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Law versus Action: How Five Cape Town Organizations Are Combating High Rates of Sexual Assault and the Failure of Progressive Sexual Offences Legislation

Anna Tinker
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Law versus Action: How Five Cape Town Organizations Are Combating High
Rates of Sexual Assault and the Failure of Progressive Sexual Offences
Legislation

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Abstract

This Independent Study Project (ISP) seeks to understand the work various Cape Town organizations are doing to help survivors of sexual assault gain access to justice. Previous research finds that social norms defining masculinity as well as rape myths and stereotypes lead to the high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) in South Africa. This research led to my hypothesis that organizations fighting GBV would target these norms to help survivors access the justice system that so frequently ignores them. Eight organizations were contacted requesting an interview to discuss their work and two agreed to participate. Participants were asked to discuss the goals, successes, and failures of their organizations work. Three additional organizations are included in this report using information from annual reports published on their websites. From the information gleaned from these interviews and annual reports, this ISP finds that while targeting social norms is an objective of some organizations, many directly support survivors in court and other post-trauma processes and still others research and analyze policy and legislation to determine how the law can be changed to support survivors. This report concludes that while progressive legislation is in place, there is still policy that must be changed for survivors to truly be able to access justice. Thus, organizations focus on law as well as social norms within communities to create real change for survivors. This report suggests future research investigating intersectional approaches to organization work to understand how they address the unequal realities of rape survivors.

KEY WORDS: sexual assault, justice, survivor, rape

Dedication

This independent study is dedicated to my mother, Christa Tinker, for listening to my excitement about this project and encouraging me to pursue the topics in which I have the most interest.

Acknowledgements

This research could not have been completed without the support of my advisor, Emma Arogundade. She provided me with resources and support throughout this study from conversations about my topic to advising me through the research process. I would also like to thank my participants from Women's Legal Tribunal and The Total Shutdown for speaking to me about their work and how their organizations help support survivors and grant them greater access to justice. Further, this ISP could not have been produced without the work of organization members from Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, Sonke Gender Justice, and Dullah Omar Institute writing annual reports that provide clear explanation of the work being done by the organizations. Additional thanks go to the other students in my program for supporting me through the writing process and giving advice as requested in terms of interviews and writing the report. I would also like to acknowledge all of my host families for their hospitality in letting me into their homes and having conversations about the prevalence of GBV in South Africa. Finally, the work of my academic director, Stewart Chirova, and program assistant, Tabisa Dyonase, provided me with support throughout this semester that prepared me for my success in this independent study project. To everyone who I have spoken to about survivor access to justice, thank you for your support and encouragement.

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Introduction

In 2007, the South African government passed new rape legislation, the Sexual Offenses Act, which defined rape as the penetration of any orifice of the human body with any object without consent (Mills, 2007). This act went on to define coercion as an inherent lack of consent and unequal power dynamics in sex as inherently coercive (Mills, 2007). This act made the legal definition of rape very clear and suggested inclusion and protection of all survivors. This law suggests that now, the legal system allows survivors to access justice if they experienced sexual assault. However, despite progressive legislation, rates of rape and sexual assault in South Africa continue to be among the highest in the world (Wilkinson, 2016). Although on paper, the law protects survivors, the reality of the situation is that prosecution rates for rapists is extremely low, police officers often fail to arrest rapists, rape cases are continually postponed, and witnesses and evidence are often lost (Vetten, 2011). Clearly, what is on paper is not put into action. As incidences of gender-based violence (GBV) continue to occur at high rates, organizations have formed around South Africa to combat these crimes.

It is the work of these organizations that draws attention to issues of GBV and calls for legitimate change at all levels, from small communities to the government itself. These organizations exist both to advocate for and directly support survivors, though the success of their work is not always clear. Often, government and statisticians focus on and provide funding to short term projects as they show immediate effects, but these are not necessarily the most important for survivors or their advocates (Britton, 2006). Instead, survivors and their advocates likely want to create long lasting change to ensure that no one else has to experience rape. Thus, although it is important to understand why high rates of rape exist in South Africa today, it is more important to compare strategies for change and examine the areas where work still needs to be done. South African social norms tend to be extremely patriarchal wherein men feel entitled to sex and masculinity is seen as dominant and based in violence

(Singleton, 2012; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007). These intensely patriarchal social norms suggest a need to target these norms to enact change. However, organizations who work with survivors and understand behavior, attitudes, and the law in relation to survivors, may see a different solution. For the purpose of this independent study, it is important to understand the work of organizations and how their strategy is effective in combatting rape and other forms of GBV. This background gives rise to the central question of this study: how do various organizations within Cape Town advocate for survivor justice and what methods are most effective in this line of work?

This ISP investigates the work of some of these organizations, focusing especially on what their work targets, whether that be the law, society/social norms, or something else entirely. This report contains information from interviews with Women's Legal Tribunal and The Total Shutdown (#TTS), and annual reports from Dullah Omar Institute, Sonke Gender Justice, and Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust dating back to 2016. This research examines the actions of these organizations as well as their goals, successes, and struggles in order to better understand how organizations work to protect the rights of survivors, specifically looking to understand how the law relates to the work of these organizations. This study additionally asked about the focuses of organizations and how their actions facilitated their success in achieving their goals. Interviews took place within Cape Town, but the work of the organizations themselves expands past Cape Town into other parts of South Africa as well as, in some cases, the African continent. For the purposes of this report, terms such as GBV, rape, sexual assault, and sexual violence, will all be used relatively interchangeably, based on how organizations themselves label these crimes. Organization members were asked to speak about their goals and strategies to understand how organizations working in the same area of advocacy are similar in some regards, as well as how and why they are different.

More specifically, the goal for this ISP was to compare the work of various Cape Town organizations as they advocate for justice for rape survivors.

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Within this broader goal, the objectives of this ISP were to understand: the current work of organizations advocating for survivor justice, the goals and ideals of these organizations in their work going forward, the success they have seen in the past, the areas where they have struggled, what actions have specifically led to their success, the actions that have failed to yield expected results, and what aspects of life they are targeting with their actions (legal, cultural, social, economic, etc.). Based on past literature surrounding social norms and the prevalence of rape in South Africa, as well as information about the current rape law, I hypothesized that organizations will find most success when their actions target the social/cultural aspects of life and bringing the law into action rather than attempting to change the law.

The time frame and nature of this study, however, had several limitations. For one, members of advocacy organizations are very busy with the work they are doing and getting responses from these organizations requires patience and the time to be patient. With only four weeks to produce a complete report, the number of organizations interviewed was quite small. Many organizations never responded to emails and to get their response would have taken more time than this project allowed. However, the organizations who did participate provided plenty of information with which to understand some of the work being done to support survivors in accessing justice in Cape Town. Further, organizations who produced annual reports provided information helpful in the production of this ISP.

However, in both interviews and annual reports, questions surrounding ineffective strategies were left unanswered. In annual reports, unsuccessful strategies were likely not mentioned because these reports seek to highlight the best of an organization rather than focusing on areas needing growth. Even in interviews, it was difficult to get organizations to speak to their shortcomings as they likely did not want their interview to act as a critique for their own organization. This led to a large understanding of successes of each organization but very little information on where they failed to create change and the

differing strategies that led to these discrepancies. Without this information, it is difficult to know why one strategy worked while another did not. Further, understanding strategies that have been unsuccessful in the past for some organizations but successful for others would have helped demonstrate how strategies require different resources and thus may only work for some groups. A discussion of shortcomings would have allowed this report to discuss how organizations are able to use different strategies and experience varying levels of success based on factors apart from the strategy itself.

In addition to the small number of participants and limited responses in terms of unsuccessful strategies, this report is limited in that it often strays from work that explicitly helps survivors access justice. This limitation is largely due to a reliance on the annual reports of organizations who do far more than help survivors access justice. These organizations advocate for other aspects gender and social justice as well as focus on supporting survivors in other respects. However, these actions are important to mention as they may have fringe impacts on survivor access to justice. If survivors, women, and vulnerable groups are supported, they may be more able, or feel more able, to go to the justice system in the first place, allowing them greater access to justice. Even though the link is not always clear nor direct, this report still draws on the work of these organizations to gain a broader understanding of advocacy for survivors of sexual violence. The breadth of organizational effort allows this report to understand how the literature on GBV and action against it fits into the range of work done by various organizations.

The following report consists of four sections. The first examines the current literature regarding the prevalence of and actions against the high rates of sexual assault in South Africa. Although this ISP attempts to focus specifically on Cape Town, literature tends to consider South Africa in general. Following the review of current literature on GBV in South Africa which will include a brief discussion of the gaps that make this research relevant, the methods used to conduct this study will be described in depth. This methodology will include

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the ethical considerations made prior to, during, and after the completion of interviews that informed the research and report presented here. Following the methodology is a presentation of findings and analysis of information collected from interviews conducted with organization members as well as annual reports published online. This section will include an in-depth analysis of what was found paying specific attention to similarities between organizations and where they differ from each other as well as in comparison to literature and its suggestions. The final section of this report will draw conclusions regarding the implications of the goals, strategies, and successes of advocacy organizations in Cape Town as well as where further research must still be done.

Literature review

South Africa is known around the world for its high rates of sexual assault, specifically rape (Wilkinson, 2016). These high rates of rape exist despite the fact that in 2007, South African government passed a new rape law, the Sexual Offences Act (Mills, 2007). Prior to this act, rape had been defined as “intentional unlawful sexual intercourse without [a woman’s] consent [including] penetration of the labia majora” (South African Police Service, n.d.). The new law redefined rape as penetration of any orifice with any object without affirmative consent (Mills, 2007). Further, coercion was defined by the 2007 act as an inherent lack of consent; therefore, sex within unequal power dynamics is viewed as rape under the new law (Mills, 2007). This legislation marked an important change in the legal protection of women and other rape survivors, but a large question remains: did it create any real change for survivors? This review seeks to examine current understandings of these high levels of rape by briefly examining whether change did occur before considering the reasons for why this legislation may not have led to widespread change across South Africa. Further, this literature review will examine different strategies organizations use currently to protect survivors in answer to an overarching question about how the law has addressed rape and what still needs to be done to ensure its implementation.

Despite the change in rape legislation in 2007, ground level norms and experiences appear to have stayed the same. In 2019, the Shukumisa Coalition, an organization fighting for greater justice for rape survivors, wrote in a letter to the president that only 10% of rape cases are reported and only 74% of those cases ever make it to court (Shukumisa Coalition, 2019). Further, Wilkinson (2016) found that in Gauteng, only 3.9% of survivors reported their rape. Rape survivors thus do not have access to justice because they do not report their rape. This failure to report is not necessarily due to a lack of desire to, instead, other factors may be in place that prevent survivors from wanting to go to the justice system or may block their path to the system. Vetten (2011) finds that continual postponement of trials for rapists means that few trials are completed, and people are wary of going to trial as they know that it will drag on for long periods of time. Survivors know that the system will not act rapidly to support them, so they may feel no desire to seek justice and risk backlash from their rapist or even their communities. Coupled with the frequent postponement of trials is the lack of records kept by police officers (Vetten, 2011). The failure to keep records means that evidence is lost, and witnesses slip through the cracks such that rapists are not punished because prosecutors do not have the means to prove their guilt (Vetten, 2011). These legal barriers to prosecution demonstrate the failure of the new Sexual Offences Act of 2007 to provide justice for survivors. Thus, there is a clear need for organizations to continue to advocate for survivors and their legal rights.

