tools (Kumar, 2004), (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This approach is considered the most appropriate approach enabling the researcher to explore the various facets of the intersectional and ecological relationship between heterosexual male perpetrators of violence and gender-based violence national policy as well as other policy stakeholders involved.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The limited role of heterosexual male perpetrators in national policies of the state presents a barrier to curbing gender-based violence and promoting social cohesion. A broad knowledge base exists regarding the drivers and implications of gender-based violence (Kaeflein, 2013; Miles, et, al., 2014; Marie Choup, 2016; Yesufu, 2022), however, there is a disconnect between gender-based violence national policy and the subjects inflicting gendered violence. The intersecting social identities of heterosexual male perpetrators operating in systems of unequal power relations are possibly overlooked in policy initiatives instituted by the state. According to van Niekerk et al., (2015) and Casey (2010), the violence perpetrated by men and the violence inflicted on men is not reflected as a social occurrence in national policy. Academic literature has placed focus on investigating the perceptions of males involved in gender-based violence prevention programs and the drivers of male perpetration of violence (Kaeflein, 2013; Thaler,2011). Connell (2003:80) mentions that national policies “*often impact specifically on men without actually naming men*”. The impact of heterosexual males' gendered character tends to be omitted, further raising the issue of policy myopia in national policies. Government's policy and legislative response to gender-based violence is inadequate to address the issue, the response thus far is reactive and applies carceral approaches to policymaking (Britton, 2020). Carceral policies focuses on harsh punishment for heterosexual male perpetrators of violence, however, has its flaws in formulating policy that struggles to alter the social and economic structures that normalise and perpetuate violence. (Bumiller, 2008). A link in research and the participation of all stakeholders in policy formulation is required to close the gap of inconsistency. In essence, it is imperative to extend to the body of knowledge regarding the role played by heterosexual male perpetrators within gender-based violence policy in South African society.

1.2 PURPOSE STATEMENT

Research on gender-based violence is evolving to include different gendered narratives and new concepts. The growth in knowledge on the topic corresponds with the numerous cases of gender-based violence globally and locally (Modise, 2020; Brodie 2020). The National Strategic Plan on GBVF was developed by multiple stakeholders in public and private spheres of the state, to provide a unified approach that includes all parties involved. Actively analysing and engaging national policy during the implementation phase is vital to assist researchers and policymakers in the production of new knowledge and experiences. This study, therefore, aims to broaden the discussion on the polarized narrative of heterosexual male perpetrators in the gender-based violence policy environment. The research aims to draw meaningful insights on gender-based violence perpetration to guide future

research and policy initiatives driven by government officials, civil society, and private stakeholders. Adding positive research contributions toward the effective formulation of national policies in the fight against gender-based violence is essential to building a better society for future generations.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

Are heterosexual male perpetrators excluded in the policy framework of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide?

1.4 OVERVIEW OF THE REPORT

The following is a brief outline of the structure of the report. Chapter one of the report is the introduction and rationale of the research. It includes the problem statement, purpose, research question, and definitions of key terms found in the body of the text. In chapter two the literature review on gender-based violence and theoretical framework which incorporates two theories framing the analyses are discussed. Chapter three describes the research design and methodology used for the research topic. It includes the procedures used by the researcher to collect and analyse the data as well as the limitation, positionality, and reflexivity in the research. Chapter four outlines the data collected from key national government reports and semi-structured research interviews. Chapter Five presents and discusses in detail the themes found within the data mentioned above, essentially turning the data into information. The report concludes with chapter six, where the main findings, practical and theoretical implications of the research, and conclusions are presented.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A literature review is defined as a process of collecting and synthesising previously published research on a particular topic in essay form (Juntunen & Lehenkari, 2019; Snyder, 2019). It forms the foundation for building new theories and extending the body of knowledge in research. There are three main literature review methods used in research, namely; systematic reviews, semi-structured or narrative reviews, and integrative reviews (Snyder, 2019; Torraco, 2016). A semi-structured or narrative literature review method is followed in this research to respond to the research question. Narrative literature reviews aim to display how knowledge in a field of study has developed and how research traditions have evolved (Baumeister & Leary, 1997; Wong et al., 2013). These types of reviews are useful in qualitative research where content or thematic analysis is conducted, and differ from systematic reviews that provide empirical evidence intending to test theory or integrative reviews which aim to develop new theory (Juntunen & Lehenkari, 2019). The method followed in the below literature review is a non-linear process, where a plan has been developed with the following steps, step 1; searching literature, step 2; selecting literature, step 3; analysing information, step 4; synthesising information, and step 5; writing the final the review for reporting.

Selected literature including grey literature is analysed with a focus primarily on gender-based violence in terms of male perpetration. The key concepts and root causes of gender-based violence are discussed. Gender-based violence, Femicide, and Heteropatriarchy are concepts that are discussed in detail within the review, they form the foundational terms which give context to further the discussion. Gender-based violence legislation and public policy working in a patriarchal state, including the role of men in gender-based violence policy and programs, concepts regarding various types of male masculinities, and heterosexual male violence are topics discussed in the latter part of the chapter. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the theoretical framework shaping the research. The theory of intersectionality and the ecological framework concerning gender-based violence form the analytical lens framing the research topic, they are relevant to explore the intersecting ecological factors that shape the policy environment, policy stakeholders, and policy decisions.

2.2 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AS A CONCEPT

Gender-based violence or gendered violence is a gross human rights violation that is highly prevalent in societies across the globe (Muluneh, et, al, 2020). There are various definitions for gender-based

violence in scholarship (United Nations General Assembly, 1993; Lang, 2003; Bloom, 2008; Britton, 2020). The consensus amongst scholars and human rights organisations is that the term can refer to a broad range of violent acts, perpetrated to ensure the maintenance of gender inequality and gender hierarchies (Connell, 2003). According to Bloom (2008) the term encapsulates violence arising from traditional gender norms expressed through unequal power relations amongst the genders in various sectors of society.

The various forms of gender-based violence include VAW/C, IPV, domestic violence, state violence, and sexual abuse. Scholarship has evolved over the years to define gender-based violence as the violence of a physical, sexual, psychological, or economic nature, which manifests through the restriction of freedoms and acts of coercion or threats (Machisa et al., 2016). Gendered violence can take the shape of physical, sexual, and money-related, economic violence executed by private individuals and public institutions. Rape or sexual assault, and human trafficking are detailed examples of manifested violence on gendered lines (Enaifoghe, 2019).

The UN General Assembly of 1993 adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, defining gender-based violence as “*acts that result in the physical, sexual and psychological harm or suffering of women* (United Nations General Assembly, 1993:56). Enaifoghe (2019) noted that the emphasis on the term “gender-based” in the UN declaration, was to highlight the intersection between violence against women and their current subservient status to men. Similar to the UN definition of gender-based violence, Amnesty International (2022) defines gender-based violence as violent acts directed at women and vulnerable communities such as the LGBTQIA+ community based on their sexual orientation and gender identity. These international organisations offer broad meanings explaining gender-based violence in terms of violence by men against women and children and violence by men against LGBTQIA+ individuals.

Merry (2009:3) offers a more detailed yet simplified definition, describing gender-based violence as “*the interpretation of violence through gender*”. According to Merry (2009), violence can manifest in various forms, men on men violence, men on women violence in different social relationships in public and private arenas. Domestic violence and IPV exist in private settings, and abuse in romantic relationships due to unbalanced power dynamics can be seen as a form of gender-based violence (Enaifoghe, 2019). Whether the abuse is being perpetrated by a man or a woman in a romantic relationship. Human trafficking and sexual harassment are described as gender-based violence committed in public spaces (Joseph, 2017). The key element of violence being gender-based is centred on gender identity. When the gender identity of the victim is the motivating factor of perpetrating

violence, then it is defined as gender-based violence. The term gender-based violence has grown in the various types and victims affected. The UN definition of gender-based violence in 1993 focused on women as the sole victims, the definition has evolved to include other vulnerable populations in years post the deceleration. This evolution is seen in Amnesty International's articulation to include the LGBTQIA+, cisgender, and queer communities (Amnesty International, 2022).

Nationally, the National Strategic Plan on GBVF aligns with the UN international definition of gender-based violence, defining gender-based violence as a term that captures violence that occurs due to the normative role expectations associated with the genders (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). In this research, gender-based violence is defined as a broad term describing inhumane expressions of violence which manifest as a result of the inequality and inequity of the genders in society. Gender equity, which sets the stage for gender equality, can be interpreted as the balanced participation and empowerment of the genders in both private and public life (Enaifoghe & Idowu, 2021). For as long as there is an imbalance of equal gender participation and empowerment in sectors and spheres of life, gender-based violence will continue to exist, being sustained by persistent inequality and inequity.

2.3 FEMICIDE AS A CONCEPT

Gender-based violence can lead to fatalities referred to as femicide, described as the “*killing of women because they are women*” (Weil, 2020:110). The term was first popularised in the mid-1970s by Diana Russell, who initially emphasised the need to distinguish femicide from gender-neutral murders defined as homicide (Brodie, 2020). The nature of femicide is homicide with intent, the intent to kill women based on their gender (Radford & Russell, 1992). Initially, Russell defined femicide as “*the misogynist killing of women by men*” (Jackson, 1994:449). The term further evolved to include factors of women killing female counterparts and the widespread challenge of femicide affecting millions of women worldwide (Russell & Harmes, 2001). Femicide was, therefore, broadened to refer to “*the killing of one or more females by one or more males because they are female*” (Russell 2012:2). Due to increased global theoretical understanding and empirical analysis, the concept further developed to include terms such as feminicide (*feminicidio*) (Lagarde, 2010).

Feminicide is the Spanish translation of femicide, popularised in Latin American countries by Marcela Lagarde. The concept includes a wider discussion regarding the role of the state in taking accountability for cases of femicide (Marcuello-Servós et al., 2016). It widens the scope of analysis to not only include the judicial and social aspects of femicide but provides a political context regarding government

structures that normalize crime in Latin American states (Joseph, 2017). Femicide has been fiercely challenged by Russell on the basis that femicide is not a user-friendly term and disregards the fundamental component of femicide, which is distinguishing homicide cases from femicide cases based on intent and gender (Russell, 2012). Not all killings of women are gender-related, when reporting female homicide cases, the intent of the killing needs to be analysed to define female homicide as femicide (UNOCD, 2018). Femicide predominately stems from IPV, women are most often intentionally killed by a trusted partner or family member (Weil, 2020). According to UNOCD (2018), Africa reported the highest number of female killings by intimate partners in 2017 (1.7 per 100 000 female population), followed by the Americas (1.2), Oceania regions at (0.9), Europe at (0.6) and finally, Asia sitting at (0.5 per 100 000 female population). Apart from Africa, the extent of femicide in South America is widespread in scale. 12 women per day were murdered in various Latin American countries (Joseph, 2017). A major contributor to high femicide rates in these countries is organised crime, in the form of human trafficking and kidnappings (Joseph, 2017).

In South Africa, femicide is highly prevalent. Similar to the abovementioned global statistics, it is predominately perpetrated by intimate partners, or partners of the same sex (Yesufu, 2022). The 2017 South African Police Services (SAPS) annual crime statistical report stated that someone murders a woman every 3 hours, which equates to about 7 women each day (SAPS, 2017). In contrast to someone murdering a man every 30 minutes, about 50 per day (SAPS; 2017). Although male homicide rates are higher, van Niekerk et al., (2015), and Yesufu (2022) highlight that female homicide rates are higher than the global average and tend to be more violent. For example, female victims are raped, their body parts dismembered, and then dumped in a field. The scourge of femicide cases in recent years led to much emphasis being placed on including femicide as a policy initiative in the National Strategic Plan on GBVF. According to the National Strategic Plan on GBVF femicide is defined as; “female homicide”. The intentional murder of women based on their gender identity, (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). Scholars argue that the country lacks official statistics provided by a central reliable source regarding the detailed extent of the issue (Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2016; Moore, 2019). Reports such as the victims of crime survey and crime statistics released on a quarterly and annual basis tend to provide information about sexual offenses and do not include information regarding other forms of gender-based violence, which do not take the form of an assault committed against a victim, this affecting the recording of femicide cases (The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2016).

2.4 ROOT CAUSES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The root causes of gender-based violence have been identified as gender norms that stem from nuclear family arrangements, and toxic concepts of masculinity that focus on female subordination and male superiority (Bernstein, 2010). Scholarship details a myriad of complex, intersecting causes of gender-based violence (Miles, et, al. 2014; Ramsoomar, L., 2015; Morojele et al., 2018; Francis & Webster, 2019; Moore, 2019). These root causes naturally overlap forming a complex web around the issue that international institutions, nations, and communities struggle to overcome. Marie Choup (2016) argues that there are three main interrelated causes of gender-based violence in developmental states, namely; inequality, colonial patriarchal history, and socio-economic challenges. The abovementioned root causes of gender-based violence apply to a developmental state such as South Africa. South Africa is a highly unequal country, with stagnated economic growth, a high inflation rate, and an unemployment rate well over the 30% mark, sitting at 34.4% in quarter 2 of 2021 (Francis & Webster, 2019; Statistics South Africa; 2021). Patriarchal norms and values, and excessive alcohol and drug abuse in communities further exacerbate gender-based violence (Miles, et, al., 2014). Moreover, remnants of apartheid and its consequences remain stubbornly intact which continues to entrench patriarchal socio-cultural practices in post-apartheid South Africa (de Villiers et al., 2021; Yesufu, 2022).

The following section will discuss three interrelated causes of gender-based violence in the South African context:

2.4.1 Colonial Patriarchal History:

The legacy of colonialism and apartheid have been well documented (Biko, 1978; Marx, 1996; Moffett; 2006; Minnaar, 2010; Morrell et al., 2012; Dixon, 2015). According to Moore (2019), colonialism blocked any form of social, political, or economic participation of women in various parts of the African continent. Apartheid policies ensured the legal discrimination of marginalised groups, specifically non-white males and females (Bhorat & Goga, 2013). Apartheid benefited the white minority, the white male minority more so than the white female minority. White women gained their right to vote in May 1930, however, still maintained subservient status to men in private and public life (Mohanani, 2021). White men took up most, if not all, leadership positions in political and economic institutions (Jaga et al., 2018). For the marginalised, black, coloured, and Indian female populations oppression took the form of both “*patriarchal domination and racial discrimination*” (Mohanani, 2021:564). These aforementioned groups were subjected to restrictions in movements, arrests, beatings, assassinations, and torture (Dixon, 2015). Structural violence from police shootings in

crowded gatherings in the past has entrenched the culture of violence i.e. Sharpeville Massacre (Dixon, 2015).

State violence filtered into the post-apartheid state manifesting the deep-rooted culture of violence still evident in the SAPS, military services, and broader society, through cases such as the Xenophobic attacks of 2008, 2015 and 2017 and the Marikana Massacre of 2012 (Hassim, 2009; Dixon, 2015; Mamabolo, 2015; Tinsley, 2019). Additionally, legitimised violent rule of the Apartheid regime has been noted as a contributing factor for heterosexual male perpetrators who were victims of the regime to maintain a level of dominance through sexual and physical violence over their female counterparts (Moffett, 2006). In the early years of democratic rule, strides were made towards a gender-conscious and gender-equal post-apartheid South Africa through legislating reproductive health care rights in the Constitution (Section 12(2)(a)). By opening doors for females of all races in the workplace through enacting the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and affirmative action. However, these strides have been critiqued due to the increasingly high rate of gender-based violence that relentlessly persists. Victims of gendered violence remain confronted with prejudice, misogyny, and homophobia in their daily lives. Jaga et al., (2018) argue that patriarchy co-existed with colonialism during apartheid to form a racialised gendered hierarchy. The legacy of female domination by their male counterparts still lingers in family and institutional places. Political practices and culture in the country remain entrenched in colonial and apartheid values (Hassim, 2009). Despite an enabling policy framework, it has proven difficult to rebuild social cohesion, mutual respect, and tolerance among the genders. This poses a threat to creating a non-racial and non-sexist nation, a country free from gender-based violence (Mohanani, 2021; Hassim, 2009, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

2.4.2 Inequality:

The discussion of inequality as a root cause and exacerbating factor of gender-based violence is three-fold, as we refer to inequality of the sexes, inclusive of queer and cisgender persons, in the political, economic, and social sense. Politically, the country has been recognised for gender-inclusiveness through increased female representation in Parliament. Women national members of Parliament accounted for 44,5% of the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces, as compared to 2.7% representation in 1994 (Mohanani, 2021). Despite these improvements, Mohanani argues that political institutions continue to embody a culture of masculinity, predominantly giving room for the male voice as opposed to an equal balance of opinion and power in decision-making platforms (Mohanani, 2021). In this view, female representation in political leadership is not a step in the right direction towards including feminist approaches, but a method to meet legislative quota requirements

and mask deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and values in these political institutions. Economically, income and wage differences in race and gender are indicators of the high levels of poverty and inequality (Francis & Webster, 2019). The gendered pay differentials and sexist treatment in the workplace continue to leave women, queer and cisgender vulnerable to earning less than their life partners, resulting in economic dependency and unbalanced power dynamics which can lead to abuse (Bhorat & Goga, 2013; Jaga et al., 2018). A report by Oxfam in 2020 showed that to earn as much as the white male Chief Executive Officer (CEO), one would need a total of 461 black women from the bottom percentile of earners. The majority of black women are the breadwinners in their households, whilst working low-income jobs in the formal and informal sectors (Oxfam, 2020). Black women's status in society remains a key measure of both labour market inequality and subsequent social inequality. They remain a practical case study of how race, class, and gender intersect giving rise to various forms of social injustices (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins; 2019).

