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Taking Action Against Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Men and Women Together in Wentworth Through the Prevention in Action Movement

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TAKING ACTION AGAINST GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE:

BRINGING MEN AND WOMEN TOGETHER IN WENTWORTH THROUGH THE PREVENTION IN ACTION MOVEMENT

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SIT Community Health and Social Policy Spring 2012
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ABSTRACT

This project is an exploration with the KwaZulu Natal Network on Violence against Women and its activities and relationship with grassroots-level organizers regarding the Prevention in Action movement in Wentworth to unite men and women in a movement to end gender violence and protect health and safety. Gender-based violence is a particularly tragic health and justice issue in South Africa. While most interventions attempt to raise awareness and empower women to stand up against gender violence, recently organizations have understood the need to engage men in the dialogue, mobilize them to take action, and foster true changes in social norms and behaviors. Though the Network is primarily a woman's organization, it has embraced the challenge to engage with women *and* men by pursuing a campaign for community mobilization and by collaborating with Brothers for Life. I have observed training sessions and meetings, social mobilization activities, and the Network's interaction with community organizers. My exploration of the Prevention in Action movement has allowed me to understand gaps and challenges in the Network's interaction with community organizers, to delve into community perspectives relating to the movement and its ability to mobilize men and women and continue in the future, and to reflect upon my own perceptions of the movement through my observations and interviews. This work will greatly aid the Network and community organizers involved in seeing the assets of Prevention in Action, its challenges in Wentworth, a vision for the future, and a path to achieve this vision. If the KwaZulu Natal Network is pleased with this presentation, perhaps the staff and the community stakeholders of Wentworth can apply the lessons learned to their work to improve the quality of implementing and maintaining Prevention in Action and of future community-based gender violence interventions, particularly in their aims to engage both men and women.

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EXPLANATION OF FREQUENTLY USED ACRONYMS AND TECHNICAL JARGON

Action:	Violence against Women Prevention Action – responses by members of the community against violence
Brothers:	Brothers for Life Community Engagers
CE:	Community Engager – community member and activist recruited by KZN Network to lead social mobilization and organize networks of community members to take action against violence
CI:	Community Influencer – individual recruited by CE to form networks of community members to take action against violence
GBV:	Gender-based Violence – any form of violence that targets men or women on the basis of their sex and results in physical, sexual, and psychological harm
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
KZN	
Network:	KwaZulu Natal Network on Violence against Women
NGO:	Non-governmental Organization
M&E:	Monitoring and Evaluation
PAC:	Prevention in Action Committee – groups of active CIs, PAGs, and other community stakeholders that plan and implement visible community actions that foster an enabling environment for the prevention of GBV and for sustainability of the movement
PAG:	Prevention in Action Group – group of community members formed by CIs to take action against violence
PCI:	Project Concern International
PEPFAR:	The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PIA:	Prevention in Action
SAPS:	South Africa Police Service
Stakeholders:	Anyone with a vested interest in improving the community: NGOs, CBOs, policy officials, ordinary community members, teachers, nurses, religious leaders, healers, police, business owners, service providers, etc
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
VAW:	Violence against Women – any action against a woman that harms her physical, emotional, psychological, and spiritual health and well-being
VCA:	Visible Community Action, also known as PAC Action – a visible community response to VAW/GBV planned by a PAC; designed as a public event to raise awareness about PIA, motivate action and participation, and create an enabling environment for PIA
WCN:	Western Cape Network on Violence against Women
WOW:	Wentworth Organization of Women
WVFC:	Wentworth Victim Friendly Center (also known as “Trauma”)

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Gender-inequality and gender-based violence (GBV) permeate all types of communities throughout South Africa and contribute to a number of public health and legal issues, particularly the raging HIV/AIDS epidemic and the insufficient efforts of law enforcement to bring perpetrators of violence to justice. *Men as Partners* explains that HIV/AIDS and GBV are “twin epidemics that are both driven in critical ways by social norms about gender, power, and violence that...threaten the lives of millions of South Africans” (Peacock & Levack, 2004, pp. 174). As a result, abuse leaves women at risk for HIV because GBV “or the fear of it, may interfere with the ability to negotiate safer sex or refuse unwanted sex.” Furthermore, “coerced sexual initiation...and current partner violence are linked to increased risk-taking, including having multiple partners...and engaging in transactional sex” (HIV/AIDS and GBV Literature Review, 2006, p. 7). These conditions have caused KwaZulu Natal (KZN) to have the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence compared to all of the provinces in South Africa, with 39.5% of pregnant women between ages 15-49 infected (*South Africa HIV & AIDS Statistics*, 2010). Social norms and power dynamics constructed around gender-inequality and poverty leave young women in KZN disproportionately vulnerable to the twin epidemics, and thus young women continue to suffer unnecessarily and die prematurely.

Repeatedly, the nation tops international rankings of reported rape and sexual violence. The South African Law Commission estimates “that there are 1.69 million rapes per year, but on average only 54,000 rape survivors lay charges” (Britton, 2006, p. 146). Additionally, an investigation by the Medical Research Council in 2004 demonstrates that “a woman is killed by her intimate partner in South Africa every six hours”: the highest rate ever reported in research in the world (Peacock, Khumalo, & McNab, 2006, p. 73). GBV does not only include the rape of women. United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2009) defines GBV as: “any form of violence that targets men or women on the basis of their sex” and “results in physical, sexual, and psychological harm” (p. 1). This includes, but is not limited to: marital rape, sexual abuse inside and outside the family, early and/or forced marriage, sexual harassment, economic and/or emotional deprivation, and psychological abuse (USAID, p. 1-2).

Varied forms of violence persist in South African society. In fact, baseline research undertaken by Project Concern International (PCI), the KZN Network, and the Western Cape

Network (WCN) revealed that 50% of respondents agreed with the statement: “men in this community often hit their girlfriends” and 38% agreed with the statement: “in this community girls and women are often raped” (Parker & Eder, 2011, p.3, unpublished). However, less than 5% of respondents agreed that “it was okay for a husband to hit his wife or that hitting was a sign of love” (Parker & Eder, p.2). This suggests a significant disconnect between individuals’ attitudes toward violence and the normalization of violence in communities.

This pervasive structure of violence has created an environment in which women feel it is an inevitable part of daily life. Therefore, individuals are deterred from, fearful to, or unaware of their ability to report incidences of GBV, which leaves daunting tasks for monitoring and evaluation (M&E) and intervention implementation for a nation struggling to combat this drastic public health issue. GBV of all forms occurs in epidemic proportions throughout South Africa, yet true understanding of its nature and consequences remains muddled due to poor surveillance, underreporting, fear, poor use of health and legal services, and misunderstandings around the definitions of violence (Mullick, Teffo-Menziwa, Williams, & Jina, 2010, p. 50). The normalization of GBV further perpetuates the spread of HIV/AIDS, inconsistent reporting of incidences, and a lack of commitment and mobilization toward action against violence.

Due to the public health implications of GBV, a number of initiatives are in place in KZN to empower women against violence. Some interventions include microfinance to provide credit for women to engage in income-generating activities and to lessen dependence on male partners, social support groups and shelters for battered women, and crisis centers in hospitals and clinics (Kim, et. al., 2007, p. 1794-1802). Despite these opportunities to empower women, they do not address the reality that poverty, limited decision-making capabilities, low social position, and high rates of abuse still surround South African women and limit their power to take control over their health and well-being.

Furthermore, the aforementioned interventions fail to address all of the aspects of GBV, particularly the role and potential of men. Instead of labeling men as the perpetrators, approaches by Men as Partners and Brothers for Life look to mobilize men as collaborators in the struggle to end GBV, promote gender equality, and protect health and safety. Activities do not simply include educating men on the consequences of GBV, but by motivating a change in social norms through promoting a culture of open dialogue and positive relationships. The movement also actively connects the promotion of health and gender-equality to a man’s role in the community

and family (Peacock & Levack, 2004, p. 175). This aims to encourage men and women to work together in this struggle and, with effort, can bring about true changes in social norms and improved gender relations.

Objectives of the Study

By working with the KZN Network's Prevention in Action (PIA) movement and interviewing experts in the field, I aim to: understand the role and potential of men to engage in preventing GBV; analyze how the KZN Network tries to mobilize both men and women in Wentworth to take action; and explore with the Network and community organizers their objectives, challenges, opportunities, and vision for the future of PIA and an end to GBV. I will achieve this through participant observation in PIA activities and cases at the Wentworth Victim Friendly Center (WVFC), formal and informal interviews with experts and community stakeholders, and personal reflections on my experiences. Moreover, I hope for my project to allow the KZN Network and grassroots organizers to reflect upon their experiences with PIA and to help them address challenges, meet opportunities, and ultimately reach the shared vision of sustaining PIA in Wentworth and implementing effective community GBV interventions for the future.

Brief Background on the KZN Network, the Prevention in Action Movement & Wentworth

This section will discuss the structure and aims of the KZN Network and the PIA movement. A deeper analysis of this intervention and the Network will be discussed in the "Findings and Analysis" section. KZN Network is an umbrella organization led by influential domestic violence activist, Ms. Cookie Edwards, that aims to prevent and, ultimately, eradicate all forms of violence in communities through: raising awareness of the issue, mobilizing individuals to take action, building capacity for community groups to sustain meaningful violence prevention activities, and to pressure law enforcement and public officials to take prominent roles in preventing and addressing violence in communities (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 1-2, unpublished). With funding from USAID and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), PCI, and its two partners, the KZN Network and WCN, are implementing a four-year program called the Social Mobilization to End Gender-Based Violence: An Essential HIV Prevention Strategy for South Africa. This aims "to address the prevention of HIV by reducing [violence against women] VAW through changing the social

norm of inaction in response to abuse to one of ACTION” (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, p. 1). Out of this overarching plan emerged a movement called, “Prevention in Action – Working Together to Prevent Violence against Women.”

Through this campaign, the KZN Network has chosen a myriad of communities (black, colored, Indian) in the eThekweni municipality that are particularly affected by violence and HIV/AIDS. Staff members recruit and train “Community Engagers” (CEs) from local service providers, who are strong male and female activists in their communities, to implement activities to mobilize men and women to take action against VAW. These service providers include: Department of Justice, Durban Coastal Mental Health, South African Police Service (SAPS)-Hillcrest, Wentworth Organization of Women (WOW), WVFC, SAPS-Kwamakhuta, Wentworth AIDS Action Group, Religions for Peace, and now Brothers for Life (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 3, unpublished). CEs recruit networks of “Community Influencers” (CIs) to form “Prevention in Action Groups” (PAGs) of community members who promote responses to violence, also known as actions against violence.

KZN Network has chosen Wentworth as its case study community to evaluate PIA for its funders. South of Durban, this predominantly colored suburb has suffered throughout its existence. During apartheid, it was proclaimed a “colored area” and was settled by families removed from Clairwood, Clare Estate, Sea Cow Lake, and Cato Manor (Parker & Eder, 2011, p. 4, unpublished). This resettlement brought together people of different communities, cultures, backgrounds, and experiences, which created a rough dynamic for Wentworth from the beginning. Its history is rife with gang violence, particularly during the 1970s and 1980s (Quentin, personal comm, Durban, 3/21/2012). Today, the suburb has a population of 30,000 people, with approximately 30% of men between ages 15 and 65 unemployed, and experiences: rising drug abuse and child prostitution, “high rates of alcohol abuse, domestic violence, teenage pregnancy, and rising HIV/AIDS incidence (Parker & Eder, p. 4). Wentworth is the home of three sectoral partners from which KZN Network recruited CEs: WOW, WVFC, and Wentworth AIDS Action Group.

In response to the double epidemic of HIV/AIDS and violence, and the gaps in women-focused initiatives, KZN Network has recently embraced a new layer of PIA for the Wentworth community: working with men, through the assistance of Brothers for Life, a national movement or “a call to action that seeks to mobilize the silent majority of South African men to action and

to be outspoken about the norms and values that actually underpin being a man in South Africa” (Johns Hopkins & Sonke Gender Justice, 2010, p. 2). This partnership aims to encourage constructive dialogue with women, reduce stigma, mobilize against violence, and advocate for stricter law enforcement. This opportunity is funded by the Gender Challenge Fund (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Brothers for Life Meeting, 4/11/2012). Brothers for Life recognizes that most men:

- “Do not have multiple and concurrent partners – more than 70% of younger men and 86% of older men” are in monogamous relationships
- “More than 70% of South African men have not committed sexual violence and the majority do not condone violence against women”
- “Men want to be involved in the pregnancy of their wives...and parenting” (Johns Hopkins & Sonke Gender Justice, p. 2).

These understandings motivate Brothers to assist the KZN Network in recruiting and training men in Wentworth who will carry out PIA activities, like CIs, with a particular emphasis on how to encourage men to take action against gender violence and HIV/AIDS (Srinivasulu, personal observation, 4/11/2012). Brothers for Life targets the potential of men to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviors, and social norms and focuses on the issues men want to discuss: reproductive health, violence, sex, HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections, relationships, and parenting (Johns Hopkins & Sonke Gender Justice, p. 4). Furthermore, this partnership strengthens the credibility of PIA throughout KZN as an organization that bridges the gap between women-centered and men-centered GBV interventions.

Rationale for the Study

As an intolerable violation of the human rights of men and women, GBV must be eliminated. While unjust and persistent, GBV is preventable. Interventions designed to empower women through education and microfinance to eliminate GBV exist. While women deserve opportunities for self-efficacy, these narrow interventions fail to recognize more of the core causes of GBV: relationships between men and women and violence as a social norm. To truly end GBV and promote health and safety, men must be motivated to take action, the norm of violence and inaction against violence must be eliminated, and men and women must no longer be afraid or ashamed of voicing their experiences and concerns. With these interests and aims in mind, Nhlanhla Vezi of the Valley Trust and Brothers for Life put me in contact with an

organization that embraces my interests: the KZN Network on Violence against Women. It is crucial to explore such a program, which combines social mobilization, engagement of men and women, and community ownership, to determine whether this strategy is truly effective in promoting an end to GBV. If effective, communities around the globe can implement this strategy. Moreover, my exploration with the KZN Network and the Wentworth community will provide the Network, CEs, and CIs with an understanding of their challenges and opportunities to help refocus on its vision for the future: sustaining PIA and continuing to design and implement effective community-based GBV interventions that will lead to a safe, healthy, and equitable society for all.

Form of the Study

Throughout this report, the terms “gender-based violence” and “violence against women” are used; however, they are not used interchangeably. As previously stated, USAID conveys that “GBV results in physical, sexual, and psychological harm to both men and women and includes any form of violence or abuse that targets men or women on the basis of their sex... [It] is intended to maintain gender inequalities and/or reinforce traditional gender roles for both men and women” (USAID, 2009, p. 1). For women, this can include marital rape, sexual violence, forced marriage, and more. For men, this not only includes physical, emotional, psychological, or sexual battering by women upon men, but also includes violence committed by men upon other men on the basis of perceived masculinity or “manliness,” such as abusing another man based on homosexual orientation. On the other hand, VAW, as defined by the United Nations, involves: “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life” (World Health Organization, 1997, p. 1). This shows that VAW is just one component of the broader issue of GBV and is, therefore, not interchangeable with GBV.

As explained above, the KZN Network on Violence against Women implemented PIA in order to achieve a society free of VAW. Throughout the course of the movement, it has been realized that the rhetoric of VAW alienates a crucial partner: men. As a result, the KZN Network is collaborating with Brothers for Life to mobilize more men in the movement and is beginning to change its rhetoric to GBV, but not completely. Therefore, when I draw upon the perspectives

and words of the Network and its written reports, the term “VAW” will be used in order to maintain the integrity of words spoken and the written objectives of the KZN Network and PIA.

However, as will be further analyzed in the “Findings and Analysis” section, GBV encompasses violence perpetrated upon and by both men and women on the basis of gender and sexual orientation. Through my observations and reflections upon discussions with men and women in and out of Wentworth, it is clear that men experience violence too and the PIA is designed in a way that can, and should, mobilize men and women to stop perpetrating violence upon one and other. VAW is not the only atrocity that occurs upon Wentworth people; men too experience abuse and have a role to play in ending it. While violence specifically against women is more widespread in Wentworth, GBV represents a truer illustration of violence in Wentworth. Therefore, I have decided to use the term GBV throughout this report to reflect the reality of violence in South Africa and the need to recognize this reality.

Moreover, the “Findings and Analyses” section is organized in a way that presents the sociohistorical context of masculinities and GBV to offer the reader a greater understanding of the importance of mobilizing men in a movement to end GBV. Next is a deeper analysis of the KZN Network and the PIA movement to deepen the understanding of the organization and the intervention. Afterwards is an analysis of the rhetoric of GBV and VAW used in PIA, to ensure that the reader understands this concept throughout the report and internalizes the importance of mobilizing men and women in the fight against GBV. The sections that follow delve into the various challenges and opportunities of PIA in Wentworth and the interaction among community organizers and the KZN Network, concluded by an exploration of the future of PIA. Recommendations that are offered throughout these sections are largely based off of suggestions from informants and reflections of my experiences with PIA.

METHODOLOGIES

This independent study project was primarily carried out as a practicum and social analysis in Durban Central at the KZN Network for Violence against Women and in the Wentworth community. Originally, this study aimed to explore with the Network and community stakeholders PIA activities, objectives, vision, opportunities, and challenges. I was going to take a three-thread approach to interweave a description of PIA activities and methodologies; reflections of the KZN Network, CEs, and CIs regarding their work in the community and how they make meaning of their work; and my reflections of my experiences. However, as I will discuss in the limitations section, I could not organize interviews with the KZN Network staff due to their extremely busy and stressful schedules. Additionally, the knowledge I gained from interviews and my opportunities to interview a variety of PIA stakeholders added to my new direction.

Therefore, this report is a case study on the PIA movement in Wentworth. It explores the relationship between the KZN Network and its grassroots-level organizers in Wentworth as they collaborate to achieve an end to VAW through the PIA movement. It takes an assets-based exploratory approach to understand gaps and challenges in KZN Network interaction with CEs, as well as with CE interaction with PIA in Wentworth. But more importantly, the study analyzes positives aspects of the relationship and the movement, and identifies opportunities and recommendations as PIA moves forward and as the KZN Network takes on other community-based VAW projects in its future.