Past literature has investigated the reasons for high rates of rape in South Africa and pointed to a few possible reasons apart from the failure of the legal system to provide consequences. One such reason for these high rates of GBV are the problematic social norms that persist in the country. For one, research finds that norms of masculinity in South Africa allow and encourage sexual violence because it is seen as a demonstration of manliness (Mills, 2007). For example, when men find failure in their working lives, they often use sex to prove their male superiority (Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007). Racialized

income inequality which ensures that non-white men are placed in more low-income jobs has the side effect of causing these men to perceive themselves as unmanly and attempt to prove their masculinities in other parts of their lives (Jewkes, 2009). Low-income, largely non-white men are then pushed towards sexual violence as a method of reaffirming their masculinity and boosting their self-esteem through feelings of power. Men feel as though they should have power over women in the first place due to high rates of gender inequality in South Africa that creates a gender hierarchy where men are viewed as superior to women (Jewkes, 2009). When men feel as though they do not have power, they use any means necessary to reestablish their power even if that results in sexually assaulting the women around them (Wood et al., 2007). As a more specific example, research by Singleton (2012) in the Zulu village of Mpophomeni finds that rape demonstrates the power of a man and is therefore an important aspect of masculinity. Through rape, men demonstrate their dominance over others, especially when they feel as though they have no power in other parts of life. These social norms that view the masculine as superior to the feminine provide justification for disempowered men to engage in sexual violence to reaffirm their social position.

In relation to perceptions of masculinity, research finds that many men and women share a strong belief that men are entitled to sex. This entitlement can be seen in the Zulu village of Mpophomeni where Singleton (2012) found that both men and women believe that men deserve sex from their partners. This belief is supported by the concept of “lobolo,” or bride price, where men pay a woman’s father for her hand in marriage (Sanger, 2012; Wood et al., 2007). This payment then demonstrates that the new husband owns his bride and implies that he deserves what he wants from her. The new bride is additionally beholden to this belief as she is treated as a good; she is bought and sold for the benefit of men and given no autonomy in her sexual decision making (Sanger, 2012; Wood et al., 2007). This entitlement to sex, however, is found in many cultures around the world, not just African ones. Specifically, Dutch and British

conceptions of sexuality include the belief that men are entitled to sex (Kaganas, 1986). Colonization of South Africa and the aggressive spreading of their lives and cultures has ensured that British and Dutch values are engrained in the lives of many South Africans (Trapido, 2011). The belief that men are entitled to sex is shared by many cultures that make up South Africa which further enables and normalizes sexual assault.

While masculinity enables perpetrators of sexual violence, concepts of femininity are often used to justify raping specific women. Rape is frequently used to punish women seen as not feminine enough in their behavior, dress, or sexuality (Rumney & van der Bijl, 2010). Corrective rape acts provides an example of this as lesbian women are raped by men in order to make them straight or to punish their failure to conform to traditional heterosexual norms (Britton, 2006; Sanger, 2010). In another vein, the rape of drunk women is often justified by men who claim that women should not get drunk and therefore deserve to be raped, again because they stray from traditional gender roles (Rumney & van der Bijl, 2010). Gender roles thus play a much larger role in the prevalence of rape in South Africa than simply justifying aggressive male behavior. Rather, gender norms about femininity, or the departure from these norms, also serve as justifications for rape, although being feminine does not guarantee that women will not be raped. Instead, traditional ideas of femininity center around the ideal rape victim of being modest and passive and tied to a man (Mills, 2007). Thus, while women who fit the traditional feminine description are more likely to be allowed access to justice, they are still below men on the social hierarchy and are thus still subject to sexual violations. These ideas of femininity and perceptions of breaking the norm serve to maintain the gender hierarchy within the system and enable perpetrators to continue their violent behavior.

In addition to expectations of sex, harmful stereotypes of rape and consent justify the failure to protect survivors in South Africa. Mills (2007) conducted research which found that South Africans have many contradicting

ideas about what consent looks like and many believe that dress and behavior demonstrate consent. Ideas that physical appearance can communicate consent lead into what Mills (2007) labels the “ideal rape victim,” someone who attempts to fight back when assaulted but is overall passive, modest, and in a long-term relationship with a man (Mills, 2007, p. 83). These behaviors supposedly demonstrate that the survivor really did not want to have sex with the perpetrator and any other behavior may be read as secretly wanting sex (Mills, 2007). Thus, the survivor is perceived to be reporting the crime as some cruel revenge tactic if they are not passive and traditionally feminine. Further, rape stereotypically involves violence and thus sex through coercion is not seen as rape (Mills, 2007). These rape stereotypes and myths allow legal authorities to question reports of rape such that survivors are unable to access justice promised by the law (Mills, 2007). Moreover, they encourage women to avoid reporting either because they know the police will think they are lying or because myths have taught them that they have not been raped (Mills, 2007). These ideas of rape are prevalent across society and the fact that women also believe these myths may lead survivors to avoid accessing justice because, despite trauma, they feel that what they experienced was not a violation (Roerhs, 2011). Specifically, less than half of rape survivors define their experience as rape, especially if the rapist is a current or former partner (Roerhs, 2011, p. 114). Roerhs (2011) finds that women and their families often blame the survivor for rape and thus do not pursue prosecution for the offender. These internalized and externalized rape stereotypes mean that survivors do not seek justice and those who do are punished by the systems that do not believe their reports.

Clearly, despite the Sexual Offences Act of 2007, cultural norms persist, and high rates of sexual assault and violence continue to occur in South Africa. Kwaa Prah (2013) argues that democracy cannot be imposed on a group of people, it is something that must be desired and that the people build up. This same idea can be applied to social norms. Although the law protects survivors and prevents rape in theory, in reality, dominant social norms persist as the law

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has no power over the thoughts of the people nor control over the whole of society (Scutt, 1978). Further, these internal stereotypes and myths surrounding rape, masculinity, femininity, etc., play into legal processes that leave room for high levels of discretion from officials in the justice system (Rumney & van der Bijl, 2010). Because there is no specific way to protect survivors laid out in the law, police officers, judges, lawyers, and others can decide for themselves when, if, and how justice is carried out. This discretion then allows norms and myths to dominate the justice system such that the law remains a piece of paper and enforcement does not change.

With these persistent occurrences of sexual violence in mind, it is important to understand current (and past) actions being taken to ensure that survivors are provided justice as promised by the new law. The Shukumisa Coalition (2019) recognized the lack of resources afforded to protecting survivors and, in a letter to the president, demanded the allocation of money to help survivors achieve justice through specialized services that would ensure conviction and standardized regulations within courts. In addition to these demands for action, Shukumisa Coalition (2019) demanded that the government set a timeline for addressing these issues such that they are accountable for their actions. Other organizations push for better education on what rape and consent really are in order to oppose the harmful myths of rape and thus allow citizens to hold themselves and each other accountable (Singleton, 2012). Along with education, Artz and Smyth (2007) argue for the use of advocacy and lobbying for legal reform, if not to change the law, to make people aware of the reality of the problem in South Africa so that people are more willing to take real action. If people understand the issue and why it exists, it is easier to fight against.

Clearly, the social norms in South Africa allow rape and other forms of sexual violence to continue because they normalize aggressive sexual behavior, and some organizations attempt to target these norms to make change. For example, Soul City, an edutainment program, targets behavior through social norms marketing (Paluck & Ball, 2010). Paluck and Ball (2010) describe social

norms marketing as the use of social media, face-to-face marketing, television, print media, radio, etc., to change people's perceptions of what is behaviorally acceptable in their communities. Specifically, social norms marketing targets injunctive social norms (what is seen as desirable) rather than descriptive social norms (what is typical) because changing what is desirable changes actions and has an eventual impact on the descriptive norms due to changed actions (Paluck & Ball, 2010). Soul City in particular makes specific behavioral recommendations for reducing GBV wherein people replace norms that accept sexual violence as a part of life with norms that recognize sexual violence as a crime that should be punished (Paluck & Ball, 2010). This intervention requires a deep understanding of context in order to target the audience/community with messages that will appeal to them (Paluck & Ball, 2010). This form of intervention specifically targets the harmful social norms by attempting to replace them with positive norms that change perceptions of what is and is not acceptable in a community.

In contrast, other organizations work to educate people on the realities of rape and sexual assault in order to change social norms by demonstrating the inaccuracy of current ones. Since 1994, people have known that they must inform others of the realities of sexual violence and treat survivors with more respect (Armstrong, 1994). Organizations target this goal through the promotion of sexual health messages in schools along with a commitment to behavior change through experiential learning and participation (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Further, Leach and Humphreys (2007) find that some interventions specifically target men to educate them about sexual violence and harmful masculinity norms. These interventions include activities such as role plays, brainstorming sessions, group discussion, and individual reflection, all led by other men in order to encourage boys to listen; recognizing that they are more likely to listen to men than women due to existing gender hierarchies (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Education is not just for youth; teachers also learn about the reality of sexual violence and how they can respond to it through tools like the *Opening Our Eyes* teacher's manual (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). The myths of

rape and sexual violence exist across gender, education, age, class, and race and thus interventions such as education must work with all these groups.

Other organizations work with the law and government to increase services and funding to create change so that survivors are more fully supported. While not directly addressing justice for survivors of GBV, the AIDS Law Project (ALP) specifically lobbied the government to recognize the link between HIV and GBV in order to increase government support for the provision of PEP, a form of anti-retroviral treatment (Richter, 2004). Likewise, many organizations look to the government to get funding for their work in supporting survivors of rape and other forms of GBV (Britton, 2006). This funding then goes to support organizations in providing individual and group counseling, shelters, intervention, legal assistance, and rape crisis centers (Britton, 2006). Other organizations seek funding from international donors such as PEPFAR, an American organization fighting HIV/AIDS, or private funding to support their programs (Britton, 2006; Ghanotakis, Mayhew, & Watts, 2009). Although they provide a great deal of funding, many South African organizations do not apply for PEPFAR funding due to their abstinence-based education and harsh restrictions, including the prohibition of abortion (Ghanotakis et al., 2009). Every funder brings its own rules and restrictions which pushes organizations to weigh the positives and negatives of each potential source even before applying. International and private funding is often preferred over government funding as the government tends to fund short term projects over long term ones due to a desire for immediate gains (Britton, 2006). However, this form of funding ignores the fact that long term strategies can lead to more substantial solutions and thus larger gains and less spending in the future (Britton, 2006). In addition to funding, the government is also called upon to create a national prevention strategy for GBV with the vocal and monetary support of officials (Jewkes, 2009). Without government involvement, it is difficult to establish a successful national strategy because no other body has a unifying role over the entire nation. Although it often does not provide the

support required, government is still an important piece of increasing survivor access to justice.