2.4.3 Socio-Economic Challenges:

According to Marie Choup (2016), change in the socio-economic environment of a state can lead to changes in gender roles. This change occurring without associated transformation in gender norms produces increased violence against women, children, and cisgender persons. Male domination in the household economy has been threatened in recent years due to the downturn of the global economy, affecting the South African economy through globalisation. The rise in poverty, unemployment, and petrol price hikes has led to power shifts in who are the breadwinners in the household (Ruzive. et al., 2019; Ntshingila, 2022). A study done by Sanz-Barbero et al. (2015) in Spain showed that long-term male unemployment in regions where gender discrimination is high increases the likelihood of women suffering from IPV. This view is applicable to a developmental state like South Africa where patriarchal norms and values are prevalent in family and community relations.

Gender-based violence is further fuelled by alcohol abuse. The high levels of alcohol consumption as a contributing factor for violence has been well documented, studies have shown that there is a correlation between increased gender-based violence where alcohol abuse is rife (Heise, 1998; Miles, et. al. 2014; Ramsoomar, L., 2015; South African Medical Research Council, 2016; Morojele et al., 2018). The over-consumption of alcohol by heterosexual men, leading to violence against victims, stems from the need to maintain power and control which relates to maintaining their masculine identity. Research on the link between notions of hegemonic masculinity, alcohol abuse, and gendered violence has been conducted (Peralta et al., 2010; Hinote & Webber, 2012). These studies found that drinking or intoxication by heterosexual men increased sexually or physically violent behaviour.

Alcohol abuse in the studied social groups is seen as an acceptable “*manly*” practice and an encouraged form of manhood for men who subscribe to hegemonic masculinity values (Peralta et al., 2010; Hinote & Webber, 2012). The abovementioned root causes of gender-based violence highlight the responsibility of the state to address this societal challenge. These root causes provide insights to policymakers on the directions which need to undertake to effect positive change. The gap that remains between research and national gender policy formulation, despite the root causes of gender-based violence having been identified requires attention. Research on government policies often highlights this discrepancy, however, evaluation of policies implemented to address gender-based violence often does not address this issue (Marie Choup, 2016). Applying the ecological framework to understanding the factors exacerbating gender-based violence points to the aforementioned causes at the various ecological levels, whilst, also mentioning violence that stems from nuclear family arrangements and patriarchal ideologies in state institutions (Heise, 1998).

2.5 HETEROPATRIARCHY

Heteropatriarchy is based on the idea that there are only two opposite sexes or genders in society, male and female (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009; Woodson & Pabon, 2016). This sole gender orientation, therefore, excludes the notion of homosexual relations between individuals and other cisgender identities. Suggesting that there can only be one relation or attraction between the sexes, heterosexual. Heteropatriarchy rests on three major assumptions as described by Harris (2011); everyone is born either male or female and will assume their designated gender identity at birth, for the rest of their lives; there are innate gender differences in males and females based on appearance, character, behaviour and interests, male and female difference impact of the social behaviour of the genders; and male expressions of masculinity are socially more acceptable than female expressions of femininity. These assumptions support the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, heterosexism, and heteronormativity, entrenching male domination of females (McCarry, 2010; Mampane, et.al; 2020). Heteropatriarchy is embedded in the norms and practices of South African social culture, it finds expression in economic systems through the gender pay gap and feminization of work as described in section 2.4.2 (Bhorat & Goga, 2013; Jaga, 2017; Oxfam, 2020). It privileges heterosexual males in cultural settings, through practices such as “*ukuthwala*” bride capture in the rural areas of the country (Yesufu, 2022). Politically and socially, heterosexual males are afforded privilege, legitimacy, and freedom of choice in their life endeavours and power to rule over those who are not heterosexual and male (Woodson & Pabon, 2016). Heteronormativity is a major challenge for LGBTQIA+ groups.

Schilt & Westbrook (2009) discuss the violence directed towards cisgender populations caused by heteronormative ideals, describing the adverse effect it has on these growing vulnerable populations. Nationally, information on hate crimes in the form of corrective rape mostly in the form of gang rapes, murders, and beatings towards gay and lesbian communities is widespread in urban and rural areas (Martin, Kelly, Turquet & Ross, 2009; Mkhize, Bennett, Reddy & Moletsane, 2010). Judge (2017) argues that most hate crimes against lesbian women are by male perpetrators who hold heteronormative values, believing that they can correct these women's sexual orientation. The LBGTQIA+ community faces multiple forms of violent oppression due to dominant patriarchal norms. In light of this, policymakers have made inroads towards including the gendered violence inflicted against cisgender and transgender people within the National Strategic Plan on GBVF.

2.6 LEGISLATION FRAMEWORK ON GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Theoretically, South Africa has a comprehensive legal policy framework to address gender-based violence, however, the limitation is found in implementation (Gqola, 2007; Brodie 2020). The Constitution of South Africa outlines the framework for an effective legislative response to gender-based violence. The rights set out in Chapter 2, the Bill of Rights section, provide a national commitment to building a non-violent society (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Further pieces of legislation enacted to combat gender-based violence include, but are not limited to namely; the Domestic Violence Act (No. 116 of 1998), Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act (No. 6 of 2012), and Protection from Harassment Act (No. 17 of 2011). The abovementioned legislation forms the foundation of laws in place to counteract gender-based violence through the judicial system. Meyiwa et, al, (2017) highlight the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), the Gender Equality Bill of 2000, and South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality of 2000 as the historical political and institutional machinery utilised by the government to combat gender-based violence. The practical application of gender-based violence legislation is, also, found in the recently implemented National Strategic Plan on GBVF. The National Strategic Plan on GBVF stems from the National Development Plan 2030, the report of the 2018 Presidential Summit against Gender-based violence and Femicide, and the Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) initiative (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The plan has been defined as a comprehensive multi-sectorial policy framework, which incorporates the efforts of government, civil society, and private business. Gqola (2007) highlights the contradiction stating that South African women are legislatively supported, yet lack safety walking on the streets or living in their very own homes. This is linked to the argument presented by Marie Choup (2016) that

a disconnect remains between research on the root causes of gender-based violence and national gender policy formulation. The Mail and Guardian (2020) reported that a 2010 Gauteng sample revealed that 51% of females stated to have experienced gender-based violence, whilst 76% of males stated to have perpetrated gender-based violence at one stage in their lives. Ten years on, the 2020 coronavirus lockdown exacerbated the issue and brought further awareness of the endemic nature of gender-based violence in the country. The Gender-based Violence and Femicide Command Centre recorded over 120,000 victims in the initial stages of the hard lockdown (Farber, 2020). This situation promoted a government response discussed in President Cyril Ramaphosa's June 17, 2020, national address acknowledging gender-based violence as the shadow pandemic, following the death of about 20 women since the coronavirus outbreak (The Presidency of South Africa, 2020).

To support the implementation of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF in the fight against gender-based violence three new bills were enacted at the beginning of 2022 namely; the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Bill, the Criminal and Related Matters Amendment Bill and the Domestic Violence Amendment Bill (Cowan-Harper-Madikizela Attorneys, 2022). The objective of the bills labelled the "Gender-Based Violence Bills" is to strengthen the response through a victim-focused approach and increased justice measures against perpetrators to escape justice (SA News, 2022). In the latter parts of 2022, National Council on Gender-based Violence and Femicide Bill were gazetted (Louw & de Wet, 2022). The gazetting of this Bill was seen as a progressive step towards addressing gender-based violence through a multi-stakeholder approach. These recent enactments were developed after the 2018 Presidential Summit against gender-based violence and femicide and form part of the recommendations of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF. The implementation of the National Strategic Plan is being overseen by the End Gender-based Violence Collective, a voluntary organisation by the government, civil society, and private individuals.

Policies and legislation aimed at ending gender-based violence require greater analyses as to the context in which policy is being applied. The policy does not function in a vacuum, however, is developed and implemented based on the contextual environment it lives in. Scholars have highlighted the need to analyse the gaps between policy and practice, and the contextual environment that policy functions within (Lorist, Mbabazi & Moyer 2022; Zulfiqar, 2022). Placing policy and legislation relevant to the society it seeks to assist may see positive and impactful changes. The above proves relevant when applying policy to a highly patriarchal state, this is discussed in the following chapters.

2.7 PUBLIC POLICY WORKING IN A PATRIARCHAL STATE

2.7.1 Public Policy

The term public policy is described as the social intervention of government machinery in a state (Dye, 1994; Fox and Meyer, 1995; Anderson, 1999; Roux 2002). Public policy aims to improve the living standards of constituencies within a state. According to Hyden (2021), a policy is deemed public when planned and executed by government institutions that have the aim of positively impacting the general public. Public policymaking is a continuously evolving process that includes the following stages; problem identification, agenda-setting, formulation, implementation, evaluation, and reform (Roux, 2002; Resnick et al., 2018; Hyden, 2021). Most policy is abstract until contained in a written document. The writing up of policy into document form legitimises the course of action and objectives of policy (Roux, 2002). Concerning issues of gender-based violence and femicide, social policies are the types of public policy the government formulates in pursuit of solutions to address societal challenges. Mkandawire (2008) describes social policies as policies developed with the aim of social cohesion, equality, and bettering the lives of citizens in a country. The main objective is "*redistribution and social protection*" (Mkandawire, 2008: 359). Social policies, as with other public policies, are formulated and disputed by several stakeholders who engage in making government policy (Cairney, 2012). The public policy environment is characterised by "*who gets what, when, and how*" (Hyden, 2021:46). Therefore, the values of the different stakeholders play a role in how policies are designed and implemented (Resnick et al., 2018).

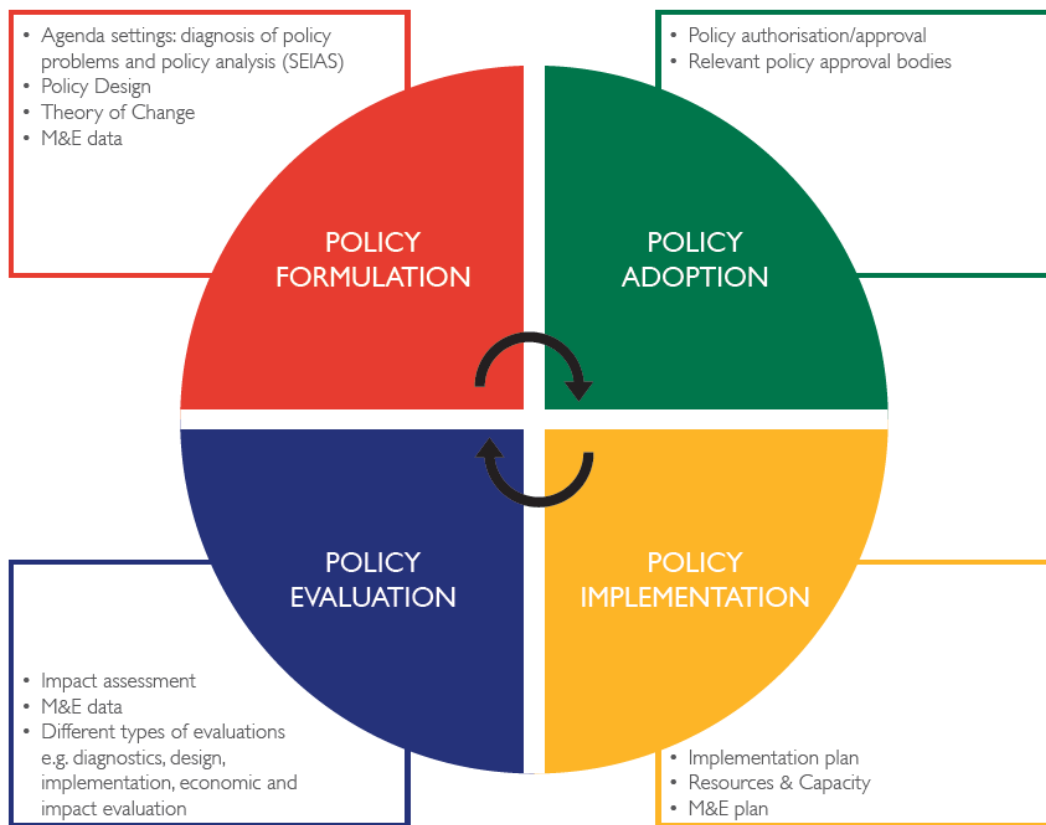
Particular schools of thought or paradigms also influence public policy and the direction that should be taken to accomplish the aim of the policy undertaken. Cairney (2012) highlights how often policymakers are reluctant to focus on certain issues concerning a policy due to ideological constraints and trade-offs that need to be made. Lavis (2006) offered similar sentiments stating that policymakers face contestations from various interest groups and bureaucracies on how to address policy issues. Moreover, policy issues are often responded to due to the emergence of a focusing event or punctuated equilibrium (Resnick et al., 2018; Cairney, 2012), events that occur after long periods of policy inactivity over an issue that demands the issue to be placed at the top of the public policy agenda. The events highlighted in section 1.1 regarding the #TotalShutDownMovement march and other subsequent marchers between 2018 and 2019 can be regarded as the focusing events which led to the establishment of the new policy. Theorists have documented the evolution of the application of public policy in African states post-independence (Mbembe, 1992; Mamdani, 1996; Mkandawire, 2007). Mbembe

(1992) argued that the exercise of authority by African countries post-independence, which is described as the "post-colony", has been marked by levels of violence and exploitation of citizens. These forms of rule were inherited from previous colonial administrations. Mamdani (1996) echoing Mbembe's sentiments describes African countries as being divided into the haves and have-nots. This affects how public policy is formulated and implemented, as a large majority of citizens do not actively engage in political processes as change-makers (Hyden, 2021). Mkandawire (2007) offers the transformative social policy concept as a countermeasure to neo-liberal economic policies being introduced by African states. He argued for public policy which reconciled economic policies with social programs contextual to African social challenges, rather than reproducing public policy from developed countries and developing countries in Asia and Asia-Pacific (Mkandawire, 2007).

2.7.1.1 The public policymaking process in South Africa

The process of policymaking in the country is guided by the National Policy Development Framework (The Presidency Republic of South Africa, 2020). This policy framework outlines the standard guidelines which need to be followed when formulating and implementing policy. Public policy can manifest from various areas and stakeholders in the public sector. Public policy can also be influenced by the private sector. The framework outlines the various public policy types and institutions mandated to formulate and implement policy. The main government institutions which are authorised to formulate and implement a policy for the public are namely; the National Assembly, the National Council of Provinces, and the three spheres of government departments at the national, provincial, and local levels (Roux 2002). Public policy is documented in the form of Green Papers, White Papers, Strategic Plans, Municipal Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), Annual Performance Plans (APPs), and Municipal Service Delivery Budget and Implementation Plans (SDBIPs) (Roux, 2002; The Presidency Republic of South Africa, 2020). The National Policy Development Framework follows the policy-making process described by (Roux, 2002; Resnick et al., 2018; Hyden, 2021) underpinned and regulated by the highest law in the land, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. The policymaking process followed is depicted in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1: The Policy-Making Cycle



In the policy formulation or diagnosis phase, societal problems requiring government intervention are identified through research, monitoring, and evaluation of existing policies and programs and through conducting consultations with local-level stakeholders; traditional leaders, and citizens. Consultations and receiving public comment regarding policy before implementation is a central component in policy formulation. As policies are developed with the aim of social cohesion, equality, and bettering the lives of citizens in a country, their inputs in the policymaking process need to be considered (Mkandawire, 2008). Public participation in the policymaking process legitimises and ensures increased uptake of policy decisions by the public. Maier et al., (2014) define public participation as the involvement of normal citizens, private sectors, and civil society organisations in the policymaking process. The scholars further adopted five dimensions of participation in policy, the five dimensions as depicted in table 1.1 involve the following; participants, level of involvement, intensity, timing, and goal. These dimensions are criteria used to measure the effectiveness of the policy undertaken (McConnell et al., 2020). Participants, in this research, referred to as stakeholders, in the development of policy include elected public officials, subject matter experts, those directly affected or affecting policy, and normal citizens (Maier et al., 2014). The level of involvement of stakeholders in policy describes the type of

engagement to which they contributed in the process, either through providing information, consultation, or making final policy decisions. The intensity of involvement of participants involves the number of times in which participants were engaged during the various stages of policy development. The timing of participation refers to the point of time in which participants were engaged in the policymaking process. Finally, the goal of participation incorporates instrumental or normative goals, instrumental goals of participation refer to engaging certain stakeholders to attain greater levels of efficiency and effectiveness from the policy outcomes, whilst normative goals of participation involve promoting values of democracy such as transparency and ensuring legitimacy of the policy amongst citizens.

Consultations are the tools used in public participation to engage stakeholders. Defined, consultations are the means by which expertise, experiences, and knowledge are brought to the decision-making table when drafting policy (Sturdy et al., 2012). Fraussen et al., (2020) distinguished between three forms of consultations; open approach, closed approach, and hybrid approach. The open approach uses tools to involve the general public and stakeholders who may have a vested interest in the policy which will be deliberated. A regularly used tool in an open approach is an online questionnaire. The closed approach to consultations focuses on involving stakeholders based on invitation, there is a focused approach on who will be engaged in the policy process. The closed approach includes tools such as seminars, workshops, and focus groups. The hybrid approach incorporates both open and closed approaches to consultations with stakeholders. The policy formulation stage produces draft policy documents in the form of a green paper or concept documents that require further consultation with stakeholders (Roux, 2002). The formulation of public policy rests, in practice, mainly with the legislative institutions at the different levels (spheres) of government and administration, political functionaries, leading public officials, pressure groups, and interest groups (Roux, 2002). These aforementioned categories form the various stakeholders involved in the policymaking process. The policy adoption phase involves seeking approval from official structures such as Ministerial Clusters and Forums to move to the policy implementation stage. The policy implementation stage involves translating public policy into practical initiatives and programs, the distribution of resources, and organisation of the various role players involved in the execution of the policy. Policy monitoring and evaluation is a continual and dynamic process that requires analysis of the monitoring and evaluation plan. It informs policy changes and reviews in the lifespan of the policy.