Process Use Evaluation Method

This assets-based exploratory approach is not a critique of the KZN Network and PIA. Patton (1998) describes a concept called “process use” in evaluation, which refers to “what happens to people and organizations as a result of being involved in an evaluation process” (p. 225). In terms of PIA, how do community stakeholders become re-energized in the movement, how does the KZN Network adapt to lessons learned through evaluation, and how do community stakeholders change attitudes and behaviors in PIA as a result of their reflections during the process of interviewing? Patton offers multiple definitions of process use that informed my understanding of whether the process of evaluation through informal and structured interviews with community members positively impacted the PIA movement and the KZN Network:

- 1) The “process of taking people through goals-clarification is a change-inducing experience for those involved” (Patton, p. 226) It is my aim to remind community stakeholders about why there are involved in the movement, their true objectives, and how their actions are working toward achieving those goals. By seeing whether their attitudes and behaviors are working or not working toward achieving objectives, informants may begin to change their actions to return toward a path of achieving those goals.
- 2) To “facilitate communications among stakeholders....Enhanced communications and shared understandings can emerge through evaluation processes because it is the nature of evaluation to make values explicit” (Patton, p. 227). The process of interviewing community stakeholders allows me to capture the experiences and opinions of various people involved in PIA. They will be able to share their concerns and suggestions for improvement without penalty. My desire to learn, not judge or criticize, will serve as a platform for people to share their thoughts. With consent (which has been obtained from all), I will be able to convey to the KZN Network what people wish to communicate.
- 3) Patton explains, “when I take [informants] through the process of thinking about how they got from there to here, what’s influenced them, what’s affected their thinking, and where they see themselves trying to go in the future – they often report feeling changed in some way” (p. 228). The types of questions I will ask community stakeholders will allow them to reflect upon their experiences in Wentworth with GBV, why they joined PIA, how they make meaning of their work, and whether they can change to better achieve the mission of PIA. (Please refer to Appendix A for Interview Guides).

The intention is to give informants the opportunities to reflect on aspects of PIA they may not normally think about: their motivations for action against violence, what their work has achieved so far, the challenges they face, and the opportunities to move forward. They begin “process use” before encountering the findings of this report.

Primary Data

Primary data was gathered through participant observation, informal conversations, structured interviews, and PIA manuals from the KZN Network. This data largely informed the exploratory aspect of the study through revealing: individuals’ motivations to take action against violence; successes and challenges regarding PIA and the relationship between the KZN Network and community members and PIA activities in communities; how attitudes and behaviors have changed from PIA efforts; sustainability of PIA, and individuals’ visions for the future. The following sections discuss the use of these methods.

Participant Observation

The KZN Network allowed me to attend visible community actions (VCAs or PAC Actions), CE meetings, and debrief sessions where I gathered information through participant observation. I attended two PAC Actions in Wentworth and Molweni and took diligent notes on how the events were managed, the speeches that occurred, the interactions between KZN staff and CEs/CIs, and the engagement of community members. I also participated in these events. In Wentworth, I signed my name on the PIA Billboard, wrote a short, inspiring note about PIA and ending GBV, and released a balloon with other community members who signed the billboard. In Molweni, I marched down the street for five kilometers with the CEs, CIs, and community members cheering and chanting for an end to VAW. Though the chants and songs sung during the march were in isiZulu and were not translated for me, I tried to sing along anyway. I even began a round of “Shosholoza.” In Molweni, I took photographs for the KZN Network to post on the PIA Facebook page. By attending VCAs early on in my relationship with the Network, I was able to understand PIA immediately from a grassroots perspective, before reading any official documents on the movement.

I attended three official CE meetings, one in Durban Central and two in Wentworth, one of these being a Brothers for Life meeting, led by Cookie, Ntuthu, and/or Zine. During these meetings, I observed the objectives and lessons the Network aimed to impart upon the CEs. I also observed the interaction between CEs and the KZN Network staff. I attended one debrief session following the Wentworth PAC Action and observed the interaction between the staff and the CEs. This was all very helpful in order to offer a constructive evaluation of this relationship in this report.

Informal Conversations

During VCAs and CE meetings, informal conversations were held with CEs and CIs who seemed eager to share their experiences or who were talking amongst each other about interesting and relevant topics. During PAC Actions, I approached individuals to join in their conversations or to ask my own questions regarding GBV or PIA. During CE meetings, I approached individuals who posed interesting comments during the meetings so I could follow-up on their thoughts. Some informal conversations led me to obtain individuals’ contact information so we could follow-up with a structured interview. All of these individuals I spoke to

understood my status as a student studying and writing a report on community mobilization against GBV. These informal conversations pointed me toward understanding the challenges PIA faces, attitudes CEs hold toward the Network, constructive criticisms, and goals CEs hope to make realities. Notes were taken after the conversation. Therefore, exact quotes could not be captured and understandings of various issues may not have been translated to me effectively.

Phone Interviews

Two phone interviews were held with a CE from KwaMashu I met from the Coastlands Hotel CE meeting and a CI I met from the Molweni PAC Action. After our informal conversations, I wanted to learn more about their experiences. But because they lived too far away, I offered to do a phone interview and used my own airtime to pay for the charges. They were the first interviews conducted, which helped me form appropriate questions to ask for the remainder of CE and CI interviews. Notes were typed while the interview took place so exact quotes and understandings of various issues could be captured effectively.

Structured Interviews

I held multiple structured interviews with CEs, CIs, community members, and police officers I knew best from meetings and events, as well as through snowballing through one CE from WOW and one CE from Trauma. These individuals are of diverse ages, though all from Wentworth. Because the KZN Network asked me to observe cases in Trauma, the CEs connected me to police officers, community members, and CIs with whom to interview. I met with these individuals during their working day for approximately 30 minutes and asked them a series of open-ended questions regarding GBV, PIA, and their own motivations for taking action against violence. I also met Magdalene, a CE from WOW who took me under her wing, at the KZN Network during my “orientation” meeting with Cookie and Ntuthu. She kindly offered to connect me with two of her CIs. I met them at WOW and asked them a series of open-ended questions regarding GBV, PIA, and their own motivations for taking action, as well. These individuals interviewed are a few of the most active members of PIA in Wentworth. I met two CEs from Brothers for Life at the Brothers for Life meeting, explained my project objectives, and asked whether I could meet them at a later date and time. I met one CE at WOW and met another by Wilson’s Wharf in Durban. For all of these individuals, I verbally explained all aspects of informed consent on my written form and ensured they understood and agreed to the

terms of informed consent before proceeding with questions. For those individuals who wished to remain anonymous, a pseudonym was assigned. Others insisted that it was okay to use their real names. During all interviews notes were taken by hand.

All of the questions asked during the first three interviews with CEs and CIs were open-ended questions related to motivation to take action against violence, participation in PIA, changes in the community, successes and challenges of the movement, and their vision for the future. However, after observing and reflecting upon VCAs and meetings, I began to uncover other themes that I felt were worthwhile to pursue. So in addition to the aforementioned questions, I asked questions related to action-reporting and communication with the Network. After speaking to community members at the Arc, a homeless shelter near SAPS-Wentworth, I began to realize the extent of the negative impact of alcohol, drugs, and child prostitution on Wentworth and tailored questions for subsequent interviews appropriately. When interviewing men, more time was spent asking about challenges motivating men and why should and how men can be involved in this movement against GBV.

Reflections

Due to the confidential nature of observing domestic violence cases in WVFC, notes were not taken on these cases. Instead, I decided to reflect on my experiences in Trauma and in the Wentworth community and relate the real situations faced by individuals to how PIA aims to address them. These reflections inform a short narrative written in the “Findings and Analysis” section, my understanding of GBV in Wentworth, and my recommendations for the KZN Network, CEs, and CIs to address gaps and opportunities.

Documents

M&E and PIA background documents given by the KZN Network for me to read and use were hugely helpful for me to understand the history of PIA, its precise activities, and its relationship with USAID and PEPFAR. Furthermore, minutes and observations by an intern of a stakeholder focus group and CE meeting were used to better inform plans for the sustainability of PIA. I could not directly observe these sessions due to being ill.

Secondary Sources

Secondary sources were utilized to triangulate primary data regarding GBV and PIA in Wentworth to a larger context of GBV in South Africa. They aided in understanding the link between HIV/AIDS and GBV, how different aspects of the Colored masculine identity may shape attitudes and behaviors around GBV, abuse that women may commit upon men, and the role of alcohol abuse in shaping attitudes and behaviors toward violence. Documents used include policy briefs, peer-reviewed journal articles, publications developed by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and organizational web pages. One document was recommended and given in print by Clive Bruzas, but the other sources used were recommended and/or researched through George Washington University's Gelman Library online database of scholarly journals and peer-reviewed articles. Documents by USAID, Men as Partners, and Brothers for Life were found by directly visiting the organizations' websites and looking through their resource repositories.

While the Brothers for Life Facilitators Guide was used in this report because it informs the KZN Network's collaboration with Brothers for Life, it did not provide enough analysis or evaluation of its work in communities. On the other hand, Engender Health's program, Men as Partners, has a myriad of documents analyzing and evaluating its work in South African communities. The Men as Partners approach is very similar to the Brothers for Life approach, so the themes, lessons, and recommendations discussed in these materials can be applied to the larger discussion of GBV and PIA in Wentworth.

Limitations and Biases

As a case study, this report primarily captures the experiences and perspectives of individuals in Wentworth, rather than in each community in which PIA operates. While the experiences of masculinities, GBV, and PIA in Wentworth may apply to other communities in which KZN Network operates, the findings in this report cannot be generalized to other CEs and communities without conducting a similar exploration there as well. While most of these themes have relevance in other communities, experiences may be more or less crucial to the success and progress of PIA as they are in Wentworth. However, to inform my understanding of masculinities and GBV, opportunities to mobilize men against GBV, and recommendations to

improve action-reporting, the perspectives of two interviewees who work with PIA outside of Wentworth were utilized.

The snowballing method of gathering primary source informants also serves as a bias because many of the perspectives I have gained have been referred to me. These individuals are some of the more active members of PIA and are willing to share their stories, opinions, and criticisms. I may not have understood the entire scope of the relationship between KZN Network and the CEs of Wentworth, and I may not have understood all of the impacts seen through PIA. There may be more successes or challenges worth discussing, but not discovered because of the short amount of time to seek out and arrange interviews with a wide array of CEs, CIs, and community stakeholders. To account for this limitation, I have learned about Magdalene's own observations of PAC meetings in Wentworth which have informed parts of my understanding of the relationship between CEs and the KZN Network, the relationship between CEs and CIs, and opportunities for improved communication and interaction. Once again, this is the perspective of one person in Wentworth, therefore the whole picture may not be revealed through Magdalene's observations.

Due to time constraints from activities occurring at the KZN Network and in my own time with the Network and in Wentworth, I was unable to interview staff members. The Easter holiday and my own ISP research and writing time left very few hours and days to interview staff members, and most of their schedules did not fit appropriately with my own. Most importantly, because evaluators from USAID, PEPFAR, and the Gender Challenge Fund were coming to Wentworth at the end of April to evaluate PIA's progress and the collaboration with Brothers for Life, the staff was highly stressed and busy preparing for the funders. This stress may have also contributed to some of the conflicts and challenges in communication noted through observations and interviews and explored in the "Being a Good Listener" section under "Findings and Analysis." If this is the case, the data collected may have been shaped by the stress of activities in April. Regardless, it may be beneficial for the Network to see how stress from the funders impacted their relationship with Wentworth CEs.

As for biases, while structured interviews and informal conversations were excellent methods to gain primary data, I was unable to use a voice recorder during these meetings. Instead I took notes during the structured interview or reflected upon my informal conversations afterwards. While I did capture vivid words, note-taking hindered my ability to get full and rich

anecdotes from informants. I was unable to maintain consistent eye-contact with my informants; therefore, our interviews were less conversational. This limited personal touch may also have deterred individuals from candidly sharing more of their experiences and opinions with me.

Additionally, the motivated CEs interviewed for the study explained their reasons for why they believe other CEs, CIs, and community stakeholders are not as motivated to spread PIA. There may be conflicts among the CEs influencing their attitudes toward one another, some may not have had enough exposure to the CEs to fully understand if they are unmotivated, and “lack of motivation” may be misinterpreted to just being quiet and shy. If I had been able to interview these seemingly less motivated individuals directly, I may have understood their perspective and their reasons for their supposed inaction more clearly.

Another potential bias includes the relationship between PIA and changes witnessed and experienced in the community. All informants noted some level of change in the community regarding attitudes and behavior toward VAW and toward action against violence. However, the sample of individuals interviewed may reflect only a segment of those involved with PIA and may not fully illustrate perceptions of attitudinal and behavior change in Wentworth.

Other potential biases are in the interviews themselves. Several interviews have been disrupted due to phone calls received by the informant, or supervisors visiting the informant in their office for a quick chat. This may have impacted the informants’ train of thought as they shared experiences and perspectives, which would have caused me to not learn something they may have wanted to offer. I tried to eliminate this bias by reminding the informant of my question and what they had just said before they were interrupted.

Ethical Considerations

Community members in Wentworth have shared a considerable amount of constructive criticism through structured interviews, informal conversations, meetings, and events. The report will utilize much of the information shared by community members. Although verbal consent was obtained, I have taken great care to maintain confidentiality around statements, discussions, and observations that are particularly sensitive, harsh, and/or critical. All interviewees have been informed that if there is ever a time they want to retract their words, they may do so without penalty. Those who have already chosen to remain anonymous have pseudonyms with minimal identifying information.

Another ethical concern I have taken into account is telling the stories of those who shared their experiences with domestic violence in Wentworth Victim Friendly Center (WVFC). In order to maintain confidentiality and privacy, yet paint an accurate picture of GBV in Wentworth through these vivid stories, the narrative I constructed in the “Rhetoric: VAW or GBV?” section utilizes observations of these cases by taking experiences from different cases to create one story of GBV in Wentworth. This maintains the reality of GBV in Wentworth while preventing aspects of the story from being traced back to the experiences of one particular relationship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The following pieces of literature were used as key secondary sources for information regarding GBV in South Africa, approaches to community-based interventions, and methods of asset-based evaluation of a public health organization. These are essential texts to consult in this field of study:

Esplen, E., & Greig, A. (2007) Politicising masculinities: Beyond the personal.” *Institute of Development Studies*.

This article discusses the construction of masculinities in forming gender roles, attitudes toward health, and implications of gender-inequality. There are powerful anecdotes of men discussing their perspectives on forming masculinities and how interventions can target these aspects to mobilize men to participate in discussions on health, violence, sexuality, and gender equality. It also discusses action strategies to engage men. Though the article discusses these issues in a global context, much of the anecdotes are by South African men and most of the issues can be extrapolated effectively to the South African context.

Patton, M. (1998). “Discovering process use.” *Journal of Evaluation* 4.2.

This article discusses a concept called “process use,” which refers to changes in behavior among people and organizations that come about as a result of an evaluation process. He discusses how the process of evaluation should be an exploration and a participatory process involving the organization and stakeholders. His discussion on process use informs my methodology and purpose to assist the KZN Network, CEs, and CIs for this study project.

Peacock, D., & Levack A. (2004). The men as partners program in South Africa: Reaching men to end gender-based violence and promote sexual and reproductive health. *International Journal of Men's Health* 3.3, 173-188.

This article illustrates “lessons learned” from Engender Health’s South Africa program, Men as Partners (MAP): an intervention designed to engage men in the effort to end GBV and promote gender-equality, sexual health, and reproductive health. It provides background information on the state of gender violence in South Africa and the multifaceted MAP approach to engaging men in communities. The document also offers direct quotations by MAP facilitators and community participants to offer rich, anecdotal data on the effectiveness of the program and existing gaps to address. This document provides an example of a successful, evidence-based intervention for KZN Network to model after while implementing PIA activities. While MAP is phasing out of South Africa, Brothers for Life follow the same approach in engaging and mobilizing men in communities.

United States Agency for International Development. (March 2012). “Gender equality and female empowerment policy.” Retrieved on April 5, 2012 from USAID <www.usaid.gov>.

USAID’s policy brief on gender equality and female empower informs the KZN Network’s ultimate goals and missions: to help foster health, safety, and equality among men and women in communities around KZN. It discusses seven guiding principles of which KZN Network embraces through the PIA movement. This policy discusses social and economic consequences of gender inequality, changing norms in which women find more opportunities and challenges that continue to discourage gender equality and empowerment. USAID describes the overarching outcomes its activities, such as KZN Network’s PIA, aims to achieve. Lastly, USAID defines its own organizational role in these activities, which is helpful for KZN Network to understand in context of its donor-relationship with the Agency.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Masculinities: Challenges and Opportunities for True Engagement

“It is a slow process to get men to change their paradigm of thinking...men grew up in a culture where women were always inferior”¹

Organizations, researchers, and community workers in South Africa have commented extensively on the difficulties of engaging men to take action against GBV. Gender roles are deeply embedded into South African communities, particularly within which women are expected to be submissive to their husbands and men are expected to make the decisions. Focus groups conducted in Western Cape reveal a myriad of perspectives on gender roles that may shape the reluctance men have toward mobilizing against GBV. One woman stated, “If you are a woman, you are supposed to look after the house while the man goes out to work...men think they are bosses, they think whatever they say a woman must agree with even if it is wrong” (Strebel, et. al., 2006, p. 3). Men do not like to be told what to do, especially by a woman, nor do they want to be equal to women. These socially constructed gender roles, in which South African men equate masculinity with “dominance and aggression, sexual conquest, and fearlessness,” perpetuate the likelihood of men engaging in risky behavior (Peacock, Khumalo & McNab, 2006, p. 74). Risk behaviors include, but are not limited to, not using a condom, engaging in multiple concurrent relationships, and abusing alcohol and drugs, all put women at risk for violence and HIV/AIDS.

The likelihood of participating in these risk behaviors is further motivated by an identity and stereotype Colored men often embrace: the “macho man” (Dion, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). The “macho man” masculinity also relates to the concept of “hegemonic masculinity,” which refers to “dominant ‘acceptability norms’ of gendered behavior for men or boys...expected norms of masculine behavior and self-presentation...or ideal standards of masculinity...that which constitutes a ‘real man’ (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012, p. 24). Therefore, Colored men strive to achieve the “macho men” identity, the dominant paradigm and hegemonic masculinity In Wentworth. A real man cannot be seen defending a woman, sharing personal experiences, seeking healthcare, or resisting activities like alcohol and substance abuse, high-risk sexual behavior, and violence. Otherwise, he is labeled as a “sissy” or “coward” (Dion,

¹ Nhlanhla Vezi, personal comm, Westville, 3/1/2012.

personal comm, 4/17/2012). Due to this construction of masculine identity among many Colored men, “a lot of men” who embrace this identity “feel ashamed to report violence” (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Because of this stereotype, Dion, a young Brother in Wentworth and former CI, finds “it is hard” to engage men in a conversation around gender roles and GBV (Dion, personal comm, 4/17/2012).

To move forward, Men as Partners describes the importance of “engaging with the legacy of our past” in context of the vile history of oppression and deprivation inflicted upon marginalized South Africans throughout apartheid that impacted, and continues to impact, youth, poverty, aggression, relationships, and poor education (Peacock, Khumalo, & McNab, 2006, p. 78). Quentin, from the KZN Network, recalls his own childhood growing up in the colored township of Wentworth, a “hostile community,” in the 1970s and 1980s during which gang violence ravaged neighborhoods, destroyed families, and instilled fear among everyone. Quentin describes, “I grew up with so much hatred,” yet he became an activist against violence (personal comm, Durban, 3/21/2012). Others were not so motivated to adapt. After gangster violence of this era was eliminated by the power of the church in Wentworth, men began to return to their roles as the providers and the protectors, as husbands, boyfriends, fathers, and sons, as good men. However, with unemployment, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and the rising drug trade in Wentworth, the new generation of boys and young men “are falling off the foundations of the good men” (Luke, personal comm, Durban, 4/13/2012). Luke, a young Brother in Wentworth, calls these boys the “fatherless generation” because the good men of the past are not actively guiding the youth through these troubled times (personal comm, 4/13/2012). So these boys look back on the gangsters as role models and perpetuate a cycle of aggression and cruelty perceived as the meaning of masculinity.