Government is often brought in by organizations to help with funding, but the organizations themselves have strategies that tend to create opportunity for survivors as well as support them after their trauma. Britton (2006) mentions a focus on self-sufficiency which allows women to have more control over their own lives and thus are not beholden on their rapists. Often, rape is perpetrated by people the survivor knows, so the ability to have more social, economic, and skills opportunity allows survivors to separate from their abuser (Britton, 2006; Armstrong, 1994). In addition to opportunity, organizations such as GRIP (Greater Rape Intervention Program) provide counseling immediately after a rape, as well as ongoing support such as “court care rooms” that help support survivors during a trial so they have a way to manage their responses to the continued trauma (Richter, 2004; Walby, 2015, p. 34). Through the provision of opportunity and support, survivors can access justice without having to depend on others and they maintain their autonomy.

In summary, despite a move to progressive rape legislation in 2007, rape in South Africa still exists at high rates and many organizations are working to bring about ground level change. Past literature finds that harmful stereotypes about rape are prevalent across communities such that violence is seen as inherent in rape which leads to the brushing off of coercive rape. Further, norms of femininity and masculinity justify sexual violence and create a culture that normalizes violent behavior from men towards women. Some organizations attempt to target these social norms through social norms marketing and education which seeks to replace the belief or inform people why it is inaccurate. Other organizations seek to provide support to survivors with funding from government, international, and private sources which all come with different restrictions and requirements. Within this literature, however, there is a lack of comparison of the work and successes of specific organizations working to help survivors find justice. Without an examination of this information, it is difficult

to determine the best course of action and why different strategies might be employed. Research must thus be done to better understand the work of various organizations to determine what is and is not working and what still must be done. Examining actions of organizations who advocate for survivors can help to increase understanding of what methods are most effective in specific spaces and thus illuminate how various actors can make change in their environments.

Methodology

To most directly determine the actions of organizations, this study was conducted using interviews, although annual reports were reviewed as well to incorporate the work of more organizations. The interviews were single-issue testimonies where participants provided information about how the organizations they were involved in advocated for survivor access to justice (Slim, Thompson, Bennett, & Cross, 1994). Although these were interviews with individuals, they sought to learn about the work of organizations rather than the life of the individual participant. Eight organizations, Philisa Abafazi Bethu, Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, Sonke Gender Justice, Women's Legal Tribunal, the Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit at the University of Cape Town (UCT), Dullah Omar Institute, Shukumisa Coalition, and #TTS were contacted requesting an interview. All organizations except for #TTS were recruited via email. #TTS, a social movement, was recruited through their Facebook page via Facebook messenger.

Recruitment began with my advisor and included a statement of interest by myself, the researcher. Due to prior contacts with the organizations, my advisor sent emails to Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, Women's Legal Tribunal, Philisa Abafazi Bethu, and Dullah Omar Institute. These emails included a statement explaining my interest in the work of these organizations and included a discussion of my curiosity with the law and why it does not seem to be working in the case of sexual assault in South Africa. Additional recruitment queries were sent directly from me to the Gender, Health and Justice Research

Unit at UCT, Shukumisa Campaign, Sonke Gender Justice, and #TTS requesting time to meet for an interview in addition to the statement of interest.

If participants did not respond within two days, a follow up email was sent to further demonstrate my desire to speak to the organization. If a response was still not received, organizations were called requesting an interview. Due to the work and busyness of many organization members, there were limited responses. After two weeks and despite continued calls and emails, a lack of response from most organizations led to the consideration of an alternate form of data collection, annual reports. Specifically, Dullah Omar Institute, Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, and Sonke Gender Justice had reports that were used in the following ISP. This information was found through organization websites to increase the number of organizations included in this report and therefore allow the presentation of more goals, strategies, and successes in the work fighting GBV. In cases where annual reports were available for multiple years, the ones drawn upon for this research were from 2016 or later to ensure a focus on the most recent work of organizations. The limited responses demonstrate that this report is limited in its generalizability. Thus, it is important to recognize that the findings of this paper simply provide information about the organizations that were spoken to or read about for the research project rather than a larger collection of advocacy work supporting sexual assault survivors in Cape Town. Further, the short timeline for this paper compounded the issue of getting participants as their busy schedules did not necessarily line up with the need for participants.

Due to the difficulty in recruitment, participants were chosen based on availability. Organizations who responded to queries were followed up with to set up a date, time and location for an interview. Twice, a call or email led to a redirection to another individual at the organization and they were further contacted in another query requesting an interview. In the case of Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, an agreement to participate was made but no further contact was given so I went to the organization headquarters itself to request

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participation. After my appearance at their headquarters, Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust agreed to participate in an interview over the phone. Despite an agreement on an interview time, the busy work schedule of the Rape Crisis employee led to an inability to participate in the interview. Instead, information used in this report was obtained through annual reports published online.

Despite the difficulty in getting responses, the organizations that did participate provided insight into the work of some organizations. On November 6, 2019, Women's Legal Tribunal participated in a one-hour interview providing information on the work of their organization. On November 18, 2019, #TTS participated in a 20-minute interview discussing the strategies and work of the movement. Participants were all members of organizations that advocate for the rights of survivors of sexual assault and violence. Despite this commonality, participants had different roles in the organizations from director to social media coordinator to Western Cape Representative. Participants were all passionate about their work and had been involved for varying amounts of time, though the organizations that were spoken to in interviews were both relatively new.

After a person agreed to participate in an interview, I worked with them to find a time and place to meet. This involved suggesting a few days that worked for me and allowing participants to find a time and place that was best for them. In the case of Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, no day or time worked to physically meet, so a telephonic interview was agreed upon, but did not end up taking place. Once the interview was confirmed, a copy of the informed consent form was sent to the participant for them to read prior to the interview. Prior to the start of the interview, participants were asked to sign the consent form which told them the goals of the study as well as the limited risks and benefits to the participant. The consent form included areas for the participant to consent to: participate, be recorded, be quoted, have their organization name used in the final report, and have their responses used in potential future research. The consent form additionally asked participants how they would like to be referred to in the final report and additionally indicate how they would like to receive a

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copy of both the interview and the final report. Once the consent form was signed, I began the recording and once again explained that I would ask a series of questions, but they did not have to answer if they did not want to. I additionally reminded them that they could stop the recording at any time.

If the participant had no questions, the interview began. An interview guide was used for the purposes of this study and is included in the appendix, but it served as a reminder of the information that I sought for my report rather than something to be followed rigorously. Questions were skipped if a participant had already answered the question, and additional questions were asked to encourage participants to expand on their answers. This often included asking participants to expand on specific aspects of their work rather than a more general overview mentioned initially. At times, participants focused on the underlying reasons for their work rather than the specific work they were doing. While this is an important aspect of the work of organizations, it made it more difficult to get specific answers regarding successes and failures and much of the information gleaned from the interviews addresses why organizations believed problems to exist. This made it such that information from interviews was not the same as information from annual reports, though both did provide examples of specific work done by organizations.

A major challenge realized throughout the interview process was the measurement of success. Each organization had its own way of noting successes, some through numbers and some through stories of specific cases. This made comparing organizations rather difficult and this report instead discusses how each organization measures success and attempts to find small similarities, while recognizing that each measures success in their own way. Further, when something changes that positively impacts survivors, it is often difficult to tell what employed strategy caused the change. This then makes it difficult to determine which strategies are most effective in granting survivors' greater access to justice. Additionally, it makes it extremely difficult to speak of the ineffective strategies because there is rarely a clear link between strategy and

outcome. Because many strategies can target one goal and small successes tend to be the most common in this area of work, it is hard to see success clearly, let alone assign it a strategy.

Further, as a researcher, it was difficult to ask about the failures of organizations as the work they are doing is so important. Because it is difficult to determine successful and unsuccessful strategies, organizations were unable to answer questions about the strategies which are less effective than hoped. This led to answers that focused on barriers organizations face in their work. Thus, the findings section is adapted to focus more on barriers to success rather than ineffective strategies, though these two ideas are intrinsically linked. Participants tended to focus on why they have not been as successful as they may have wanted instead of focusing on what strategies were unsuccessful in accomplishing their goals. In response to this challenge during the interview process and the recognition that it can be uncomfortable to speak to one's own failures, this report shifted to focus on barriers to success. This allowed organizations to speak to where they struggle in terms of accomplishing their work without having to speak to direct failures that are difficult to name as often failures are not due to the strategy employed, but barriers from government or society.

Despite these challenges and the limited number of participants, the following report still includes information regarding the current work of advocacy organizations in Cape Town. Methods were manipulated throughout the course of the study in response to new information so that the study remained as robust as possible. However, the report that follows discusses the work of only five organizations and thus cannot be generalized to the work of advocacy organizations in South Africa or even Cape Town specifically.

Ethical Reflexivity

Within this study, there were many ethical boundaries I had to consider before starting my research. As the researcher, I have inherent power over the interviewees as I determine what pieces of information are included in the final

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report and thus control how participant answers are shared with the public (Kvale, 1966). To address this concern, I gave participants ample opportunity to state what they felt is most important about their organization. To do this, I made sure to ask open ended questions and follow the information that participants offered, asking questions on topics that they provided. Further, as Slim and colleagues (1994) mention, it is important to be as accurate as possible when repeating information gleaned from interviews. To ensure that this report is accurate, information is largely presented in the form of quotes including speech disfluencies within the conversation. This choice allows readers of the report to understand the exact information I obtained and agree or disagree with my analysis rather than having to take my interpretation as the truth. Additionally, by speaking to multiple organizations, I was concerned about creating a dynamic in which I appeared to be evaluating these organizations through comparison to one another. Thus, in writing my final report, I made sure to present my findings as a series of possibilities and avoided making claims that one method was better than others. Although power dynamics are present in this research, the participants in this study are not especially vulnerable as I spoke to people employed by organizations and not rape survivors themselves. However, the topic is sensitive and thus I made sure to focus on the work of organizations rather than the personal experiences of participants unless they told me voluntarily.

Participants were informed of the goal and objectives of the project and provided written consent to ensure they knew what their role was in the research. Additionally, I informed participants that the work may be published online so that they knew who would potentially see their responses. Participants were also provided with a copy of their interview and will be provided with a completed version of this ISP to keep for their records. Throughout the process, I made sure to inform participants of the voluntary nature of their participation and allowed them to determine how I referred to them in my paper to maintain anonymity and confidentiality and give participants further autonomy. Further,

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because my project is about the work of organizations, I only included information about the organization itself rather than personal information that may have been mentioned.