Table 1.1: Dimensions of participation

| Dimension | | For example |
|----------------------|--|---|
| Participants | Who should be included in a participatory process? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elected officials • Experts • Those directly affected • The general public |
| Level of involvement | What level of involvement and how much influence should participants have on the decision? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information – little influence • Consultation – some influence • Co-decision-making – much influence • Negotiated agreement – highest level of influence |
| Intensity | How often and via what kind of communication should participants be involved? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Once, monthly, annually, continuously • Top-down one-way, bottom-up one-way, two-way communication |
| Timing | At what point in the process should participants be involved? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem definition • Process development • Information gathering • Decision-making • Implementation • Evaluation |
| Goal | Which goal is being pursued? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normative goal • Instrumental goal |

2.7.2 The Patriarchal State

The role of the State concerning gender is that of an agent or arena through which patriarchal systems are either reinforced or limited. The State is defined as a sovereign body within a territorial boundary that has the legitimacy to exercise physical force through a social contract with its constituency (Weber, 1965). The State is an arena where contestations over resources and ideologies manifest, these contestations are negotiated by various actors; institutions, political parties, civil society organisations, and the private sector (Frias, 2010). The agency of the State to act as either an enabler or limiter of patriarchy is dependent on the historical and contemporary landscape to which it operates in (Frias, 2010). The Patriarchal State is one that reinforces patriarchy through re-inventing customs and systems of male dominance, despite the enactment of public policies against gender-based violence and the formation of new governance structures. These types of states are characterised by state violence through military or police machinery and carceral approaches to feminism (Britton, 2020).

There is an existing paradox among developing countries in Central America, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia; where State machinery is seen to be undertaking efforts to end the scourge of gender-based violence through legislation and programs, whilst, also viewed as the enabler of patriarchal systems within its territory allowing gender-based violence to thrive (Newbiggin, 2009; Frias, 2010; England, 2013; Zulfiqar, 2022; Lorist, Mbabazi & Moyer 2022). This can be attributed to the fluidity of patriarchal systems. The term fluid patriarchy enables a better understanding of how historical, social, and geographical structures allow for men in power to recreate long-standing traditions to maintain a position of dominance, despite the formation of new governance structures (Lorist, Mbabazi & Moyer 2022). It helps to explain why gender-based violence programs and policies end up as symbolic rather than substantive efforts, allowing for the status quo to remain (Zulfiqar, 2022). These intersecting

structures provide a lens to understand the following cases; how the relationship between the State and society in India post-independence remained unchanged, despite reform in legislation (Newbiggin, 2009). It explains how laws against sexual crimes in Guatemala were ineffective in bringing about considerable change due to challenges in existing misogynist ideologies and the legal system in operation (England, 2013).

2.7.3 Public policy in post-apartheid South Africa:

Satgar (2012) has refuted the idea of South Africa being a developmental state, but rather has termed it a post-apartheid state, with specific reference to it being an Afro-neo-liberal state. This is key to note because when we view one of the root causes of gender-based violence as socio-economic challenges and inequality, one of the drivers of these is a neoliberal response to political and economic issues. This argument is linked to Mkandawire's agenda of proposing transformative social policy in section 2.7.1. South Africa has transformed from a colonial patriarchal state to a postcolonial patriarchal state, the only change was the colour of the men occupying leadership positions. Female representation is a symbol of gender equality with no significant influence. Scholarship on the country's transition into a democracy and the development of neo-liberal patriarchal policies highlights the discrepancies in promoting gender-equal policies (Seidman, 1999; Mohanan, 2021). In the early years of democratic rule, there was a tendency to focus on the racial and class dynamics of citizens, almost ignoring the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in the equality scale. According to Seidman (1999), the establishment of democratic institutions assumed that all citizens are equal, not taking into consideration the deeply rooted inequalities on gender and racial lines. This myopic development of policy further deepened income and gender inequality. The country's public and private spheres function within multiple variables that contribute to a socially divided violent state. Francis & Webster (2019), state that the capitalist system and apartheid were mutually beneficial systems to the white minority. Hassim (2009) describes the violence inherited from the authoritarian system of apartheid. These aforementioned factors continue to fuel patriarchal policies applied over the legislative framework enacted in democratic institutions within the state. The knowledge that gender-based violence is rooted in inequality, historical colonial patriarchy, and persistent socio-economic challenges, evaluating gender-based violence prevention policy with frequent reference to the root causes would be a suitable approach. However, as postulated by Mbembe (2003) and Mkandawire (2007) policy in the post-colony focuses more on neo-liberal policies rather than transformative social policy. Policy that is decolonial and context-specific to the communities it intends to impact is required.

Government's policy and legislative response to gender-based violence is inadequate to address the issue, the response thus far is reactive and applies carceral approaches to feminism (Britton, 2020). Carceral feminism focuses on harsh punishment for perpetrators of violence, however, has its flaws in formulating policy that struggles to alter the social and economic structures that normalise and perpetuate violence. (Bumiller, 2008). As a reactive research policy measure, Du Plessis (2019) discusses the application of Ubuntu feminism as a responsive approach against carceral feminism, highlighting spiritual interconnectedness as a combatant of gender norms that seek to preserve gender inequality. Mathebula (2022) discussed the naked protests of African women during the #FeesMustFall violence in 2016, as a micro-political action against the patriarchal state, staging an interruption to violence and colonialism. It can be seen as African women forming a new form of grounded African feminism.

2.8 THE ROLE OF MEN IN GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE POLICY

The group to engage and work with to end gender-based violence is men and young boys. It is in men's interests to support progress towards ending gender-based violence and gender equality. Tolman et al., (2019) clearly stated "*Since men perpetrate most of the violence against women, they must be involved in ending it*". There is extensive literature that speaks to the work of engaging men and young boys in the prevention of VAW/C (Peacock & Levack, 2004; Kaeflein, 2013; Flood, 2015; Tolman et al., 2016; Casey et al., 2017; Casey et al., 2017; Casey et al., 2018; Flood, 2019; Daoud et al., 2022). However, research is limited regarding the engagement and reference of heterosexual male perpetrators in national policy. The inclusion of men at the forefront of addressing gender-based violence is a highly contested debate amongst scholars in feminist schools of thought and vested civil society organisations. Gender-based violence is commonly known as men's violence towards women, as well as, other vulnerable groups. This has driven feminists to dominate the discourse surrounding gender-based violence, including male scholarship as peripheral role players (Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015). The consensus amongst scholars is around the importance of engaging men as active change partners in prevention interventions (Peacock & Levack, 2004; Casey et al., 2017; Flood, 2019). Men's and young boys' intervention strategies focus mainly on changing negative masculine identities through feminist approaches. To provide long-term substantive results, Flood (2015;2019) argues that these strategies should be coupled with seeking to transform structural and institutional inequalities in the state. This argument links to sections 2.7.2 and 2.7.3, where the engagement of men and boys should be strategies developed alongside institutional reform of patriarchal structures prevalent in the state. These interventions can provide long-term transformation.

Global studies have been conducted on the factors that motivate men and young boys to be involved in gender-based violence prevention strategies (Casey et al., 2017; Casey et al., 2017; Tolman et al., 2019). These studies aimed to answer the question; how do countries best involve men and boys in preventing gender-based violence? The findings from the surveys and interview-based research found the following key factors which encourage male involvement; men who were involved in social justice programs through their employers were seen to be allies, and their employment was a motivating factor to engage in prevention programs. The intersectional strategy of using men's pre-existing challenges with oppression and marginalisation and linking these social injustices with the issue of gender-based violence was seen to endorse male involvement. Through linking issues of race, class, and gender men were able to find value in the struggles of women as they too could identify with other forms of oppression (Crenshaw, 1991). The exposure of having a family member or friend experience gender-based violence was found as a motivating factor, including the stories of survivors. These stories deepened the personal connection men have to join in prevention efforts (Casey et al., 2017). Casey et al., (2018) developed a conceptual model to engage men in gender-based violence prevention over a period of time, this model is shown in Figure 1.2 below.

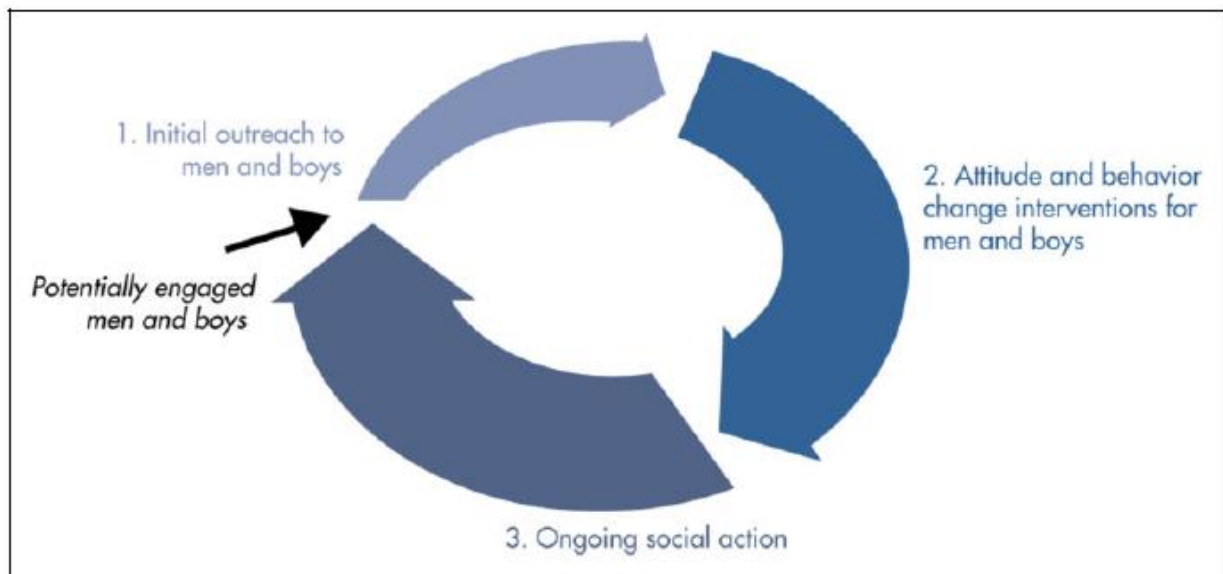


Figure 1.2 - Domains of men’s engagement in gender-based violence prevention: A conceptual model. (Casey et al., 2018)

The three domains depicted in the figure can be applied to the engagement of men and boys in policy over a long-term period. Domain 1 highlights the introductory level measures that can be taken to reach men and boys to get involved in prevent intervention, the measures range from recruitment through social networks on an individual basis or through community role models, recruitment through cultural

or context-specific methods, such as engagements at cultural events, taverns, schools, and even protest marches. Additionally, recruitment can take the form of outreach through personal or emotional connection based on exposure to or experience of gender-based violence and recruitment through positively approaching men as partners rather than potential perpetrators. Domain 2 focuses on transforming patriarchal ideologies in men and boys and encouraging positive masculine identities (Daoud et al., 2022). Domain 3 is a long-term intervention at a broader level, this domain advocates for engagement with community and traditional leaders who are mostly men, who can influence and take responsibility to roll out prevention strategies. This conceptual model can be applied to national policy at the engagement level of policy stakeholders, specifically men, and boys.

The literature indicates that there are prevention strategies to combat gender-based violence involving men in Africa which is the conceptual model developed by Casey et al., (2018) (Carlson et al., 2015). Conserve et al., (2018) provided an example of recruiting through social networks by leveraging highly influential young people in high-risk HIV-positive communities in Dar Salaam, Tanzania. They used the community role model recruitment approach to change the attitudes of men and boys when coming to testing their HIV status and also their attitudes around transmitting the disease to their intimate partners. Locally, Kaeflein (2013) conducted a study of the positive role men can assume in prevention interventions, by studying the perceptions of men involved in a gender-based violence prevention program conducted by Sonke Gender Justice at Alexandra Township, in Johannesburg. The study found that, although gender-based violence programs have been successful with perpetrators in other international countries, local grassroots-level behavioural change interventions were lacking in including men as role players.

2.8.1 Masculinities and Heterosexual Male Perpetrators

A large body of literature links the perpetration of gender-based violence to heterosexual male masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell et al., 2012; Anderson & McCormack, 2016; Graaff & Heineken, 2017; Messerschmidt, 2019; Barlett & Ricciardelli, 2022; Ratele, 2022). Scholarship around the topic of masculinity is widespread and interdisciplinary. Database searches on Scopus and the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) online Library search engines produce over 30 000 per reviewed scholarly articles respectively, apart from the books that have been constructed around the topic. Notwithstanding this, concepts such as hegemonic masculinity are notable foundations of the study on masculinities. According to McCarry (2010), hegemonic masculinity is the current arrangement of gender practices that guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women within a society. Hegemonic masculinity can be described as the common

ideology which is most favoured in a patriarchal social context. For example, a desired form of hegemonic masculinity for most heterosexual men is to drive the latest sports car, have a high-earning career that can afford for them to live in a mansion within a gated community, be in a relationship with a beautiful woman or having a trophy wife, and being accepted into masculinised groups or boys' clubs (Langa et. al., 2018). Hegemonic masculinities are context-specific, and can be limited to a very small region or group; others are more widespread and circulated through mass media (McCarry, 2010). Hegemonic masculinities can differ across societies, although some aspects are universally common. Peacock (2013) discusses three main universal characteristics of hegemonic masculinities, arguing that in most cultures' heterosexual men are the primary breadwinners or providers in a family. Secondly, men are assumed to have an avid sex drive and thirdly, men are expected to display physical strength or toughness, which can include using violence to control others. The abovementioned factors tend to encourage male perpetration of gendered violence, justifying violent behaviour as a manner of maintaining the identity and rightful dominance over females and those more vulnerable in society. The emphasis on aggression and violence can also lead to the development of hypermasculinity in heterosexual males. According to Peacock (2013), hypermasculinities have two main characteristics, the belief that danger is exciting and the viewpoint that violence is a socially acceptable way to express power. These characteristics increase the likelihood of heterosexual males perpetrating gender-based violence against both women and children and other men (Graaff & Heineken, 2017).

Raewyn Connell, a leading theorist on masculinities, defined hegemonic masculinity as a form of masculinity that legitimises patriarchy and is constructed relative to other minor masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2019). Connell's concept argued that hegemonic masculinities came into existence due to historical circumstances and constantly evolve. In this case, hegemonic masculinity is constructed by four non-hegemonic (minor) masculinities; complicit masculinities, subordinate masculinities; marginalised masculinities, and protest masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2019). The hierarchal composition of these masculinities varies as gender relations evolve in specific social contexts. The development of the inclusive masculinity theory is linked to subordinate masculinities related to homosexual males. Inclusive masculinity theory (IMT) includes discussions on the gender characteristics of homosexual or queer men and their relation to hegemonic masculinity and marginalised masculinities in a given social context (Anderson & McCormack, 2016).

Morrell et al., (2012) deviated from the use of hegemonic masculinity being the existence of one dominant form of masculinity to describe three forms of dominant masculine identities in heterosexual men during the apartheid South Africa era. Morrell (1994, 1998, 2001) postulated that white masculinity (complicit masculinity); represented the economic and political dominance of the white

ruling elite males, African masculinity (marginalised masculinity); represented marginalised male power in traditional institutions, and black masculinity (protest masculinity); represented male marginalised power in urban townships populated by African heterosexual males. Marginalised and protest masculinities during the apartheid era identified with the oppressed Indian, coloured, and black racial groups. Biko (1978) writing on black consciousness touched on the complex nature of black masculinity during apartheid. He postulated the following;

"the black man we have today has lost his manhood. Reduced to an obliging shell, he looks with awe at the white power structure and accepts what he regards as the inevitable position. Deep inside him, his anger mounts at the accumulating insult, but he averts it in the wrong direction – on his fellow black man in the township, on the property of black people . . . All in all, the black man has become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated and drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity" (Biko, 1978: 30-31).