While masculine identities are shaped through individual experiences and history, they are also shaped through social and cultural interactions. “This collective reality is an important reason why change in gender practice among men and boys is hard to start simply by persuasion” (Esplen & Greig, 2007, p. 18). In South African patriarchal society, men do not want to admit that their behaviors are inappropriate or harmful, they do not want to discuss sensitive and stigmatized issues, they do not want to be the lone man stepping away from the group, they do not want to be perceived as weak. “An individual man may be willing, but the institutional setting,” such as a school sports team, the workplace, or shebeen, “or the peer group culture,

pushes in the other direction” (Esplen & Greig, p. 18). Resistance from the group discourages the lone individual from pushing the boundaries and changing the social norm of inaction to action. Due to the inaction of fellow men, having men who are reluctant to take action, despite individual attitudes and beliefs, presents a complex challenge in mobilizing men to take action against GBV.

On the other hand, a survey by the Sonke Gender Justice reveals that there are men and boys who are strongly opposed to violence. They feel “that it is a fundamental violation of women’s human rights” because they too are affected when women they care about are raped and assaulted (Peacock, 2007, pp. 2). Interventions that truly aim to engage men, must remind them of their love and respect for the many women in their lives – mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and more. For instance, Rochelle, a young CI in Wentworth, suggests encouraging men to think of all women as someone else’s daughter. A good father would feel such pain knowing that his own daughter was hurt. So how could he do the same to another man’s daughter? (Rochelle, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Chantal, another CI in Wentworth, states, “A man who loves his wife...a man who has respect for women will be motivated to take action” against violence (personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012). And as Mbongeni, a young and idealistic CI from Molweni, articulates, “women are pillars of the country, of the world...we need to tell people how important women are” (phone interview, 4/9/2012). The KZN Network must mobilize those men who are willing to fight for the women in their lives, and should portray them as role models for men who are reluctant to step up.

Men who are hesitant to deviate from group or are focused on proving their masculinity in dramatic and high-risk ways need a role model to guide them in the right direction. By observing men in their community who speak out against violence, who treat the people around them with compassion and respect, and who appear to have achieved a positive place in life, can motivate inactive, disconnected, and self-destructive men to become activists in the fight against GBV. Despite the “macho man stereotype” inherent among Wentworth men, Dion adamantly states, “men do have a lot to offer” to the movement and to the end of GBV; “men have feelings, men care, they need a chance to stand together” (Dion, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Given the platform, men will gather.

Academics and researchers are encouraged to improve community GBV interventions to not only engage men in the conversation, but to transform perceptions of masculinities into

constructive identities that encourage collaboration with women, mobilization against violence, and a change in social norms. This view is supported by Esplen and Greig (2007) in that “[masculinity] is invested in intricate ways in the structures of our societies and in the relationships we have. Understanding masculinity and transforming it in positive ways will go a long way in bringing about a fairer, more just and happier world” (p. 13). In response to the gaps in mobilizing men, beginning a partnership with Brothers for Life and PIA in Wentworth will provide men with a platform for discussion, education, support, and mobilization on issues that concern men (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Brothers for Life Meeting, 4/11/2012). A “Brother” finds opportunities in the approach of transforming masculinities in positive ways to change social norms and bring about gender-equality. For instance, rather than continuously blaming men for the spread of HIV/AIDS, plight of vulnerable children, poverty, and broken family life, interventions like Brothers for Life has learned to “present men as potential partners capable of playing a positive role in the health and well-being of their partners, families, and communities” (Peacock & Levack, 2004, p. 184). Warrant Officer Reddy observes that while so few men in Wentworth are involved with PIA, it is possible that Brothers for Life will be effective “if it is run properly and if men are “committed to awareness” and “committed to getting involved” (personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). This assets-based approach shines positive light on the opportunities for men to work with women in communities to take action against GBV.

Organizing for Action

South Africa faces intolerable skyrocketing rates of reported and unreported violence, which continues to contribute to the unrelenting spread of HIV/AIDS among young women. PCI, the KZN Network, and WCN have designed the four-year Social Mobilization to End Gender-Based Violence program to respond to the twin epidemics. Funded by USAID and PEPFAR, this intervention aims to address the gender equality and empowerment outcomes highlighted by USAID: “Reduce gender disparities in access to, control over and benefit from resources, wealth, opportunities and services... Reduce gender-based violence and mitigate its harmful effects on individuals and communities, and Increase capability of women and girls to realize their rights...and influence decision-making” (USAID, 2012, p. 1). The intervention is in its fourth and final year of funding from USAID and PEPFAR. The program focuses on the eThekweni

municipality and Khayelitsha, with the hope that success will spread the movement beyond these districts (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 2, unpublished).

In 2009, the first year of the program, formative research with community stakeholders illuminated “norms related to VAW” which “led to a multi-faceted awareness building campaign from Women’s Month in August 2009 through the 16 Days of Activism to provoke debate around the question ‘What is keeping VAW alive?’” During the second year, formative research revealed that “people know that the norms legitimizing VAW are wrong, yet don’t know how to act to prevent VAW” (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 2, unpublished). As a result, KZN Network designed “Prevention in Action – Working Together to Prevent Violence against Women,” a campaign designed to engage civil society and sectoral partners to mobilize against the norm of inaction and to spark action against violence.

The Networks began to recruit teams of CEs in selected townships in which to implement PIA. CEs were already influential activists within their communities through their work with NGOs and public offices (SAPS, Department of Justice, etc). For instance, Uzzi, from KwaMashu, was a youth activist in his community who already talked about “motivating the guys not to hit the girls” in his youth groups. When PIA recruited him as a CE, he “did not hesitate” to participate (Uzzi, phone interview, 4/5/2012). The 53 active CEs must undergo a series of training sessions that continue throughout the four years of the program. CEs were to be trained in violence prevention, to recruit leaders (CIs) to spread the messages of PIA, to facilitate small group training sessions with CIs, and to provide their CIs with program support and materials as they conduct their activities and actions. CIs were meant to learn methods of active violence prevention, to form PIA Groups (PAGs) of individuals committed to ending VAW, and to spearhead “actions” that prevent violence and promote health, safety, and positive relationships (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 2, unpublished).

Year three focused on “deepening and enhancing responses to VAW prevention” to increase and promote “actions to stop VAW” by CEs, CIs, PAG-members, and community members (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 3, unpublished). For instance, in August 2011, PIA collected and shared through a DVD stories of action against violence in KZN and WC to celebrate women’s month. These stories “spotlight some of the brave...CEs, CIs, and PAGs who have taken individual and group action to stop violence against women. Each story told and shared represents another step toward ending violence against women” (Prevention in

action DVD, unpublished). For instance, Action 6 depicts a man who always came home late at night, drunk, and always forced his wife to have sex. The CI who intervened said, “I told him that women have the right to say no, when they’re not in the mood. We as men need to control ourselves because it’s her body” (Prevention in action DVD). Men in these situations often do not see the mistakes in their actions because of the cultural norm of men being the decision-makers, men being in control, and men being unquestionably right. But this story provides role models for men. It encourages CIs and PAGs to teach men that if one man steps out of the norm and tells others that their behavior toward women is unkind and unjust, and that there is a better way to behave, more men in that community may begin to change their ways.

VAW prevention actions (“actions”) are crucial components of the PIA strategy, in that “appropriate actions, in sufficient number at the community level will lead to a ‘tipping point’ where VAW is consistently addressed when it occurs, and where prevalence of VAW declines over time as primary prevention becomes the norm” (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, 2012, p. 3, unpublished). PIA aims to mobilize people against violence by changing the social norm of inaction to one of action against suffering, fear, and inequality in one’s community. This can be achieved through sharing ideas and stories, intervening in potentially violent situations, talking to those who may need guidance, and motivating community stakeholders to be part of and to help fund the movement (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). Currently, in year four, activities aim to grow and sustain the movement through increasing collaboration and program ownership among and potential funding for CEs, CIs, community members, and stakeholders through the formation of PIA Action Committees (PACs). CEs are tasked to integrate star CIs, PAGs, and a variety of community stakeholders to form these PACs with the intention of staging VCAs that improve the visibility of PIA and “build the enabling environment...for the prevention of VAW” (Monitoring, evaluation & reporting plan, p. 7). This final year, in which the future of PIA feels uncertain, presents the most challenges for PCI, the WC and KZN Networks, CEs, CIs, PAGs, and PACs. Yet, it presents the most opportunities for future development and expansion of PIA. Communities are now responsible for taking action against violence and mobilizing men and women with their own resources on their own terms.

Rhetoric: VAW or GBV?

It is Friday night in Wentworth and the bar is wild. Both have had one too many beers, but neither are willing to step away from the tense situation. He accuses her of spending more time at the tavern than taking care of the children. She yells at him for being too drunk to even know their children. He accuses her of cheating on him. She goes on a tirade about how worthless and lazy he is. He works too much, but has nothing to show for it. He cannot afford a real house for his family. “What kind of man are you?” she shrieks. She goes on and on, calling him awful names and cursing him. People walk by who recognize the fighting couple. This argument is sure to be the neighborhood gossip in the morning. He is furious, ashamed, and hurt, but he keeps his cool. Then she punches him in the face. Unable to control himself any longer, he grabs her by the shoulders, digs his fingers into her skin and holds her away, trying to keep her from hurting him anymore. He leaves bruises. He spends the night in jail. When he is released, he is trembling from fear and desperation. He loves his family, but he cannot take the taunting and cursing. Enough is enough. She is too afraid to go back to living with him. He cannot give her that safe and happy home that she has always wanted. Enough is enough. Lesson learned: violence is a two-way street.²

Dozens of interventions exist to promote an end to VAW. However, how does an organization expect men to be actively engaged when the interventions designed not only leave men behind, but label them as perpetrators rather than collaborators in developing solutions? It appears that KZN Network unintentionally struggles with this rhetoric. Wentworth CEs, CIs, community members, and even the KZN Network staff interchangeably define their roles in the community and in the Network as promoters of GBV *and* VAW prevention. For instance, at the Wentworth PAC Action, Magdalene spoke to the crowd about “how” ordinary people can “take action against gender violence” in their communities. However, when a religious leader began the event by invoking the presence of God, he announced, “we must ask the Lord to bring men together to stand together against women abuse” (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth PAC Action, 3/21/2012). This colliding rhetoric conveys a misperception of what the KZN Network is trying to achieve: an end to VAW or an end to GBV? Not only is there a difference in the two formal definitions (as stated in the “Introduction”), these words convey different meanings when heard and seen.

After initiating the partnership with Brothers for Life, the KZN Network is beginning to grow more cautious over its use of VAW and use more GBV language. However, PIA

² This narrative is a composite story loosely based off of the various experiences of men and women observed at WFVC. To prevent the circumstances of any one particular story being traced back to the individuals involved, the experiences of numerous relationships were observed and utilized.

communications materials, speeches, training sessions, and even the name of the Network still encourage an end to VAW, rather than GBV, which challenges PIA's ability to truly engage Wentworth men in the movement (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth PAC Action, 3/21/2012). For instance, Uzzi notes that by simply wearing and displaying the tee-shirt that says "I AM TAKING ACTION TO PREVENT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN," already "gives the message that men are not invited" to participate in the movement "because they are the ones causing VAW to happen...without them, there would be no violence" (phone interview, 4/5/2012). Additionally, Luke comments, "When I hear 'violence against women,' it becomes very narrow...in terms of the assistance that will be given," therefore "PIA sounds exclusive," it is "directed specifically to women" (personal comm, Durban, 4/13/2012). Therefore men feel as though they are not part of the movement. This rhetoric gives the movement a woman's face, which suggests that "men are not invited," thus it alienates them as the perpetrators of violence, without room for discussion, relationship-building, and collaboration with women (Uzzi, phone interview, 4/5/2012).

It is crucial to convey the message of ending GBV, rather than VAW, because men do, in fact, experience violence by women or by other men.

The current gender-based violence paradigm tends to neglect the ways in which much of the violence that men experience at the hands of other men is based in dominant gender ideologies. Most societies are characterized by understandings and practices of gender that subordinate the feminine to the masculine in a hierarchical relationship of domination, in which men exercise power and control not only over women but also over other men in order to secure their own masculinity. Acts of physical, sexual, and verbal abuse that men perpetrate against other men are then, in part, a gender practice of masculine domination that, by victimizing the other male, also feminizes him. (Esplen & Greig, 2007, p.33).

This does not necessarily mean that men need to be looked at as victims on the same level as women. Rather, interventions must recognize the real experiences of gender violence that men face. For instance, Warrant Officer Munsami of SAPS-Wentworth explains that there are many cases in which women harm their male partners through physical and/or emotional abuse, but men are usually too ashamed to report these cases to the police or to crisis centers (personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). At the same time, if men do report cases, police officers find it difficult to determine whether or not the man is lying.

Additionally, CEs note that alcohol abuse, particularly among Wentworth women, plays a role in physical and verbal abuse on male partners. According to Tyniele, a CE from Wentworth, “people in Wentworth do not know how to handle their alcohol”. They drink, not just enough to gain a comfortable buzz, but they drink themselves into a stupor (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). This level of alcohol abuse impairs judgment and makes people overly sensitive in interactions with people. Though men are guilty of acting aggressively when under the influence and assaulting their partners, the women of Wentworth react in similar ways (personal observation, WVFC, 4/12/2012). For instance, Siphiwe, a Zulu man who works at a refinery in Wentworth, recalls how his colleague’s wife, a colored woman from Wentworth, threw a pot of burning oil into her husband’s face when intoxicated (personal comm, Durban, 4/23/2012). It must be understood that men are not the only ones perpetrating GBV when under the influence of alcohol.

To move forward, Tyniele feels that men and women must understand that “violence against women is violence against all” (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). When a child’s mother is abused, that child is also affected. He or she may experience abuse too; may be deprived of education, food, and school because the mother is too weak, battered, emotionally hurt, and/or poor to take care of the child. Or, the child may observe the abuser and learn from these cruel actions. Boys make meaning of masculinity and manhood by observing the older men in their lives. If they see men abuse women, engage in high-risk behavior, and act with disregard and disrespect for their families, boys will grow into men that follow the same pattern of violence. Whether or not the man is the abuser, men are also affected. Men as Partners explains how its community activities help men “to see that the use of violence and the domination of women may grant some men a fleeting sense of power, but that, in the long run, the values and attitudes endorsing this behavior inevitably also produce men who are disconnected from their own humanity, isolated, and often hell-bent on a futile and self-destructive quest to prove their manhood” (Peacock & Levack, 2004, p. 178). Magdalene suggests that using GBV, instead of VAW, with PIA “should have happened a long time ago” to illustrate to that men, too, are valuable members of the conversation and the solution (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). This is not because they perpetrate VAW, but because they too experience violence, are affected by violence, *and* are able to mobilize for action against violence.

By engaging both men and women in the conversation, men and women will see themselves as partners in the movement. This will provide a safe platform for them to discuss their concerns, opinions, hopes, and solutions regarding any form of gender violence. Wendy, a CE, counselor at WVFC, and long-standing activist against VAW, reiterates, men “just want to get involved...they too have issues to deal with” (personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). This is where the partnership between PIA and Brothers for Life in Wentworth plays a crucial role. Pastor Augustine says, “There are a lot of good men in Wentworth who want to see change in their community” (personal comm, Wentworth, 4/12/2012). Dion emphasizes, “Give [men] a platform” to speak about their concerns, their experiences, their stories, “that alone will be enough” to spark the conversation around sensitive issues and mobilize men against GBV (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Brothers for Life can provide the men of Wentworth with the safe platform they need in order to be engaged with their community and take steps forward to become a better man. After years of feeling as though PIA is for-women, by-women, the Brothers for Life partnership and approach will allow the men of Wentworth to understand how their participation in PIA is not only welcome, but necessary to achieve true social transformation for all.

Even before Brothers for Life, male and female CEs and CIs tried to embrace similar principles in order to reach men in their communities. For instance, Uzzi explains, “I always come to them as a man. I always give my story first” (phone interview, 4/5/2012). Then he asks those men to share their own advice for the situation Uzzi presents. This strategy incorporates men in the conversation and values their voices, rather than accuse men of being perpetrators of violence or non-activists. By understanding the attitudes and beliefs of the men Uzzi interacts with, he can then encourage them to either change their attitudes or to motivate them to be active participants in the movement. With Uzzi, the biggest topic of discussion is often: “what we can do as men...to avoid problems with our women” (phone interview, 4/5/2012). Though Tyniele primarily works with youth and young women, she encourages men not to feel ashamed to report cases of GBV to SAPS and/or WVFC. If they do not want to be seen reporting their cases, she recommends them to call whichever source is best for their situation and make a private appointment to maintain confidentiality while dealing with the problem and keep that “macho man” appearance to the rest of the community (Tyniele, personal comm, Wentworth, 4/17/2012).

Without acknowledging men as key stakeholders in the fight against violence and HIV/AIDS, and recognizing their capabilities of contributing to true attitudinal and behavioral change, interventions miss a critical opportunity to engage men in health and social issues. Instead, they are left in the background, labeled as perpetrators and enemies, rather than as collaborators. As a result, despite all of the work done to raise awareness and empower individuals against VAW, the same practices of gender inequality will continue to drive the twin epidemics.

Motivation for Action

Implementing and maintaining a social mobilization campaign of this magnitude and sensitivity cannot be executed successfully only with money and material resources. Human capital is the number one resource of PIA, especially when money and material resources are not available. To utilize human capital to its full potential, individuals in PIA need *motivation* to facilitate change and improve health and safety for all. Despite challenges and difficulties, unwavering motivation resonates within members of all levels of the Wentworth movement to foster true change in social norms surrounding violence and inaction. When asked why CEs, CIs, and ordinary community members in Wentworth engage in the PIA movement, responses shared the common theme of passion to help one's community improve and the adamant belief that they, as individuals and by working together, can affect change.

By working with the KZN Network, Chantal is determined to provide women with opportunities they did not have previously in a society that was not only dominated by men, but that oppressed and silenced women. She passionately states, "Women have been quiet for far too long...it's time for women to speak up about what has been happening to them" (Chantal, personal comm, WOW, 4/10/12). She is committed to finally providing opportunities for women to speak about a topic that has been too stigmatized and private to discuss. Similarly, Wendy explains, "It's wrong, it's not fair for a woman to be abused" (personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). She knows that she can play a role in driving the rates of violence down, inside and outside of Trauma. She is certain that her expertise and determination can improve the health and safety of her community. Wendy wants the world to hear the voices of the marginalized and silent; women in Wentworth "have had enough" (personal comm, 4/11/2012). It is time they finally take a stand.