As I am American, my contextual understanding of South Africa is limited, and the claims made in this paper are based firmly on the literature and information I have learned from participants rather than assumptions I have made through my outsider perspective. As an American student, my knowledge of GBV in South Africa is very limited, meaning that the information that I am interested in is not actually new information to many South Africans. Thus, it is important for me to view and use this research as a learning experience for myself rather than a large contribution to South Africa as this work already exists here. Especially when considering the information from annual reports, this research could have been done in the U.S., however, the interviews themselves add to my understanding of GBV in South Africa and allow me to see a more complete picture. However, this picture is not complete. Only five organizations, Women's Legal Tribunal, Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, The Total Shutdown, Dullah Omar Institute, and Sonke Gender Justice, appear in this report and thus I do not make any claims attempting to generalize how GBV is fought in South Africa. Instead, the strategies of these organizations are compared to understand where they specifically overlap and where they are distinct from each other. This comparison is done carefully and as a descriptive analysis rather than judgmental in recognition of the fact that these organizations have a much better understanding of the situation than I do as a student, and as an American. This report seeks to understand the ways a few organizations are similar to one another to see where there may be overlap in strategy, without implying that those are the most common strategies used across South Africa. Additionally, past research surrounding this topic led me to assume that social norms, rather than the law, are the reason for a large prevalence of sexual assault. This is an assumption made based on research, but this ISP focuses mainly on the actual work of organizations and thus I include all

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the methods and suggestions they have rather than focusing on my initial beliefs.

Although this project is specifically based in Cape Town and with respect to the specific rape legislation in South Africa, I could do similar research in the U.S. due to the global nature of sexual offences. Because of this, the following report pays special attention to maintaining the South African context of the research and attempting to use information from within this country rather than information more relevant in the United States. Additionally, I reminded participants of my outsider position to inform them that my goal was to learn and to share information rather than to judge or critique their organizations.

During interviews, I had to be careful to avoid promising things that I could not follow through on. Specifically, this pertained to funding. Although the work is important, it takes a lot for organizations to acquire the funded needed to do their work. When organizations spoke of this in interviews, it was difficult to not offer to help, but it was also important to recognize my role as a researcher, which was to learn. Due to the lack of resources that I possess myself, I had to be careful to avoid promising anything more than verbal support for the organizations I spoke to. Additionally, I was clear in my informed consent form that the only form of compensation participants would receive was a copy of the report rather than any form of monetary compensation so that they knew in advance that I would not provide them any funding that they may have wanted or even expected.

In addition to ethical issues surrounding inaccurate presentation of information and an inability to provide financial support, I had to consider the amount I contacted participants over the short period of time. Although having more participants was better for my project, the nature of the work these organizations carry out meant they had very little time to be interviewed and thus I had to be aware that my continued contact with them may add to their already busy schedules. In this awareness, I was careful to contact organizations only a few times and over a period of many days and weeks to demonstrate

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interest in their organization without being overly pushy and demanding their valuable time. Thus, once organizations failed to respond after multiple emails and one to two phone calls, a negative response was assumed, and contact ceased. More specifically, in the case of Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, response did occur and contact instead ceased two to three emails and one to two calls after the last contact from the organization. These considerations are important to recognize especially considering much of the information included in this report and gleaned from interviews can be found online, thus decreasing the need to actually speak to the organization.

Research Findings and Analysis

This research sought to provide a greater understanding of the work organizations are doing in helping survivors of sexual assault access justice. The interviews as well as the annual reports of various organizations provided a deepened understanding of the various methods used by organizations in this work as well as their successes and the challenges they face. The participants in this study were all members of organizations fighting to help survivors of sexual assault access justice. Participants agreed to represent their organizations such that their responses are reported as the responses of the organizations themselves rather than the individuals interviewed. The decision for participants to represent organizations was made to ensure that this report addresses the more formal actions being taken in Cape Town rather than individuals who may have the same goals as the organizations, but less resources or structure in attempting to accomplish those goals. These interviews were supplemented by annual reports published on organization websites when organizations were unavailable for interviews.

Although all the organizations included in this report fight in some way to help survivors of sexual assault access justice, the organizations themselves differ greatly. While Dullah Omar Institute advocates for a wide range of social justice issues through research, teaching, and advocacy, one of which – the Women and Democracy Initiative (WDI) – is a specific campaign focused on

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women's rights, Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, or Rape Crisis, focuses all of their resources on fighting for survivor justice and directly supporting survivors (DOI, 2018; Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). In between these organizations lie others that focus predominantly on gender rights and issues but expand their work past rape and sexual offences. #TTS is a social movement that calls for the end of GBV and advocates for sex-workers and their right to use their bodies and express themselves as they so desire (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). Women's Legal Tribunal directly supports survivors of sexual offences in courts as well as other "women in conflict with the law" which includes women and LGBTQI+ people in prison who are not granted the same rights as other prisoners (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal Communication, November 6, 2019). Sonke Gender Justice likewise works in Cape Town and internationally to advocate for the protection of survivors while maintaining an additional focus on HIV education and prevention (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). Sonke additionally works specifically with men to change gender norms, prevent rape, and create a more equitable balance in terms of parenting and care giving (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). Despite their differences, all these organizations use at least some of their resources to help survivors gain access to justice. Even in this mission these organizations differ in some ways which leads to different forms of action and different demonstrations of success.

Organization goals

In understanding the work of organizations, it is first important to develop a clear understanding of how organization goals are similar and different to each other. These differences serve to demonstrate how organizations that all strive for survivor access to justice may differ in specific goals or target different areas where work needs to be done. The goals of Women's Legal Tribunal, #TTS, Dullah Omar Institute – specifically WDI – Sonke Gender Justice, and Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust all have general goals that speak to the desire for women to be protected equally in society. However, the particular goals of the organizations are not all the same, and the nuanced

differences between goals lead to very different work by the various organizations included in this report.

Specifically, Women's Legal Tribunal, Dullah Omar Institute's WDI, and #TTS focus on goals of accountability in the legal system. For example, Women's Legal Tribunal said in an interview that one of their goals is to "try to hold a justice system accountable" so that it follows through on South Africa's constitutional promise to protect human dignity and therefore allow survivors access to the justice system (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019; National Authorities, 1996). This goal speaks to a desire to engage with law enforcement and suggests Women's Legal Tribunal, or Women's Tribunal as they sometimes refer to themselves, will act on the law to make change for survivors rather than social norms as this ISP previously hypothesized. One of the 24 demands #TTS made and submitted to the president of South Africa was for the government to establish accountability and oversight mechanisms that would ensure that the justice system support survivors (TotalShutDown, 2018). Further, #TTS calls for consistent sentencing and law enforcement which implies a goal of greater government accountability and suggests that currently, its structures set no standard for responding to GBV (TotalShutDown, 2018). Likewise, WDI aims to improve the "way in which legislatures function, particularly in carrying out oversight and accountability roles" (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016, p. 25). Although the goal of accountability remains the same, the specific target differs as WDI focuses on the government while Women's Tribunal and #TTS focus more on making the justice system accountable in itself. However, each target still pushes the government to be accountable to survivors of sexual violence such that they are more able to access justice.

Organization goals additionally stretch to adding and changing policy to protecting the rights of survivors where the constitution does not. Specifically, Women's Tribunal stated that one of their goals was for the justice system to "explore the possibility of trying to set aside that presumption of innocence on

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sexual offense cases” (Women’s Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). Like their goal of holding the justice system accountable, this goal speaks to a desire to change the functioning of the justice system, this time focusing on laws that do not support survivors at all. Women’s Tribunal recognizes that the “constitution is very beautiful on paper, but practically it’s not working” in part because sections of it, such as the presumption of innocence, protect perpetrators rather than survivors (Women’s Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). This presumption of innocence ensures that accused perpetrators are granted leniency and allowed to walk free because they have not yet been convicted (Women’s Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). This then means that survivors are forced to see their abusers on the streets and experience increased and prolonged trauma. Similarly, in 2018, #TTS demanded a commitment from the state to develop a comprehensive GBV policy that would provide services and set “clear legal and policy framework for protection and support services for victims and survivors of violence” (TotalShutDown, 2018). Rape Crisis likewise sets goals of addressing “flaws in legislation” while recognizing the existence of a progressive constitution and the Sexual Offences Act (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019). Just because what is written is progressive does not mean there are no gaps in legal protection of survivors, and these organizations in particular are pushing to change those issues so that the law can protect survivors more effectively and consistently in South Africa.

In addition to calling for specific change in legislation, organizations have goals of comprehensive government support for survivors. #TTS, along with other organizations, demanded the creation of a National Strategic Plan (NSP) addressing GBV and gender inequality in general (TotalShutDown, 2018). In addition to demands to change policy so that it protects survivors, both #TTS and Women’s Tribunal recognize that “laws are not so strict to protect the vulnerable in our society” and “that intersecting forms of oppression heightens women’s vulnerability” to GBV (Women’s Legal Tribunal, Personal

communication, November 6, 2019; TotalShutDown, 2018). Thus, these organizations push the justice system to recognize these vulnerabilities during “investigation, prosecution, and sentencing” so that current laws actively support and are sensitive to these more vulnerable groups (TotalShutDown, 2018). Within these goals lies a desire for government to support survivors fully regardless of other factors such as race, ability, sexuality, etc. that may influence the access to justice afforded to different survivors currently.

Some organization goals focus more directly on social change that would create equitable and democratic communities and allow women’s full participation in society, preventing rape in the first place. The WDI aims for “participatory democracy and engaging with women’s full participation and influence” (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018, p. 31). Likewise, Sonke Gender Justice’s mission is to achieve a “world in which men, women and children can enjoy equitable, healthy and happy relationships that contribute to the development of just and democratic societies” (Sonke Gender Justice, 2019). These goals speak to the general equality of women rather than the specific rights of survivors, but that does not mean these goals do not additionally carry over to the support of survivors. When women are treated equally, they will likely be at less risk of experiencing sexual violence because men will no longer try to prove their superiority as they are no longer viewed as superior (Mills, 2007). In addition to goals of changing policy and government accountability, #TTS demands the reinstatement of the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women to ensure gender equality and national level monitoring of that equality (TotalShutDown, 2018). With an increase in monitoring for the quality of women’s lives, women and other vulnerable groups can be protected by the law and have greater access to justice in general. This general opening in access to justice will make the justice system more accessible to everyone, including survivors.