Biko's thinking around black masculinities (inclusive of Indian and coloured males) was in the era of white male political and economic masculine hegemony. In contemporary South Africa, certain transformations have occurred amongst black masculinities, due to political freedom and a small portion of the previously disadvantaged black populations attaining middle-class status (Mbembe, 2008). However, black masculinities remain peripheral, as the contestation for hegemony masculinity continues to be constructed based on racial identity and economic status (Ratele, 2022). Hegemonic masculinities have also evolved through the change in regimes and political leadership in the country. Morrell et al., (2012) highlight the evolution of masculine identities through the leadership of former President Mandela, Mbeki, and Zuma and the influences of former ANC youth leader Julius Malema. These administrations have influenced masculine identities, instilling hegemony at a given time. The Mandela era was characterised by heroic forms of masculine identity, coupled with a quest for more gender-equal ideas. However, that era was short-lived, subsequently leading to the Mbeki era which was characterised by increasing socio-economic challenges in health and the economy. These circumstances created an identity vacuum for those seeking an ideology to guide male power and practices, following Mandela's exit from office, as most rejected Mbeki's masculine ideals. At that time many were eager for a new figure that could represent the ideals of the ordinary man on the street. The introduction of the Zuma era brought about critical debates on his masculine ideals on how this influenced many around the country. Morrell et al., (2012) described the Zuma era as possessing heterosexist, patriarchal, violent masculine ideals which had links to cultures of rape and polygamy. Youth masculinity in the form of the use of brute strength to attain power and wealth was introduced by Julius Malema and gained popularity among working-class males. The Zuma and Malema eras ran parallel to one another, these masculine ideals had an influence on the perpetuation of cultures of

gendered violence and violence on a broader scale, further entrenching patriarchal ideology in state institutions. During this era, it is argued that gender equity policies were not promoted, as they were viewed as anti-African policies that would take power away from males (Ratele, 2022). The above illustrates the transition of hegemonic masculine ideals through the lens of previous ANC leadership in democratic South Africa. It describes, as previously mentioned, the context-specific, flexible, and ever-evolving nature of hegemonic masculinities.

A critical analysis of the relationship between masculinity and racial identity, through the case study of the Oscar Pistorius trial provides insights into understanding masculinities in a racialised society. The Oscar Pistorius trial was a femicide trial, where the former para-Olympian was accused of shooting and murdering his girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp on 14 February 2013. He was convicted of culpable homicide and additional charges of discharging a firearm in a public space. (Langa et al., 2018). When discussing the identity of the common perpetrator, the black man is often viewed as the perpetrator of violence in South African discourse around crime and violence. Black men, mostly young black men, are disproportionately involved in some form of violence both as perpetrators and victims (van Niekerk et al., 2015). Langa et. al., (2018) looked at the distinction of heterosexual male masculinities on racial lines, between the white and black races, arguing that black masculinities continue to be perceived as more violent and dangerous. In the Oscar Pistorius trial, the defense argued that Oscar did not intentionally shoot his late girlfriend Reeva Steenkamp through the closed toilet door, rather he shot in self-defence against the intruder he believed was in the house at that time. This is despite his previous track record of abusiveness in past relationships and reckless behaviour with firearms. The defence's argument fuelled discourse around the identity of the supposed intruder behind the door with most connotations linking to it being "*the darkie behind the door*" (Langa et. al., 2018: 500). These discoveries brought to light deeply held beliefs around black and African masculinity and further entrenching prevalent stereotypes between black masculinities and violent crime. It showed a lack of transformation in public viewpoints surrounding black masculinities as the trope "*the black man is always a suspect*" was evident in the trial, although not implicitly stated (Langa et. al., 2018).

Langa (2010) conducted a study in Alexandra township which found an alternative narrative to commonly held views on black masculinities. The study found that not all young black men embrace violent masculine identities, instead promotes the need for school or education to move out of violent environments and peaceful, non-risk-taking practices. Gender discourses have been exclusionary in discussing the plight of black men's experiences regarding issues of development and poverty in comparison to their female counterparts (Dube, 2019). Discussions on these challenges can shape new thinking on how to tackle the challenge of black heterosexual male perpetration of gendered violence

through policy and programs. For the purposes of the research, heterosexual male perpetrators are described and categorised as heterosexual men/males from various races and social statuses who have perpetrated violence based on gendered lines. These men assume positions and status in private and public life. Some have been criminally convicted of gender-based violence, whilst others have not.

The socialisation process men go through during their lives may contribute to levels of gender-based violence in their communities. (Graaff & Heineken, 2017). Baldasare (2012) applying an ecological viewpoint discusses individual-level factors that increase the probability of heterosexual males being a perpetrator of gender-based violence. These factors are namely; biological, demographic, and psychological that stem from the family and community environment. Carton & Morrell (2012) provide a counter-argument to the widespread knowledge of heterosexual male masculinities. They discuss the concept of stick fighting in the Zulu nation as a beneficial practice for the socialisation of men and boys. In Zulu masculinities, the culture of stick fighting can be used as a method of training men and boys to show restraint from violence and respect for women at the adolescent level. A contrasting argument from the idea of viewing Zulu men as "bloodthirsty fighters" (Carton & Morrell, 2012: 35). This practice can also be viewed as a form of positive masculinity, a response to negative hyper masculinities by applying a robust form of masculinity (Daoud et al., 2022).

Allen & Bradley (2018) add an interesting outlook regarding male violence against women and female violence against men, stating that "*real-world experiences of men's physical advantage generated increased fear of male perpetrators*" (Allen & Bradley, 2018:338). They found that male perpetrators of violence were viewed as more frightening, due to differences in physical strength between male and female perpetrators. The above draws implications for policy and policy formulation, and how gender stereotypes and perceptions of gender come into play when formulating policy. There is research indicating that young men who adhere to masculine norms are highly likely to perpetrate violence at a later stage (Willie et.al, 2018). Wigglesworth et, al, (2015) summarised research conducted on attitudes and perceptions of young men toward gender relations and gender-based violence in the Asian-Pacific country of Timor-Leste. The outcome of the research was that attitudes of a gender inequitable nature grow with age and that greater gender equality education at a later stage does not produce a considerable impact. This emphasises the socio-ecological need to influence young men's attitudes to gender equity at earlier life stages.

2.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theory is a form of scientific inquiry that attempts to explain the social world (van der Walddt, 2017 & Collins 2019). Collins (2019:27) simply defines theories as “*interpretations for how and why things are the way they are as well as what they might or might not become*”. Public governance, public administration, and management studies are interdisciplinary fields of study that include various subjects such as governance, political, economic, legal, and social sciences. Historically, theories related to gender and violence were primarily located within the psychology and social services disciplines with less focus given from a public administration and political science perspective. In the early 1990s, there was increased development of theories related to the relationship between gender and systems of power mostly located in a political landscape (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality and the ecological framework, are theories that offer key insights regarding issues such as gender, violence, social justice, and social inequalities. These theories will form the analytical lens that will frame this qualitative inquiry. These theories will shape understating around the intersecting ecological factors at play which inform policy and the policy stakeholders who passively and actively influence gender-based violence policy decisions.

2.9.1 Intersectionality as a critical social theory

Intersectionality is a form of critical analysis used to address contemporary social challenges and to aid the exploration of solutions to the challenges. As a critical social theory, intersectionality is useful as it both explains and criticizes existing social inequalities, to establish new possibilities for reform (Collins, 2019). This theory warrants relevance as it allows researchers to investigate the different ways that gender overlaps and connects with race, class, and other marginalised identities (Crenshaw, 1991). These interconnected dynamics and identities play a role in the policy environment and play a role in the type of policies enacted for public benefit. The core theoretical foundation of intersectionality is that systems of power mutually construct one another (Crenshaw, 1991). This social theory has assisted in reshaping knowledge on violence in social institutions such as work, family, and government (Crenshaw, 1991). Gill (2018) advocating for an intersectional view in gender studies highlights that often missing from our research and analysis is its connection to other interlocking and mutually reinforcing systems of oppression, power, and inequity. Intersectionality can be used to research and understand the roots of violence, the barriers and resiliencies to seeking help from violence, and social responses to prevent violence and provide safety nets for survivors. Taking this into consideration, Collins (2019) is of the view that analyses of how violence and intersecting power relations are interconnected remain elusive because the characteristic forms that violence takes within racism,

colonialism, and heteropatriarchy differ. As stated in the lens of this study, intersectionality will help take a deeper look into the roots of gender-based violence. Intersect various interrelated concepts such as the family unit, topics of masculinity, the interconnectedness of race and class, and also how this affects policy, how policy is made, and who it will ultimately benefit. Intersectionality alongside the ecological framework will aid the understanding of ecological levels and hierarchal systems that inform and influence individual behaviour and can influence governance structures and the officials/policy stakeholders formulating policy.

2.9.2 Ecological framework

The ecological framework has been used as a theoretical foundation for discovering the origins of gender-based violence (Heise, 1998). According to Baldasare (2012), the causes of gender-based violence are complex, interrelated, and occur at different levels of society: individual, relationship, and community. The ecological theory emphasises how social issues are not only shaped by individual factors but the various environments people reside. This is an important theoretical guide in this research, as it guides the discovery of how both the private and public sphere affects policy and policy stakeholders (Eriksson, Ghazinour, & Hammarstro, 2018). The ecological theory will help us explain factors that determine why certain heterosexual male perpetrators are involved in the policy-making process and some are not. It will help to explain the factors which discourage or encourage the inclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the policy-making process. This process is elaborated from a multi-level analysis through the ecological framework. The ecological approach has been used in previous male gender-based violence perpetration studies. Thaler (2011) and Roller (2019) conducted studies into the social-ecological perspective of intimate-partner violence perpetrated by males. The findings of both studies stated how adopting social and local-level approaches to preventing violence will dismantle dominant male social capital goods (norms) that sustain patriarchy. Figure 1.2 depicts four levels of the ecological approach. These four ecological levels are used to understand the influence of hierarchal environmental systems on individuals. These hierarchal structures are referred to as the microsystem (the individual's direct environment); the mesosystem (an environment where the different microsystems in an individual's life interact); the ecosystem (environment affecting the individual indirectly); and the macrosystem (the cultural, social, economic and political structures which affect the individual on a larger scale) (Heise 1998; Kaeffli, 2013).

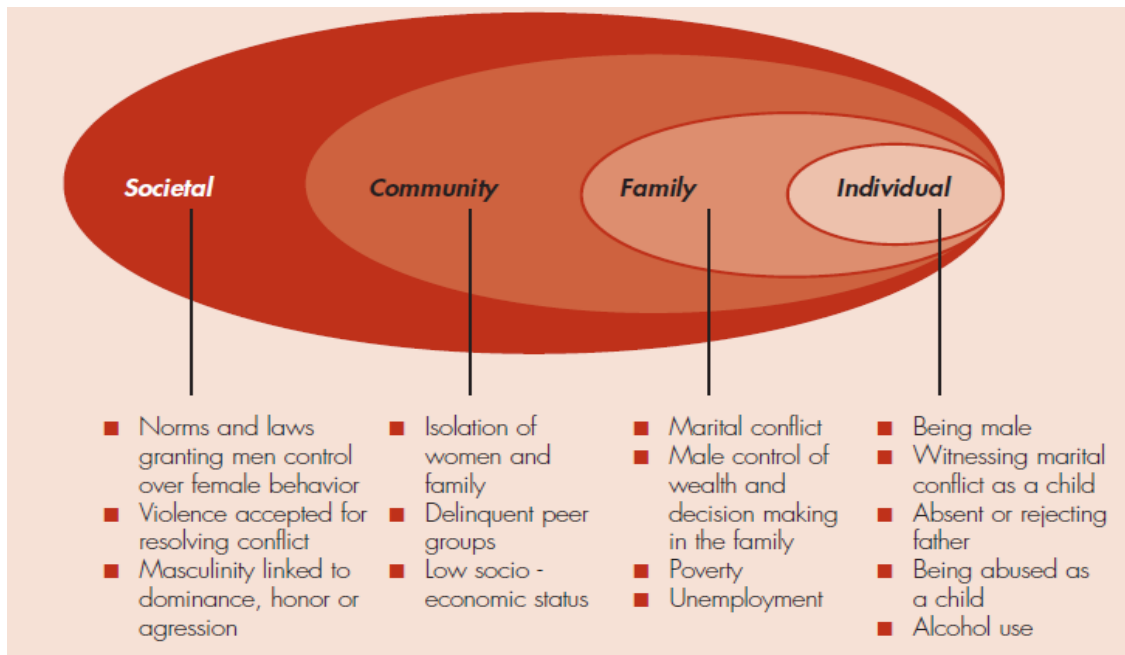


Figure 1.3 Ecological framework for explaining gender-based violence (Ellsberg & Heise, 2005)

The ecological approach to gender-based violence states that on an individual level issues of witnessing domestic abuse can influence male perpetration of violence in adulthood. It explains how nuclear family arrangements on the family level can promote domestic violence and child abuse. Patriarchal community ideologies, social relationships, and the isolation of women from friends and family are factors prevalent at the community level. While, the fourth level of the ecological approach highlights societal norms and values that play or role in either promoting or constraining an environment of violence (Heise 1998; Ellsberg & Heise, 2005; WHO, 2005).

2.10 CONCLUSION

These theories frame how intersecting power relations produce complex, interdependent social inequalities in gender (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). This proves a vital framework when exploring the attitudes of individuals, notions of identity, and the relationship between the individual and the policy environment. The ecological framework recognises that violence is a multi-layered issue that involves the intersecting roles of the individual, family, community, and social environment. Intersectionality and the ecological combine in this research to understand factors that influence policy decisions at the various ecological levels, specifically in the macrosystem where governance structures reside. According to Patterson et al.,(2017), governance refers to the institutions, rules and laws, and processes which regulate how decisions are made, share power and ensure law and order.

The activity of governance is carried out through policymaking by multiple actors such as government, industry, research, and civil society. Intersectionality and the ecological framework help explain how governance structures as well as other hierarchal structures depicted in Figure 1.3 do not operate in a vacuum, however, impact each other to influence policy stakeholders and the policy decisions undertaken. The above draws pertinent inferences to the study of the root of heterosexual males who perpetrate gender-based violence and government response to the role of these individuals in national action plans. According to Kaeflein (2013), the government should not separate the prevention of gender-based violence from other socio-political and developmental issues but rather highlight the interconnectedness of the genders and their relations within systems of social interaction. Enaifoghe (2019) recognises that "equal participation of both genders is needed to address all forms of violence in society". Risk factors for the perpetration of gendered violence have arisen in the past few years, resulting in the development of prevention interventions for men (de Villiers et al., 2021). Gender inequality has been identified as a key structural perpetration factor coupled with poverty and patriarchy, which contribute to creating an acceptance of social norms regarding violent masculinity and the use of violence against women and children (Miles, et. al., 2014). Factors relating to perpetration that are common to South African society is the legacy of apartheid linked to experiences of political violence, and breeding violent masculinities in men (de Villiers et al., 2021). Allen & Bradley (2018) add an interesting outlook regarding male violence against women and female violence against men. Stating that "real-world experiences of men's physical advantage generated increased fear of male perpetrators" (Allen & Bradley, 2018: 336). They found that male perpetrators of violence were viewed as more frightening, due to differences in physical strength between male and female perpetrators. The above draws implications for policy and policy formulation, and how gender stereotypes and perceptions of gender come into play when formulating policy. There is research indicating that young men who adhere to masculine norms are highly likely to perpetrate violence at a later stage (Willie et.al, 2018). Wigglesworth et, al, (2015) summarised research conducted on attitudes and perceptions of young men toward gender relations and gender-based violence in the Asian-Pacific country of Timor-Leste. The outcome of the research was that attitudes of a gender inequitable nature grow with age and that greater gender equality education at a later stage does not produce a considerable impact. This emphasises the socio-ecological need to influence young men's attitudes to gender equity at earlier life stages. It is vital to engage both men and young boys who identify as heterosexual including providing role models for young men and boys and supporting male role players in effective gender-based violence policy formulation. This resonates with the need for a deeper qualitative inquiry into possible policy myopia of the national strategic plan initiated by the government, civil society, and the private sector.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the following sections of the chapter the philosophical paradigm, the approach, and design guiding the research are discussed. Moreover, the research tools utilised and their application, the sample population sourced through primary and secondary data collection methods are elaborated on. A brief discussion on the approach used when analysing the data, including the reflexivity and positionality of the researcher is given. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations undertaken and the limitations discovered in the process of data collection.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM

The research is situated within the *critical/transformational* paradigm space. Kivunja & Kuyini (2017) argue that the paradigm focuses on social justice issues and seeks to transform matters that lead to social oppression and conflict. Cresswell & Creswell (1994) define this paradigm as the *advocacy participatory* paradigm, highlighting the need for social justice research to be intertwined with policy and politics. This philosophical way of thinking in research is a subsequent result of the lack of further exploration in the *interpretivist/constructivist paradigm* on issues of, *inter alia*, inequality, oppression, and domination. The principles of the research are founded on investigating the abuse of power amongst the genders and an examination of the role of policy in a society characterised by large cases of gender-based violence. Allocating the research to the *critical/transformational* paradigm is relevant to the research objective of exploring effective policy reform for gender-based violence.

3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

According to Cresswell & Creswell (1994), a qualitative research approach is conducted to explore social phenomena. Qualitative research aims to investigate, explore and describe human experiences from participant's viewpoints, in daily settings and dynamic environments (Sperling, 2022). The assumption is that there is a lack of extensive research on the topic or population being studied, therefore, the qualitative researcher engages relevant information and participants to build an understanding of the research topic. A knowledge gap exists concerning the topic of heterosexual male perpetrators within gender-based violence policy. The use of a qualitative research approach proves relevant to explore this topic through the intersectional and ecological relationship of stakeholders in the policy environment. A research design is the set-out plan of how the researcher intends to conduct the research, (Kaeflein, 2013). A combination of interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and

content analysis is utilised, as it is considered the most appropriate design enabling the researcher to explore the various facets of gender-based violence and the role of heterosexual male perpetrators in the policy. According to Braun & Clarke (2013), the main aim of an interpretive phenomenological analysis is to explore how individuals understand their lived experiences. This exploration is achieved through interpretive activity by the researcher. Bowen (2009) states that content analysis entails organising information in documents into groupings central to the aim of providing answers to the research questions. IPA incorporates the development of themes, as well as, individualised participant analyses in research (Bowen, 2009). Content analysis requires the researcher to identify pertinent information and draw out emerging themes that become the broad categories of analyses (Bowen, 2009). The combination of the two forms of qualitative analysis is advantageous in providing valid and reliable information for the research. By using the data at hand to explore the research question and bringing the data to have a bearing on the analyses being conducted.