Rochelle remembers growing up in a home where her uncle would constantly beat her aunt. She worked hard to prevent her baby cousin from “seeing all of that” and began to be an activist for youth in her school and church. She sees how youth do not speak out about their experiences because they feel that there is no one behind them, no one to support them. Rochelle wants her peers to feel safe. She wants them to speak out against violence, to understand that they are not alone, and to recognize that they all can have a future without abuse (Rochelle, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012).

Women of the Arc, a homeless shelter in Wentworth, highlight their personal experiences as victims of violence, which motivates their participation in PIA. For instance, Natasha shared, “I witnessed my parents fighting...it’s a very ugly thing, especially for a child to witness” (personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012). Like many women in Wentworth, Natasha could not escape abuse as she grew up. But now, she takes action to prevent anyone – man, woman, or child – from experiencing what she did. She, Sophia, and Jean (other women in the shelter) want their fellow community members to lead lives “with more peace and less violence” and to achieve this by “working together as a community” (Jean, personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012).

Luke calls violence “the language of a fool” because men and women who are violent are unable to express themselves. Though idealistic, he takes action against violence because he “would like to see a better world” starting with Wentworth, his home (Luke, personal comm, Durban, 4/13/2012). Dion is motivated by the life he had growing up. Though he was raised by his grandmother to respect women, he “saw a lot of women get abused in [his] childhood” and, as an adult, Dion feels he has a responsibility to end that (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012).

Tyniele takes action against GBV because she “[comes] from an abusive relationship,” but she found the courage to leave him (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). She also remembers how her mother faced a burden of verbal and emotional abuse from her boyfriends. In Wentworth, Tyniele had been surrounded by a violent environment, but she makes it her mission to prevent others, especially youth, from living in the same type of hostile and aggressive space that she did. She strongly believes that “prevention is better than cure” when it comes to GBV (Tyniele, personal comm, 4/17/2012). Teaching this must begin with youth in order to facilitate a true generational shift in the social norm of inaction to one of action. And with a laugh, she emphasizes, “I’m all about positivity and happiness...I just want to help men and women be the best they can be” (Tyniele, personal comm, 4/17/2012).

Magdalene also recalls her childhood in which she witnessed her stepdad abuse her mother over and over again. She does not want any woman to experience what her mother went through (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). PIA goes beyond her work at WOW by providing her with more opportunities imaginable to make a difference in her community. Magdalene is utterly passionate about her work. As a CE, she considers her role to be “to prevent violence by encouraging my community – ordinary community members – to take action” and change the culture and mindset of inaction to one of action against violence (personal comm, 4/11/2012). Committed, hard-workers like Magdalene do not exist everywhere. Motivated and passionate leaders, who are not only dedicated to making change, but really do everything in their power to achieve change, are valuable members needed to strengthen and sustain this movement.

When asked the same question, three police officers from SAPS-Wentworth cited the unjustness and unlawfulness of violence as their primary motivation for taking action. While Warrant Officer Munsami simply describes violence as “unlawful,” Sergeant Brigetta takes it a step further: “violence is wrong,” it is simply “not the answer,” and it is “a policeman’s duty” to take action against what is wrong (personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Moreover, Warrant Officer Reddy states, “I don’t like to see the unjust situations” as witnessed through his work on the streets of Wentworth (personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Though the officers are not involved explicitly with PIA and face countless types of crimes and concerns to address in the community, they work closely with WVFC and are determined to achieve justice for the ordinary people of Wentworth and an end to GBV.

As noted in the methodologies section, I have only been able to interview formally CEs, CIs, and community stakeholders who are “active” in PIA or in GBV-prevention, and who are eager to speak to me about the movement and GBV in their communities. These individuals are some of Wentworth’s most dedicated members of PIA. Based on my observations at the Wentworth PAC Action and discussions with Magdalene, some CEs and CIs are losing their energy and passion for PIA. At the Wentworth PAC Action debrief session, after Cookie left the conversation for a moment, one woman complained about Cookie’s harshness about the lack of community members the event attempted to gather: “We are all trying,” the woman whined, “but if people don’t want to come what can you do?” (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth PAC Action, 3/21/2012). While some CEs are more motivated to keep trying, any lack of

motivation is deleterious to the sustainability of PIA. These individuals must be reminded about why they take action, why they work with PIA, and how they can achieve their vision for the future. CEs and CIs must communicate with the Network their needs and desires for support and encouragement so that all will be motivated to push the movement forward.

Being a Good Listener

Communication and listening are critical components for a successful relationship between the KZN Network and the 8 CEs, 12 Brothers, and numerous CIs, PAGs, and PACs that the Network directly and indirectly oversees in Wentworth alone. While the Network has strategies, plans, experience, and resources informing PIA activities, those working in Wentworth have the expertise and understanding of the community context in which PIA activities must be implemented. They understand the flaws in certain activities and have crafted, on their own, solutions to respond to such issues. They witness what works in their neighborhoods and try to expand upon those strategies. They see gaps in implementation and evaluation of activities that fail to address certain aspects of GBV prevention and try to address those gaps in the community or bring them to the attention of the KZN Network. As the Network begins to hand over the reins of PIA fully to the CEs, what they need the most from the KZN Network is to have their voices heard.

At every CE debrief or meeting I have attended since the first Wentworth VCA in late March, staff from the KZN Network sternly comment on the lack of action and visibility of PIA in Wentworth. With disappointment, Cookie declares, “you see absolutely nothing” in terms of PIA visibility and community mobilization, and “no action” despite all of the money and resources pumped into the project in Wentworth (personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). The KZN Network never fails to remind Wentworth that other communities, like Molweni, have fewer resources from the Network, yet there is a lot of action and community involvement in PIA. Many CEs argue that Wentworth is a different community than Molweni, with different people and different circumstances that shape how PIA can take hold in a community. The KZN Network comes across as insensitive to the different community contexts when comparing progress in Wentworth and Molweni, and appears to accuse the Wentworth CEs and CIs of being too lazy (personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). Rather than blame the individuals, it may be more effective to work with Wentworth CEs and CIs to identify mistakes made in marketing

the movement, organizing VCAs, coordinating CI, PAG, and PAC sessions, and stimulating actions and action-reporting among CIs. This way, PIA activities can be tailored toward the specific experiences, assets, and opportunities the CE and his or her CIs and PACs possess.

While the Network portrays a harsh message of disappointment in the efforts of Wentworth CEs, Cookie does remember to say to all, “the work you are doing in the field is very much appreciated...it does not go unnoticed” (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). However, CEs and CIs do not feel like valued members of the movement. While CEs face tension with the KZN Network regarding miscommunication and timely payment of stipends, thus growing disengaged from the movement, CIs, especially the active CIs, feel as though there are not enough opportunities for them to get involved (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). CIs want to be involved outside of CI sessions and meetings with their PAGs. Yet the opportunities to be involved, to own the movement and work with one another to take action against GBV, are not clearly articulated to CIs through CEs and the KZN Network. A lack of support from CEs has impacted CIs understandings of their roles and responsibilities, which prevent the movement from progressing forward (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012).

While Cookie surely values the hard work of all grassroots organizers, the stress of evaluations from USAID and PEPFAR causes a hint of desperation to taint her strong and blunt tone. With the realization that there are five short months remaining in the program and that there have only been 345 reported actions for 5114 CIs in the eThekweni municipality, Cookie has stepped up her pressure. She pushes her CEs by expressing the Network’s disappointment: “we do so much to please you, but we are not pleased in return” (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). With all of the resources Cookie puts into Wentworth, there is little progress, in terms of actions reported and visibility of the movement, observed. This harshness, desperation, and frustration may not be the best tone or method to motivate CEs and CIs to take more action against violence. There must be a reason why Wentworth struggles to mobilize the community, especially because there are some stellar CEs and CIs that go above and beyond their responsibilities and are truly committed to achieving an end to GBV.

In relation, Cookie’s sharp tone when she speaks to CEs, especially when frustrated or impassioned, may be a barrier in fostering communication. Though she makes it clear to CEs

that her door is always open and “don’t hesitate to call,” she seems to intimidate individuals into avoiding her offers of open communication (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Brothers for Life Meeting, WOW, 4/11/2012). Wentworth CEs, in particular, face the brunt of her frustration when she comments on the lack of action and visibility of PIA in the community. During the debrief session at the Wentworth PAC Action, when Cookie and Ntuthu stepped away from the group for a moment, a few more individuals were willing to voice their frustrations or explain their challenges in encouraging community members to come to the event. But when the Network resumed the debriefing, some of these people returned to silence (personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). Though Cookie’s assertiveness, intelligence, and way of communicating with importance and urgency is a clear asset to the KZN Network in terms of achieving goals, fulfilling responsibilities, and engaging partners, this may alienate and intimidate people in the grassroots.

Additionally, the staff’s use of technical jargon and large terminology as they explain aspects of PIA and M&E further alienate ordinary people. At the CE Meetings at the Coastlands Hotel and WOW, the staff discussed topics and attempted to clarify questions using M&E terminology, rather than answering questions in simple and straight-forward terms (Srinivasulu, personal observation, 4/3/2012 & 4/18/2012). Not only is this difficult for ordinary people, without backgrounds in M&E, to understand, they do not want to voice their questions, opinions, or concerns out of fear of seeming unintelligent, fear of asking inappropriate or repetitive questions, or shame of not being as “educated” as the KZN Network. Furthermore, CEs absolutely loathe to be told by the KZN Network: “you do not understand.” They are frustrated when they hear this because they see themselves as the community experts, who may not be as educated or professional as those from the Network, but who live with and experience GBV and GBV-prevention every day in Wentworth (personal observation, Srinivasulu, Wentworth, 4/20/2012). Despite the urgent need for results at this time, when funding for PIA will soon end, it is vital for the Network to convey themselves *not* as intimidating, disconnected, and the overarching figure that still controls PIA activities, but as equal partners, as assistants, and as guides to achieve the shared vision for an end to GBV. If CEs continue to feel frustrated, stressed, and beneath the Network, some will begin to lose their motivation for PIA, which will impact negatively the network of people they have influenced in Wentworth and will reduce the future reach and power of the movement..

While it seems as though CEs struggle to have their voices heard by the Network, there have been many positive responses by KZN to concerns and suggestions from CEs. For example, at a CE Meeting, one told Cookie that people did not want to put PIA stickers on the outside of their cars because they would come off when washed. But the stickers are not designed to be stuck on the inside of a car. Cookie commented, “excellent point,” and immediately took note on the suggestion and promised to find a way to have “inside-style” stickers printed given the CEs promise to encourage their CIs and their PAGs to put up these stickers in windows, cars, storefronts, and more (personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). This is an excellent example of a CE taking the initiative to voice concerns based on interactions with the community and the KZN Network responding to the concern.

CEs share great concern over CIs’ motivation for PIA because of the lack of incentives they receive, while the CEs receive stipends, tee-shirts, bags, and more. During the debrief session at the Wentworth PAC Action, there was a heated discussion regarding how there is “no action” in Wentworth, “all certified CIs with certificates and no action.” KZN Network repeatedly asked, “what can we do?” to motivate CIs to take action and report it to the Network. While some CEs quietly suggested offering the CIs material and communicative support to make them “feel like a team,” KZN Network was not as responsive as the CEs would have hoped (personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). However, at the CE Meeting, Cookie asked what they could do for the CIs to make them feel more unified and truly valued and part of this movement against violence. The CEs quickly responded with different items the CIs would appreciate, such as tee-shirts, shopping bags, and caps. While this was happening, several CEs discussed quietly how they often brought up the issue of CIs feeling undervalued and the Network being unresponsive (personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). Perhaps if CIs have the occasional opportunity to share their voices directly, then the Network will be empowered to respond to their concerns and needs more actively.

Effective communication and clarification of activities, needs, and regulations to CEs and CIs is a major challenge for KZN Network. Magdalene and Tyniele note that PCI will train CEs on one sort of activity and leave KZN Network to implement it. But once it is time for implementation, the Network may modify this activity and not tell the CEs that it has been altered from the original way learned (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Magdalene adds that this causes “more stress than reward” when trying to be effective and efficient

(personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Additionally, CEs share how “discouraging” it is when KZN Network discusses one thing during CE meetings, but then changes their mind later just as they are about the relay information to CIs (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). With this lack of clarity and consistency, there is always a bit of tension between the CEs and KZN Network.

On the other hand, there are times in which the Network successfully clarifies crucial components of the program and re-energizes participants. For instance, Arlene was originally against the concept of PACs because she felt “stakeholders” were too involved in their own agenda to put any attention or effort in PIA work. She felt that CEs already do the work that community stakeholders were supposed to do. However, Cookie clarified examples of stakeholders a CE could have in his or her PAC, such as traditional healers, pastors, law enforcement, CIs, family members, and ordinary members of the community. Cookie insisted that ordinary community members are the most important to have in PACs because they have the passion to keep their communities safe and in every community there are people to whom “everyone generates,” like shebeen owners, barber shops, and more because these people know and talk to everyone (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). These are the people PACs need to sustain the movement. Now, Arlene understands that she can involve in her PAC anyone who is committed to PIA and to ending GBV.

As discussed in the “Methodologies” section, this report is informed by a concept called “process use” in which the process of me carrying out this exploration of PIA and the KZN Network through interviewing community stakeholders aimed to incite reflection, learning, and motivation to change and improve. One important role of process use is to “facilitate communications among stakeholders” since “enhanced communications and shared understandings can emerge through evaluation processes because it is the nature of evaluation to make values explicit” (Patton, 1998, pp. 227). In particular, it is the nature of this exploration to reveal challenges and opportunities for improvement for PIA in Wentworth through interviewing various stakeholders. Therefore, this section was able to capture the perspectives of those involved with PIA and share these stories to the KZN Network to help staff understand what some people wish to communicate, but may be too shy or reluctant to do so.

Action Reporting Disconnect

As previously discussed in “Organizing for Action,” performing visible actions and small interventions in communities is a crucial component of PIA and its evaluation. Magdalene’s PAC action in March kicked off the beginning of a series of VCAs that will be occurring for the next five months. These actions are designed to make PIA visible to the community, spark community interest in and awareness of the movement, to work toward bringing men, women, and children together to take action against GBV, and to solidify PIA as a permanent presence in the community (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). PAC actions are designed to take place in areas of the community where GBV is known to occur. For example, in Molweni, the first VCA took place at the KwaMageza Tavern, which is a “known crime scene for most of the reported and unreported cases of violence and abuse against women in Molweni” (Report: Molweni PAC action, 2012, p. 1, unpublished). This symbolism encourages individuals in the community to take ownership of the issue and to be unified in a solution to prevent GBV. But, these large, visible actions are not the only kinds of actions on which PIA thrives. It is the actions of individuals that the KZN Network records through its *SalesForce* database to monitor the engagement of CIs and the strength of the movement in the community. When asked, CEs and CIs were eager to share actions they performed in Wentworth over the past two years.

Chantal recalls a situation in which her neighbor, a young woman who “kept to herself,” was the victim to repeated beatings from her husband. Everyone in the area knew her husband was beating the poor woman, but did not do anything about it. “Nobody [wants] to get involved” in someone else’s business. One day, Chantal went to her and told her straightforwardly, “I know what’s going on.” The young woman spilled her story to Chantal. She was terrified that if she reported the beatings to the police that she and her kids would not survive because her husband was the “breadwinner” in the family, and he would have a criminal record. Chantal offered the young woman a kind ear to listen to her story and referred her for further action to WVFC where trained counselors offered support and guidance. While she did not press charges, the mediation in Trauma scared enough sense into her husband. If he hit her again, he would be arrested. Chantal has followed up on the young woman and has found that their relationship is “perfect” (personal comm, WOW, 4/1/2012).

Magdalene and her CIs have performed a number of actions. In one instance, she worked with her CIs to bring peace to a home rife with violence. She recalls her neighbor locked in her

home, suffering abuse from her husband, with her kids trapped inside. The small children were screaming for help from the inside of the house. Magdalene and one CI went to SAPS-Wentworth to inform the police while two other CIs encouraged neighbors to get the husband to unlock the door so the children could come outside and be somewhere safe. By the time the police arrived, the door was unlocked, the kids were safe, the yelling and beatings had stopped, and the man was calm enough for the police to detain him (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012).

Tyniele emphasizes that actions do not need to be big or groundbreaking. They can be as simple as talking to someone who may need help or guidance. Tyniele tells women who are in abusive relationships: “you are worth so much more” (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Instead of telling the women to leave their relationships, she asks them to write lists of costs and benefits of remaining in the relationship and leaving the relationship (Tyniele, personal comm, 4/17/2012). This allows the woman to think for herself and see what is best for her health, safety, and happiness, and for that of her children. All actions are meaningful, but can be as invasive as intervening during violent situation or as simple as guiding a woman toward making a positive decision.

CEs clearly feel that CIs are performing actions, yet this reality is not captured through the reporting process the KZN Network maintains in order to monitor actions for evaluation needs (Magdalene, Chantal, Rochelle, Tyniele & Wendy, personal comm, Wentworth). Action reporting is a crucial component of M&E to help the Network understand the GBV interventions that ordinary community members take on a daily basis. This allows the KZN Network to assess the engagement of people in PIA, its visibility in the community, and whether the norm of inaction is beginning to shift toward action against violence. Moreover, action reporting helps CIs reflect on their interaction with their community in their aims to reduce violence. By retelling their action stories, thinking about the impact they had on the lives of ordinary people, and following-up on situations, they can energize themselves and their fellow CIs to continue taking action.

While the KZN Network insists that Wentworth has “no action,” CEs and CIs will adamantly deny this and insist that CIs in Wentworth perform numerous, meaningful actions (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). CEs in Wentworth have strong relationships with their CIs. They will share with their CEs narratives of how they intervened in

a situation, took action against GBV, or had a simple talk with or advised an individual (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). According to M&E reports, KZN Network asks CEs, CIs, and PAGs to submit narratives on actions they have taken by sending a *Please Call Me* message through their mobile phones to the Network. A staff member will then follow-up with a phone call to the individual, allow him or her to recount the action story, and the staff member will record the narrative into the *SalesForce* database (Parker & Eder, 2011, p. 5, unpublished). Though the KZN Network insists for all actions to be reported using this system, the 345 reported actions for 5114 CIs indicates that there is a lack of action reporting in the program.³ In fact, some CIs interviewed do not deny failing to report their actions and simply do not have a reason for not reporting. For example, when asked why she does not report actions, Jean, a CI from the Arc, shrugs, “I don’t know...I just don’t do it” (personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012). However, when asked to explain why CIs do not report their actions, CEs from Wentworth passionately shared viewpoints expressed to them by CIs:

Tyniele believes some CIs are “too scared or too lazy” to report actions to the Network. They feel that some of the actions they perform, like putting up stickers and posters, or talking to individuals informally about PIA and GBV are too small and unworthy of reporting. In their eyes, an action worth reporting is something dramatic and visible. When Tyniele observes this from her CIs, she tries to encourage them to report everything by saying: “every action is an action...no matter how small you think it is” (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Though talking to an individual about PIA, GBV, and relationships seems small, it could have a profound impact by possibly encouraging him or her to speak out against violence, leave an abusive relationship, or even confront his or her partner about the abuse. This is not a small action to the person receiving the intervention. To gain a clearer picture on what is going on in the community, it is crucial for the KZN Network to log all of the actions that occur.