Another goal shared by multiple organizations is to change gender norms that drive much of South African society. The WDI at Dullah Omar

Institute specifically strives for the “realisation of women’s and gender rights, and entails tackling structural discrimination and patriarchal, sexist and misogynist norms that undermine the realisation of these rights” (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018, p. 31). Sonke Gender Justice additionally recognizes the power negative gender norms have in driving male violence towards women and therefore sets goals of changing gender norms (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). #TTS likewise spoke to how “changing policy, that’s not going to work because it’s in the mind,” which suggests a need to change the behavior and attitudes of the general population in order to affect real change in the lives of survivors (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). Likewise, #TTS demanded that the government run a 365-day media campaign spreading information and raising awareness of GBV and connected issues which suggests a desire to change people’s attitudes and behavior surrounding GBV (TotalShutDown, 2018). These goals speak to the desire to take away the reason for GBV by tackling the systems that normalize the behavior. While the law can support survivors in a top down manner, changing structural norms requires a reshaping of attitudes and understandings of the world.

A final goal is for sexual assault survivors to feel supported and able to report their trauma so that stigma and trauma around rape is decreased. Rape Crisis specifically strives to create a society where women to feel “safe in their communities and where the criminal justice system supports and empowers rape survivors and acts as a deterrent to rapists” (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018, p. 6). This goal is one of continued support for survivors who are often ignored by the justice system. In their demands to the president, #TTS calls for the spread of prevention services and information, the prioritization of legal aid for survivors, sensitization training for government officials, the spread of support information and resources, and the provision of psycho-social support to survivors (TotalShutDown, 2018). Each of these demands speak to goals of decreased trauma and increased sensitivity in the treatment of survivors as they would spread into communities and provide resources and direct support.

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Further, Rape Crisis and Women's Tribunal strive for more women to report their rapes to the police so that the justice system can recognize the numbers of these crimes and respond to the larger societal issue, setting barriers that protect survivors more fully (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019; Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). These goals suggest a need to work directly with survivors so that they have the support and resources they need to come forward and feel as though they will not be punished for doing so.

Organization strategies

Clearly, no two organizations have exactly the same goals, and these goals demonstrate the priorities of each organization. These priorities then lead organizations to develop strategies that most directly address their goals. Thus, although fighting for survivor access to justice, different organizations employ different strategies to achieve their differing goals. However, even with the same goal, organizations may not employ the same strategies. These differing strategies will be discussed at length in this section.

Many organizations employ strategies that research and analyze legislation to determine its effectiveness and gaps in its protection of survivors. For example, the Policy Development and Advocacy (PDA) Unit at Sonke Gender Justice and Dullah Omar Institute's WDI both focus on the "ways in which legislatures function, particularly in carrying out oversight and accountability" (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016, p. 25). This strategy allows these organizations to understand how laws and policies work in practice as compared to how they appear on paper. Similarly, a large task of Women's Tribunal is

to analyze the legislation that is also being passed in court. To do some research. In fact, the purpose of analyzing that legislation is to see if the reality does speak to the challenges that we are facing uh in the grassroots level (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019).

These analyses then allow the organizations to determine where the law fails to protect survivors and target those areas with other strategies to ensure they are filled. These research strategies seek to ensure that the law protects and supports survivors in the most effective way so that organization advocacy work can target and fill those specific gaps.

In addition to research, a few organizations monitor government entities to ensure that practices and policies are followed as they are written. Dullah Omar Institute's WDI specifically monitors parliament; judging the entity based on "openness and public access, responsiveness to public input, independence from the executive, and general effectiveness" (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016, p. 26). Monitoring ensures that parliament doing its work effectively and that it is transparent in what it is doing. This transparency allows the public to see the change that they want and feel as though they can trust the people in charge. In a similar vein, Sonke Gender Justice monitors specific court cases, examining the prevalence of GBV and watching for human rights violations (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). Monitoring, for the sake of this report, also expands to pressure placed on institutions to fulfill their promises of human dignity as it also serves as a method of holding structures accountable. Women's Legal Tribunal specifically places pressure on the courts and government to look at cases of GBV that are

opened in the police station and are never really properly attended to. The cases where the woman would like her case to be in court, but you will just be told that the case has been dismissed because there is no sufficient evidence (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019).

These pressures demonstrate awareness of institutional actions and suggests potential consequences if there is a failure to act appropriately.

Further, organizational pressures allow women who do not have the resources to pressure courts or the government themselves to receive the services promised by the progressive South African constitution. Survivors can

better access justice because others support them and ensure that those charged with protecting them are taking the necessary actions to do so. As a social movement, the strategies of #TTS are inevitably different as they engage a large number of people often working at the grassroots level, however, they also work to monitor and speak to government about the work they are and are not doing. Specifically, in an interview, #TTS stated that:

we had a meeting two or three weeks ago um so different stakeholders from- from Cape Town where we spoke to the speaker of parliament about what we would like for them to do or how we would like for them to implement the 24 demands from TTS (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019).

Speaking directly with parliament allows #TTS to pressure them by demonstrating that they are serious about their demands. Further, it allows them to inform the government of what they are doing well, but also where they have failed in regard to meeting demands and further supporting survivors.

Another major strategy shared by organizations is the direct support of survivors in courts and in their communities to reduce the experience of trauma. Rape Crisis has two programs, the Road to Justice and the Road to Recovery which provide this direct support to survivors (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). The Road to Justice directly counsels rape survivors regarding legal and medical resources available and helps survivors directly with their cases in court (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). Outside of the legal path to justice, the Road to Recovery counsels rape survivors and their families in their communities to decrease their trauma, thereby allowing survivors to continue with their lives more easily (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). These strategies offer direct and immediate assistance to survivors who are left scared and alone after they experience sexual violence of any kind. Women's Legal Tribunal additionally describes their strategy of survivor support as follows:

we assist the victims, you go with the victims. You don't just say this is what you do just go do it. That that's that sort of that support that immediate support you have to be there because the person is

vulnerable, is not thinking straight and needs the emotional support (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019).

Like Rape Crisis, Women's Tribunal seeks to directly support survivors who "fear revictimization, [...] fear they'll become intimidated by the questioning, by the legal language, even by the court set up" (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). This direct support of survivors speaks to goals of increased reporting. More reports suggest that survivors are more comfortable and have the resources to go to the police, report their rape, and demand action. Further, greater numbers of survivors who report their rape successfully to the police will force law enforcement to better understand how to respond to and support survivors and thus they will become more sensitive to survivors and better able to assist them. All these factors will additionally increase the comfort of survivors in going to the police. Thus, direct support from organizations allows survivors better access to justice because it not only provides them the resources to go to the police, but also pushes the justice system to be more responsive to survivors.

Another strategy revolves around training others to hold government and other institutions accountable. Specifically, Sonke Gender Justice has Community Action Teams (CATs) which are "organised groups of citizens – task-oriented teams of volunteers committed to raising awareness and taking action on issues that affect them" (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 49). CAT members are trained by Sonke Gender Justice on various issues that pertain to their specific communities such as the rights of women and survivors of sexual assault and LGBTQI+ rights (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). These CATs help in "strengthening citizen activism for access to justice and criminal justice system accountability" such that more people are fighting for change and there is more pressure on institutions (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 49). CAT trainings teach community members how to demand changes they seek and help spread these

methods throughout many communities, increasing action wherever CATs are present.

These trainings not only help community members hold institutions accountable, but the same methods encourage community leaders to spread the work of organizations to their own communities, increasing the likelihood that people will trust the message based on who is speaking. Sonke Gender Justice trains religious and traditional leaders on themes of LGBTQI+ issues, gender norms, sexual violence, and HIV/AIDS so that these leaders can be more informed in their communities and set examples of how to act for others (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). Similarly, Rape Crisis encourages peer education to spread their mission both to more people around South Africa and deeper into specific communities (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). Rape Crisis's peer education trains youth to go to their schools and inform and educate their "peers about rape by conducting surveys and taking over selected Life Orientation classes to run workshops on the topic" (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019, p. 11). Training others to share information with their peers and community members may encourage better responses and understanding because the information is presented by trusted friends and leaders rather than an unfamiliar organization. #TTS specifically arranges marches such as with

the killing of Uyinene that happened a couple of months ago we organized a march to come to the WEF, the World Economic Forum. With students and women um we had a silent protest, a silent march at the World Economic Forum (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019)

which sought to raise awareness for GBV and call for government to make a change. Because their marches largely rely on community support, #TTS draws on the mood of communities as drivers for these marches. In an interview, #TTS stated that marches are motivated by

the mood, it's the moment, it's how we feel, how the assault happened or how the murder happened, what happened with the victim. Cause in this case, the perpetrator was a member of the police station, was an entity by

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the government and they were supposed to have done a background check to see who this person was and not just- not just like hire him knowing like this is his history, this is his past. And had they done that, Uyinene maybe would be alive you know. It just depends on like enough is enough and you're just like, wow this case was particularly close to home (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019).

#TTS relies on a massive amount of people and thus they need to ensure that the public will get involved through an understanding of what communities are feeling. Through the organization and training of others, these groups are better able to spread their goals and messages to a wider public as more people are speaking about them and thus encourage greater participation.

Similarly, many organizations utilize education strategies to change social norms. Specifically, Dullah Omar Institute's WDI produces public statements to call attention to "structural discrimination and patriarchal, sexist and misogynist norms that undermine the realisation of [women's and gender] rights" (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018, p. 31). These statements act to both educate those they reach and challenge social norms and legal frameworks that favor the male perpetrator and victimize the female survivor (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018). Through this education, the public is more aware of government and legal norms and can recognize how they fail women and survivors. This greater knowledge can lead to grassroots action and advocacy for survivors' greater access to justice which increases the chances of social norms truly changing. Similarly, Sonke Gender Justice recognizes that:

rigid gender norms and harmful perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman encourage men to engage in high risk behaviors, condone violence against women, grant men the power to initiate and dictate the terms of sex and make it difficult for women to protect themselves from either HIV or violence (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 18)

and responds by educating everyone on the problems with the current norms and working to shift gender norms to be more positive. Sonke Gender Justice uses education to involve "men in confronting harmful aspects of masculinity

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and helps men become partners in addressing violence and HIV” (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017, p. 27) through workshops where men can reflect on issues of violence, alcohol, and views of women. Rape Crisis additionally utilizes education to help people understand and dispel myths and stereotypes of rape. This education is done through awareness workshops where participants recognize their silence in the ongoing instances of GBV and peer education where youth participate in activities and discussions to understand the harmful nature of gender norms and rape myths (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). This education then shifts gender norms to be more positive and allows women to be protected from the dangerous norms of violent masculinity.

Organizations additionally utilize social media to spread their message and call for both legal and social change. Sonke Gender Justice reports that “using communications strategically to advance [our work] is essential in developing positive gender norms and an environment that supports equitable, nonviolent and healthy relationship[s]” (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017, p. 40). These communications involve the use of traditional social media posts as well as using media as a storytelling tool, often using videos to tell stories (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). Women’s Tribunal also uses social media to

send images out there about the work that we do which is basically to be that middleman, right, and also highlight what kind of cases we’ve been involved in and the successes of them, and also open up the space for women and queer people to come out if they want to feel like they justice system has failed them (Women’s Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019).