3.4 RESEARCH TOOLS AND THEIR APPLICATION

The data collection tools used were primary and secondary data collection methods. Primary data was sourced through semi-structured interviews conducted with non-governmental organisation (NGO) representatives, policymakers, and subject-matter experts as participants. There was no direct contact with male or female survivors or perpetrators of gender-based violence. The targeted participant group comprised only subject-matter experts, policymakers in government departments, and employees or volunteers in the selected NGOs. A semi-structured interview approach to data collection when conducting interviews with the sample population was adopted (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Interview questions were developed before the interviews and tailored to each participant. Interviews were not restricted to the set of open-ended questions formulated in advance. This was to allow flexibility in the interviews, providing participants room to provide further information related to the research topic (Plowman, 1995). Face-to-face interviews and/or online interviews lasted approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration and were audio-recorded with the informed consent of participants. Interview schedules were pre-tested to determine the applicability of research questions, further enhancing the reliability and validity of the questions (Kaeflein, 2013). Secondary data was sourced through a documentary analysis method which allows the researcher to source written documents and interpret the data into relevant information (Enaifoghe, 2019). Document analysis is a process of evaluating documents to produce meaning and understanding of phenomena (Bowen, 2009). Utilising the systematic procedure of document analysis, information was organised into categories relating to the research question by discovering major themes found in the documents. Search engines such as Google, Scopus, Web of Science, and the University of Witwatersrand online library platform were utilised to

gather data from books, reports, periodicals, policy briefs, journal articles, news bulletins, official government documents, speeches, and declarations specific to the topic of gender-based violence from a global and South African context. Content analysis, discussed in section 3.3, was conducted on the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, the Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) on Gender-based Violence, and the report of the 2018 Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence. The aim of utilising content analyses was to draw out key themes from the reports that respond to the research question.

3.5 RESEARCH SAMPLING AND POPULATION

According to Etikan & Alkassim (2016), a sample is a portion of a population. A population refers to the total quantity of people, things, or cases that form the subject of the research. Purposive sampling, more specifically expert sampling, was used to select the sample population. Purposive sampling is defined as the selection of participants based on their ability to provide rich information for the research (Suri, 2011). It involves identifying and selecting participants or groups of participants based on their knowledge and experience of the research topic. The researcher utilised an existing network base to access participants relevant to the research. Moreover, participants were asked at the end of each interview, if there is a possible participant who might want to participate in the research. This formed part of the snowballing sampling strategy utilised in combination with purposive sampling. Snowball sampling is defined by the characteristics of networking and referral. It is the process of requesting willing participants to refer potential participants until the target sample size is reached, (Parker & Geddes, 2019). Referrals provided through snowball sampling adhered to the targeted sample population. Victims, survivors, and perpetrators of gender-based violence were not included in the sample population. Primary data was sourced through semi-structured interviews with experienced non-governmental organisation representatives, policymakers in government, and subject-matter experts as participants. In recruiting the sample population permission letters were sent to representatives from the following organisations; Sonke Gender Justice, Greendoor Shelter Diepsloot, Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities, and Department of Social Development. Consent forms were sent to subject matter experts for signature as approval to proceed with the research. The use of telephonic tools phone calls, text messaging, and online (email, zoom, M.S teams), and physical means (driving to locations) were applied to reach the sample population. Secondary data was sourced through the sampling of government legislation and reports from official online repositories. The documents sampled are the following; the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, the

Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) on Gender-based Violence, and the report of the 2018 Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence

3.6 PROCESS OF DATA ANALYSIS

A combination of thematic content analysis and interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used to analyse the data collected, resulting in the production of themes and broader categories (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Documentary data was analysed together with primary data from interviews. The themes that emerged have been consolidated to produce research findings. Description and interpretation of findings from both participants and reported data conformed to literature control against the existing knowledge base. The main document groupings were analysed using a process of reading the texts repeatedly and highlighting keywords words such as "men", "men and young boys", "male", and "heterosexual". Thereafter, analysing the context in which heterosexual male perpetrators were labelled, addressed, or omitted in sections relevant to their engagement in the policy documents. Moreover, all legislative, policy, and literature documents sourced were analysed deductively to identify, analyse, and interpret patterns of meaning within the data (Kumar, 2019).

Once approval to proceed with interviews was obtained, pre-interview preparation was conducted by revising semi-structured interview schedules and ensuring resources (notepad and recorder) were available for interviews. Face-to-face and/or online interviews were audio recorded and notes were taken during the course of the interviews. The post-interview analysis was conducted, by transcribing interviews, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, and writing a final analysis of research findings (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Recordings have been transcribed verbatim through Otter and MS Teams applications and are presented in the appendices section. The coding process was systematically undertaken utilising the Atlas.ti software, which is a qualitative data analysis system that assists to sort data from transcripts into codes for the researcher. The transcripts from research interviews were sorted using into codes using Atlas.ti, the software was a good tool that assisted to save time and administration of manually sorting codes and further categories into different themes, the tool assists the researcher to sort the codes developed and thereafter imports to themes to an Excel document. The themes developed are discussed in further detail in the sections that follow.

3.6.1 Reflexivity and positionality of the researcher

Reflexivity refers to the awareness of the researcher's role in qualitative research (Dowling 2006). Researchers form part of the world in which they research and consequently turn into research instruments in the data collection process (Adeagbo, 2021). According to Palaganas, et, al, (2017), it

is a means of self-introspection, to recognise how researchers, shape and are shaped by the research process and outputs. Reflexivity can be distinguished as a concept and a process. Conceptually it refers to a researcher's self-awareness in the research process. As a process reflexivity allows the researcher to be outside the research process looking in, and reflecting on their positionalities, through continual self-scrutiny whilst collecting data (Palaganas, et, al, 2017; Plowman 1995). Through continuous reflection, researchers can acknowledge the impact they and participants have on research and enable the researcher and readers of the research to better understand findings. Academics have taken to incorporating reflexivity in social sciences research due to the benefits of promoting objectivity, transparency, and legitimacy within research findings (Adeagbo, 2021). However, academics such as Savolainen et.al. (2023) argued against the use of reflexivity statements in academic work. The premise of their debate rests on the idea that reducing bias in research is not guaranteed by highlighting the details of the authors, also disclosing the information of authors undermines the impartiality of research. Reflexivity assists researchers to identify their positionality in the research process. Plowman (1995:20) states that "when I discuss positionality I refer to being a researcher that is positioned, for example, by my gender, age, ethnicity, sexual identity and class". In this case, positionality refers to a researcher's position in relation research topic under investigation based on philosophy, age, gender, sexual orientation, race, class, and life experiences. Dery (2020) highlighted how positionality is not a static process, and how race, gender, age, class, and culture both interact and intersect at different stages of the research process in fieldwork. These interactions can be noted when investigating the outsider and insider concept, where the outsider theory relates to how a researcher during fieldwork can be seen as either an outsider or insider by participants due to certain characteristics they possess. The outsider/insider doctrine is influenced by the researcher's positionality (Adeagbo, 2021). The researcher applied a reflexive approach to research in fieldwork and literature. Utilising a reflexive notepad as a tool to highlight subjectivities during research interviews, to assist in using an objective approach when collecting data from participants, and when developing codes that built up into main concepts or themes. This was a continuous task that involved increased mindfulness and self-correction (Kaefflein, 2013). The researcher also used a research notepad, which included what participants did or said during the interviews that may have evoked emotion or triggered contrasting views in the researcher. This process assisted to update research schedules to incorporate open-ended questions in the process of data collection, promoting questions that were linked to the research question. For example, question 2 in the interview schedule for representatives from Sonke Gender Justice was updated. The question read: *what measures have been introduced to include heterosexual males as role players in organisational policy and what has been the feedback from men?* And was further updated to read: *what role does Sonke Gender Justice play in terms of gender-based violence heterosexual male*

engagement in gender-based violence policy? Moreover, when highlighting issues of positionality, the researcher identifies as a Black African heterosexual female, with an educational background in public administration, finance, and political science. Multiple positionalities of the researcher arose in fieldwork, as the researcher needed to negotiate the outsider identity when contacting government departments and non-governmental organisations to gain approval to conduct research within the institutions. Participants were sent the participant information sheet before semi-structured interviews were conducted, this gave participants time to read and understand the research being investigated. The title of the project triggered sensitivities within some participants and affected how they answered questions. The researcher's ability to speak in multiple African languages came into play within the research process as one of the participants responded to most questions posed in Southern Sotho. This also required extensive time translating the transcripts into English before coding the data from the interview. The above-mentioned ideas surrounding positionality are important to note, as they hold significance to understanding the researcher's voice and presence within the body of text (Nencel, 2014).

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics refers to the evaluation of the action, making a judgment on what is right or wrong, good or bad relative to the guidelines or rules set (Knight, 2023). Ethical research entails the conduct of the researcher in fieldwork, when engaging participants, literature, and the broader society at large (Braun & Clarke, 2013). For researchers or post-graduate students to begin a research project, they need to pass ethical clearance, this is to ensure that the research that is being explored is of high ethical standards and will not cause harm. Knight (2023) states that the ethical clearance process is a key tool to allow the researcher to develop an understanding of the importance of ethical issues in research, and should not be used as a "tick-box" exercise. The research was given ethical approval to proceed beyond the proposal stage by the Wits School of Governance Human Research Ethics Committee. The researcher participated in a research ethics training course for non-medical human research during the development of the report and received a certificate of competence in research ethics from the university.

The research guards against misconduct, discrimination, and protection against harm to research participants, and prior consent of the participants was sought. Ethical considerations were also given to collecting data from secondary sources by ensuring that the information gathered was not plagiarised. According to Kumar (2004), plagiarism is using another author's work, claiming that it is yours. The research protocol was developed and submitted to the Wits School of Governance Human

Research Ethics Committee for review, to ensure that participants and the researcher are protected and rights are upheld in the process of conducting research. Institutional approval letters were sought and received from government departments, and non-governmental organisations before proceeding with interviews. In the case of individual participants who participated in the research as subject-matter experts, consent forms were signed by participants to confirm agreement to partake in the research. The participant information sheet outlined the objectives and purpose of the research to ensure clear understanding from participants. Research participants were allowed to withdraw their participation at any point in their participation. Approval letters and consent forms ensured the researcher strictly adhered to the rules and regulations of ethical research. The raw data collected from participants is stored in a password-encrypted personal computer which can only be accessed through a passcode, which is only known by the researcher. Due to the sensitivity related to the research topic, if a participant became distressed during an interview, the distress protocol was as follows; firstly, the researcher would immediately stop the interview and audio-recording. Secondly, the researcher would make the participant aware of the national Gender-based Violence toll-free number (0800 428 428) or please call me line *120* 7867# to access advanced counselling services from a social worker.

3.7.1 Confidentiality and anonymity of data

According to Braun & Clarke (2013), anonymising data refers to the act of removing or changing information that could identify a research participant. Anonymity is not guaranteed in the research; however, the names of the participants were not included in the research. The participants were made aware that their real names would not be included in the research, although, confidentiality could not be guaranteed due to certain identifying data being included. The roles/positions and organisations in which participants were represented in the research interviews are provided and have not been given pseudonyms.

3.8 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Limitations to research according to Kumar (2004) vary from the access and availability to data, securing permission to carry out studies at institutions, and budgetary constraints. It is important to also communicate the limitations that have an effect on the validity of conclusions and generalisations in research findings (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The following limitations were found in the data collection and analysis stage. At the stage of semi-structured interviews with the targeted sample population and when commencing with transcriptions of interviews and coding.

3.8.1 Data collection

In terms of collecting primary data through semi-structured interviews, the willingness of targeted participants to take part in the research posed a delay to the research. Receiving institutional approval from key government departments and non-governmental organisations proved challenging, as continual follow-up requests needed to be submitted to ultimately receive approval letters. There were instances where participants continually postponed. One targeted participant declined to be interviewed stating that previous research studies of this nature proved futile in providing feedback to research participants on the outcome of the research. Whilst, other research participants were non-responsive, further delaying the completion of the research and the sample population size.

3.8.2 Transcription of interviews

Microsoft Teams and Otter applications for transcribing interviews provided limitations in that it does not transcribe indigenous African languages. The researcher needed to process transcription through the application, then type out the indigenous words spoken in the audio recordings verbatim, this being a time-consuming and tedious task. One of the participants experienced internet connectivity issues during the virtual interview, posing a challenge when transcribing.

3.8.3 Sample size

Local government stakeholders were not included in the sample size or interviewed, so we can't get into the detailed crux, this was a national-level intervention.

3.8.4 Participants

The limitation of participants sharing their full views due to them becoming afraid of management knowing their views, most participants spoke from an organisational perspective more than their personal views.

4. PRESENTATION OF REPORTS AND THEMES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the main reports and themes based on the data collected in response to the research purpose and question. The themes which emerged in the process of both primary and secondary data collection are listed below. Table 1.2 lists the participants who voluntarily participated in semi-structured interviews. Further discussion and analyses of the themes derived through data collection are discussed in succeeding chapters.

4.2 THEMES FROM NATIONAL GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE REPORTS

The following reports are relevant to gender-based violence and femicide national policy in the research;

- 4.2.1 The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide
- 4.2.2 Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) on Gender-based Violence and Femicide
- 4.2.3 National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide

4.3. THEMES IDENTIFIED IN DATA COLLECTION FROM INTERVIEWS:

The themes identified in the research were developed through a method of coding the data collected from semi-structured interviews. The themes comprise sub-themes and all the themes assist in responding to the research question. Table 1.2 below outlines the key themes and associated sub-themes.

Table 1.2 Themes and Sub-themes

| Themes | Sub-themes |
|---|---|
| Stakeholders | Consultations |
| | Holistic Approach |
| Labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators | |
| Policy in a Patriarchal State | Policy gaps |
| Feminist Approach | Issue for women and should be solved by women |
| | Victim vs Perpetrator in policymaking |
| | New transformative ways to include heterosexual male perpetrators |

Table 1.3 below lists the 15 participants who engaged in semi-structured interviews in their various categories. These participants provided relevant information, as subject matter experts, representatives of non-governmental organisations, and government, each participant was chosen based on their expertise, experience, and role in gender-based violence and femicide policy formulation and implementation. Key participants who were involved in the formulation of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide and have participated in both the Presidential Summits of 2018 and 2022, were namely; participants 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15.

Table 1.3 Participant Table

| Participant | Organisation | Gender |
|--------------------|--|---------------|
| Participant 1 | Sonke Gender Justice | Female |
| Participant 2 | Green Door Shelter | Male |
| Participant 3 | Sonke Gender Justice | Female |
| Participant 4 | Subject Matter Expert | Female |
| Participant 5 | Sonke Gender Justice | Female |
| Participant 6 | Sonke Gender Justice | Male |
| Participant 7 | Department of Social Development | Male |
| Participant 8 | Subject Matter Expert | Male |
| Participant 9 | Department of Social Development | Female |
| Participant 10 | Department of Social Development | Male |
| Participant 11 | Subject Matter Expert | Male |
| Participant 12 | Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities | Male |
| Participant 13 | Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities | Male |
| Participant 14 | Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities | Female |
| Participant 15 | Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities | Female |

4.3 CONCLUSION

The main themes derived from primary and secondary data collection processes are outlined and listed in the abovementioned sections of the chapter. Table 1.2 above aimed to depict the range of participants involved in the research. Detailed discussions on each theme from both primary and secondary data and associated sub-theme is provided in the succeeding chapter 5.

5. DISCUSSION OF REPORTS AND THEMES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses the primary and secondary data collected through thematic document analyses of the reports and semi-structured interviews. The themes which emerged are discussed based on the prevalence of the mention of heterosexual male perpetrators, the labelling of these subjects within the text, and the role played by these stakeholders in policymaking. The discussion on the themes is substantiated by arguments sourced in scholarly literature and included in the themes and subthemes are standard quotes from participants. The key themes are adapted to the ecological and intersectional approach and sensemaking strategies are used in the analyses to draw out relevant information from the data (Juntunen & Lehenkari, 2019).

5.2 THEMES IN NATIONAL GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE REPORTS

In the following sections, a discussion of the main reports relevant to gender-based violence national policy is presented. These reports represent the secondary data analyses for the research. The policy documents were produced based on a series of events, therefore, follow a specific timeline in the build-up to the development of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence. The analysis begins with the 2018 Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence. Followed by the Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) on Gender-based Violence and finally, the analysis concludes with the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence concerning the role played by heterosexual male perpetrators in the policy.

Before 2018, there were policy initiatives by the government focusing on gender-based violence, such as the Gender Equality Bill of 2000 and South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality of 2000 (Meyiwa, et.al; 2017). There were other policy interventions by the government to curb gender-based violence, however, the policy initiatives were not as notable, content-specific, and proved less fruitful years after the enactment of the abovementioned legislation (Commission of Gender Equality; 2020). Naidoo (2021) highlights the National Policy Guidelines for Victim Empowerment (NPGVEP) and the National Policy Framework: Management of Sexual Offence Matters as policy attempts to strengthen pieces of legislation aimed at curbing gender-based violence before 2018. These initiatives were previously developed to ensure coordination between government departments and civil society to assist victims and survivors of gender-based violence. The National Policy Framework: Management of Sexual Offence Matters

made inroads in allowing for the creation of the national sex offenders register (Naidoo, 2021). Despite these aforementioned attempts, public outcry followed due to the increasing awareness of gender-based violence cases in the country, leading government to respond in the form of the reports discussed in the following sections.