While she encourages her CIs to take action against GBV and report these actions, Wendy believes that her CIs do not fully comprehend what comprises an action. Similar to Tyniele’s observations, they do not understand that knocking on a door to interrupt a fight, having a conversation with someone about visiting Trauma for mediation regarding an abusive relationship, or putting up stickers on walls and windows is worthy of reporting to the KZN Network. Sometimes her CIs even forget to report actions because, at the time, they are caught

³ I was unable to obtain the exact numbers of CIs and actions reported in Wentworth due to time constraints.

up in the moment of intervening, offering guidance, or spreading awareness. So, they do not think about pausing to send a *Please Call Me* message (Wendy, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012).

Magdalene explains that her CIs are ordinary people from the community. A lot of them have a poor education, “low self-esteem,” and have little confidence in their ability to relay properly their action stories (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). They are afraid to report actions because they do not want to come across as slow and stupid. They know this is the case because they have tried to relay stories in the past to the Network, but the staff members on the other end of the line struggle to understand. This is so unfortunate because Magdalene sees that some of her most active CIs are some of the least educated in her group (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012).

Though Uzzi is from KwaMashu, his perspective is worthwhile to understand as it may translate to the experiences of those in Wentworth. He explains that while his CIs are extremely active, they have tried to use *Please Call Me* messages, but “the Network is slow to responding...80% of all my CIs have tried and complained” (Uzzi, phone interview, 4/5/2012). The CIs send the message, but no one from the Network gets back to them immediately, while they have that moment of energy after taking an action and want to share all of the details. Uzzi adds, “But if [the KZN Network] calls after five days, maybe the CI will forget the story” or forget some of the crucial, vivid details (phone interview, 4/5/2012). It is not clear how many CIs from Wentworth send the *Please Call Me* message and hear a response from the Network days after performing the action, which negatively impacts the quality of the story relayed, but it is very possible that this occurs in Wentworth, as well.

However, not all CIs have trouble reporting actions. In fact, Rochelle, explains that she does use *Please Call Me* messages. She feels that it is an easy, convenient system to use. However, she has only reported two actions in the past two years, even though she shared with me many interventions she has had with youth that seem worth reporting to the Network (Rochelle, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Though some PIA participants, like Rochelle, find it easy to report actions, CEs, CIs, and PAGs, are still not empowered to report *all* of the actions they perform in their communities.

Some CEs have attempted to address these barriers through written forms. CEs either encourage their CIs to write down their action story and to give it to their CE to submit to the

Network, or ask their CIs to tell their CEs the story, and the CE will write it down (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). While this is an excellent solution to the challenges of *Please Call Me*, CIs are still not consistently filling out the forms or narrating their stories to their CEs. CEs must consistently reinforce the importance of action reporting early on during CI sessions and meetings. If the CIs truly comprehend why actions must be reported to the Network and how the process can empower CIs to continue responding to violence, there is great potential for action against violence to progress toward becoming a more institutionalized norm, improving the visibility of PIA, and motivating ordinary community members to get involved.

In response, Magdalene would like to take action-reporting to a higher scale by enlisting in a small video camera crew to film CIs talking about their actions each month. The DVD would then be distributed to CIs, to their PAGs, and to other community members to raise awareness, interest, and participation in PIA. She thinks this would “improve CI confidence” in a unique way and “make them feel appreciated” because all of the attention of this activity would be on the CIs and their valuable work in Wentworth (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Despite the excellent intentions in this suggestion, and true potential for being effective, CEs must think critically about the best use of their funds when pursuing activities. Filming stories each month may not be the most cost-effective PIA activity. If equipment, time, and skill can be donated from the community, it may be possible to make and distribute low-budget versions of action story DVDs monthly or bimonthly. For a simpler solution to the action reporting barrier, Uzzi uses social media, like “MixIt, Facebook, and fun messages just to get through to [his] CIs” motivate them to perform actions, share stories, and report them (phone interview, 4/5/2012). Staff members must be patient and understand the barriers CIs face, because CIs do want to share their stories with the KZN Network, but they need the empowerment and means to do so.

Tension, concerns, and clarification-attempts emerged during the Wentworth CE meeting in April. A CI posed the question: is action-reporting going to help anybody? The KZN Network took a long and complicated approach to explain a simple answer: action reporting shows funders whether or not the PIA approach is working, the level of community engagement, and PIA visibility, all of which may encourage funders to continue supporting the movement. Yet, Ntuthu talked about how reporting an action helps the reporter “puts into practice what you learn” and “encourages people to actually do it” (Mary, 4/18/2012, p. 3, unpublished). It was

clear to some that this explanation was to avoid the blunt reason for action reporting: meeting the needs of funders. The inability to answer this question in simple terms for the ordinary community members attending this session or to answer the question honestly enraged many CEs and CIs (Mary, p. 3). This kind of communication further alienates people in the grassroots from the KZN Network. How can ordinary people be encouraged to communicate without fear or shame to people who convey themselves as more educated and professional? The KZN Network still struggles with this disconnect from the communities in which it works.

So why is there this gap in KZN Network's understanding of the action-reporting disconnect held among CEs, CIs, and PAGs? It appears that these individuals are relatively vocal about their concerns, yet there have been few changes to adapt to concerns. During the CE Meeting in early April, Cookie appeared to address issues related to action reporting at the end of the session when she talked about how the Network is "so disappointed...we do so much to please you, but we are not pleased in return" as a result of the 345 reported actions, when the target is to achieve 2,000 by the end of the project (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). She asked adamantly, "what else do you want the Network to do?" Though Cookie believes there is little action present in the communities, this is not the case. There are indeed actions, but these actions have not been reported due to the struggles in using the *Please Call Me* system and disempowerment. Despite these challenges, CEs have tried to create their own solutions. Once this understanding emerged during the meeting, Cookie energized the CEs into pushing their CIs to report actions in innovative ways developed by CEs, like through written forms and Facebook messages, in addition to *Please Call Me*. Then Cookie asked to achieve over 1000 reported actions by the May debrief and received an enthusiastic, "Yes!" in response (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, 4/3/2012). While there are misunderstandings and miscommunications in performing and reporting actions, it is clear to both the Network and community members involved: everyone is motivated to making the biggest impact possible with PIA in their communities. They simply need the positive reinforcement, encouragement, and opportunities to do so.

Seeds of Change

“Prevention in Action has struck the match, now everyone else is starting to blow” – Anonymous⁴

Over the past three years of PIA, CEs, CIs, and community stakeholders have seen changes in attitudes and behaviors around violence. While this is not yet quantifiable evidence, anecdotes and perceptions of these individuals, who work in Wentworth, provide qualitative indications of progress in Wentworth:

Magdalene “absolutely” agrees that there has been change in Wentworth since PIA began; however, she calls this a “slow process of change” (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Now, individuals are beginning to shift their attitude of inaction to one of action against violence. When a few people start to change, this sparks a chain reaction of change, in which these few people impact the attitudes of others. While this shift is slow, Magdalene is energized by this change because it is the victims of violence who are speaking out and driving the process of GBV prevention (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012).

While Tyniele also sees improvement in Wentworth, she is concerned about the visibility of PIA and the understanding of VAW. She observes a “great number who still don’t know about PIA,” who want to remain silent, or who do not want to get involved (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). However, it is at this time when PAC Actions are crucial to promote the visibility of the movement. When people are constantly reminded of PIA messages and have opportunities to participate, then attitude and behavior change can take hold in Wentworth.

While rhetoric around VAW versus GBV serves as a barrier for engaging men, Sophia and Jean comment on the increased involvement of men in PIA, especially as the movement begins to take hold. Jean explains, “I’ve seen a lot of men involved...or at least showing interest” (personal comm, the Arc, 4/12). The two also observe how men are beginning to understand better the consequences of GBV, to avoid violent situations by communicating with women, and to resolve conflict positively. At the same time, Luke finds that it is still a challenge to change mentalities from inaction and aggression to ones of action against violence, conflict resolution, and reconciliation (personal comm, Durban, 4/13/2012).

Naomi, a former CI but still-active member of PIA, feel that the number of “domestic violence cases are *down*” in Wentworth as shown by the reduced flow of cases seen by Trauma (Naomi, personal communication, WVFC, 4/11/2012). Rochelle and Warrant Officer Munsami convey that youth and ordinary women have been speaking out against the violence that happens to them (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012 & personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012), Yet, a number of challenges remain, particularly alcohol

⁴ Mary, 4/18/2012, p. 1, unpublished.

and substance abuse, as observed by ordinary community members and officers from SAPS-Wentworth (Sophia, Jean & Natasha, personal communication, the Arc, 4/12/2012 & Brigetta, Munsami & Reddy, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012).

Despite the successes in various aspects of PIA and GBV prevention in Wentworth, there are still challenges, which will be analyzed in greater depth in the following discourse. While these challenges prevent Wentworth from achieving a violence-free future and a sustainable movement, opportunities exist for PIA, the KZN Network, and community members involved in PIA to step in and address to progress toward achieving meaningful change.

Men and Women Taking Action

One of the greatest impacts of the PIA movement so far has been its impact on encouraging women to share their stories and to speak out against the violence they themselves experience or know others to experience. Magdalene believes that sessions CEs and CIs hold to community members and PAGs in group settings, such as in church or school, have allowed women to see that they are not alone in their struggle with abuse (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Women are beginning to understand that: it is never a woman's fault if she is raped, it is not a sign of love to be beaten by one's intimate partner, and an individual never deserves to be abused (personal observation, Molweni, 3/24/2012). These sessions also offer ordinary community members with support systems – service providers and fellow community members – with whom they can share their stories, seek advice, and obtain services without fear. “Women need to know they deserve much better” (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). CEs and CIs have taken up their roles to provide women in their neighborhoods with the assistance and support they need in order to reach a safer, healthier, and happier future.

While women are gaining the confidence to speak out, men in Wentworth are very slowly beginning to participate in this movement. This is largely due to the KZN Network's recent collaboration with Brothers for Life to initiate a Wentworth chapter that will use the PIA approach to engage men. Men's eagerness to participate is already evident through the remarkable turnout of enthusiastic men in Wentworth to Pastor Augustine's first Brothers or Life meeting on April 17th, which aimed to raise awareness of the movement and recruit CIs. Twenty-four men, as opposed to the twenty he recruited, arrived and enthusiastically shared their stories and listened to each others' stories. Themes of violence, police abuse, frustration, and more came out during this meeting. The Pastor's second meeting won an even greater turnout of men

because he and his wife tirelessly spread the word to all men they encountered (Wendy, personal comm, WVFC, 4/20/2012). For instance, at WVFC, Wendy handed out bread to a couple of poor men and asked them to come to the Brothers for Life session. After she briefly explained the purpose, the men asked about the time, date, and place with a tone that suggested they were seriously thinking about attending (Srinivasulu, personal observation, WVFC, 4/20/2012). While Wentworth faces a long struggle ahead to end GBV, the possibility of living in a more peaceful and safe environment appears very real when one witnesses something as remarkable and inspiring as men getting together and candidly sharing their stories.

Visibility of Prevention in Action

During my time visiting Wentworth, I have observed very little visibility of PIA in the community. There are plenty of stickers and posters on display in areas with PIA service providers, like WOW, SAPS-Wentworth, and WVFC. However, Austerville Drive is utterly barren. I have only seen cars of CEs that are decorated with PIA stickers, but not that of ordinary community members (personal observation, Wentworth, 4/20/2012). Despite this lack, there are clear opportunities for greater visibility if CEs, CIs, PAGs, and PACs have material resources, adapt new strategies, and redesign communications channels.

With more stickers, badges, posters, and flyers, CIs could market PIA in grocery stores, tuck shops, taxi/bus waiting areas, petrol garages, and brick walls alongside roads. They can ask store owners if they can display PIA signs in their windows. CIs and PAGs must encourage their friends, families, and neighbors to display stickers in the windows of cars and homes. Magdalene suggests for the KZN Network to have copies of PIA manifestos to use when going door-to-door to educate community members on the movement, encourage them to sign the manifestos, and display the signed manifestos on the apartment blocks of those who have pledged (personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). Moreover, without materials to share with ordinary community members, it is very difficult to engage people in the movement and keep PIA constantly on their minds. While a CE or CI can talk about PIA, without a symbol of the movement – such as a badge or a flyer – for reinforcement, the messages are lost upon them. Magdalene also notes that CEs and CIs find it challenging to share PIA without concrete information for people to look back and reflect upon (personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). No information booklets exist to explain to ordinary people about the history of PIA, the mission of the movement, the

importance of taking action against violence, the facilitation of sessions, and ways to get involved. The KZN Network must develop such materials and provide them to CEs and CIs to disseminate to the public to improve the visibility and awareness of PIA and empower people with the information necessary to be involved.

Another concern is the lack of a central location for CEs, CIs, and ordinary community members to share and learn more information about being involved with PIA. This makes it seem as though there is no physical base for the movement in Wentworth. To gain more information, community members must find their CI or CE at their homes or places of work. The informality of this makes the movement less legitimate in the eyes of ordinary community members (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). At the same time, the lack of a PIA website serves as a barrier for access to information around GBV, PIA, and involvement. Though the Facebook page and YouTube channel show pictures and videos of events, share news, and spark discussion, information is sparse and unclear regarding the PIA movement, community involvement, and contact information of people at the grassroots levels.

Since most individuals in Wentworth have access to internet through their mobile phones, a formal PIA website is a good substitute for not having a central PIA headquarters for resources. This website must supply information about the history of the movement, its purpose, the problem of GBV in the communities in which PIA works, contact information of all CEs, places to go to seek information, resources regarding GBV, and opportunities to get involved in the movement in one's community (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). The KZN Network must also improve its Facebook and YouTube pages by detailing information around PIA, community involvement, and community contacts.

While there has been little revision around communication materials, PAC Actions, as previously discussed, PAC Actions have been incorporated into the Year Four plan of PIA to raise the visibility of the movement. The first PAC Action in Wentworth attempted to mobilize the entire community to pledge to take action against GBV by signing a large billboard with the PIA Manifesto. After reflecting upon the gaps of this event, Magdalene realized that trying to target the community as a whole, rather than specific neighborhoods, prevented an effective turnout for the event (personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). Instead, localized actions could encourage that entire specific area to attend the event because it is an event just for them, in a location and with a purpose that speaks specifically to them as a neighborhood. Therefore, it is

more likely to mobilize this entire area against violence. After reaching this locality through a PAC Action, it may even be possible to encourage the neighborhood to declare their area a “violence-free zone” and empower people to take action in daily life to maintain this pledge (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012).

Despite this understanding, PACs are still thinking about targeting the greater Wentworth community. For example, with Magdalene’s encouragement, Tyniele’s PAC Action was going to be a “Family Fun Day” for families in her neighborhood to picnic in a local park, known in the area as a site of GBV, and take action against violence through sports and games, and to talk about and act against violence as a family (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012).

However, with influence from other stakeholders, the idea quickly shifted from a local action to a greater Wentworth event. Though a “Family Fun Day” seems like a great idea to mobilize people, a large event is less likely to get a strong turnout from each individual neighborhood. So when people return back home, PIA does not have as much of a hold among the attendants’ neighbors or businesses in the locality, so discussion and enthusiasm around PIA dies down. If the VCA focuses on a select area of Wentworth, that whole neighborhood would be energized with PIA even after the event ends.

On the other hand, Arlene has plans for an excellent PAC Action that involves a specific neighborhood. She hopes to mobilize men in her area to paint a large PIA mural on a wall where many people and cars pass by (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). An action like this makes the neighborhood where it is occurring feel unique and valued, which will encourage participation. Even after the action, the mural will remain and remind this neighborhood, and anyone who visits, that PIA is alive here and there are ways to prevent GBV in one’s community. It is clear that visible, public actions have great potential to energize people to get involved in a social movement. This is why Magdalene envisions having a “visible public action each week” that involves individual localities in Wentworth, rather than the greater community (personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012). It will be more financially and logistically feasible to have numerous, small PAC Actions compared to community-wide VCAs. As well, this strategy will allow the messages of PIA to reach all people in different areas of Wentworth, will keep PIA consistently on the minds of community members, and will begin to destigmatize the issue of violence by making it a public concern.

With concerns around the visibility of PIA in Wentworth, the KZN Network has taken the issue directly into their hands by arranging with the Taxi Association of Wentworth to brand all taxis with the PIA logo and messages. Cookie and the team have met with the Association to gain the support of all taxi drivers and to plan to brand taxis and drivers with an appropriate and eye-catching logo. The sides of the taxis will read: “Action Alert! This Vehicle Moves People Who Take Action Against Gender Violence.” On the front of the car is the word “NOITCA,” or action spelled backwards in order to intrigue people who see it, as well as drivers looking at the taxi through their rear-view mirror. A music CD of local artists singing and rapping about PIA and GBV prevention will also be played in these taxis, however it is possible that this will not be enforced. Lastly, taxi drivers will be given shirts and caps with the PIA logo (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Brothers for Life Meeting, WOW, 4/11/2012). While the taxi branding campaign will only last until the end of August, the KZN Network hopes that this will raise awareness of the movement, interest in the messages, and discussion around the issue.

South Africa Police Service

The police play a crucial role in the prevention of violence in Wentworth. As the first-responders to violent situations and pursuers of GBV-cases, they form that vital link between justice and the community. If the police perform their roles properly and rigorously pursue bringing perpetrators to justice, the community will gain trust in their police officers to protect them from violence. However, when police officers do not pursue these cases, take bribes, or abuse victims themselves, the people quickly lose trust in the ability for law enforcement to achieve justice and improve the safety of the community. While police officers interviewed emphasize that these situations are now mainly in the past and the department is on a path to recovering from it, the legacy left from police inaction leaves a painful scar in the minds of many Wentworth people (Reddy, Munsami & Brigetta, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012).

For instance, one anonymous community member explains how in the past, “police [were] the worst perpetrators” of VAW because some would abuse women who go to the police to file charges of abuse or rape (ISP Confidential #1, personal comm, Wentworth, 3/21/2012). Knowing women who have received this treatment greatly deters others from seeking out police services to solve problems, despite understanding that the department was reformed. She adds cautiously, “you get good police officers and you get disturbing ones” (personal comm,

Wentworth, 3/21/2012). Reiterating this distrust, Sergeant Brigetta discusses the challenges in connecting with the community. He reiterates, “There are police you can trust...and there are a few rotten eggs” (Brigetta, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Therefore, knowing these few malicious officers discourages the community from trusting the department as a whole. On the other hand, Warrant Officer Reddy believes that there has always been a positive relationship between SAPS-Wentworth and the community due to WVFC, but not all SAPS stations can say this (personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Though this officer is a highly respected member of the department and in the community, especially in terms of his strong relationship with WVFC and commitment to pursue GBV cases, members of the community are the true experts in explaining their relationship with SAPS. While the community trusts and respects the women of Trauma, their attitudes are slightly shakier when it comes to police officers (Jean, Sophia, & Natasha, personal communication, the Arc, 4/12/2012).