Like Women’s Legal Tribunal, #TTS uses social media to show the public what they are doing and raise awareness for what is going on in South Africa regarding GBV (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). This social movement also uses social media, such as WhatsApp and Facebook, to mobilize and communicate between provinces to ensure that their work is carried out in a unified and productive way (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). Women’s Tribunal, #TTS, and Sonke Gender Justice use the media to

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spread their message to gain support from the public, but also to ensure that survivors know people are there to support them when they need resources. Thus, survivors are granted increased access to justice because more people are helping advocate for structural change and because they see the people that are actively and directly there to support them in their attempts to access justice.

Additionally, social media is used to hold people accountable because it becomes public immediately. #TTS uses the media to share their demands from the government, thereby ensuring that the government knows that it is being watched by the public (TotalShutDown, 2018). Similarly, Sonke Gender Justice uses the media to “hold male public figures responsible when they reinforce gender stereotypes or condone or commit violence” (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 23). Much of this work is done in mainstream media where Sonke attracts attention to then build relationships and ensure that their work is continually spread to the wider public (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). These uses of the media allow governing bodies to know that people are watching them and hopefully encourage them to be more accountable to the people and survivors they serve.

Organization successes

The strategies employed by organizations lead to varying levels of success. Further, organizations measure their success in different ways and thus it is difficult to compare organizations based on their successes. Instead, this section will report the various successes that organizations have found in their work as they present it, drawing similarities as they arise and pointing out differences when they are relevant. This then increases the understanding of why strategies work and demonstrates why strategies may only work for certain organizations.

Dullah Omar Institute marks the success of the WDI with increased public and governmental response to their work. For example, Dullah Omar Institute reported that “the WDI’s leadership of the Alternate Report Coalition to the [United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC)] was commended by international structures as a best practice” and that legislative

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committees are measurably more receptive to WDI and parliament watch monitors (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016, p. 12). Further, the work of WDI is measurably successful in that “the [UNCROC] recommendations to South Africa very clearly reflect the work led by WDI” demonstrating the spread of their mission to other organizations (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016, p. 12). These measurements of success demonstrate that what matters to this organization is awareness and the potential it has to lead to better practices and improved treatment of women and survivors. Because WDI recommendations are used and recognized, the work of organization members takes hold in South Africa and can begin to create real change as it spreads to more people and institutions.

Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, in contrast, measures their success in numbers. Focused specifically on preventing rape in South Africa, numbers demonstrate change over time and allow Rape Crisis to record its direct impact. Overall, Rape Crisis directly assisted 8,800 people who were sexually assaulted in 2018/2019 (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019 p. 4). More specifically, 3,699 rape survivors were offered counseling and reported decreased secondary trauma (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019, p. 8). In addition to supporting survivors in hospitals with care packs a self-help/information booklet titled *You and Rape: the road to recovery*, the Road to Justice campaign supported 850 witnesses in court who reported feeling “empowered in the process of testifying” (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019, p. 8). In terms of recovery, Rape Crisis reports that 415 survivors accessed counselling over an average of four sessions in 2018/2019 and “as a result [survivors] experienced reduced symptoms of trauma and reported signs of post traumatic growth” (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019 p. 9). Thousands of people attended awareness raising workshops and hundreds more took part in workshops aimed at youth which lead to peer education in Life Orientation (LO) classes (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2019). Further, in 2018, the Department of Justice accepted comments the Rape Survivors’ Justice Campaign and partner organizations submitted on a draft of sexual offences court regulations (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018).

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Also in 2018, the Speak Out project found success in a fundraising campaign to support survivors and others in speaking about the violence that prevails in South Africa (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). These numbers demonstrate the massive reach of the organization and demonstrates that thousands of people affected by GBV, not just a couple, are able to access justice because of Rape Crisis. Further, testimonies of survivors who report decreased trauma because of Rape Crisis demonstrate the success of campaigns such as the Road to Recovery and the sheer number of survivors directly supported in court demonstrates the reach of the Road to Justice campaign. Not only are survivors supported, but the monetary and legal success of other projects demonstrates the success Rape Crisis has in larger society. Their work is effectively changing structures rather than just individual lives.

There are some similarities in the success of Sonke Gender Justice and Women's Legal Tribunal who both report specific cases and how they demonstrate success. For example, Women's Tribunal spoke of their first case where a doctor denied a poor, working class woman an examination required for her to report her rape, so Women's Tribunal stepped in.

We went to the doctor and the doctor still refused and then we went to the department of health to get their intervention. And then the department of health was so furious and did not except the conduct of the doctor. Then immediately the department of health called the hospital and spoke with the hospital head with the person in charge of the hospital then we went back and this time when we tried to speak with the doctor he was assisting, he did assist her (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019).

In this case, the survivor was able to access justice because of Women's Legal Tribunal. Sonke Gender Justice reports their victory in the fight for justice for Nosipho Madleleni who was beaten to death by her boyfriend and ANC Youth Leader, Patrick Wisani, as a major success (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). For Sonke Gender Justice, this victory was caused through their campaigns, rather than the specific, individual attention that Women's Tribunal reported. These

specific cases demonstrate not only how these organizations are successful, but also the specific actions, movements and direct calls to institution leadership.

Sonke Gender Justice's success is additionally demonstrated through the evaluation of an external consulting company, Singizi Consulting Africa. This company commended Sonke Gender Justice for "holding institutions to account and generating public conversation" specifically through the successful demand for an apology from the Joshua Generation Church which published an article advocating for use of corporal punishment (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 48). Further Sonke was praised for "strengthening citizen activism for access to justice and criminal justice system accountability" through CATs, protests against the rape and murder of a young gay man, and training for community members of LGBTQI+ issues (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018, p. 49). These findings suggest major success in the goals of Sonke Gender Justice as both legal and social structures are changing to allow room for survivors to more easily access justice and find their voice.

Additionally, Sonke Gender Justice finds success in their use of the media to engage the public. In their report, Singizi Consulting Africa found that increasing public awareness through media enhanced gender equality (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). Further, Sonke Gender Justice responded to the exposure of singer Babes Wodumo's alleged abusive relationship during an interview in 2018 with a guide to reporting GBV online, in interviews, in print, and in other forms of media (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). This guide has been reported useful by members of the media and has been referred to in many interviews (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). The wide use of this guide in addition to its production demonstrates Sonke Gender Justice's success in changing norms of how to respond to GBV. This change in how people discuss GBV suggests the ability for others, including police officers who have been found to distrust the testimony of survivors, to respond to survivors reports with sympathy and sensitivity (Mills, 2007). Success in the media additionally suggests that Sonke

Gender Justice's actions and messages are being spread to a large range of people and thus that many people are reaping the positive effects of their work.

In terms of success, #TTS recognized the small steps, while noting that the visible changes do not impact people in communities. In their interview, #TTS stated that most of the success they found was "policy things, right, they aren't tangible that you can see in communities or in people." (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). In terms of these successes, #TTS mentioned a summit on GBV and femicide that took place on November 1, 2019, the interim security committee created by the government, the creation of a national strategic plan for GBV, and the rolling out of sexual offence courts around the nation (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). In addition to these policy successes, #TTS also spoke of the support they receive from people who hear their messages through social media. For example, they received "pictures and notecards and videos of women standing up in solidarity for women in South Africa" (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). This support demonstrates the far-reaching nature of this social movement which is, in itself, a success as it demonstrates increased awareness for the problems of GBV in South Africa and increased support for survivors. Thus, more people speak out against GBV and put greater pressure on the government, and others, to make changes that can be felt at a community level.

Barriers to Success

Although organizations are proud to report their successes, it is more difficult to learn of their failures. Although I could specifically ask where the organization was not successful in interviews, annual reports tended to focus on the positive aspects of organizations. Even when speaking directly to organizations, participants did not speak to unsuccessful strategies when prompted, instead focusing on what makes success difficult to achieve. The lack of information regarding the failures of organizations makes it difficult to fully understand what strategies one should avoid when seeking to help survivors access justice. Thus, this report focuses on the noted barriers to success

mentioned by organizations rather than failings. This is in part because discussing weaknesses and failures is hard, especially when trying to gain support for one's organization. Further, it is difficult to link specific strategies to failures as other factors may be the reason an action is ineffective. Despite these limitations, the organizations own understandings of the barriers to their success are important to understand and compare in order to see the structural barriers that prevent survivors from accessing the justice that they seek. Where there are similarities in these barriers to success, it is then clear where this work needs additional support, and where there are differences, we can better understand how to overcome the barriers.

A major challenge for organizations in helping survivors access justice is funding. Women's Legal Tribunal spoke of their lack of funding as the largest barrier to their success both in terms of reaching people and being effective in the strategies they do employ. Not only do organizations need funding, but funders often will not provide support unless they see tangible success (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). The need for supporters to see results before funding makes it extremely difficult for organizations like Women's Tribunal to have any sort of success because they do not have the necessary resources (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). Without support, both through funding and awareness, the work of Women's Tribunal cannot reach the vast numbers of people who are negatively impacted by rape and other forms of sexual assault nor can they provide them resources. Like Women's Tribunal, #TTS spoke of funding as a barrier to the continuation of their work as much of the funding comes directly from the pockets of those involved (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). For #TTS specifically, a lack of funding means a lack of toilets at protests and marches as well as a lack of water, which hinders the ability of people to participate and thus hurts the success of the movement (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). Further, the lack of resources at a grassroots level leads to the inability for survivors to access

justice, so when an organization seeking to support survivors also cannot provide resources, access to justice is still denied.

An external review of Sonke Gender Justice by the Singizi Consulting Africa found areas in the organizations work where barriers led to decreased success. Sonke Gender Justice's work to influence the government and its policies "has been made more difficult by the lack of transparency and goodwill amongst some state institutions" (Singizi Consulting Africa, 2018, p. 52). For example, in its attempts to decriminalize sex work, the government has been especially antagonistic leading to the failure of the organization to make progress in this respect (Singizi Consulting Africa, 2018). Like the setbacks felt by Women's Legal Tribunal and #TTS, these failures are largely due to outside factors uncontrollable by the organization itself. However, greater awareness of these issues may increase support for the organization and push the government to act. In this way, work of the organization may still be able to account for these setbacks over time. Singizi Consulting Africa (2018) further noted that "there was only limited reference to changes at the level of local government as a result of actions undertaken by Sonke and this is an area that may require further attention" (p. 52). In addition, Singizi Consulting Africa (2018) wrote of "a need to monitor [resistance to change from community members] more vigorously and in particular to reflect on the longer-term impact of these changes on women" (p. 48). In these areas, Sonke Gender Justice's work must recognize the push back they might get from communities so as to better understand the effects their work may cause or is currently causing on the communities they work within.