Thematic analysis of each of the reports was conducted to identify and examine pertinent themes (van Niekerk et al., 2015). The reports were drafted based on a thematic approach with the following themes recurrent in the body of the text: "*access to justice for victims and survivors; changing norms and behaviours through high-level prevention efforts; urgent response to victims and survivors of gender-based violence; strengthening accountability and architecture for an adequate response to gender-based violence and femicide and interventions for women's economic empowerment*" (Commission of Gender Equality; 2020).

5.2.1 The Report of the Presidential Summit against Gender-based Violence and Femicide - 2018:

The report on the presidential summit of 2018 can be identified as the government's initial policy document that incorporated the demands of multiple stakeholders regarding the gender-based violence societal challenge in recent years. The 2018 presidential summit was a response to the nationwide #TheTotalShutdown marches on 1 August 2018, where stakeholders demanded an end to male violence against women, children, and LGBTQIA+ communities (Bashonga, 2021). The feminist groups marching submitted memoranda totalling 24 demands ranging from tougher legislation holding perpetrators accountable, public awareness campaigns to help curb the violence, and the establishment of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, at that time dubbed, a collective "Plan of Action" (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2018). The approach to the summit was survivor centred, the stakeholders included were civil society organisations, government, business communities, traditional leaders and healers, subject-matter experts, religious leaders, persons with disabilities, members of the LGBTQIA+ community, survivors of gender-based violence, activists, women, academics, and the media (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2018). No specific mention is made of the involvement of men or more specifically, heterosexual male perpetrators in the discussions of the summit. The summit aimed to give voice to survivors due to the view that male voices dominate decision-making platforms, such as courts, government departments, and media houses (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2018). The ERAP on Gender-based Violence and National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence emanate from the agreements of the report.

5.2.2 Emergency Response Action Plan (ERAP) on Gender-based Violence and Femicide:

The ERAP on Gender-based Violence and Femicide came into effect between the period of October 2019 and March 2020. The plan was a six months action response plan to the organised protests which took place at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) in Sandton on 13 September 2019 due to further increases in gender-based violence cases in the country (Kubheka, 2019). Concerning the prevalence of the mention of heterosexual male perpetrators, these subjects are named men within the body of text. The plan acknowledges that gender-based violence is being imposed on women by men. Further, highlights the need for a change in norms and attitudes that encourage patriarchy and toxic masculinities. The practical interventions in line with changing norms and behaviours of men and boys were namely; a mass media campaign in all public life that targeted male groups, male offenders in prisons, and youth at risk of perpetrating violence. The DWYPD introduced the 365 days campaign against gender-based violence in partnership with private sector businesses and civil society organisations. The ERAP covered five key areas of intervention discussed in the abovementioned section 5.2, *access to justice for victims and survivors; changing norms and behaviours through high-level prevention efforts; urgent response to victims and survivors of gender-based violence; strengthening accountability and architecture for an adequate response to gender-based violence and femicide and interventions for women's economic empowerment* (The Presidency, 2018). This followed the thematic areas covered within the 2018 report of the presidential summit on gender-based violence. Subsequently, the National Strategic Plan on GBVF expanded on the strategic areas listed within the ERAP.

5.2.3 National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide (GBVF):

The National Strategic Plan on GBVF is a multi-stakeholder policy initiative aimed at resolving the gender-based violence societal challenge by government, civil society, business, and private stakeholders. It has been described as a multi-sectorial policy framework that aims to create economic opportunities for women, widen access to justice services for vulnerable groups and streamline funds to the network of sexual offenses courts and government rape care centres termed Thuthuzela Care Centres (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The plan provides a list of the targeted groups that will be assisted, with a vision of creating a South Africa free of gender-based violence, directed at women, children, disabled individuals, rural citizens, and LGBTQIA+ persons (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The report states that the scope and approach are directed towards focusing on "*all women and at the same time the disproportionate impact on women, children and LGBTQIA+ persons marginalised by race, class,*

geography, age and ableism” (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The report further outlines the target groups to which the policy aims to assist, whilst mentioning men and boys, amongst others as the target groups for the work towards transforming norms and values which produce gender-based violence (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020). The plan is categorised into six strategic pillars, each pillar has a set of desired outcomes and is spearheaded by a coordinated team of organisations or government departments to ensure accountability and coordination in the roll-out (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020).

The pillars consist of the following themes:

(a) Pillar 1: Accountability, Coordination, and Leadership:

The desired outcome of this pillar is to ensure political, administrative, and societal leaders involved in the implementation of the plan commit the strategic, technical, and financial resources required within the 5-year target achievement of the plan.

(b) Pillar 2: Prevention and Rebuilding Social Cohesion:

Pillar two aims to decrease the number of cases of gender-based violence through focused prevention programs that target communities. The pillar refers to the root causes of gender-based violence being issues of toxic masculinities detailed in section 2.8.1, the exposure to violence at an early age of human development referenced in section 2.9.2, substance abuse; adverse socio-economic conditions, and the existence of patriarchy in the state. The approach does include the measure to *“address the drivers of gender-based violence, particularly the inequality arising from the sex and gender superiority enjoyed by cisgender heterosexual men - who in turn practice, produce and reinforce toxic masculinities”* (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020:46). The assumption is made within the plan that men are open to participating in programs that challenge and disrupt their power and open them to individual and broader social change.

(c) Pillar 3: Protection, Safety, and Justice:

This pillar focuses on the criminal justice system concerning the response to gender-based violence cases. It aims to ensure justice, safety, and protection for victims of gender-based violence through legislative policies, national and regional infrastructure within the South African Police Services (SAPS), and magistrate courts. The main objectives are to clear up the backlog in DNA samples at forensic laboratories associated with gender-based violence sexual offenses cases and establishment of Sexual Offenses Courts with full staff capacity and victim centred services. This pillar is victim-focused, with no mention of the perpetrator, specifically heterosexual male perpetrators.

(d) Pillar 4: Response, Care, Support, and Healing:

Pillar four applies a survivor-centric approach to improving the capacity of government departments, such as DWPD and DSD, and NGOs in responding to and supporting survivors of gender-based violence. The assumption is that there is a current bias that favours perpetrators in society with gender-based violence cases. These are mentioned in section 4.43 of the report, strategic areas of intervention in the NSP. The pillar aims to provide victims, over the next five years, with psychosocial, material, and other support.

(e) Pillar 5: Economic Power:

This pillar takes on a transformative approach towards eliminating the structural economic drivers of gender-based violence through policy programs to improve gender equity, provide access to employment for women and LGBTQIA+ communities and provide improved access to housing and land to these targeted groups. Ensuring a decrease in chances of experiencing forms of gender-based violence through their financial independence. The stakeholders spearheading this pillar are located in the business, private sector role players, civil society, and government departments.

(f) Pillar 6: Research and Information Systems

The sixth and final pillar sets out to seek further insights into the nature and scope of gender-based violence and femicide. The aim is to ensure that the research information gathered from academia, think tank organisations, and global evidence will allow the development of informed policymaking. A key strategic area in this pillar is the deep exploration of violent masculinities and the specific interventions with children and boys.

Concerning the *prevalent mention of heterosexual male perpetrators*, these subjects are named men within the body of the text of the report. The term men/male in the plan is mentioned forty-seven (47) times as compared to the term woman/female mentioned three hundred and fifty-seven (357) times in the body of text. The exception is in the mentioning of transgender men, as mentioned on page 38 section 3.2 (G). In the forty-seven (47) times men are mentioned the approach is towards explaining the adverse effect of male violence against women, children, and LGBTQIA+ persons. Each of the above-mentioned pillars outlines certain assumptions that guide the strategic areas for each pillar. Pillar two, prevention and rebuilding of social cohesion, assumes that men are open to participating in programs that challenge and disrupt their power and open them to individual and broader social change. The limited reference of heterosexual male perpetrators is a phenomenon described by van Niekerk et al., (2015) as a challenge in legislative policy documents. This leads to a skewed engagement with

these stakeholders in gender-based violence policy. This limitation also provides for misinterpretations of who are the perpetrators of violence and gender-based violence and femicide in South Africa. As mentioned in section 2.8.1 black masculine identities have been stereotyped and tropes such as “*the black man is always a suspect*” (Langa et. al., 2018) remain intact within the fabric of the nation. This creates gender discourses that are exclusionary in discussing the plight of black men’s experiences regarding issues of development and poverty. New thinking on how to tackle the root causes of heterosexual male perpetration of gendered violence through policy and programs is required. In terms of *consultations*, the National Strategic Plan does highlight that consultations were held in all provinces in the country. The consultations included the following stakeholders, young and old individuals, children, labour organisations, faith-based organisations, political parties and government departments. There is a lack of indication as to whether heterosexual male perpetrators in question were given a platform in the consultation processes leading to the build-up of the policy.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF THEMES FROM INTERVIEWS

The key themes from semi-structured interviews with key participants from Green Door shelter, the Department of Social Development (DSD), the Department for Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities (DWYPD), Sonke Gender Justice (SGJ) and various subject matter experts are discussed in the following sections. The interviews represent the primary data analysed for the research. The key themes are adapted to the intersectionality theory and ecological approach based on the insights and experiences of research participants. The traditional approach to discussing findings is followed, displaying verbatim quotations of transcribed data and supporting the data with relevant literature (Burnard et al., 2008). The responses of the participants are shown through the use of italics to indicate that the perspectives and insights of participants were analysed comprehensively (Neuman, 2000). For the purposes of responding to the research question, research participants were asked questions in relation to the mention and approach given to heterosexual male perpetrators in the formulation of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence. Additionally, arguments, counter-arguments in the data, and relevant literature are covered (Juntunen & Lehenkari, 2019). The themes derived from the data are divided into the following categories:

5.3.1 Stakeholder Engagement of heterosexual male perpetrators

There are various definitions describing the term stakeholders in theory, Friedman and Miles (2006) described about 55 definitions of the concept. Applied to public policy, stakeholders refer to individuals or organised groups with a vested interest in a particular topic or issue on the policymaking agenda

(Teder & Kaimre, 2018). Stakeholders are non-state actors described in section 2.7.1, elected public officials, subject matter experts, those directly affected or affecting policy, and normal citizens (Maier et al., 2014). They can also include civil society organisation and political parties in the public arena with a vested interest in the policy issue. As depicted in Table 1.1 and highlighted in section 2.7.1 policy stakeholders participate in the public policymaking process through various dimensions. These dimensions can be used as a criterion to analyse the involvement of key stakeholders. According to Kaeffli (2013), the role and involvement of men as stakeholders in policy solutions for gender-based violence have in most parts been ignored. There is a growing awareness, however, that gender-based violence cannot be addressed in an isolated approach. The ecological and intersectional theoretical framework assists the understanding of involving all stakeholders in curbing gender-based violence. As violence stems from the individual and extends to the family, community, and society levels, the policymaking environment needs to respond to these intersecting levels by including all stakeholders and contributors; policymakers, victims, survivors, and perpetrators (Heise 1998; Kaeffli, 2013). In terms of the South African policy response to involving all stakeholders in the formulation of national gender-based violence policy majority of participants agreed that all stakeholders including, men, young boys, and heterosexual male perpetrators should be involved. The following participants highlighted this stating:

“There's been a realisation, even by policymakers and decision-makers that issues of domestic violence, I mean issues of gender-based violence, needs the engagement of every stakeholder... There is now a recognition that we do need to bring every stakeholder on board, which includes the perpetrator.” (Participant 1 – SGJ)

“Everyone is needed to play their part to see how we can eradicate gender-based violence. Cause if we look at it from one side, the side of the women, and not the side of men, we won't win the fight.” (Participant 2 – Green Door Shelter)

Regarding the actual policy approach to including heterosexual male perpetrators as active stakeholders in the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, contrasting views from participants were found. Participants mentioned the inclusion of these stakeholders in prevention strategies. Engagement in prevention strategies such as programs, dialogues, and workshops has been widely discussed in scholarship, however, there is limited information on engagement with heterosexual male perpetrators in policy formulation (Carlson et al., 2015; van Niekerk et al., 2015; Tolman et al., 2019).

“So, when it comes to men, I would say yes, we do interact with them. We've had dialogues...” (Participant 7 – DSD)

"One very obvious mechanism would have been like, you know, holding workshops across, trying to address which will be mainly women, youth, and persons with disability. Now when we talk about the youth, it's obviously inclusive of both male and female counterparts. (Participant 12 – DWYPD)

Two participants provided a contrasting view on the stakeholder focus of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF stating the following;

"I think like I say that the NSP is specifically focusing on the victim, but we need to have some kind of, uhm, let's say a strategy, that would be inclusive, because for me, it's pointless. Focusing on one part and not addressing it is because we keep on saying that we can talk about victims without addressing or address issues of victims without the cause. Yeah, because perpetrators need to, we need to do something about the perpetrators, because that's why we have a victim because there is a perpetrator, who causes harm to the victim." (Participant 9 - DSD)

"In terms of targeting those that are known to have perpetrated and convicted, no. There was no targeted process in that regard" (Participant 3 - SGJ).

This view can be substantiated in the body of text of the policy, which highlights that the National Strategic Plan on GBVF is victim or survivor focused. The report states that the scope and approach is directed towards focusing on *"all women, and at the same time the disproportionate impact on women, children and LGBTQIA+ persons marginalised by race, class, geography, age and ableism"* (Department of Women, Youth, and Persons with Disabilities, 2020:17).

The argument of perpetrators being side-lined in the policy formulation stage of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF was prevalent among participants;

"there has been a realisation that for this work to happen is really important to bring in heterosexual males, not just perpetrators, but males as partners in doing the work. But I really think they've been on the side-lines and they continue to be on the side-lines of, of contributing to you know responses to address gender-based violence in South Africa" (Participant 4 – SME).

An interesting response was provided by a participant who stated;

"If you look at the pictures of the summit that they called with the President on the 28th of November in 2018. In the day, there are St. George's hotel, majority, they were feminists, there were no heterosexual men in majority."

This view is substantiated in literature by van Niekerk et al. (2015) as they highlight how policy responses by the South African state provide limited response and support to young boys in violent environments and men as perpetrators.

(a) Consultations

As discussed in section 2.7.1. consultation tools are used to engage the participation of stakeholders in the policy formulation stage and throughout the policymaking process (Sturdy et al., 2012). There are various forms of consultative approaches, closed, open and hybrid approaches (Fraussen et al., 2020). Public policy consultations can take the form of, *inter alia*, summits, public debates, referendums, opinion polls (Rus et al., 2022). These aforementioned types of public policy consultations are prevalent in South Africa. The presidential summit in 2018 and associated transcripts can be accounted for as evidence of the types of consultations undertaken. The National Strategic Plan on GBVF can be described as having used a hybrid consultative approach (Fraussen et al., 2020), through men's forums and hosting of a summit where stakeholders were given access by invitation. The following participants describe these approaches below:

“The men’s forums they participated when the National Strategic Plan was being formed, neh...at provincial level, you know, most provinces have got men’s forums, starting from a local level, district level, ward level, up to even provincial level.”

(Participant 15 – DWYPD)

“The presidential summit... would be people, individuals who have been invited, so you can’t just show up there. You have to be invited.” (Participant 6 – SGJ)

In terms engagement of heterosexual male perpetrators in the consultations of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, there were contrasting views from participants on the attempts made to include these stakeholders in the consultation process, the comments are as follows:

“great attempts were made in terms of trying to ensure that the consultative process were as comprehensive and diverse as possible in terms of the stakeholders that we invited. I think a lot of effort was put into that, but as you would know, in any social process, even in any public policy-making process, you can't necessarily make it mandatory for certain groups to come into the room.” (Participant 3 - SGJ)

“When you are engaging at a level of forums, men’s forums neh, in most cases you are speaking to the converted men... I still feel that we are still missing some level

of men, you know, in terms of engaging them, those we can call who are not converted, you know.” (Participant 15 – DWYPD)

(b) Holistic Approach

Recurrent mention of the report having utilised a holistic approach. A holistic approach to policymaking refers to including all stakeholders relevant to the policy issue in the policymaking table. According to Popescu (2013), a holistic approach incorporates transforming the normal citizen into a participating stakeholder in public policymaking. As mentioned in section 2.7.1, a large majority of citizens do not actively engage in political processes as change-makers (Hyden, 2021). Therefore, holistic approaches to including all stakeholders have been advocated for, to enhance citizen engagement in policymaking and increase accountability on the part of policymakers (Fraussen et al., 2020). Discussions were raised by participants, however, there was consensus that the approach of the NSP was holistic, although providing more focus on the victim. Participants highlighted the following:

“the development of an NSP that was more holistic in nature” (Participant 1 - SGJ)

“I talk about how carefully the NSP has been drafted, particular of the whole societal approach.” (Participant 13 - DWYPD)

One participant spoke about using a holistic approach in consultations with all stakeholders:

“Well, the approach from our side is always to find harmony. A holistic approach so that it remains as inclusive as possible...one of the very obvious mechanism would have been like, you know, holding workshops across, trying to address which will be mainly women, youth and persons with disability. Now when we talk about youth, it’s obviously inclusive of both men and female counterparts yeah, so I think that is the approach that was used.” (Participant 12 - DWYPD).