Additionally, police have come to deal with situations in which women would open a criminal case against their partner after suffering a beating, but then would return the next day to withdraw the case. Then, perhaps days or weeks later, the same woman would come back to open a criminal case and the cycle would continue. As a result, a new norm emerged in which “police are reluctant to pursue cases” if they knew that it would just be dropped again (Chantal, personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012). While looking deeply into this situation, police officers found that the victims’ partners would sometimes bribe the woman to withdraw the case, or the man would apologize and would promise never to hurt her again. Either way, SAPS changed its case withdrawal policy. Now, if a victim wants to withdraw a case, they must explain precisely to the magistrate his or her reasoning (Brigetta, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). While this policy could seem to deter women from opening a case in the first place, women receive comprehensive counseling from WVFC before a case is opened in order to emphasize to the woman the consequences and the importance of doing so if the situation is dire.

Victims may also utilize another opportunity to take action against violence in their daily lives: the protection order. As a result of the Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998, victims of partner violence are allowed to apply for a protection order against the perpetrator without filing a criminal case, if the victim so chooses. The protection order prohibits the perpetrator of violence, abuse, and/or harassment from harming the victim, being near the victim at home or in the workplace, or committing any act as specified by the protection order. If he or she violates

the protection order, the police immediately have authority to arrest the perpetrator (Republic of South Africa, 1998, p.4). Sergeant Brigetta summarizes that the protection order tells individuals “you cannot abuse your partner” otherwise you go to prison (Brigetta, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Now that PIA encourages women to voice their experiences of violence, more women have been accessing WVFC. The counselors here encourage individuals who face violence to file protection orders against the perpetrators. Since PIA empowers women to take advantage of opportunities to protect themselves from violence using law enforcement, he believes the risk of arrest influences men, in particular, to think before they act out against their partners (Brigetta, personal comm, 4/13/2012).

Despite the power and potential of the protection order, the police department faces many challenges in improving its ability to address and prevent GBV in Wentworth. Officer Brigetta emphasizes disempowerment, greed, and corruption among select police officers as major barriers. He states, “Crime in South Africa is some of the world’s highest. Therefore, South African police have the most dangerous job. Yet, they are some of the least paid police officers in the world” (Brigetta, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). As a result, greed overshadows goals to achieve justice. For instance, perpetrators of violence often bribe police officers to get cases off of the docket and then return to the victim to harm them again. Therefore, people are afraid to go to the police for their problems. These issues of police empowerment may begin to be resolved with better management, as recommended by Sergeant Brigetta (personal comm, 4/13/2012). The role of Management is to motivate and support the police staff to help them pursue their work, lessen the stress, and ensure that they feel appreciated by the Department. However, Management fails to do this, which causes the police to feel disempowered and disengaged from their service to the community, which perpetuates the greed, corruption, and bribery that ordinary people witness from their law enforcement officers.

Alcohol and Drugs

The link between alcohol and GBV is well-observed in South Africa. Because alcohol abuse impairs judgment, increases aggression, and raises emotional responses to stimuli, men and women are faced with an increased risk of experiencing GBV (Phorano, Nthomang & Ntseane, 2005, p. 189). In Wentworth especially, it appears as though men and women are unable to control their alcohol consumption (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Men

and women visit bars, shebeens, and liquor stores at all hours of the day and night, especially on weekends. In most of the abuse and harassment-related cases I have observed at WVFC, alcohol played some sort of role in initiating or perpetuating arguments between men and women. For instance, men may visit the bar every weekend, come back home late at night, and force himself upon his partner (Srinivasulu, personal observation, WVFC, 4/12/2012). Though this is considered marital rape, women find it difficult to talk about and take action against situations like these. On the other hand, in cases at WVFC, men were not always the ones responsible for starting a fight; women, too, get violent toward their partners when under the influence (Srinivasulu, personal observation, WVFC, 4/12/2012). Alcohol abuse is especially linked to the intimate partner violence and random acts of sexual violence experienced by men and women in Wentworth. In order to continue making progress toward reducing acts of violence, alcohol abuse must be addressed as part of the PIA movement.

PIA can work in innovative ways to reduce alcohol intake among individuals and hopefully prevent the circumstances that lead to drunken arguments and abuse. For example, Cookie loves to emphasize the merits of including a shebeen queen in one's PAC. Cookie feels it has been successful in Molweni to involve local taverns, sites of GBV, to promote the messages of PIA and to limit patrons' alcohol consumption (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). Wentworth CEs, too, should try to involve bartenders and shebeen queens in PIA and encourage them to stop serving patrons if they appear too intoxicated and/or if they are becoming too aggressive.

Compared to alcohol abuse, drug use has a less direct, visible, and researched impact on GBV. However, women from the Arc and officers from SAPS-Wentworth all agree that drugs are a common and emerging problem in Wentworth that perpetuate negative and potentially violent interactions between men and women (personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012 & personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). In a direct way, Dion explains that men who are addicted to heroin will often abuse their partners to get money to pay for their next fix (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). While drug abuse is an indirect determinant of GBV and a social ill beyond the scope of PIA, it must be addressed somehow, perhaps through anti-poverty/anti-unemployment initiatives or partnerships with service providers to improve safety in the community and reduce GBV.

Wentworth Victim Friendly Center – Trauma

By observing cases in Trauma and participating in discussions surrounding domestic violence cases and PIA with the counselors, it is clear that the WVFC plays a crucial role in the community. WVFC supports victims of violence and prevents repeat cases by mediating problems between partners and families or counseling individuals to escape abusive relationships. The women in this department encourage their clients to apply for protection orders to protect themselves from repeat instances of violence without having to open a criminal case (personal observation, WVFC, 4/11/2012). Although these interventions and sessions could be considered “actions” against violence, these cannot be reported to the KZN Network due to confidentiality associated with WVFC. Regardless, there is a crucial two-way connection between PIA and WVFC and how it works toward achieving a violent-free Wentworth.

The PIA movement, through the actions of CEs, CIs, and PAGs, encourages women to speak out against violence. Once women feel safe and empowered to speak about their experiences, they reach out to WVFC not only because PIA encourages them to, but because “Trauma is well-known and respected in the community” (Wendy, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). Through mediation, WVFC prevents domestic violence from perpetuating in the community by addressing the causes of violence directly in the relationship. The counselors encourage the partners to speak to one and other about the issues that are compromising their relationship and how they can work together to address these issues and to achieve what they both want: a happy and healthy relationship and an end to domestic violence. Trauma also connects back to PIA. For example, Wendy tries to encourage women who are misguided about abuse and who are unaware of PIA to attend sessions held by CIs or to talk to various people in the movement so they have a support network of individuals dedicated to helping her where she needs guidance. Now that PIA is collaborating with Brothers for Life, Wendy is beginning to encourage men to attend her husband’s sessions to learn about the movement and to have a platform to share stories and concerns (Srinivasulu, personal observation, WVFC, 4/13/2012).

Youth are the Future

While the KZN Network wants to focus on adults through PIA activities, many of those involved in the grassroots reiterate the importance of working with youth in order to create lasting change in Wentworth (personal observation, WVFC & WOW, 4/20/2012). It is so critical

to target youth through PIA because the younger generation are the future of Wentworth. Without a generation of educated, empowered, and motivated people, Wentworth will struggle to achieve social change. As demonstrated through the experiences of various CEs, CIs, and community stakeholders in the “Motivation” section, many people in Wentworth have seen and experienced GBV in their childhoods. Though these individuals have been motivated to stand up against this injustice, others have not been so empowered. Boys, in particular, internalize the aggression and abuse perpetuated by fathers, brothers, and uncles, until “it becomes a way of life for them,” and they too use what they have observed on the women in their teenage and adult lives (Munsami, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Without breaking this cycle of GBV, a cycle that is normalized in Wentworth society, at the level of youth, there is little hope for sustained change in attitudes and behaviors toward violence.

Numerous CEs and CIs have been involved in PIA actions focusing on youth. For instance, Dion feels that it is challenging to “teach an old dog new tricks,” while youth seem, on the other hand, more open-minded toward learning new perspectives on living. It is important to change the mindset of youth because it can contribute toward “uplifting an entire generation” (Dion, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). By giving youth the opportunities for a brighter future and the understanding of how to live healthily and happily, without the pressures of abusive relationships, there may be hope to initiate large scale and sustainable social change. Empowering a whole generation of young people in Wentworth with the knowledge and capacity to have positive relationships among one and other and to take action against GBV can effectively create a cycle of positive and sustainable change in attitudes and beliefs.

Rochelle works very closely with youth in Wentworth, as well, and notes that young people struggle with issues like adults. Before PIA, youth felt “there was no one behind” them to support and to listen, so they “allowed everything [physical abuse, emotional abuse, silence, etc) to just happen” (Rochelle, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). To encourage youth to speak, she approaches them as a peer and shares her own story. When they understand that there are others who have experienced the same situations, they are more eager to open up. By providing a safe and open platform to speak, Rochelle helps young people embrace the attitude: “with people behind you, you can speak out...do not be afraid” (personal comm, 4/11/2012). While she has seen much success among young people losing their fear and speaking their minds, she witnesses those who are deeply entrenched in their problems and are not yet ready to share. Some other

young people feel ashamed and are not ready to receive help from PIA (Rochelle, personal comm, 4/11/2012). CIs play a vital role in providing youth with the opportunities to talk through issues, offering a helping hand, and changing attitudes and behaviors from inaction to action against violence.

Through discussions with fellow CEs, Magdalene describes the success PIA has witnessed in working with schools and young people. Although they have only reached one secondary school and one primary school, and only one grade in each, she sees that “learners do want to speak out” about GBV and need a platform to do so (personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). She suggests for the movement to involve all secondary schools in Wentworth so that its messages begin to resonate with the new generation. Secondary schools are ideal targets for community mobilization because those who go to school are of an age where relationships, maturity, and life after school are affecting young people. They need a platform to discuss these issues and have the support to make healthy and safe decisions for their futures. Additionally, peer group culture plays a major role in whether an individual will change their attitudes or behaviors. If CIs can motivate individuals in to take action, they can affect their larger friend group, which can slowly impact the greater school community. In reaching out to all of the secondary schools in Wentworth, Magdalene suggests for CEs to set up PACs within schools that involve class representatives who are tasked to organize school-wide and class-wide activities that promote the messages of PIA. Money is not necessary for these activities; they can be as simple as setting up class debates around GBV in Life Orientations classes (Magdalene, personal comm, 4/20/2012). It is vital that PIA consistently reaches out to youth in schools to help them internalize these messages so that in the future, they, as adults with children and families, will pass down these values to their children, and contribute toward creating a violence-free future for Wentworth.

For reasons beyond the scope of research for this study, child prostitution and associated violence (rape, murder, assault, etc) is emerging as a critical injustice in Wentworth. CEs from WOW and WVFC know personally of girls between ages 11 and 17 who are involved and who have been raped, murdered, and assaulted by their clients. Knowing these girls and understanding the impact of child prostitution on the community influence Wendy and Magdalene’s passion to take action against this violence upon young girls (personal observation, WVFC, 4/11/2012). They have so many ideas surrounding potential PAC Actions and smaller

follow-up actions to raise awareness, mobilize the community to take ownership of the issue, and scaring the men into avoiding hiring these girls. For example, Magdalene has tried talking to these girls about the consequences of what they are getting themselves involved with, but they do not listen. Instead, she wants to encourage former “reformed” child prostitutes to talk to the girls. They will not tell them to stop what they are doing, necessarily, but allow them to share their stories, realize that there is someone behind them for support, and learn that there is a life beyond prostitution and there are opportunities for a better future (Magdalene, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). Wendy suggests a PAC action involving community members on the streets in the evening known for where men pick up these girls. Everyone will stand on the streets with flashlights and other passive materials (to abide by SAPS regulations around street protests) and stand by as a watchful presence intimidating the men who try to pick up the girls. If possible, they would write down license plate numbers and later, during the day, confront them about their actions (Wendy, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). This kind of nighttime action could continue with ordinary community members who are committed to preventing such violence from befalling these young women.

Though these are simply ideas for potential actions, there is concern that the KZN Network will not consider these appropriate ideas for potential PAC Actions because child prostitution, in their eyes, is not domestic violence. In order to encourage the CEs to continue pursuing this VCA, which seemed so close to their hearts, I immediately intervened in the conversation and insisted how PIA aims to address VAW, and the murder, rape, and assault of young girls, is still VAW. It is clear that partner abuse is not the only type of GBV. My words immediately energized both Wendy and Magdalene in considering plans for a VCA to respond to child prostitution (Srinivasulu, personal observation, WVFC, 4/11/2012). This shows that a community should act against GBV in ways it thinks are most relevant and important to the community because only this will mobilize and impact the greatest number of people. Therefore, the KZN Network must encourage action against all types of GBV and must make clear to people what circumstances encompass GBV, because if CEs and CIs do not know, they will not take action against it.

While it is unclear where the KZN Network stands on violence against *young* women, this issue affects GBV in Wentworth on multiple levels. Beyond the direct rape, murder, and assault of girls involved, Warrant Officer Reddy, who was involved on an investigation around

child prostitution, discovered that child prostitution links back to domestic violence in the homes of the male clients. He explains that clients are often wealthy men with stable homes who feel the “thrill” of being with a young girl. Being involved with this kind of injustice “changes a man’s mindset” and behaviors. As he visits these young girls, his family life falls to pieces. Perhaps the little things that never used to bother him now aggravate him. Small arguments build up into a cycle of domestic violence with his own family while he continues to violate young girls on the street corner (Reddy, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Reddy’s investigation suggests that child prostitution indirectly contributes to violence in the home. To stop this cycle, the underlying cause of child prostitution must be addressed. Though it may deviate slightly from the movement’s aims to address VAW, the Network must be open to allow CEs and PACs to pursue the issues that affect them, as long as they revolve around GBV. This will help the community take ownership of the issue, while allowing the KZN Network to guide them toward appropriate activities to achieve the objectives of PIA.

Youth concerns around violence are particularly challenging and emerging problems in Wentworth to address, however, the PIA framework can be beneficial in tackling the issues. Yet, misunderstandings between CEs and the KZN Network prevent meaningful action from occurring. Community members are confused over whether they can plan youth-related VCAs, pursue activities to prevent the VAW caused by child prostitution, and engage schools in the movement. Despite the challenges, CEs and community members are eager and motivated to take action in this way. Magdalene and Wendy agree that there is “too much talking and not enough acting” in Wentworth around GBV issues of concern (personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). They spend most of their time thinking about ideas and sitting in meetings with the Network or with community partners without a real understanding of the benefits coming out of these meetings. While it feels as though there is little action around these ideas, CEs, CIs, and youth are highly motivated to act.

Concerns with Community Ownership

As the KZN Network nears the end of its role in implementing and monitoring the PIA movement, it is crucial for the community to have ownership of the issue of GBV and of the intervention for PIA to remain and grow. While this is a strong component of the Network’s strategy and in speeches and messages dictated to communities by Cookie and Ntuthu,

community ownership does not seem to be translated effectively to the CEs, CIs, PAGs, and PACs in Wentworth (Srinivasulu, personal observation, Wentworth, 4/24/2012).

While the KZN Network has over a decade of experience in VAW initiatives, Cookie has extensive experience and training in VAW prevention and intervention, and Ntuthu and other staff have expertise in implementing and evaluating community-based interventions, communities are the true experts in understanding health and social issues, challenges, barriers, opportunities, and solutions. Numerous CEs and CIs share the sentiment that their expertise is overlooked or ignored by the KZN Network when designing and implementing communication messages, PIA activities, and VCAs. For instance, Magdalene poses the question, “How do you deliver something you have not been a part of? (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). She does not feel as though the CEs are part of crafting communication materials for their own communities. Each community is diverse and different messages are required to reach different kinds of people. Who best to develop these messages than the community members themselves? But if CEs are not part of this process, what motivation is there for them to deliver the messages, especially if CEs feel they are irrelevant to their neighborhoods. For instance, the KZN Network developed a DVD of action stories from Molweni, but asked Wentworth CEs to disseminate it (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). Though displaying action stories to the community via DVD is an excellent idea, how are Wentworth people supposed to relate to the experiences of Molweni people? This is a complete disregard for community context. For there to be real ownership, and therefore sustainability of the movement, Wentworth CEs must be responsible for developing the intervention. While they have ownership and responsibility, the KZN Network’s duty should not be to lead activities in the community, but rather support and guide the CEs who must be in charge.

Because CEs are “told too much what to do,” they cannot “learn from mistakes,” there is “no experiential learning...which with PIA is very important” (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). While it is sensible for CEs to want to learn how to succeed and fail in this movement on their own, the KZN Network is justified in its reluctance to allow CEs in Wentworth to make mistakes. The Network should not invest resources in an activity that may fail, therefore the staff seems very strict and controlling when guiding activities and events. On the other hand, the community understands best what does and does not work, how best to reach people, and the needs and wants of the people. So rather than dictate to the CEs, perhaps the

Network should have a dialogue: ask questions on how they are going about the process of designing and implementing PAC actions, motivating CIs, and planning for sustainability. These questions should allow the CE to answer in a way that will help them see the flaws and assets in their understandings on their own. That way, the CE still has ownership of their role and responsibilities in PIA, but is receiving constructive guidance from the Network.

While the KZN Network wants to push ownership, the staff remains inflexible on what CEs must do and how to do it: there are many “restrictions that are put in place...we can’t totally act on our own for the movement” (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). With this kind of oversight, most CEs are still reluctant to think about future sustainability. Over the past three years, there has been leadership from the KZN Network, therefore CEs do not yet have complete ownership over the movement yet. Since it still feels as though the KZN Network still has such a hold on the movement in Wentworth, there is no reason for CEs to think of alternative sources of funding for the future and plans to sustain the movement after September. This is extremely disconcerting for the sustainability of PIA because making a plan for the future and internalizing a sense of ownership takes time. If CEs are not yet thinking sustainability, it will be very difficult for them to do it on their own in September.

The KZN Network also possesses considerable control and inflexibility over Wentworth through M&E processes. For instance, one staff member from the Network must attend the first PAC Action meeting to assess how the CE facilitates the meeting and to comment on ideas discussed for the action. Though the staff member is not involved in the meeting, the presence of someone from the Network, who is not a member of this PAC, makes people feel too intimidated to share their ideas (ISP Confidential #1, personal comm, Wentworth, 4/11/2012). And during the one-on-one session following the first meeting, Magdalene says that the staff pushes CEs to change their ideas, so the action is “not entirely what we want” (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). In addition to the PAC Meeting monitoring, the CEs must share with the Network meeting minutes, proposals, reports, and more. As this adds up, it can feel stressful, burdening, and a barrier to accomplishing real and direct PIA activities. One CE shares exasperatingly, “The KZN Network should let us go out in the world...we don’t want to depend on you” (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, Coastlands Hotel, 4/3/2012). While Ntuthu agrees with these comments on community ownership, M&E for PACs is crucial to M&E for the entire movement. Ntuthu discussed at the CE Meeting at Coastlands that there must be

oversight of these meetings in order to ensure that PACs have, indeed, been organized, they fit the criteria, are planning PAC actions, and are capable of carrying PIA beyond September (Srinivasulu, personal observation, CE Meeting, 4/3/2012). While this oversight causes much stress and intimidation, it is a crucial part of M&E. Regardless, the Network must learn to build confidence in CEs. The KZN Network must give them autonomy to plan their own activities and encourage ownership of their program design, with opportunities to work outside of the narrowly-defined KZN Network guidelines. This will encourage CEs and PAC members to think beyond the PAC Action they are planning and realize the potential of working together to organize activities after the VCA to further the goals of PIA.