In addition to the need for government to respond to their demands, #TTS recognizes issues in speaking to people who benefit from a society that normalizes rape and other forms of GBV. Specifically, #TTS states that:

talking to men doesn't really help. Also, these conversations are they become so redundant because we say the same thing and I don't know what needs to change. I don't know what needs to happen. And also like, I'm thinking now, changing policy, that's not going to work because it's

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in the mind. It's how we're conditioned. It's ok, I feel superior to women because of the fact that I was born with a penis therefore I benefit from this system which is patriarchy and I can do what I want. And until we get rid of that, I feel, I don't have the answers. I'm doing my bit as a member of society (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019).

This comment demonstrates that a major barrier to success is the gender norms that prevail. Further, this comment suggests that people do not want to change because they benefit from the current norms. With this challenge, the largely male run government will not make the demanded changes because the current system works for them. Because of these challenges, #TTS discusses a need for "change within yourself, within you as a person" in addition to policy and social change (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). In these failures, #TTS recognizes a need for a more complete form of action so that change comes in all parts of society rather than simply at a legal or social level, but both.

Comparison to the literature

While these organizations have many similarities and differences amongst themselves, it is also important to understand how their actions and goals compare to the theories and ideas found in literature around this subject. Specifically, when we consider the progressive constitution and Sexual Offences Act in South Africa, much literature suggests that social norms and stereotypes drive rape and other forms of GBV, suggesting that changing social norms will increase survivor access to justice. However, the work of organizations often focuses on the law and it is important to understand the reasons behind these actions.

The use of the legal system.

Previous literature suggests that stereotypes, myths, and norms about sexual assault and gender in South Africa drive the high levels of rape reported each year, but organizations focus on far more than social norms (Mills, 2007). In many cases, organizations focus on law and policy to enact change. Although the law is generally seen as progressive, when people do not have resources to

access the system, they do not see justice. Organizations such as Women's Legal Tribunal and Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust advocate for survivor access to justice through direct support and knowledge of the legal system which pushes the justice system to work for and protect survivors rather than perpetrator. Rather than working to change the norms of society, Women's Legal Tribunal and Rape Crisis's Road to Justice Campaign supports survivors through directly within the legal system. These organizations use their knowledge of the law to guide survivors through confusing legal processes, arguing that a major reason survivors cannot access justice is due to a fear of the justice system and a lack of understanding of how it works (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). This argument is supported in part by literature which finds that many women do not report a sexual assault because they believe that the police will think they are lying (Mills, 2007). Women's Legal Tribunal and Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust thus bridge the gap between survivors and the justice system by supporting them through the process and allowing them to feel listened to.

In addition to enforcement, many organizations note gaps in the law that make it more difficult for survivors to experience justice. Specifically, Women's Legal Tribunal pointed to policies, such as the presumption of innocence, that contradict the justice system's promise to protect survivors by allowing perpetrators to avoid consequences (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). Dullah Omar Institute also recognizes the protection that male accused enjoy in the legal system and released two public statements in 2018 calling attention to this fact and challenging the legal frameworks that allow this norm to continue (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018). Low conviction rates for perpetrators of sexual assault additionally demonstrate that perpetrators do not feel consequences for their actions (Vetten, 2011). The lack of consequences that perpetrators face demonstrates that the law, while progressive, is not strict enough and that work must still be done within the law to grant survivors increased access to justice. Dullah Omar Institute draws

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attention to how the framework of the law is flawed and therefore increases the number of people who understand the flaws and want the legal system to change. #TTS likewise called attention to flawed policy, the sexual offence registry specifically, that must be changed for survivors to be granted justice. Currently, the sexual offence registry is done provincially and does not carry national weight such that people can go to a different province and no longer be registered as a sexual offender (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). This policy demonstrates a gap in legislation that must be addressed before survivors are able to feel safe from their perpetrators. With this understanding, organizations can advocate for changing policies and legislation to better address challenges faced by individuals. Sonke Gender Justice's Policy Development and Advocacy unit likewise uses resources to advocate for changing policy and legislation and works to draft new legislation that better protects survivors (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). Thus, it is not just a single law that can affect necessary change, other laws and policies must support the overall law to ensure a greater protection.

In addition to the need for the development of new policies, the law cannot protect survivors if it is not enforced. In their advocacy work, Women's Legal Tribunal and Sonke Gender Justice encourage the justice system to be stricter in its enforcement of laws to grant survivors greater access to justice. Although enforcement of the law is important in general, it is also necessary for laws to be enforced consistently across cases. WDI and #TTS highlight the current inconsistent enforcement of existing sexual offence legislation. Specifically, WDI notes inconsistent application of laws such that elected representatives are held to much lower standards when it comes to sexual assault and calls for policies that require more consistent enforcement of laws regardless of the circumstances (Dullah Omar Institute, 2018). Similarly, one of #TTS's 24 demands is that of consistent sentencing and law enforcement that does not rely on "negative gender stereotypes that reinforces secondary victimisation" (TotalShutDown, 2018). These goals argue the need to not only

enforce laws more strictly, but also consistently so that perpetrators feel consequences and are aware of the consequences they will face if they act in violent ways. With these changes to enforcement and to the laws themselves, survivors are granted greater access to justice because they are explicitly supported by the legal system rather than continually made empty promises.

The legal system and rape stereotypes.

However, while some organizations focus on issues within the law, seeking to increase enforcement of the law, this intersects with and addresses rape myths and stereotypes as well. The simple act of providing survivors access to justice when the system attempts to tell them their trauma does not exist combats the harmful myths and stereotypes of rape. One such myth that Women's Legal Tribunal mentioned in their interview was that which claims men cannot be raped (Women's legal Tribunal, Person communication, November 6, 2019). They went on to mention how this was a harmful myth as it means that certain groups of survivors are denied access to justice because of inaccurate descriptions of rape. The acknowledgment of this myth suggests that this organization additionally recognizes that the justice system itself believes in and acts on harmful myths and stereotypes which serve as barriers to survivor access to justice. Thus, while their overall mission is to specifically step in and directly support survivors as they seek to access justice, they also push the justice system to change their views by supporting survivors who are ignored because of these myths and stereotypes. When organizations like Women's Legal Tribunal and Rape Crisis advocate for survivors and help them achieve their constitutionally guaranteed rights, people are forced to see a rape survivor who looks different to the "ideal rape victim" they are socialized to visualize when considering what a rape survivor looks like (Mills, 2007, p. 83). Women's Legal Tribunal focuses their resources towards especially vulnerable groups such as lesbian women, disabled women, trans women, and black women as people do not understand or believe the rape of these groups as much as they do of a straight, cis, white, able-bodied woman (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal Tinker

communication, November 6, 2019). Past research supports the need for resources in fighting for justice and additionally finds that these groups of women tend to have less resources and therefore struggle to access justice even more than others (Sanger, 2012). Women's Legal Tribunal and Rape Crisis not only address the stereotype of what is a real rape through the support of and advocacy for these vulnerable groups, but also help provide survivors resources they need through their advocacy. Therefore, although Women's Tribunal and Rape Crisis primarily focus on reacting to rape and supporting survivors, the same work can draw attention to norms and force people to recognize that they may not describe reality.

Although these actions do seem to address what I perceive to be the root causes of sexual assault, organizations did not make this link. Women's Tribunal did speak about a need for the police to listen to survivors, but the work they spoke of was all direct assistance for survivors. Direct support of survivors does seem to have the potential side effect of demonstrating the various appearances and reactions of survivors to their trauma and while this is a goal of Rape Crisis, other campaigns more specifically address that goal. Further, Women's Tribunal stated a goal of serving as a middleman, linking the justice system to the population rather than attempting to change norms. Thus, while their work may have fringe impacts on what the literature finds as a major reason for high rates of GBV, it is not the immediate goal of these actions.

Combatting social norms.

While some organizations focus on changing the law and policies that make it more difficult for survivors to access justice, others, and other units of the same organizations, work to change overall perceptions of social norms. These strategies directly seek to change what the literature sees as the root cause of GBV in South Africa. Sonke Gender Justice specifically notes that GBV and HIV are "exacerbated by gender norms that equate manhood with dominance over women, the pursuit of multiple sexual partners, excessive consumption of alcohol, and other high-risk behaviors" (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017, p. 5). These

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norms of masculinity are noted in research by Mills (2007) as well as Wood, Lambert, and Jewkes (2007) who find that sex is often used by men to prove their masculine superiority, thereby justifying rape. Sonke Gender Justice has found that men who hold these harmful stereotypes of masculinity are more violent, additionally, mental illness as well as past experience of abuse and trauma is also found in men who are more violent (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). In recognizing this reality, Sonke's One Man Can campaign works to help men confront these harmful norms and become partners in advocating for women's rights through workshops focused on issues of violence, alcohol, and perceptions of women (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). These workshops then enable men to understand their views and how they relate to the persistence of GBV (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). Sonke Gender Justice therefore seeks to decrease sexual assault by helping men form new, positive gender norms and supporting them through mental illness and past trauma. #TTS, while they do not speak about actions that address social norms, do recognize the harmfulness of male gender norms that give men permission to do as they want (#TTS, Personal communication, 2019). #TTS also spoke of a need for people to change for their work to be realized, noting that "changing policy, that's not going to work because it's in the mind" (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). Thus, by addressing harmful norms of masculinity, organizations can advocate for the rights of survivors at a social rather than legal level.

Although the organization does not refer to it as this, Sonke Gender Justice's Safe Ride Campaign, as well as other uses of their media, is a demonstration of social norms marketing. Paluck & Ball (2010) describe social norms marketing as making specific behavioral recommendations that will lead to a change in how people act. The 2016 Safe Ride Campaign included a video telling the story of a woman who was raped in a taxi by the driver and calls on taxi drivers to engage with the high rates of sexual assault on public transportation and change their behavior, and advocate for others to change their behavior as well (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). This and other forms of

media allows Sonke Gender Justice to “build positive ideas around gender, health, sexuality and human rights, using debate, discussion and crafted messaging, and sharing stories and analysis that advances tolerance, understanding and positive behavior change” (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017, p. 40). These suggestions for change, when shared broadly on social media, draw the attention of large groups of people and thus has the potential to create widespread social change. With their use of media to tell stories and encourage behavior change, Sonke Gender Justice aims to change the social norms that so many researchers find to be drivers for high levels of rape and other forms of GBV.

Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust focuses effort on educating people about the harmful myths and stereotypes about rape that literature cites as a frequent barrier to justice for survivors. Mills (2007) finds that stereotypes suggest rape is always violent and thus coerced sex is not rape. Additionally, the myth of an “ideal rape victim” encourages law enforcement officials to ignore survivors who are not passive and appear weak (Mills, 2007, p. 83). Rape Crisis employs peer education through awareness workshops to help youth understand the myths and stereotypes about rape through activities and discussions (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2018). As in the work of Leach and Humphreys (2007) where men taught boys about rape and why myths and stereotypes are harmful, peer education encourages people to listen to and understand what is being said because it comes from a trusted source. Further, this increased understanding of myths and stereotypes, and the labeling them as such, allows young people to begin to question the norms of the communities around them and act against them. In this way, Rape Crisis directly targets harmful social norms that allow rape to persist in addition to their direct support of survivors.

The work of these organizations targeting social norms demonstrates the nuances of the fight for survivor access to justice. While the literature speaks mostly to the need to change social norms, organizations focus additional resources in directly supporting survivors so that they experience access to

justice even without widespread social reform. In addition to direct support and fighting for social change, organizations recognize the present flaws in the law, refusing to believe that one or two laws can reverse the massive gaps in the justice system that prevent survivors, and other vulnerable groups, from accessing much desired justice.

Conclusion

This ISP sought to compare the work of advocacy organizations in Cape Town, specifically examining the work they do in helping survivors of sexual assault access justice. Although past literature suggests the need to change social norms to ensure that law enforcement officials and communities listen to and support survivors, the work of organizations demonstrates the legal barriers that still exist in South Africa as survivors seek justice. The goals of organizations speak to the hope for a future where the justice system is accountable to the people, laws and government function to protect survivors, and the country is a place where men, women, and children all enjoy equal protection and place in society. Although each organization had different specific goals, overall, they all wanted people, specifically survivors, to experience life as others in their communities and to feel protected by the laws and communities to which they are bound.

The objectives of this study led to questions that asked about the strategies of organizations in accomplishing their goals. Because each organization operates on its own goals, their actions differ as well. However, broadly speaking, the strategies of organizations in pushing for survivor access to justice are: legal analysis and investigating to determine where the law helps survivors and where it fails them, advocacy for changing laws and policy, and raising awareness via social media and education to both inform the public of organization work and change perceptions of acceptable behavior to reverse harmful norms that allow high levels of GBV to prevail in South Africa. Although there were patterns to the strategies employed by organizations, no two organizations used the exact same strategies and each organization targeted

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something slightly different in their fight for survivor access to justice. These different targets demonstrate the need for the large number of survivor advocacy organizations. Based on literature, interviews, and annual reports, survivors currently lack access to justice for many reasons both in the law and law enforcement and based on social norms within communities. Thus, the overlapping but different work of organizations allows each aspect of society that negatively impacts survivor access to justice to be addressed and increases the possibility of change. Without the work of each organization, there are gaps in terms of ways that survivors can be denied justice. Further, as organizations continue to work and understand GBV in South Africa, more gaps may become clear and can be filled by new organizations or additional work by current organizations. Future research could ask organizations whether they are aware of areas where organizations are not targeting change, and if so, where and how they would recommend going about fighting for change.

Like their strategies, the successes of organizations differ greatly, in part because of the strategies employed. Organization successes range from winning specific legal cases to the acceptance of recommended legislation to changes in the perception of social norms based on workshops or social media. These successes occur where organizations focus their resources and strategies. When organizations focus on altering the law so that it benefits survivors, legislation change marks success. When they focus on the tendency of courts and other players in the reporting process, success is marked in victory in court. When they focus on gender norms and rape myths and stereotypes, reported changes in attitudes and behavior mark success. Although the presentation of success is very different for each organization, what remains constant is the recognition of small, extremely visible successes. While successes are largely dependent on goals and strategies, different goals lead to different levels of quantifiable successes. Organizations targeting policy and directly supporting survivors in court can measure success by how many cases they won or what policies changed. However, changing social norms is more difficult to quantify in part

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because social change depends on people and their shift in attitudes rather than something that is written down. Further, social change is more difficult to quantify because it takes longer to show itself. Some people within a community may change their attitudes and behaviors while others do not which makes it difficult to see the change at all. However, in some cases, such as with Sonke Gender Justice's Safe Ride campaign, social change was measured in the responses of taxi drivers. In this case, there is a smaller population being targeted and it is easier to speak to members of the population and quantifiably note a change in behavior and attitude. Instead, it is important to look to organizations themselves and respond to their strategies rather than the existence of success, recognizing that in social justice, change and success is often slow moving.

Despite numerous successes, organizations face challenges that act as barriers to granting survivors access to justice. For Women's Legal Tribunal and #TTS, these challenges largely center around the lack of funding and support from other organizations and people. In an external review, a large challenge facing Sonke Gender Justice was that of the governments unwillingness to change or adapt policy to meet the goals of the organization. #TTS further spoke of people who do not want change because it benefits them as a major challenge to the work of the movement. In all these cases, there appears to be a need for more involvement and more support. To increase funding, greater support may mean the actual providing of funding or simply raising awareness of the organization so that funders are more willing to put money into the work of the organization. In terms of mobilizing the government to enact policies suggested by the organization and changing attitudes towards change, greater support may lead to greater pressure on the government and communities to make the changes the organization suggests.

Another objective of this study was to compare the aspect of society that organizations targeted with their advocacy work. In this objective, again, there is no one answer. Organizations such as Women's Legal Tribunal solely target the
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legal aspect of society in order to directly ensure that survivors are granted access to justice. Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust likewise targets the legal system through direct support of survivors but also targets social norms through workshops and peer education. Sonke Gender Justice also targets social norms through workshops, education, and social media campaigns and additionally targets the law through research and analysis in order to make suggestions and change. Similarly, Dullah Omar Institute targets the law through a more research based and observation approach by researching policy and monitoring parliament to ensure appropriate behavior. Clearly, there is no one way to grant survivors access to justice, instead, it will take the work of many organizations targeting different aspects of society to ensure that survivors may one day have consistent and sensitive access to justice.

The fight for survivors' access to justice is not unlike the fights for social change in other areas of life. Dullah Omar Institute tackles many social justice issues through their research and advocacy including issues such as socio-economic rights and children's rights, and focuses much of their work on researching law, policy, and the constitution (Dullah Omar Institute, 2016). Likewise, the work of Sonke Gender Justice, while focused on gender issues, also deals with topics of child rights and positive parenting, specifically advocating for greater male involvement in caregiving, and additionally focuses on topics such as drivers of inequality and poor health, e.g., HIV/AIDS (Sonke Gender Justice, 2017). These organizations use their various strategies to fight for the rights of more than just survivors. Women's Legal Tribunal as well focuses efforts on supporting women and members of the LGBTQI+ community in prison who do not have the same protections as straight white men (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal communication, November 6, 2019). Sonke Gender Justice calls for an involvement of all people, not just women, to fight to end GBV and this strategy spreads to all areas where social change must occur (Sonke Gender Justice, 2018). Everyone must participate in order to ensure that everyone is granted the rights promised by the constitution or else sects of the

community will continue to rely on old, harmful norms that lead to human dignity (The Conversation, 2017). This need for all groups to stand together to ensure change is relevant to other aspects of social justice as greater support pushes people to pay attention.

However, despite the similarities the fight for survivor access to justice has to other social movements in its strategies, it is important to recognize where there needs to be separation. The specific goals of the organizations included in this report lead to vastly different strategies that target different aspects of the challenges to survivors accessing justice. Recognizing that the work and goals of survivor advocacy organizations are similar to that of other organizations does not mean there is no need for these specific organizations. Rather, it is important to learn from other organizations and adapt strategies such that specific goals can be accomplished, and organizations are clear as to what they want changed. Even in addressing 24 very specific goals, #TTS did not find many direct markers of success (#TTS, Personal communication, November 18, 2019). This challenge suggests that focusing on broad goals will allow institutions tasked with making change greater leniency in changing what is being asked due to less clarity in how to make that change. Thus, maintaining separate organizations allows more targeted demands even as the same people support the numerous organizations fighting for social justice.

Recommendations for further study

Future studies should seek to understand how organizations understand and work with people of varying demographics. This ISP focused very generally on the large-scale strategies employed by organizations to make change but failed to dig deeper to understand the differences in need caused by intersectionality. Women's Legal Tribunal specifically mentioned the differences in treatment afforded to white versus black women and cis versus trans women (Women's Legal Tribunal, Personal Communication, November 6, 2019). Future work should ask how these differences are addressed and understood by organizations. Which demographics do the organizations serve? Is there a

specific demographic that seeks a service more than others? Do organizations help people proportionally to how demographics are affected? How do organizations ensure they are meeting the demands of various demographics? These are questions that must be asked in the future to better understand if all survivors are being supported by the work of organizations. Understanding how intersectionality plays a role in the high rates of GBV in South Africa may additionally illuminate whether specific strategies work better or worse for different demographics.

Future research should additionally seek to speak to organizations about where they have learned from other organizations or from themselves. Due to the broad question in this ISP, how organizations learn from challenges or other organizations was not clear. Although both interviews and annual reports mentioned collaboration with other organizations, no explanation of how this collaboration works was explained. Understanding how organizations work together can help to demonstrate whether collaboration is important and how so. Each organization does something a little different, so it would be worthwhile to understand why organizations may work together. Further, understanding how organizations learn from one another may demonstrate how strategies are formed and why, specifically in trying to understand why certain strategies are employed over others. A better understanding of how and why organizations collaborate and borrow from one another provides an explanation for where organizations feel their strategies are strong independently and where greater support is necessary. This may further demonstrate where there is the most push for change as organizations may specifically speak to sharing responsibility and tasks with others. This shared responsibility may highlight the areas that most need to be changed, though future research should additionally investigate why collaboration occurs in some cases but not in others. This information can explain how and why collaboration is not used all the time.

GBV is not an issue that can be ignored. Everyday people are raped and murdered and despite the letter of the law, they and their families never see justice. The five organizations discussed in this report work to combat these realities, but they are not alone. Other organizations, social movements, individuals, and government officials are in this fight as well, demanding that survivors get the justice they deserve. With all these people targeting so many parts of society, there is hope that one day survivors will be protected by more than just an often-ignored piece of paper. However, without the continuation of these organizations and people, survivors will continue to experience the failures of the justice system every day. Instead, more voices must join in to call for change and support organizations in making change a reality.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Briefing:

- Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in my research study. I'm going to ask you a series of questions. I would love if you could answer as deeply as possible, but remember that you do not have to answer any question you do not want. You can also stop the interview at any point and ask me to not include anything if you so choose.

Questions:

- Can you tell me a bit about how you got involved with the organization?
 - How long have you been working here?
- What are your overall goals as an organization?
- What are your daily roles and responsibilities?
- In an ideal world, what do you think justice for sexual assault survivors look like?
- What are the key strategies and actions your organization takes to assist sexual assault survivors in accessing justice?
 - *Legal advocacy or support*
 - *Training criminal justice system employees for increased effectiveness*
 - *Community norms*
 - *Other*
 - **TELL ME MORE ABOUT THAT!!!**
- Where have you found the most success in your work?
- What strategies have not worked as well as intended?
- What do you think would make the biggest change in giving survivors better access to justice?
- Is there anything I have missed, or something else you'd like to tell me?