There was constant reference to the manner in which the report was framed, participants highlighted that the aim of the plan was to provide a holistic approach, with more focus on the groups that the violence is inflicted on:

“when you're looking at the intent, and the content of the NSP in itself, was looking at addressing gender-based violence. And we all know that gender-based violence is perpetrated, mainly against women and girls. So, you find that, of course, the responses would be in response to that... So, you will find that even in its

application, or even in its recommendations, it seeks to address that” (Participant 5 - SGJ).

“even the way the NSP is framed, it is framed in way that it is speaking to every stakeholder, because it was a recognition that we need to bring every stakeholder, we need to bring decision makers, we need to bring community leaders, we need to bring men and boys in their diversities, some of them would be victims, some of them would be, some of them would be perpetrators.” (Participant 1 - SGJ).

The information derived from participants regarding the theme of *stakeholder engagement of heterosexual male perpetrators* described above displayed contrasting arguments regarding the stakeholder focus of the policy, the hybrid approach to consultations, and the holistic approach to policymaking being promoted in the drafting and formulation stage of the policy. The holistic approach to the National Strategic Plan can be seen as incorporating intersectional and ecological ideals. The need to include all stakeholders in policy acknowledges that each stakeholder has an active role to play, and that the roles intersect and influence one another to form several issues brought by each stakeholder to the table, which needs to be deliberated inclusively and holistically.

5.3.2 Labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on GBVF

This theme analyses the *labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators* in the body of the text to draw out meaningful insights from the policymakers who were integral in drawing up the document. In section 2.8.1, heterosexual male perpetrators are defined as men or young boys who have perpetrated violence based on gendered lines. They assume various roles in private and public life, being leaders in government or business, fathers, life partners, brothers, sons, and friends. Some have been criminally convicted of gender-based violence and some not, however, there is public knowledge of their acts of violence on gendered lines.

In relation to the mention and approach to heterosexual male perpetrators in the body of the text of the report participants mentioned the following comments:

“the plan used an angle, where they trying to approach it from a way that says everyone, because again we need to take into consideration the fact that everyone is potentially a victim and everyone is potentially a perpetrator” (Participant 1-SGJ).

Participants elaborated that by not explicitly mentioning heterosexual male perpetrators as role players does not amount to their exclusion from policymaking:

“in as much as there isn’t constant reference to heterosexual male perpetrators, I see the strategic plan as having put mechanisms that should enable every relevant stakeholder to be engaged and to be part of finding the solution”. (Participant 1-SGJ)

“The NSP was really nicely kind of thought through in terms of what type of words needs to be used... So, I think when you look at the NSP, you know, it talks to the actual target group that you are referring to.” (Participant 13 - DWYPD)

The following participant mentioned the need to further engage the drivers of gender-based violence in heterosexual mal perpetrators:

“I think in terms of what is written, it is of course a policy that attempts to include everyone, right... but there is also like I think not sufficient understanding of what drives GBV from the perspective of those that perpetrated.” (Participant 4 – SME)

5.3.4 Policy in a Patriarchal State

The patriarchal nature of the state, alongside hegemonic masculine ideologies prevalent in South Africa is discussed in length, in section 2.7.2. Scholarship details the effects that patriarchal norms and practices produce in the policy environment (Newbiggin, 2009; Frias, 2010; Satgar, 2012; England, 2013; Zulfiqar, 2022; Lorist, Mbabazi & Moyer 2022). The Patriarchal State can be defined as a state that reinforces through re-inventing customs and systems of male dominance, despite the enactment of public policies against gender-based violence and the formation of new governance structures (Frias, 2010).

The patriarchal nature of the South African state is mentioned by participants, highlighting the nature and state of the challenge:

“SA is a very patriarchal, patriarchy is deeply entrenched in our systems. Deeply entrenched in our society, that is why we are seeing the high levels of gender-based violence that we are seeing. Because there is this notion of patriarchy, which believes in men expressing their sexual dominance over women. And a sense of femininity where women need to be subordinate and subjugated to male authority and male power” (Participant 1 - SGJ).

“Patriarchy it’s still a problem. So, we needed to have a more nuanced discussion about those issues.” (Participant 4 - SME)

An argument arose that heterosexual male perpetrators can also be found within leadership positions in the policymaking environment. Literature on leaders in a patriarchal state documents the regressive nature this element produces for gender-based violence (Lorist, Mbabazi & Moyer, 2022).

“And which some of the perpetrators that we are talking about are hiding in the churches, they hide under the banner of leadership, when the man is being called to lead (Participant 1 - SGJ).

Regarding the role of men or males play in government policymaking the response below mentioned these stakeholders as possible inhibitors of progressive policy:

“South Africa, in particular, men hold the highest leadership in policy making, they are the policymakers, policymaking officials, so in that regard, they have. Umm. I would imagine they've contributed immensely in terms of the development of policy. They are parliamentarians. They are, yeah, they're the ones who make law and sometimes not just make law but also inhibit and, you know, be the barriers to certain progressive laws around gender-based violence because of their own socialisation and conceptions of gender and gender relations. (Participant 3 – SGJ)

Participants mentioned the notion of patriarchal norms evident in leaders and policymakers. There is a need to investigate the influence of patriarchal mindsets within policymakers and leaders. Including what participant 4 terms the *“wounding of the past and internalised patriarchy carried by current leaders”* (Participant 4 - SME). The effect it has on present-day issues and decision-making on how the effect meaningful policies.

“Yeah, patriarchy is top of the agenda, because the leaders promote it. I mean, those who make laws in parliament fight women every time we see them on tv.” (Participant 11 – SME)

“The very same mindset that caused the problem is the very same mindset that is expected to implement the policies that create transformation. And so, I think for me that's really the biggest work... investment in training the implementers, the leaders” (Participant 4 - SME).

Section 2.8.1 discussed the prevalent hegemonic masculinities in the country on a political scale. The abovementioned arguments regarding men in leadership positions housing patriarchal ideologies that inhibit progressive policy may stem from the various forms of masculinities discussed in section 2.8.1.

In order to effect positive change in this regard, participant 3 states that the human capital driving policy should be targeted:

“unless we deal with the human capital in South Africa. Because the human, if these human beings that are supposed to drive this work are burnt out, are tired, are cynical, carry the very same patriarchy. It's like throwing whatever we do in the drain” (Participant 3 -SGJ).

A new form of masculinity emerged in the responses, participant 8 mentioned the use of healthy masculine methods to effect positive change in heterosexual male perpetrators, as a form of rehabilitation:

“The healthy balance of masculine and feminine archetypal energy in a male, leads to healthy sacred masculinity... I'm big on the use of healthy masculinity, because everyone just talks about toxic masculinity the whole time.” (Participant 8 – SME)

Mohanani, (2021) discusses the male and female representation in government structures, stating that improvements in have been made to balance the scales in gender representation. Participant responses revealed that demographic nature of policymakers and how this influenced policymaking. Male policymakers were seen to be the majority from a government perspective, whilst female representation of policymakers was found to be dominant from civil society organisations.

“when you look at representation of policymakers in government, you have more of a male representation than you have a female representation. So, the power dynamics are already uneven in that respect.” (Participant 5 - SGJ)

Participant 13 provided a contrasting view stating the following:

“the NSP is very clear about the makeup of any engagement that we do in terms of how many percentage needs be civil society and what percentage needs to be government and it's 51 – 49. 51 % civil society in everything we do, we carefully looked at that.” (Participant 13 – DWYPD)

The participants recognised gaps and the need to close those gaps in the next summit or reviews of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF because it is a long-term process. Some of these gaps were highlighted to have been addressed through National Prevention Strategy on GBVF.

Policy gaps were mentioned in relation to engagement of stakeholders through consultations. Participants mention the following:

“So, I think for me the biggest gap you know is to really find good people in the room”
(Participant 13 – DWYPD)

“I think we are getting the ideas from the NGO’s that are well to do, you know, because most of these meetings happen virtually. And, you know, these smaller NGO’s, who are on the ground, really working with the communities in the rural areas, you know... these meetings happen virtually. And sometimes, most of the time they have issues with the network, especially with load shedding, so they do not necessarily, most of them do not participate and sometimes they even have challenges with even funding, you know. You see for me these are gaps you know. And I still feel that we are not really reaching them, you know, in terms of them contributing to policy formulation to whatever amendments that's supposed to be made in these strategies. And I think if some mechanisms could be in place to make sure that there is participation, especially from these NGO’s that are on the ground, you know, rural areas, in the townships, maybe townships are better, but even townships, you know those NGO’s that are dealing with communities on a regular basis that are down there, you know. So, for me, that's the main, uh, yeah, that's the main gap.” (Participant 15 – DWYPD)

Another recurring theme was the need to do more to engage heterosexual males who are not converted from toxic masculine ideals, participants comments were as follows;

“I also want to believe that perhaps they are lots of gaps, including total inclusion of the group you have cited in the policy.” (Participant 12 – DWYPD) The group mentioned here is heterosexual male perpetrators.

“I still feel that we are still missing some level of men, you know, in terms of engaging them, those we can call who are not converted, you know. Those who are, you know, we’ve got men’s forums, they were involved and they influenced

the agenda of the strategy. But I still feel that maybe there are some gaps we still need to dig down to below the levels of forum and find, you know, other structures.” (Participant 15 – DWYPD)

In discussing the policy gaps, participants mentioned the need to enhance the policy through continuous reviews of the policy:

“But obviously the NSP is not set in stone and I think now we’re moving into the third if not fourth year of the implementation of the set policy and I’m sure as we move forward towards the 4th and 5th year, then it will be up for review.” (Participant 12 – DWYPD)

5.3.5 Feminist Approach

There is a large consensus that efforts with men should be guided by feminist schools of thought, majority of the gender-based violence efforts with men are intrinsically directed by the theories of women’s organisations (Tolman et al., 2019). The below-mentioned subthemes discuss the feminist approach to the National Strategic Plan in more detail:

(a) Issue for women and should be solved by women

An integral approach in the drafting of the plan was founded on feministic schools of thought, radical statements from participants in favour of the plan being formulated and implemented based of feminist principles were as follows;

“gender-based violence has predominantly been an issue for women and should be solved by women” (Participant 1- SGJ)

“it was very important that the development of NSP was founded in very feminist principles”. (Participant 3 – SGJ)

“there was always that deliberate intention to work with women's rights organizations to work with feminist movements, you know. (Participant 5 – SGJ)

Participant 4 also emphasised the idea of the fight against gender-based violence being a women's fight by stating;

“there has been the other side of the sector that has been saying that maybe there could be a possibility of engaging with men as partners in doing the work, but they are really partners supporting the work. This is the women's fight. They are at the forefront of it”. (Participant 4 - SME)

A participant from a government department counter-argued the above feminist thinking to state the following:

“because that it was specific on the women, women were specific to say this a women thing. A women thing, this is how we want to. This is how we want to run the whole thing; it should be a woman thing”. (Participant 9 - DSD)

Most of the abovementioned participants agreed to the establishment of the plan through feministic principles. Moreover, one participant encouraged the inclusion of men or heterosexual male perpetrators through a feministic approach by stating;

“I think more must be done if males are the in terms of research, the perpetrators. And I think at that highest-level men should be engaged, should be part of it. Uh, you know, spaces should be created that they become part of the solution. Of course, how that should be coined within which I believe should be a feminist approach.” (Participant 6- SGJ)

Participants also mentioned the need for a shift from solely feministic approaches towards holistic transformative approaches that include restorative justice mechanisms and new approaches that incorporate male and female thinking. Participants mentioned the following;

“I believe that is certainly there is need to engage with every possible stakeholder in addressing, including uh perpetrators...So any solutions that have to come up have to also engage with them, engage with them because through that process we then get to understand some of the underlying drivers of the violence that is perpetrated. But also, to engage with them as ways to finding solutions. As ways to finding, uh, as how do we come up with uh restorative justice mechanisms. How do we come up with transformative approaches that will engage those who are perpetrating so that they can also transform and have a better future, and they also a responsibility in finding solutions?” (Participant 1 - SGJ)

These sentiments were supported by participant 2 who suggested the following:

“we need to change the approach, do not change the content. The content that we share with people is good. But the way we approach them, turns people away. Men tend to think that when it comes to gender-based violence, it only concerns women, but they too have a role to play. So that is why I do workshops with men, I target them when they are at their most comfortable, when they are playing dice and so forth. We sit down and talk to them about how gender-based violence affects them. Most of them like the approach I come with, because it also speaks to their rights as men. We discuss household issues and gender roles. I listen to their complaints and also try put a spin on their complaints to bring in the female side to say. To encourage partners helping each other and living in harmony.
(Participant 2 – Green door shelter)

(b) Victim vs perpetrator voice in policymaking

Participants provided frequent responses in the area of gender dynamics during policymaking were frequent, the comments made by participants in light of this are as follows; Participant 4 touched on the need to bring out female voices more in policymaking tables rather than male voices, as they already have been given voice through existing patriarchal norms:

“if we saying that patriarchy is the driver, it means that the problem is the dominance of men who already have voice, right? So why do you need to create more spaces for women to even have more voice? Actually, it is about reducing their voices because everything around our society is shaped by them and their perception and it needs to be more balanced.” (Participant 4 - SME)

The participant added the need for the voices of vulnerable populations including gender-non-confirming persons and the LGBTQIA+ communities,

“So, by nature, again, if you do that, some people might label it as the side-lining of men. But I don't think it's side-lining, it is about being bringing into the forefront voices that have been marginalized and side-lined”. (Participant 4 - SME)

Important to note was the notion of confining heterosexual male perpetrators policy participation to research and not including them in the consultative processes of policy formulation due to the triggering

element it may bring to victims and survivors. Separating the victim and the perpetrator in policy discussions was highlighted by one participant below:

“I think that it's having man's voices or heterosexual male perpetrators within the context of research, and that informing public policy makes better sense for me than actually having them being a part of the development of the policy. Unless you're taking it that research is a part of public policy making. Then I think for me, in my view, I think that's where the role should be and not necessarily having them being a part of writing up or developing a policy perspective. (Participant 3 – SGJ)

Participant 3 continued to make the example of including a female convict in consultation processes. The female was brought to the discussion on the first Gender-based Violence summit in 2018, the participant discussed the impact that would've occurred should there have brought in a male counterpart, heterosexual male counterpart. This argument of mitigating the risk of triggering victims and survivors during meetings and policy discussions around curbing gender-based violence is supported by Bashonga (2021), who highlights that the re-victimisation and trauma that occurs outweighs the contributions of male convicts in the consultative process.

(c) New gender transformative ways to include heterosexual male perpetrators

Vetten (2007) mentioned the need to focus on the myriad of ways policy can disqualify role players, their accounts of violence, treatment of victims and rehabilitation of perpetrators. This leading to seeking out new transformative approaches to incorporate heterosexual male perpetrators in policy was highlighted by participants. Participant 3 alluded to the research role these subjects assume to inform policymaking;

“from a research perspective. They've been subject matters in research studies...I would imagine informed policy, informed the development of interventions and strategies to address gender-based violence” (Participant 3 - SGJ)

“I think we need to go to where they are. Where are most men found? They are found in, they are in churches. They are in taverns, they are in all these places. So, what I think is we need to go down to those levels and engage them, not only in the form of us wanting to change their mindsets, you know? But also find out get more information with regards to what is causing, you know, gender-based violence, you know? and what is causing you know, why at the at things not changing you know? what is the best way of handling and you know, even up to even changing mindsets towards attitudes that contribute to gender based violence, you know. But I just

think that they really need to be engaged, you know. And I think the issues of forum, you know, forums are for people who want to make a difference. They've already made-up their minds. No, that GBV is wrong. And this is what we need to do, you know. But I just feel that we really need to engage them. You know, the how of it. I'm not sure how this can be done, but I just feel that we really need to dig down, to go down. To where they are, the various institutions where they are, engage them. Find as much information you know, like this research that we are doing, you know.” (Participant 15 – DWYPD)

5.4 CONCLUSION

The above-mentioned themes derived from the national reports and semi-structured interviews provided insights into the nature and extent to which heterosexual male perpetrators play a peripheral role in gender-based violence and femicide policy formulation. The themes stemming from the reports indicate that there are limitations in the policy regarding the *prevalent mention of heterosexual male perpetrators* and *limited reference to heterosexual male perpetrators*. Themes from semi-structured interviews are divided into four main themes; *stakeholder engagement with heterosexual male perpetrators*, *labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators*, *policy in a patriarchal state*, and the *feminist approach*. The primary themes have associated subthemes that describe in depth the responses of participants who were involved in the policy formulation of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF.

6. MAIN FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE RESEARCH

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main findings according to the research purpose and question are presented in this chapter. Followed by the core significance of the research for policy stakeholders involved in gender-based violence and femicide policy. Trafford, Leshem & Bitzer (2014) highlight that the chapter of findings is crucial to understanding the extensions of knowledge. Finally, practical and research implications which draw on public policy practice and scholarship are highlighted.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of the research was to explore the polarized role of heterosexual male perpetrators in gender-based violence and femicide policy reports. There has been limited research on the engagement of these stakeholders in policy, rather the focus has been given more to non-perpetrating heterosexual males as partners in eradicating GBVF (Kaeffli, 2013). Utilising document analysis and individualised participant analyses, critical information in the form of themes were drawn from the data. The analyses in Chapter 5 sought to respond to the research question; are heterosexual male perpetrators excluded in the policy framework of the National Strategic Plan on GBVF? The National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide does exclude heterosexual male perpetrators in the policy. The response to the research question is found in the following findings:

6.2.1 Labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on GBVF

In the National Strategic Plan on GBVF, the prevalent mention of heterosexual male perpetrators was reduced to these subjects named "*men*" within the body of the text of the report. There was limited reference to heterosexual male perpetrators and the role played by these stakeholders, this limitation also provides for misinterpretations of who are the perpetrators of violence and gender-based violence and femicide in South Africa. Participants were questioned regarding the reference to heterosexual male perpetrators, responses outlined the generalised angle which was taken by the National Strategic Plan, which was assumed to be the inclusion of all stakeholders despite the subjects not being clearly named within the policy document. Participants maintained that the policy incorporated these subjects within pillar three protection, safety, and justice, however, specific references to these subjects are not provided. The labelling of heterosexual male perpetrators or lack thereof has implications on the approach to which these stakeholders are engaged. van Niekerk et al. (2015) highlights that limited

engagement with both the root causes and vulnerability of young boys and men ultimately leads to skewed policy outputs. It provides concerning stereotypes as to who are the predominant perpetrators (Langa et. al., 2018). These stakeholders require more visibility in the policy.