While there are stellar CIs in Wentworth who go above and beyond in promoting PIA and taking action against GBV, Tyniele notes that one of the biggest problems for the sustainability of PIA is how a considerable number of CIs do not yet have the “ownership mentality” (personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). These CIs do not understand how to get involved beyond CI sessions and meetings with PAGs. They still struggle to take ownership of PIA and see the “bigger picture” beyond the KZN Network’s involvement (Magdalene, personal comm, 4/24/2012). CIs require greater support and encouragement to initiate PIA activities and actions beyond the scope of sessions with CEs. CEs must encourage all CIs to think creatively about raising awareness of the movement, undertaking small interventions against violence, and involving others in PIA. Moreover, CIs must be supported in their endeavors to collaborate with one another, especially in terms of performing and reporting ordinary actions against GBV. This type of support will only benefit the movement as it will encourage CIs to reach people in the community who would otherwise not be reached through PIA. Therefore, visibility of and involvement in the movement can only improve.

Despite these challenges in ownership, there are brilliant individuals in Wentworth who truly embrace their role in PIA. Magdalene conveys that she takes “real ownership in being a CE” due to her motivation to take action against violence (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). For instance, from CE training, Magdalene was able to look at VAW differently in Wentworth and, in consequence, began to design activities and plan meetings more creatively to reach people in innovative and engaging ways. Also, Chantal and Rochelle observe that some CIs they work with do take ownership of their roles. Chantal comments, “There is a lot of willingness among CIs” to make the most of PIA in Wentworth (personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012).

Rochelle adds, “The other CIs work hard – they really do!” (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). These CIs may not report their actions, but they certainly take action to spread awareness about PIA, intervene in potentially violent situations, and guide individuals who need a supportive figure. Now, the Network must channel the energy of these stellar individuals and help the remaining CEs, CIs, PAGs, and PACs in Wentworth embrace the movement just has strongly.

Vision for the Future

Only at the end of the KZN Network’s role in the movement is when “PIA is becoming alive in the community”

(Srinivasulu, personal observation, WOW, 4/11/2012)

For Wentworth to progress toward the KZN Network’s “primary objective of reducing the prevalence of VAW” and goals to change attitudes and behaviors surrounding violence norms, such as having an “increased number of women and men advocating or acting against VAW,” those involved must have a vision for the future and a plan of action to reach that vision (Parker & Eder, 2011, p. 2 & 6, unpublished). Unlike the shared motivation community stakeholders’ hold to take action against violence, those interviewed share slightly different visions for the future of PIA and GBV in Wentworth, largely based on how their visions are constructed. Some see an idealistic future for Wentworth, while others are more realistic or pessimistic, and others find a balance between the two extremes.

Those with an idealistic vision for the future share the hope of a violence-free Wentworth:

For Tyniele, PIA is “close to my heart...I want to see a change in Wentworth, for youth especially... PIA is an absolutely fantastic movement. I want to stay in it as long as I am alive... I would like to see this area be a better place. I want to be in that day when change is happening” Ultimately, she hopes to see a “violence free Wentworth” where everyone is “happy, loving, and working together, not against each other” (Tyniele, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012).

Chantal’s vision for the future is “to see the Trauma room empty.” As a CI, she feels that it is “impossible to reach everyone” when individual CIs and PAG members are only talking to people one-on-one. While this has a beneficial, personal impact, the only way to turn attention toward PIA, to encourage people to speak out against violence, and to take action is through making PIA and all of those involved in PIA a visible part of the community (Chantal, personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012).

Thoughtfully, Magdalene says she hopes “to see each and every member of this community taking action and working very hard to make a violent-free community...so that Wentworth has never heard of violence” or that violence is a “thing of the past” (personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). She wants Wentworth to be the sort of community, that if one woman was abused, it would affect everyone in a way that they would all take responsibility to support the woman in any way she needs and prevent further GBV. Lastly, she wants to see the younger generation grow up with a different way of thinking. She hopes that they will see the changes in the attitudes and behaviors of the adults in their lives in their parents and internalize a new norm of gender-equality and action against violence. As she sees “more and more people changing their mindsets” about GBV, it still “drives me” to do all she can to achieve her vision for a safer and stronger Wentworth (Magdalene, personal comm, 4/11/2012).

Others have a slightly cynical take on the future of PIA:

Naomi believes that the movement cannot continue without the KZN Network because “they are the forerunners” of the movement. She believes the Network must always fund the movement in order for people to be incentivized to work, for programs to function, and for materials to be distributed (Naomi, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). This pessimistic view may come from how she, and potentially other community stakeholders, has not thought about alternative sources of funding after the KZN Network leaves PIA for the communities.

Natasha says pessimistically, “I don’t see a future for Wentworth.” She explains further, “Boys here, they don’t care. They will hit you, steal from you, rape you.” They see something like PIA and say, “so what?” (Natasha, personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012). She only sees change coming to Wentworth if some of the structural factors contributing to violence are eliminated, such as drugs and alcohol, because they cloud judgment, influence people’s relationships, and harm the lives of family members.

Those with an opinion resting in the middle ground share thoughts of simply reducing violence in Wentworth through targeting the issues that most lead up to violence.

For instance, Warrant Officer Munsami bluntly explains that his vision is to “hopefully reduce violence” by addressing socioeconomic issues, drugs, and alcohol. The way forward is not necessarily through PIA, but to get “policemen to start doing their work” (Munsami, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Sergeant Brigetta, too, shares this vision, but sees a greater community role in achieving it. He wants there to be more trust between community members and the police, for people to speak more freely about their experiences with GBV, and for police to resist greed and corruption by fulfilling their duties to the community (Brigetta, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). Warrant Officer Reddy explains realistically: “If I say a crime-free society, that is just impossible,” but if the community and SAPS can obtain more resources, perhaps laws against GBV can be better enforced and crime, “especially against women and children,” can be brought to a “minimal.” Though there are challenges, he emphasizes, “we must be

hopeful” to achieve change, “if we aren’t hopeful, then what are we doing here?” (Reddy, personal comm, SAPS-Wentworth, 4/13/2012). The hope to achieve a brighter future pushes these officers toward upholding their duty to the community to bring about an end to GBV and a safer, more peaceful society.

Some women of the Arc see such violence in Wentworth and only hope that “domestic violence can come down more” (Sophia, personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012). Jean simply wants to achieve “more peace and less violence” by “working together as a community” (personal comm, the Arc, 4/12/2012).

Dion feels that the people of Wentworth have lost the spirit of “ubuntu.” They have lost the spirit of humanity, compassion for one and other, and unity. PIA is trying to bring humanity back to Wentworth (Dion, personal comm, WOW, 4/17/2012). Only when ubuntu resonates among the people of Wentworth can the community begin to achieve a better future for Wentworth.

Though Luke is an idealistic, young man, he shares a realistic vision that can be achieved with hard work and collaboration: “For us as a community to become more proactive in preventing acts of violence and to come to a place where we see violent acts on a decrease until it is totally eradicated.” He feels there is “great potential, power, and purpose” among the people of Wentworth to achieve “social transformation.” While everyone will not be involved immediately in this vision, he sees a “ripple effect” of change, in which if one person can change their mindsets and behaviors, it may influence others to change (Luke, personal comm, Durban, 4/13/2012). Eventually, this chain reaction can resonate throughout the whole community, and the spirit of ubuntu can be embraced by all.

Although the informants have diverse aspirations for Wentworth’s future, they all share a desire to end GBV. PIA can progress toward this ultimate aim, given that the movement remains strong, visible, and active in Wentworth even after the KZN Network leaves. The sustainability of PIA is the biggest challenge that the KZN Network, CEs, and CIs face; it is the responsibility of these individuals to create a plan to sustain the movement in order to reach a GBV-free Wentworth. With KZN Network leading activities and plans from April through August, there is little concern among grassroots organizers to find alternative sources of funding and to think about how to keep PIA alive.

Those CEs and CIs who are thinking about the future are concerned, specifically, with financial resources. Chantal lists various costs of the movement: communication materials, VCAs, incentives, airtime, transportation, “it all goes back to funding” (personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012). Wendy recalls how years ago she and other volunteers worked to reduce GBV in Wentworth without stipends or reimbursements. Even without funding, it is possible to keep the

movement alive: this is the spirit that Wentworth needs to feel again (Wendy, personal comm, WVFC, 4/11/2012). Just because funding will end from USAID and PEPFAR does not mean that PIA will not have any financial resources. It is up to CEs and CIs to be creative and find alternative funding sources – such as local businesses or applying for grants – and/or pursue activities that can occur through donations, volunteering, and low-budget means. However, Magdalene sees that CEs and CIs are not internalizing the approaching date of the end of funding. In their eyes, it feels as though the KZN Network will be there forever to provide support, stipends, and resources (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/11/2012). The KZN Network must remind CEs of the reality of community ownership and sustainability, otherwise, PIA will fall apart and the vision for a violence-free Wentworth will not be reached.

Another crucial challenge is to combat the division among the CEs of Wentworth and unify them under the common goal of reducing GBV. Currently there is this mentality that PIA is “your movement” or “my movement” rather than “*our movement*” (Magdalene, personal comm, WOW, 4/10/2012). While organizing PAC Actions, mobilizing individuals to take ordinary action against violence, conducting sessions, and planning for the future, CEs often work on their own. There is very little collaboration or sense of teamwork surrounding the movement, even though its core messages relate to unity: bringing men and women together, strengthening families and relationships, and promoting gender equality and peace among all. Magdalene rarely sees CEs get together to share thoughts on trainings or to support one and other during community actions (personal comm, WOW, 4/24/2012). Because the lack of unity and tension among Wentworth CEs may impact the attitudes of those new to PIA or thinking about getting involved, the movement would have a much stronger presence in the community if CEs were seen working together. For instance, the Brothers for Life chapter only recently began in Wentworth, yet the whole community is already energized by their presence. The Brothers are proud of who they are and declare it aloud, they are seen together and spread the same message that “brothers believe that there is no reason to still have GBV issues in our community” (Magdalene, personal comm, 4/24/2012). CEs working with PIA must embrace a similar level of collaboration and unity in order to sustain the movement, increase visibility, and mobilize individuals to take action.

Despite the challenges of sustaining PIA, there are numerous opportunities for the KZN Network and grassroots organizers to embrace in order to keep the movement alive, particularly

through re-motivation and emphasizing strong leadership. I have discovered that “process use” through my exploration of PIA and the KZN Network has played a crucial role in encouraging “individual changes in thinking and behavior” and “goal clarification” as a “change-inducing experience for those involved” (Patton, 1998, p. 225-226). Through the experiences and comments of stakeholders interviewed, it is clear that some informants have been positively influenced by the process of my evaluation and motivated to improve their work with PIA.

For example, my findings took informants through a process of thinking about why they take action against violence, why they got involved with PIA, how their work affects the community, and their vision for the future of Wentworth and PIA. As a result of this reflective process, Patton notes that informants “often report feeling changed in some way” (pp. 228). This has occurred several times throughout my interviews. Most strikingly, after my phone interview with Uzzi, he profusely thanked me for having the interview and for reminding him about why he works with PIA. Before the interview, he was stuck in the process of working with bureaucrats to make his PAC Action possible. Afterwards, he was instantly energized to return to these collaborators to move his PAC Action forward. (Uzzi, phone interview, 4/5/2012). This process of reflection through evaluation allows individuals, like Uzzi, to identify the gaps in their own actions with PIA and find ways, on their own, to address those gaps to make themselves better advocates for GBV prevention.

Additionally, the evaluation process also allowed informants to clarify their own objectives with PIA, to determine whether their work is progressing toward achieving these aims, and to understand whether they can change their actions to realize their goals (Patton, 1998, pp. 227). The issue of rhetoric around VAW and GBV is an excellent example. During my interview with Magdalene, we had a conversation about our opinions over the choice of words. In the days and weeks afterwards, I noticed distinctly how Magdalene would use GBV rather than VAW in ordinary conversation about the issue and in her communications with CEs, CIs, and others involved in PIA. If she began to say VAW, Magdalene would correct herself and say GBV (personal observation, WOW, 4/11/2012 & 4/24/2012). For Magdalene, our interview was a “change-inducing” experience in which she internalized the issue of how VAW rhetoric alienates men in GBV prevention and made a conscious decision to change how she communicates in order to make PIA a more visibly inclusive movement.

All of these aspects of process use are relevant for the sustainability of PIA because they work toward re-energizing community stakeholders in their work with PIA to make it a stronger, more visible movement in the community. With the stress of communication concerns with the Network, struggles in mobilizing men and women, and conflicts among grassroots organizers, the original tinge of motivation to take action against violence must be brought back to the forefront of the minds of CEs, CIs, PAGs, and PACs. Only this can motivate collaboration, creative solutions to challenges, and sustained action even after funding from the KZN Network ends.

CONCLUSIONS

Gender violence is an unacceptable atrocity harming the health and safety of families, communities, and future generations in South Africa, especially in KZN. Though the normalization of violence has encouraged organizations to work toward empowering women with the tools to resist violence, these efforts fail to address the need to bring men and women together to change social norms; reduce gender-inequality; and foster positive relationships in order to eliminate GBV and slow the spread of HIV/AIDS. Men undoubtedly have a role to play in this struggle to eradicate GBV. The KZN Network's movement, Prevention in Action, aims to bridge this gap by mobilizing men and women to take action against GBV.

By comparing the experiences of men in Wentworth to secondary sources that have taken more in-depth research to understand the role of men to mobilize against GBV, this study revealed aspects of male constructions of masculinity and how it impacts attitudes and behaviors around GBV and PIA. Interviews with men and women in the community illuminated the different strategies CEs and CIs have taken to mobilize men and women in Wentworth to take action against violence and be involved with PIA. Though in the beginning, men were very reluctant to voice their opinions and concerns around GBV, the men of Wentworth are beginning to open up. The recent partnership between the KZN Network and Brothers for Life presents a crucial opportunity to engage more men in this movement against GBV.

This study has also successfully explored with the people of Wentworth and the KZN Network the successes, challenges, and opportunities for improving PIA and progressing toward a vision of a violence-free Wentworth. CEs and CIs are, indeed, taking action against violence, spreading awareness of PIA, and encouraging people to change their attitudes and behaviors

around GBV. People are becoming interested in the movement and getting involved. All informants recognize a change in attitudes and behaviors around GBV in Wentworth. Moreover, CEs, CIs, and community members interviewed share deep passion for the well-being of their community, which motivates them to continue their work in GBV-prevention.

Despite these successes, there are a number of challenges of the movement in Wentworth and the interaction between CEs and the KZN Network. Communication issues appear to be the biggest problem that not only causes tension between the two groups, but is beginning to discourage CEs and CIs from actively pursuing their aims with PIA. There is also a misunderstanding around the actions performed in Wentworth and actions reported to the KZN Network. While the Network only recognizes very few actions reported, CEs and CIs in Wentworth all see one and other taking numerous actions against GBV. Additionally, “VAW” rhetoric used throughout the movement may have been responsible for alienating men from PIA. Lastly, the lack of community ownership and thoughts for sustaining PIA present a long-lasting challenge for the KZN Network, CEs, and CIs in order to achieve goals for a safer, GBV-free Wentworth.

While the challenges facing PIA seem daunting to address, there are opportunities for progress. While the recent collaboration for Brothers for Life represents a solution to the disengagement of men in Wentworth, other solutions must come from the KZN Network and grassroots organizers looking at their work and their interactions with each other and changing for the better. Both parties must understand the gaps in communication and step forward, without hesitation, to address the issues constructively. The KZN Network must begin to hand the reins of ownership to the CEs in Wentworth and allow people in the community to take responsibility for the movement. Only with less dependency on the Network can true action toward sustainability of PIA be achievable.

The intention of the study was to allow the KZN Network and grassroots organizers to reflect on aspects of their work with GBV prevention in Wentworth in ways they have not thought about. Through probing interviews, I hoped to encourage informants to reflect upon their motivations for action, their role in PIA, the successes achieved through their work, the challenges they face, and the opportunities they see to move forward. Process use through my exploration allowed me to share informants’ experiences and perspectives to the KZN Network, motivated informants to be re-energized to continue fighting against GBV in their community,

and helped informants see gaps in their attitudes and actions and address these gaps on their own terms.

While this study explores the relationship of PIA and the KZN Network in Wentworth and cannot be generalized to other communities in which PIA works, it is useful to take the process use approach through evaluation to understand successes, challenges, and opportunities in other communities for PIA to succeed. Once again, process use can motivate those involved in the process of evaluation and exploration to reflect upon their work, communicate concerns and suggestions, and think on their own of strategies to make themselves and the people around them better activists against GBV.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

As PIA nears the end of its funding through USAID and PEPFAR and guidance slows from PCI and KZN and WC Networks, Wentworth, along with other communities involved with PIA, must strive to sustain its activities, continue mobilizing stakeholders, and work toward achieving a GBV-free society. To understand whether the Networks and community members are succeeding in implementing and sustaining PIA, impact and outcome evaluations of the intervention must be conducted in the years following the end of funding. These evaluations must look at the level of engagement in PIA of CEs, CIs, PAGs, PACs, and ordinary community members; the number and quality of actions against GBV that individuals take; shifts in social norms regarding inaction against violence; commitment by law enforcement to pursue cases regarding GBV; and incidence rates of gender violence. It may be beneficial to follow up on whether recommendations presented in this report were embraced and the impact the changes have had on the movement in Wentworth. Moreover, further research must be conducted to understand how individuals can mobilize both men and women to take action against violence. It may be beneficial to compare qualitative and quantitative data from PIA and/or Brothers for Life approaches to a women's-focused approach in Wentworth, such as microfinance, to assess which types of interventions result in reducing GBV and the spread of HIV/AIDS, as well as in improving gender equality and social norms around violence.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guides

Questions for CEs

- What motivates you to take action against violence?
- Why are you involved in PIA?
- How would you define your role in PIA?
- Over your time working for PIA, what shifts do you see in social norms and attitudes regarding violence in the community?
- How do you recruit CIs?
- How useful was your CE training? What do you wish the training had involved?
- Have you and your CIs been involved in actions or reporting actions? Do you think there are concerns with action reporting?
- How do you motivate your CIs to take action and be active?
- What motivates women in the community to take action against violence?
- What motivates men in the community to take action against violence?
- What do you do to encourage a woman to do to take action? What do you do to encourage a man to do to take action?
- What do you think the main successes and challenges have been over the past year?
- Where do you hope to see Wentworth one year from now? What do you think must be done to achieve this vision?
- What support do you think you need from KZN Network?
- What sustainability challenges do you think PIA faces?
- What motivates you to stay involved with PIA?