6.2.2 Stakeholder Engagement

Participants were questioned regarding the policy response and approach to including heterosexual male perpetrators. The responses were contradictory, certain participants mentioned that the policy response was effective, however, other participants stated that more policy work is required to bring these subjects into the policymaking process. Participants involved in the 2018 Presidential Summit on Gender-based Violence, highlighted the minimal involvement of the stakeholders in question. The policy was seen as victim and survivor-focused, placing heterosexual male perpetrators as secondary role players. There was realisation among participants that incorporating effective consultation tools to ensure that heterosexual males are engaged is required (Heise 1998; Kaeflien, 2013). Utilising all forms of consultation approaches to engage all stakeholders was pertinent to effective policy formulation and subsequent implementation. The holistic approach to transforming the normal citizen into a participating stakeholder in public policymaking is also seen as a new transformative tool to engage all stakeholders (Fraussen et al., 2020).

6.2.3 Policy in a Patriarchal State

The patriarchal nature of the South African state is a determining factor for the high levels of gender-based violence. An argument arose that heterosexual male perpetrators can also be found within leadership positions in the policymaking environment. The notion of patriarchal norms evident in leaders and policymakers and the need to investigate the influence of patriarchal mindsets within policymakers and leaders arose in interviews and in scholarship (Seidman, 1999; Mohanan, 2021). As these leaders housing patriarchal ideals were seen as inhibitors of progressive policy. The demographic nature of policymakers and how this influenced policymaking. Male policymakers were seen to be the majority from a government perspective, whilst female representation of policymakers was found to be dominant from civil society organisations. Policy gaps were mentioned in relation to the engagement of stakeholders through consultations (Maier et al., 2014). The key policy gaps which were mentioned were namely; the lack of involvement of NGOs in township and rural areas in the policy formulation stage, lack of funding for certain NGOs, therefore, implying lack of involvement in virtual meetings hosted for the development of the policy. Resource constraints for these NGOs created limitations in accessing relevant information. These policy gaps provide limitations and exclusionary implications. Participants mentioned the need to enhance the policy through continuous reviews of the policy.

Certain policy gaps were highlighted to have been addressed through National Prevention Strategy on GBVF.

6.2.4 Feminist Approach

An integral approach in the formulation of the National Strategic Plan was founded on feministic schools of thought, radical statements from participants were evident in favour of the plan being formulated and implemented based on feminist principles. Most of the participants agreed to the establishment of the plan through feministic principles. Moreover, one participant encouraged the inclusion of men or heterosexual male perpetrators through a feministic approach. Participants also mentioned the need for a shift from solely feministic approaches towards holistic transformative approaches that include restorative justice mechanisms and new approaches that incorporate male and female thinking (Mohanani, 2021). Participants provided frequent responses in the area of gender dynamics during policymaking were frequent. Participants touched on the need to bring out female voices more at policymaking tables rather than male voices, as they already have been given a voice through existing patriarchal norms. Including, the need for the voices of vulnerable populations including gender-non-confirming persons and the LGBTQIA+ communities (Judge, 2017) (Wirtz et al., 2018). The notion of confining heterosexual male perpetrator's policy participation to research and not including them in the consultative processes of policy formulation, due to the triggering element it may bring to victims and survivors was evident in interviews and the literature (Peacock & Levack, 2004; Kaeflein, 2013; Flood, 2015; Tolman et al., 2016; Casey et al., 2017; Casey et al., 2017; Casey et al., 2018; Flood, 2019; Daoud et al., 2022).. Participants highlighted the need to separate the victim from the perpetrator in policy discussions. The example provided in 5.3.5 (a) gives clarity into the consultative agenda of stakeholders in the civil society sector. Participants also highlighted the need for new transformative ways to include heterosexual male perpetrators, as a recommendation towards improved inclusiveness.

In essence, the national policy framework of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-based Violence and Femicide does provide exclusionary implications in policy on the part of heterosexual male perpetrators. The above-mentioned findings from participants and document analysis of the reports indicate the lack of effective consultation of these subjects, and the unwillingness of certain sectors and stakeholders to engage these stakeholders due to a myriad of reasons.

6.3 PRACTICAL AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

The findings of the research have practical and theoretical implications. The theoretical contributions are in the form of extending the body of knowledge to understand male cisgender perpetration of violence and possibly finding novel information to aid scholars in further research. The research theoretically contributes to policy discourse on including men, specifically, heterosexual males in the policymaking table, and feminist and male thinking on how to eradicate gender-based violence and femicide. The practical implications of the research challenge the status quo in policymaking and encourage effective consultation at grassroots levels with non-convicted and convicted heterosexual male perpetrators of violence. The research has produced knowledge on the consultation methods in the policymaking process in South Africa and the patriarchal ideologies evident in state structures. The insights provided in this research may prove valuable in future conceptualisations of policy aimed at gender-based violence and femicide. Framing the research around the theory of intersectionality and ecological framework, the research aimed to highlight the interconnected nature of the policy environment, policy stakeholders, and external factors within the state, such as patriarchy. The unique element of the research is derived from utilising a combination of interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) and content analysis, which enabled the voices of policymakers to be heard, over and above, the text of the policy document. The key limitation found in the research is the lack of engagement with local government representatives, who may have provided an improved understanding of the consultation process with citizens at grassroots levels. Only, green door shelter, an NGO organisation is the local organisation engaged within the context of the research.

6.4 CONCLUSION

In the context of a society characterised by institutionalised racism and sexism, gender equality policies need to be directed toward resolving the root causes that form the breeding ground for gendered expressions of violence. This includes methods to include all key stakeholders in finding solutions. I would like to claim that involving heterosexual male perpetrators in policy formulation is a "heated debate" among scholars, policy practitioners, and policymakers themselves. The research question for future consideration can expand towards thinking around, how can these subjects be included in future reviews of policy frameworks around gender-based violence in the country. This can be described as finding innovative ways to include heterosexual males in the policy.

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8. APPENDICES

Appendix A - Consent Forms and Approval Letters



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN BY STUDY PARTICIPANT

Title of project - Investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide

Name of researcher – Nicholine Silaule

I, Brown, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used in an anonymized format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained. YES NO

[Signature] (signature)

Brown (name of participant)

10/2021/09 (date)

Nicholine Silaule (signature)

Nicholine Silaule (name of person seeking consent)

10/2021/09 (date)



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY BY PARTICIPANT

Title of project - Investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide

Name of researcher – Nicholine Silaule

I, Nonfundo Mgqabi, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used in an anonymized format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained. YES NO

[Signature] (signature)

Nonfundo Mgqabi (name of participant)

24 Jan 2023 (date)

Nicholine Silaule (signature)

Nicholine Silaule (name of person seeking consent)

24 January 2023 (date)

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN STUDY BY PARTICIPANT

Title of project - Investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide

Name of researcher – Nicholine Silaule

I, IAN SOLOMON, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

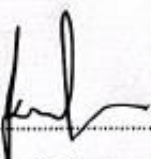
(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used in an anonymized format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained. YES NO


..... (signature)

IAN SOLOMON
..... (name of participant)

22 FEBRUARY 2024
..... (date)

Nicholine Silaule
..... (signature)

Nicholine Silaule
..... (name of person seeking consent)

22/02/2022
..... (date)

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN BY STUDY PARTICIPANT

Title of project - Investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide

Name of researcher – Nicholine Silaule

I, Edward Motale, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report YES NO

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used in an anonymized format after this project has ended, for academic purposes by other researchers, subject to their own ethics clearance being obtained. YES NO

 (signature)

Edward Motale (name of participant)

21/06/2023 (date)

Nicholine Silaule (signature)

Nicholine Silaule (name of person seeking consent)

13 April 2023 (date)



Reg. No: 2006/023739/08

05 October 2022

To whom it may concern

RE: Permission request to conduct research at Sonke Gender Justice

This is to certify that Sonke Gender Justice has given Nicholine Silaule permission to approach identified colleagues within the organisation, to request their participation in research interviews for the purposes of her research.

We have reviewed the participant information sheet and research ethical approval letter from Wits University and have satisfied ourselves with this information.

All participants will be sensitised to the fact that participation is voluntary. Sonke Gender Justice will not bear any financial or legal liabilities that may arise from the research.

Kind regards,

M. Mulaudzi

Masana Mulaudzi

Programmes Director

Sonke Gender Justice

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|
| Cape Town Office 1 st Floor, Sir Lowry Studios 95 Sir Lowry Road Cape Town 8001 P.O. Box 3126, Cape Town, 8001 Tel: +27 21 4237088 . Fax. +27 21 424 5645 | Johannesburg Office Stevenson Building 4 th Floor, 62 Juta Street Braamfontein 2017 P.O. Box 31166. Braamfontein 2017 Tel. +27 11 339 3589. Fax. +27 11 339 6503 | Butterworth, Eastern Cape Office Lilitha Guest Lodge & Conferencing 20 Robinson Street Butterworth 4980 Tel. +27 74 491 0381 | Gugulethu Wellness Centre Gugulethu Clinic Corner of NY1 & NY3 Gugulethu 7750 Tel.+27 21 633 3140 | Uganda Office Plot 154, Muteesa II Road Ntinda, Kampala Uganda | Zambia Office 191B Chindo Rd, Kabulonga, Lusaka, Zambia | Cameroon Office Checkpoint- Malyko Buea South West Region of Cameroon Tel. +237 233 334360 |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|

www.genderjustice.org.za . info@genderjustice.org.za

Board Members

Karabo van Heerden (Chairperson) · Felicity Hikuam (Deputy Chairperson) · Edmore Nyanhongo (Treasurer) · Deprose Muchena · Zanele Mdllekeza · Mmapaseka Steve Letsike · Heather van Niekerk (Ex-Officio) · Bafana Khumalo (Ex-Officio)

VAT Reg: 4410231288

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL

N Silaule
724 Norman Street
Montana Park
Pretoria
0001

Dear Ms N Silaule

RE: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH STUDY

The Department of Social Development wishes to inform you that your request for permission to conduct research towards fulfilment of your research study has been granted with the following conditions:

1. You must sign a confidentiality agreement with the Department to protect unauthorized sharing of Departmental information.
2. You must make the necessary appointment with the respective managers that are required to support you during your research to ensure that DSD officials are not disrupted in performing their duties.
3. Your conduct during the duration of your research at DSD must be one of a professional nature at all times.
4. The Department must be provided with a copy of your final research report.

I wish to inform you that the Department of Social Development will not bear any financial and legal liabilities that may arise from your research study.

I further wish to bring to your attention that research ethics must be considered and adhered to in this regard.

I wish you all the best in your research study and look forward to your final research product.

For more information you are welcome to contact Fikile Faltein: Director: VEP Cluster Technical & Programme Support on Tel: 012 312 7168 or email: FikileF@dsd.gov.za.

Yours sincerely

Letapha le "Ithabalo le Logo" Muzano wa zwa Mvelaphanda ye Vhathu" Bete loPhuhliso lewilelo yoLuntu" umnyango wezifutsho yeBantu" Kgoro ye Ithabalo ye Logo" Ndzawulo ye Ntshwalo ye Vhathu". Uthixo weFutsho yeBantu" Letapha le Mvelaphanda ye Bepjaba" umNyango weFutsho KwezoKwizana Department" van Mvelaphanda Omvelo"ing"

Building a Caring Society. Together.



MR P NETSHIPALE
ACTING DIRECTOR-GENERAL
DATE: 18 NOVEMBER 2021

Private Bag X931, Pretoria, 0001, 266 Fedsure Forum Building, Lilian Ngoyi Street, Pretoria, CBD 0002
 Tel.: 012 359 0071/2, Fax: 012 323 5954

Enquiries: Mbhazima Shiviti
 Tel: 0727555249
 E-mail: Mbhazima.Shiviti@dwypd.gov.za

Ms N Silaule
 724 Norman Street
 Montana Park
 Pretoria
 0001

Dear Ms N Silaule

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH STUDY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (DWYPD)

The Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities has considered your request for permission to conduct research within the department and permission is hereby granted. There are however the following conditions which should be taken into consideration and adhered to:

- The information you will receive or gather should be utilised for the purposes of your study and nothing else.
- Should the information gathered relate to personal details of people, that you will comply with the Protection of Personal Information Act.
- You will be ethical in your conduct.
- You will be required to make appointments with the nominated employees to assist you at their convenient time.
- The department will not bear any costs associated with your research.
- You will provide the department with a copy of your final research report

The following employees will assist you with your research:

| NAME AND SURNAME | DESIGNATION | EMAIL ADDRESS |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Ms Dineo Mmako | Chief Director: Monitoring and Evaluation | Dineo.Mmako@dwypd.gov.za |
| Ms Esther Maluleke | Chief Director, Governance Transformation, Justice and Security | Esther.Maluleke@dwypd.gov.za |
| Mr Prince Boo | Chief Director, Economic Empowerment and Participation | Prince.Booi@dwypd.gov.za |
| Ms Margaretha Jooste | Director: Supply Chain Management | Margaretha.Jooste@dwypd.gov.za |

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The Department wishes you well with your research study and look forward to your final research product. For more information please contact the Chief Director: Corporate Management, Mr Mbhazima Shiviti on the details indicated above.

Yours sincerely,



Adv. Mikateko Maluleke
 Director-General

Date: 17/03/2023

Appendix B – Participant Information Sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Good day,

My name is Nicholine Silaule and I am a Masters's student in the Wits School of Governance at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating policy exclusion of heterosexual male perpetrators in the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide under the supervision of Mr. Rekgotsofetse Chikane. The aim of this research project is to find out how heterosexual male perpetrators are excluded in the policy framework of the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This activity will involve you answering a set of questions and will take around 60 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to audio and/or video record the interview using a digital device. This recording will be stored in a password-protected laptop and only the researcher will have access to this recording. It will be deleted after 6 years.

There will be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project. You will not receive any direct benefits from participation but there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any questions if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time. If you need some support or counseling services following the interview, these are available free of charge at the national gender-based violence hotline. The contact details for the counseling service are 0800 428 428 or please call me line *120* 7867#.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. The data collected from this research project will be stored in a password-protected laptop and will be kept for 6 years. With your permission, the data collected from this research project may be used by other researchers in an anonymized format. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Nicholine Silaule

Appendix C – Interview Schedules

Appendix C - Semi-structured interview schedules

Semi-structured interview schedule for subject matter expert:

1. What role have heterosexual male perpetrators assumed in gender-based violence (GBV) research and policy, since the inception of democracy in 1994?
2. What are your insights regarding the link between research on the role of heterosexual males perpetrators in GBV national policies of the government?
3. How can the inclusion of heterosexual males in policy formulation lead to the prevention of GBV?
4. What key recommendations can you provide for GBV national policy formulation?
5. Is there other information that you think would be useful for this research?

Interview schedule to a representative at Department of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities

1. What is the role of the Department in Gender-based Violence (GBV) policy formulation in South Africa?
2. How does the Department engage heterosexual male perpetrators as role players in GBV policy formulation?
3. Is the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence comprehensively inclusive of the role-played by heterosexual male perpetrators?
4. How does the Department engage with non-governmental organisations as role players in GBV policy formulation?
5. Is there other information that you think would be useful for this research?

Semi –structured interview schedule to a representative at the Department of Social Development

1. What is the role of the Department in Gender-based Violence (GBV) policy formulation in South Africa?
2. How does the Department engage heterosexual male perpetrators as role players in GBV policy formulation?
3. Is the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence comprehensively inclusive of the role-played by heterosexual male perpetrators?
4. How does the Department engage with non-governmental organisations as role players in GBV policy formulation?
5. Is there other information that you think would be useful for this research?

Interview schedule to representative at Greendoor shelter Diepsloot:

1. What is the role of Greendoor shelter in GBV policy discourse in South Africa?
2. Are there cases where intervention is carried out by Greendoor should a heterosexual male request rehabilitation?
3. What prevents heterosexual males from being involved in GBV prevention measures?
4. How does the inclusion of heterosexual males in policy formulation and implementation lead to the prevention of GBV?
5. What are the recommendations of Greendoor in terms of GBV policy?
6. Is there other information that you think would be useful for this research?

Semi- structured interview schedule for representatives of Sonke Gender Justice:

1. What role does Sonke Gender Justice play in terms of Gender-based violence policy discourse in South Africa?
2. What role does Sonke Gender Justice play in terms of gender-based violence heterosexual male engagement in gender-based violence policy?
3. What role did Sonke Gender Justice play in the formulation or development of the National Strategic Plan on gender-based violence and femicide (NSPGBVF)?
4. Is there any other information that you think would be useful for this research?