Questions for CIs

- What motivates you to take action against violence?
- Why are you involved in PIA? How did you get involved?
- How would you define your role in PIA?
- Over your time working for PIA, what shifts do you see in social norms and attitudes regarding violence in the community?
- How useful was your CI training? What do you wish the training had involved?
- Have you been involved in actions or reporting actions? Do you think there are concerns with action reporting?
- How did you form PAG groups? What challenges do you face in creating action?
- What motivates men in the community to take action against violence?
- What role would you like to play in the lives of the men and women you work with?
- Where do you hope to see Wentworth one year from now? What do you think must be done to achieve this vision?
- What motivates you to stay involved with PIA?
- What support do you think you need from KZN Network?
- What sustainability challenges do you think PIA faces?

Interview Guide for Brothers for Life CEs

- How did you get involved with Brothers for Life?
- What do men think about their role as husbands, fathers, boyfriends, brothers?
- Why do you take action against violence?
- How do you encourage men to take action against violence? What motivates them?
- Why is it difficult to encourage men to take action against violence?
- Why is it difficult for men to talk about GBV?
- What do men think of PIA's use of VAW instead of GBV?
- What motivates you to stay involved with Prevention in Action even after funding may end?
- Do you think social norms around violence have changed in the community?
- What is your vision for the future of Wentworth? How do you think it can be achieved?

Interview Guide for SAPS-Wentworth

- Why do you take action against violence?
- Are you involved with Prevention in Action?
- What is your role in SAPS to prevent GBV?
- How has the number of reported cases of violence changed?
 - Why?
 - What used to be the most common types of GBV? What about today?
- Do you find it easy or challenging to motivate men to take action against violence?
- Do you think women/men are speaking out more about the GBV they experience?
- What role does child prostitution/alcohol/drugs play in GBV?
- What is your vision for the future?
- What challenges do you face in achieving this vision?
- What can you do to achieve this vision?

Appendix B: Daily Log of Activities

3.1.2012 – Interview with Nhlanhla Vezi at Pavilion in Westville

- Discussed Brothers for Life, masculinities, male engagement in GBV prevention work
- Put me in contact with Cookie Edwards of KZN Network on Violence Against Women

3.21.2012 – Wentworth Action Event (10AM – 3PM) = 5 hours

- Observed action event in Wentworth and participated in activities – such as signing billboard, letting go of balloons, dancing with the community members, and listening to speeches
- Observed interactions among CEs, CIs, and community members
- Talked to CEs, CIs, and Brothers for Life Ambassadors informally to understand PIA, KZN Network, and violence in Wentworth better

3.24.2012 – Molweni Action Event (9AM – 1PM) = 4 hours

- Observed action event in Molweni and participated in activities – such as marching to the community center and taking pictures of the event for the PIA Facebook page
- Talked to CEs, CIs, and staff members to learn more about PIA, KZN Network, and violence in Molweni
- Observed interactions among CEs, CIs, and community members

4.2.2012 – First Day in the Office (9:30AM – 2PM) = 4.5 hours

- Comprehensive meeting with Cookie, Ntuthu and Magdalene to explain my responsibilities over the next couple of weeks and to clarify information regarding my work with KZN Network and my needs for my ISP

4.3.2012 – CE Meeting at Coastlands Hotel (8:30AM – 2PM) = 5.5 hours

- Observed CE meeting on: planning PAGs and PACs; visible community actions; role of PACs in engaging with actions; collaboration with CEs; evidence of success for actions; session 5 expectations
- Made contacts with two CEs

4.5.2012 – Phone Interview with Uzzi (10:15-11:15) = 1 hour

- Discussed his role as CE, motivation to take action against violence, perspectives of violence in his community, vision for future

4.9.2012 – Phone Interview with Mbongeni = 45 minutes

- Discussed his role as CI, motivation to take action against violence, perspectives of violence in his community, vision for future

4.10.2012 – Return to Office (10:30AM – 3PM) = 4 hours

- M&E project ended up getting pushed back because M&E team in Cape Town needed to debrief me officially on M&E procedures and they were not ready to do that yet – frustrated Cookie a lot because she wanted me to pursue this
- Cookie and I talked about my interview needs and how she wants my ISP to be helpful to the Network as well

- She placed me in the Trauma Centre (where rape, domestic violence, and other civil cases go, Trauma centre also has great connections to CEs and CIs) at SAPS Wentworth
- She also arranged for me to attend the Wentworth Brothers for Life meeting tomorrow and the Wentworth CE meeting next week
- While Magdalene was making these arrangements, I talked to Nadia for an hour informally about how she got started working at KZN Network and she shared with me the Network's resource room where there are binders upon binders of training, M&E, HIV/AIDS, and GBV materials
- Magdalene then took me to Wentworth where we visited WOW where I had an interview Chantal
- Afterwards, we went to the Trauma Room at the police department to meet the CEs I would be working with

4.11.2012 – Day in Wentworth (9:30AM – 9:00PM) = 11.5 hours

- Observed in Trauma room – sat in on two cases
- Interviewed community member who takes action through PIA but not a CI or CE
- Interviewed CE from Trauma
- Interviewed Magdalene
- Interviewed one of Magdalene's CIs
- Observed Brothers for Life Meeting and made two contacts

4.12.2012 – Trauma Room in Wentworth (10:00 – 1:30) = 3.5 hours

- Observed VAW case with Wendy and realized that women aren't the only ones suffering, men do too – there's always two sides to every story
- Wendy asked me to share my opinions and perspectives with the couple who needed the intervention → so I did, and Wendy and I urged the man to attend the Brothers for Life meeting next week
- Visited the Arc – a homeless shelter across from the police station → Naomi connected me to three women who do actions against VAW – one of them is a CI, one of them used to be, and one of them is just active

4.13.2012 – Trauma Room in Wentworth & Brothers for Life Interview (10:00-3:30) = 5.5 hours

- Observed harassment and infidelity case between two families
- Interviewed three police sergeants
- Interviewed Brothers for Life ambassador from Wentworth in Town

4.16.2012 – Trauma Room in Wentworth (9:00-12:15) = 3.25 hours

- Observed child neglect case and follow-up from previous case

4.17.2012 – Trauma Room in Wentworth and Interviews (9:45-4:45) = 7 hours

- Observed 2 cases
- Had long informal conversation and formal interview with one CE
- Interviewed a CE from Brothers for Life

4.20.2012 – Trauma Room in Wentworth and Walk with Magdalene (9:30-2:30) = 5 hours

- Observed 1 long and intense domestic violence and sexual harassment case
- Had coffee and walked around with Magdalene to talk about the focus group and CE session that I missed

4.24.2012 – Gaps and Recommendations Report for Magdalene (12:30-4:00) = 3.5 hours

- Met Magdalene at WOW to assist her with one of her many reports for KZN Network due tomorrow
- Allowed her to talk through gaps and recommendations she observes in PIA movement that have come up through her observations of PAC Meetings and CI Sessions while taking notes
- Wrote draft report of gaps and recommendations based on Magdalene's observations for her to utilize in her final report

Appendix C: Human Subjects Review

1. Brief description of procedures relating to human subjects' participation:

Number of persons that are participating per set

- Experts: 1
- Academics: 0
- Minors: 0
- Others: 21 (CEs, CIs, KZN Staff, SAPS, community members)

Provide details of any cooperative institution? What is it, who is the contact, and how was their permission obtained?

I will be working with the KZN Network on Violence against Women. It is a not-for-profit, non-government organization funded by PEPFAR committed to ending GBV through raising awareness, mobilizing the community, and advocacy. Their recent project, Prevention in Action, and recent collaboration with Brothers for Life, aims to empower men and women in communities to unite together to take action to prevent violence and promote health and safety. The supervisor of the program is Cookie Edwards. The receptionist is Maria Schultz. The phone number is 031-201-9615 and Maria's email address is mschultz@kznetwork.co.za.

I met with both Cookie, Ntuthu, and Zine to discuss why I wanted to volunteer with the Network, what I hope to learn, and how I can help. Immediately Cookie and Zine agreed and asked me to attend two events in communities to gain an understanding of PIA's work and to begin building relationships with staff, community members, and stakeholders before I start to work in the office and attend future activities.

What will participants be asked to do, or what information will be gathered? (Append copies of interview guides, instructions, survey instruments, etc. where applicable).

Participants will only be asked to have structured and informal interviews with me. Please see interview guides in Appendix A.

I will not be asking questions related to personal health and behavior concerns such as having HIV/AIDS, committing violence, or being a victim of violence.

Reciprocity – what is being given back to each participant?

It is my hope that participants will be able to share experiences and opinions, be involved in documenting community history, and positively affect public and organizational knowledge and understanding of GBV and public health in their communities.

The KZN Network will benefit from my report because they will be able to read the perspectives and opinions of those they work with in the Wentworth community and utilize the lessons learned to improve PIA and future GBV-prevention interventions. CEs and CIs in

Wentworth will also be able to benefit from the analysis of challenges and opportunities revealed in this report. The “process use” concept of evaluation also allows those who participated in the exploration to learn through reflection.

Additionally, the wise words, expertise, and stories of members of communities and Prevention in Action groups will be heard by my receptive and compassionate ear.

For those I want to have longer and more formal interviews with, such as KZN Network staff members and CEs/CIs I develop close relationships with, hopefully a cup of coffee or tea.

2. Protection of human subjects. Before completing this section, you must read and agree to comply with the SIT Study Abroad Statement of Ethics. Even if no research is being done it is STILL necessary for any person volunteering or learning to ensure no harm might be done.

Have you read and do you agree to comply with the World Learning Ethics Statement noted above?

Yes, I have read and I agree to comply with the World Learning Ethics Statement noted above.

Identify and indicate whether any participants risk any stress or harm by participating in this Study Project? If there is even a slight possibility, should this research go ahead? Why? How will these issues be addressed? What safeguards will minimize the risks?

Staff members from the KZN Network may risk stress by participating in this project because of the risks behind saying something negative about the organization or any of the other staff members. Since there are few staff members, it may be easy to ascertain who said what about whom even with anonymity. Harms may include being dismissed or causing unnecessary conflict and tension. Despite this risk, it is important for this study to go forward to explore and reflect with KZN Network upon their goals, activities, and vision for PIA and Brothers for Life in communities throughout KZN. If truly negative opinions emerge that may harm the organization or staff members, specific consent will be retrieved from the individual to include the comment. If I feel that omitting the opinion will not affect the quality of the Study Project seriously, I will take that route to protect the individual.

Who might you need written consent from?

It will be beneficial to have written consent from the staff members from KZN Network because I will be having comprehensive, semi-formal interviews from the organization. Written consent will protect me from sensitive comments and opinions that are presented in my report. It will encourage staff members to be open with me since they understand that they can withdraw their participation or some quotes articulated at anytime. CEs, CIs, Brothers for Life Ambassadors, and community members will not need written consent forms because interviews conducted with them will be informal and shorter. However, verbal consent will be clearly articulated to each participant.

Indicate whether any participants are minors or not likely to understand consequences of participation? If there are, how will they be protected, and who will ensure their rights are protected?

No participants are minors. All of my participants speak and understand English and understand the consequences of participation.

Will you ask questions of any persons who may appear unable to negotiate freely? How will you protect them from feeling coerced? (If no, explain why all are freely-abled)

All participants are freely-able to negotiate because they speak and understand English, none are likely to be disabled in anyway, and I am willing to abide by any needs or desires of the participant to protect their safety and privacy. All individuals are able to make their own decisions and can take care of themselves. All participants are in a proper state of mind.

3. Human Subject Protection Essay:

Privacy

I will be interviewing staff members of the KZN Network, members of the communities PIA works in, and CEs, CIs, and Brothers for Life Ambassadors who work directly in their communities. It is crucial that participants' information is protected and that participants control my access to their information. At the same time, narratives, experiences, opinions, and reflections collected are central to the study on how the KZN Network mobilizes men and women to take action against GBV. To maintain privacy and still collect rich primary data, I will ensure that individuals only participate if they are willing and interested in contributing to my project. I will not seek highly personal or confidential information. Interviews can be performed in a location, public or private, of the participant's choosing to make sure he or she is comfortable with the degree of privacy when sharing information.

Moreover, participants will have control over my access to their information while we go through written or verbal consent. I will discuss the kinds of questions I want to ask my participants, whether or not the participant wants to hide his or her identity, whether or not a photograph of the participant or event can be used, and understanding that he or she will not receive a gift for participating. This will empower participants to say what they desire to say without fear of any repercussions.

Anonymity

I will protect names of participants who would not like their names to be revealed in the final report. Due to the risk of people speaking potentially controversial, negative, or strong opinions and reflections in the KZN Network, either all names or no names will be depicted as pseudonyms. If pseudonyms are used, no unique identifiers, such as gender, race, or position within the organization or PIA, will be identified. This is crucial because the staff is so small, it is easy to ascertain identity based on personal identifiers. As for the CEs, CIs, Brothers for Life Ambassadors, and community members, they may choose to be identified in the study project. If they choose not to, their anonymity will be respected.

Anonymity will also be respected during my participant observation and field notes while in the office and in the community. Those who do not want their names, unique identification information, and/or activities depicted will have their desires respected.

Confidentiality

To protect data about participants, access to data will be limited. All paper and hard copy records, which will be found in my Independent Study Project Field Journal, will be on my person at all times or locked in my place of residence. Other hard copy records from the KZN Network will be kept locked in the KZN Network office at all times. Electronic materials, such as interview guides, notes, database information, monitoring and evaluation information, and KZN Network documents will be maintained under password protection on either my laptop or the KZN Network computers. For participants who wish their names to be confidential in the Independent Study, pseudonyms such as “Mary,” “Thando,” and “Sipho” will be used, rather than “Wentworth Confidential 1” or “KZN Confidential 1,” to maintain the richness and intimacy of the narratives illustrated. Real names will be tracked on a separate page in my Independent Study Project Field Journal with pseudonyms in parentheses next to the name. This study will be presented at a research symposium at the George Washington University and at the Fall Study Abroad Fair. After the presentation of this project, personal files in my possession will be destroyed to ensure the information stays confidential.

Organizational Integrity

The KZN Network will read this Independent Study Project because I am conducting an exploration, rather than an evaluation, of the organizations’ activities, perceptions, and vision in regard to its mission to prevent and eradicate gender-based violence in communities. Though the organization wants me to do an “evaluation” of its work as part of my intern activities, the ISP will take a more positive approach by emphasizing assets, opportunities, and visions for the future. Regardless, some information must be excluded from the report. For instance, information that may risk someone being harmed (such as discharged or conflict-causing) must be omitted from the report. No one’s job should be at risk for this project since this is meant to help the organization see itself from the perspectives of the staff, the communities in which people work, and from an outsider.

Moreover, any opinions and attitudes expressed that may seriously offend staff members must be omitted or hidden in a way as to not identify any individual. Primary data that may cause controversy among staff members or between the KZN Network and funders must be omitted. And, comments that may compromise the privacy and anonymity of individuals without their consent must be omitted or written in a way to not identify the individuals.

Sign participant observation situations; declaration:

When participating in an organization or community I will:

- a. Undertake a bilateral negotiation with the group I am participating with.

- b. Work with gatekeepers to assist in that negotiation and draw up a contract with that gatekeeper, defining roles and conditions of access.
- c. Work with the gatekeeper to communicate that contract with the group.
- d. Refrain from criticizing and intervening unless invited by the gatekeeper in consultation with the group, and even then with due tact and caution.

By signing below I certify that all of the above information is true and correct to the best of my knowledge, and that I agree to fully comply with all of the program's ethical guidelines as noted above and as presented in the program and/or discussed elsewhere in program materials. I further acknowledge that I will not engage in ISP activities until such a time that both my ISP proposal as well as my Human Subjects Participation application are successful and I have been notified by my Academic Director(s) to this effect.

Silpa Srinivasulu
Student's name (signature)

Silpa Srinivasulu
Student's name (printed)

Date: 28 April 2012

Appendix D: List of Consents Obtained

Written Consents Held:

Magdalene – written consent obtained 4/11/2012

Substantive Oral Consents Obtained

Brigetta - 13 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Chantal - 10 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Dion - 17 April, 2012, verbal consent obtained

ISP Confidential #1 21 March 2012 & 11 April 2012, verbal consent obtained each time

Jean - 12 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Luke - 13 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Magdalene - 10 April 2012, 11 April 2012, & 24 April 2012, verbal consent obtained each time

Mbongeni - 9 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Munsami - 13 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Naomi - 11 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Natasha - 12 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Nhlanhla Vezi - 1 March 2012, verbal consent obtained

Quentin - 21 March 2012, verbal consent obtained

Pastor Augustine - 12 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Reddy - 13 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Rochelle - 11 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Siphiwe - 23 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Sophia - 12 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Tyniele - 17 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Uzzi - 5 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Wendy - 11 April 2012, verbal consent obtained

Template Consent Form

Consent Form for Adult Respondents in English:

I can read English.

I have read the information about this study project and had it explained to me, and I fully understand what it says. I understand that this study is trying to:

- Understand the role and potential of men to engage in preventing GBV;
- Analyze how the KZN Network tries to mobilize both men and women in Wentworth to take action;
- Explore with the Network and community organizers their objectives, challenges, opportunities, and vision for the future of PIA and an end to GBV.
- Allow the KZN Network and grassroots organizers to reflect upon their experiences with PIA and to help them address challenges, meet opportunities, and ultimately reach the

shared vision of sustaining PIA in Wentworth and implementing effective community GBV interventions for the future.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I have a right to withdraw my consent to participate at any time without penalty.

I understand and am willing for you to ask me questions about:

- What motivates you to take action against violence?
- Why are you involved in PIA?
- How would you define your role in PIA?
- Over your time working for PIA, what shifts do you see in social norms and attitudes regarding violence in the community?
- How do you recruit CIs?
- How useful was your CE training? What do you wish the training had involved?
- Have you and your CIs been involved in actions or reporting actions? Do you think there are concerns with action reporting?
- How do you motivate your CIs to take action and be active?
- What motivates women in the community to take action against violence?
- What motivates men in the community to take action against violence?
- What do you do to encourage a woman to do to take action? What do you do to encourage a man to do to take action?
- What do you think the main successes and challenges have been over the past year?
- Where do you hope to see Wentworth one year from now? What do you think must be done to achieve this vision?
- What support do you think you need from KZN Network?
- What sustainability challenges do you think PIA faces?
- What motivates you to stay involved with PIA?

I do not require that my **identity (and name)** be kept secret. I understand that, if requested, my name will not be written on any questionnaire and that no one will be able to link my name to the answers I give. If requested, my individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from this study project.

I do give permission for a **photograph** of me to be used in the writeup of this study or for future publication. I understand that the learner will not use or provide any photographs for commercial purposes or publication without my permission.

I understand that I will receive no gift or direct benefit for participating in the study.

I confirm that the learner has given me the address of the nearest School for International Training Study Abroad Office should I wish to go there for information. (18 Alton Road, Glenmore, Durban).

I know that if I have any questions or complaints about this study that I can contact anonymously, if I wish, the Director/s of the SIT South Africa Community Health Program (Zed McGladdery 084.683.4982).

I agree to participate in this study project.

Signature:

Date: