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Erin Tunney Date

DISRUPTING PATRIARCHY
CHALLENGING GENDER VIOLENCE IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA
AND POST-CONFLICT NORTHERN IRELAND

By
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Women's Studies

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By
Erin Tunney
M.A., American University, 2000

Advisor: Professor Pamela Scully

An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Women's Studies
2012

# DISRUPTING PATRIARCHY
# CHALLENGING GENDER VIOLENCE IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA AND POST-CONFLICT NORTHERN IRELAND

By Erin Tunney

Women in post-conflict Northern Ireland and post-Apartheid South Africa continue to experience gender violence in three venues. First, paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, gangs in South Africa, and groups of young men in both countries continue to dominate public space and often inflict violence upon women. While paramilitary and gang activity might dominate some communities more than others, all women live under the fear of attacks, harassment, and rape from strangers while navigating public space. Second, women experience violence within their most intimate relationships, and this violence can impact one's self-esteem, physical health, and relationships with others. Third, institutions designed to protect women, such as healthcare systems and criminal justice systems, remain ineffective in many instances. Women continue to struggle for freedom from gender violence and sexual discrimination because society has not transformed traditional dichotomies that elevate the masculine and degrade the feminine. Gender binaries fester when patriarchal institutions facilitate animosity, competition, and miscommunication between men and women. Challenging gender violence involves disrupting patriarchy -- within social structures, within politics, and within families -- that make gender violence permissible.

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I write this dissertation in memoriam of my South African research assistant Xoliswa Fobe, who died only months after I left South Africa. She was immensely helpful in connecting me with women in Motherwell and translating when necessary. Our conversations enriched my experience in South Africa, as did my opportunity to get to know her family.

## Contents

# INTRODUCTION

Women in post-conflict Northern Ireland and South Africa continue to struggle for freedom from gender violence and sexual discrimination because society has not transformed traditional dichotomies that elevate the masculine and degrade the feminine. An analysis of the way race/ethnicity, class, and gender binaries intersect is imperative for understanding why women have uneven experiences of liberation within the post-conflict environment. Gender binaries fester when patriarchal institutions facilitate animosity, competition, and miscommunication between men and women. Not only do such dichotomies tend to favor men, but they also facilitate the climate that promotes misogyny and permits gender-based violence. Challenging gender violence involves disrupting patriarchy, as the ideology behind patriarchy and the social structures that form as a result of patriarchy make gender violence permissible.

Three research-based findings resonate within both countries. First, paramilitaries in Northern Ireland and gangs in South Africa continue to dominate public space within many communities, and these groups intimidate and inflict violence upon women. While paramilitary and gang activity might dominate some communities more than others, all women live under the fear that strangers will attack, harass, or rape as they navigate public space. Second, women experience violence within their most intimate relationships, and this violence can impact one's self-esteem, physical health, and relationships with others. Third, institutions designed to protect women, such as policing and courts, remain ineffective in many instances. While perpetrators of violence and community structures attempt to keep women silent about their experiences of violence, research participants adamantly wanted to

share their stories in order to break the silence about gender violence. For many women, sharing stories serves as an act of resistance.

While new legislation on rape and domestic violence gives women the hope that politicians will take violence against women seriously, data from this study on women's experiences and responses to violence in Northern Ireland and South Africa in the post-1994 era indicate that institutions designed to improve women's security are thus far failing women. Previous research by Ni Aolain, Haynes, and Chan (2011), Meintjes, Pillay, and Turshen (2001), and Hamber (2010) that suggest post conflict societies may fail to build institutions that improve women's security support the conclusions from this research project. The term "post-conflict," while encapsulating a period after formal hostilities cease and major parties sign agreements, (Crocker, Hampson, and All 1996; Lederach 1994) does not confer improved security in individual lives. Attending to how the post-conflict period influences women's lives and allows sociologists and feminist scholars to determine the likelihood that the emerging institutions will be gender sensitive in the future. Such gender sensitivity is a crucial component to ending oppression and ensuring that a society constructs a sustainable peace.

Women across both countries have resoundingly declared that they do not feel safer in the post-conflict era, nor do they feel that their quality of life has improved significantly. They may feel safer from conflict-related violence; however, they feel a substantial, and possibly increased, risk of experiencing gender-based violence. Moreover, with little improvement in their economic condition, many women experience even greater vulnerability than before. Despite legislative mandates to punish rape and domestic violence and improve women's equality, police and courts have failed to protect them because attitudes about violence against women have not changed.

During the period of transition from violent conflict, both South African and Northern Irish societies fail to provide women with greater security from gender-based violence due to prevailing hostility toward women and their perceived gains within society. Such misogyny frames new institutions formed during the political transition, even those formed to help women, with a patriarchal perspective. This study suggests that social institutions, such as police, courts, churches, and political systems, while adopting policies that denounce violence against women, continue to undermine the needs of women. Women experience gender-based violence, then, through a) social messages that continue to promote inequality, b) individual perpetrators who rape, traffic, prostitute, and abuse them, and c) the criminal justice system and other institutions society has designed to help them. Hence, gender-based violence occurs on both structural and individual levels simultaneously. An interdisciplinary analysis of gender violence is necessary to understand the breadth of its forms and develop an inclusive, multi-layered strategy that most appropriately meets the needs of women.

In determining from women what they define as gender-based violence, the extent to which they are happy with the progress toward eradicating it, and what they feel is necessary to change about their cultures, societies can better devise an action plan. Through extensive qualitative field research, involving interviews with over 100 women, focus groups, and participant observation, the outcomes of this study determine that women continue to feel unsafe within their homes and communities. They remain frustrated with legal and political systems that fail to respond to their needs. Improving women's security and ending gender-based violence requires a comprehensive analysis of women's narratives in Northern Irish and South African society in order to determine the ways that patriarchy remains embedded

in institutions and cultures. Such patriarchy promotes the gender hierarchies that lead to such violence.

This research connects academic scholarship with community activism and women's experiences of violence. Accounts from women regarding violence can help activists understand why interventions fail to eradicate gender-based violence and what efforts can best meet the needs of women. Drawing directly upon the experiences of these women, this research highlights patterns in their experience with gender-based violence, patterns that can lead to a better understanding of the improvements and limitations in addressing violence against women. The research process itself gives women the opportunity to tell their stories and express their views. Many research participants had never been asked to share their stories and had been told that their experiences do not matter. Through this research, I hope that women's voices can impact the direction of policy and interventions on violence against women.

This dissertation focuses on three types of violence prevalent within the post-conflict environment—performative, domestic, and structural violence. Chapter Two illustrates the way economic changes during the political transition without accompanying changes to traditional gender role ideologies, facilitate gender role hostilities that undergird domestic and performative violence. Performative violence is the term I use to describe violence paramilitaries and gangs inflict on individuals in public space. Such violence is performative because groups enact this violence in front of their peers in order to prove masculinity and gain group belonging (Connell 2005, Messner 2009). They act as bullies within their communities, attempting to control territory and silence outsiders. While such groups may have been active political agents during conflict, such groups continue to seek relevance in the aftermath of the conflict, and gender violence is one venue in which they do so.

The second form of violence prevalent in the post-conflict phase is domestic violence or intimate partner violence. Unlike performative violence, perpetrators of intimate partner violence attempt to hide the violence they inflict. While some scholars assert that perpetrators of violence during war are at increased likelihood to perpetrate domestic violence on their partners, evidence remains inconclusive as to whether such men are more likely to inflict domestic violence after conflict (Ni Aolain et al. 2011).[1] For instance, perpetrators of domestic violence in post-conflict situations come from all aspects of society, not just violent backgrounds, (Meintjes et al. 2001, Dobash and Dobash 1998). Adherence to traditional gender roles is the primary indicator for domestic violence (Jacobs, Jacobson, and Marchbank 2000). Chapter Four shows that women's experiences of domestic violence from this study appear quite similar to dynamics of domestic violence outlined in literature of societies not in conflict, but that the post conflict environment can significantly impact their experiences healing from domestic violence and encountering helping professionals.

The third type of violence discussed is not perpetrated by individuals but perpetrated by unjust social systems. It is known as structural violence because the design of particular social systems, rather than individual actors, perpetrates harm on individuals (Galtung 1996, Brock-Utne 1997). Structural violence is particularly aggravating because it can trap a woman within a system where she has little or no recourse. Chapter Five illustrates the ways women in each country experience structural violence within the health care and criminal justice systems. The health care system in Northern Ireland harms women through doctors' tendency to overprescribe sedatives to women, while in South Africa women

[1] Women interviewed for this study argued that men who committed violence out of true commitment to the cause were less likely to commit domestic violence, while those that argued that men who were simply involved in violence to be "thugs" may be more likely to direct violence towards spouses (Interviews with the following: Fiona, August 22, 2006; Sinead, October 26, 2006; Sylvia, October 30, 2006; Janet, November 19, 2006, Pauline, November 20, 2006).

experience structural violence through their inability to access health care and proper medicine. In both countries, police and courts lack victim-friendliness, police often fail to take domestic violence seriously, especially in South Africa, and courts sentence lightly. Changes in the ethos of these systems when it comes to gender sensitivity and changes of specific policies and practices are necessary in order to transform structural violence.

The reasons for persistent hostility toward women and the backlash against women's rights in Northern Ireland and South Africa needs significant attention. While understanding that men experience sexual violence, particularly molestation, rape, and hate crimes for not being heterosexual, this dissertation focuses on the systematic nature of women's experience of gender-based violence (Scully, McCandless, and Abu-Nimer 2010; Mibenge 2010). Uncovering the hierarchal dynamics of masculinities and femininities may help policy-makers understand why some men choose to use sexual violence against other men as a tactic of asserting dominance over them and of feminizing men.

## Investigating Northern Ireland and South Africa

The historical background of each country is crucial to understanding the way both political struggles involved not only a struggle against colonialism, but also a struggle for civil rights from a dominant settler population. Conflict manifested itself along race and ethnic lines, but class and gender sufficiently differentiated one's experience and shaped local patriarchies. Mistrust, identity, belonging, memory, martyrdom, fear of being dominated, and fear of being a minority all factor into the psyche of citizens in conflict (McBride 2001, Dawson 2007). The major events within the conflict continue to shape historical memory, and consequently the way masculinities coexist during the transition. To that end, I provide

a rough sketch of major historical events. Such events may reappear again within this dissertation as continuing to shape one's identity.

**Background of Northern Ireland**

From 1921-1972, Protestant-dominated governments controlled Northern Ireland and deprived Catholics the right to vote, housing, and employment. After the Bloody Sunday incident when the British Army opened fire on unarmed Catholic protesters killing thirteen civilians (Quinn 1993), the British government ruled directly from London. The British adopted the Emergency Powers Acts, which granted special rights of search, seizure, and detainment during this time. A British campaign of Internment detained Catholic men indefinitely. IRA prisoners launched a Hunger Strike to protest conditions in prison, resulting in the death of ten men and generating extensive anti-British sentiment (Corcoran 2004, Campbell, McKeowen, O'Hagen 1994).

Four main documents have attempted to confront the Irish question, but none have placed women on the agenda. The Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) recognized the need for Britain to increase cooperation with the Dublin government on this matter. It reaffirmed Britain's rule of Northern Ireland, as long as the majority so desired. Neither side liked the agreement; Protestants felt they were being abandoned, and Catholics felt that it was not enough (Quinn 1993, 38). The Downing Street Declaration (1993) reaffirmed Britain's commitment to cooperation with Ireland and to the right of self-determination for the north. At this point, dissent came from only the extreme parties on either end (Coogan 1996, 370). This declaration proved to mean very little in the practical sense. It "was seen merely as a collection of pious aspirations which in the real world, would not be allowed to disturb the status quo" (Coogan 1998, 374). The Framework Document (1995) outlined

three strands of relationships that needed to be built in order to achieve peace. One strand is between the London and Dublin governments, another strand is between the north and south of Ireland, and the third strand is between Protestants and Catholics within Northern Ireland. It also reaffirmed the self-determination of policy and Britain's commitment to equal rights (Coogan 1998, 376).

Women realized their previous exclusion from the peace process and decided when elections for talks arose, in 1996, to form their own cross-community party, known as the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition. They managed to get two seats at the talks, an enormous achievement, but were the only women in the talks. They faced harassment from men throughout the negotiations (Fearon 1999).

In 1998, the parties negotiated a political agreement that included a devolved assembly based on power-sharing between the major powers, eventual decommissioning of paramilitary weapons, equality legislation, and Dublin relinquishing its claim on Northern Ireland. Due to political impasses regarding decommissioning and opposing political parties working together, the British government has suspended the devolved assembly at times. This investigation took place during one of the political impasses.

**Background of South Africa**

In 1948, the Afrikaner-dominated National Party took power in South Africa by creating a policy of Apartheid, which separated individuals into legally-defined racial categories. In 1950, The Population Registration Act required individuals to register as one of four races—black, coloured, Indian, or white—and attached a hierarchy to the category (Posel 1991). The government created a system of territorial segregation based on race and deprived most South Africans of their voting rights. The government enacted new laws,

which forcibly removed blacks from cities and placed them in "locations" and "homelands". Such environments were barren land unsuitable for agriculture and far removed the city, where individuals sought jobs. Such removals compromised Africans' physical and mental health (Hirschowitz and Orkin 1997). The National Party government enforced apartheid through legal means and through the use of terror and torture of dissidents.

Africans protested such policies through a variety of organizations, including the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-African Congress (PAC), the Communist Party (CP), The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and others. The Apartheid government banned most of these groups and drove leaders into exile, house arrest, underground, or jail. While many of these organizations failed to grant women equal status within their groups, women often played active roles through women's auxiliaries (Lodge 1983, Walker 1990, Lapchick and Urdang 1982). Women organized protests against the infamous Pass Laws, including a march of 20,000 women on the Union Building in Pretoria (Wells 1993). Women also joined the military wing of the ANC after the Soweto Uprising, where the army opened fire and killed 176 children during a 1972 protest of the sub-standard education system for blacks and the decision to teach blacks (Pohlandt-McCormick 2005).

The peace process in South Africa involved rapid and dramatic transformation from a repressive government to a democratic one. In 1990, the Apartheid government released ANC activist Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison. In 1994, South Africa held its first democratic elections, and Mandela became president (Mandela 1994). In 1996, the government established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in order to begin a process of national healing. Finding the truth of what happened to loved ones, in exchange for amnesty for perpetrators, would satisfy victims and help the country move on.

Unfortunately, the TRC did not initially provide a space where women felt they could discuss gender violence perpetrated against them, although women's hearings went some way to addressing women's concerns (Ross 2002). In 1998, South Africa finally ratified a democratic constitution and began to adopt legislation to address the problem of violence against women.

The long history of political unrest in both countries forged the patriarchal climate that allows gender based violence to continue today. Investigating two case studies allows one to evaluate similar dynamics in women's perceptions of safety that illustrates that violent and dominant patriarchies exist in multiple 'post-conflict' settings. This research sheds light on the strengths and limitations of peace processes in addressing violence against women. In the post-2001 era, where war is not contained within boundaries and where our entire world looks to rebuilding from political turmoil, it is crucial that we learn from societies that have tried to rebuild following civil unrest. This dissertation argues that peace requires more than the cessation of formal violence. In addition to equality-promoting human rights language, peace involves recognizing human needs. In order for society to be at peace, individuals must feel safe and free to make choices that maximize their life's chances. Bishop Desmond Tutu once said that part one of the struggle was achieved in 1994 and that part two – economic liberation – has yet to be achieved.

Northern Ireland and South Africa are ideal case studies to analyze gender and violence, as both cases afford a breadth and depth of analysis of gender, trauma, and violence in post-conflict societies. The similar timeframe for their peace processes allowed me to conduct original research with a generation of adults in different regions who grew up amidst violent conflict and are living the transition to peace. Both societies have had a peace process in place for more than fifteen years: In 1994, as the new government in South

Africa took office, the first ceasefires were declared in Northern Ireland. In 1998, the new South African government drafted a constitution, while, in the same year, multiple parties in Northern Ireland signed the groundbreaking Good Friday Agreement. Both societies have made tremendous strides towards peace but are still facing the long-term legacies of colonialism; they are each immensely militarized and segregated, and communities still struggle to trust new political institutions. Finally, both countries have acknowledged the need to improve women's political participation and economic status, even though gender-based violence remains a problem.

The differences between the two countries offer a good comparative framework. For example, Catholics who want to be part of a united Ireland and not part of the United Kingdom remain a minority in Northern Ireland, at roughly 35% of the population. Protestants who want to stay under UK rule fear that they will be a minority if they become Irish subjects. The fear and insecurity of becoming a minority that becomes oppressed drives Protestants' oppression of Catholics, and the history of oppression fuels the cause of the Catholics. In South Africa, whites, who ruled under Apartheid, constitute 9% of the population. Black Africans constitute 79.5% of the population, coloured, or mixed-race individuals, constitute 9% of the population, and Indian/Asians constitute 2.5% of the population (SouthAfricaInfo 2011). So, the majority population lived under minority rule during Apartheid, thus making the struggle less ambiguous. In addition, South Africa did not have allegiances to outside governments with which to contend. So, in South Africa, the issue was never *which* country to become, but *what kind of* country South Africa would become.

In addition, the nature of the peace agreements is fundamentally different (Knox 2000; Weiss 2000). Apartheid leader F. W. De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela both

received a Nobel Peace Prize for negotiating a settlement peacefully. The settlement called for a complete transition of power; De Klerk unbanned opposition parties, stepped down as head of government, and called for democratic elections which would ensure he would never return for power. In Northern Ireland, Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) leader David Trimble and Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP) leader John Hume won the Nobel Peace Prize for brokering the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. The Northern Irish peace agreement called for a power-sharing arrangement among all major political parties. Currently, the African National Congress (ANC) dominates the political landscape of South Africa, thus monopolizing state power. Meanwhile, Northern Irish political parties, still aligned through their stance during the conflict, re-enact political unrest through stalemates and suspensions of the assembly. Despite the differences in the outcomes of the peace processes, neither state has achieved a perfect democracy.

Finally, the two societies are situated differently within the global arena. Until the recent technology boom in the South spilled over the border, Northern Ireland was seen as the most impoverished part of Western Europe. Northern Ireland, despite its disadvantage relative to the rest of Europe, has still enjoyed the privileges of European citizenship. It has benefited from policies and funding from the European Union. South Africa, on one hand, enjoys a position of leadership on the African continent and a rising black middle class, but has levels of poverty far exceeding that of Northern Ireland. A greater difference exists between the standard of living of the rich and poor in South Africa than in Northern Ireland. In addition, South Africa struggles to contain the HIV/AIDS epidemic that disproportionately impacts the middle-aged, women and the poor.

## Primary Research Methods

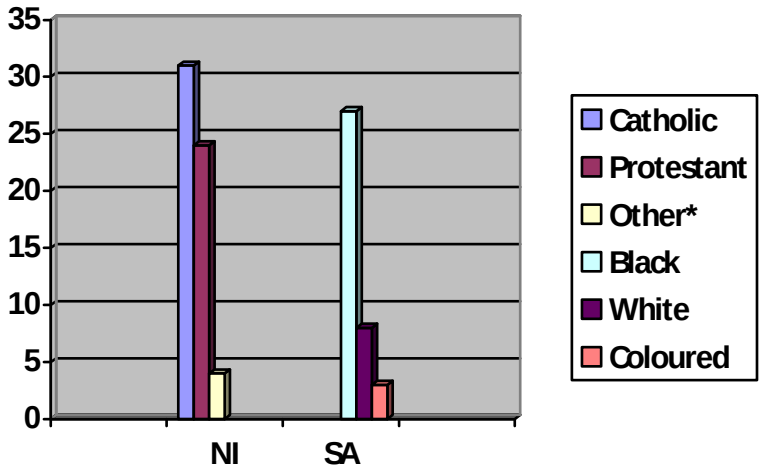
Feminist qualitative data guides this research. Feminist methodology places women's narratives at the center of the research project. Developing a sample from a wide range of women allows for women whose stories would otherwise not have made the public record to be heard. Such narratives provide fresh insight on topics that have historically operated from masculine assumptions.

Consistent with feminist research, I attempted to build trust with research participants, to be aware of differences in power between researcher and subject, and to take actions to minimize those differences in power. I hovered on both the inside and the outside of many communities I entered (Naples 2003), and needed to be aware of the way one's individual location impacts the way participants perceive them. For instance, in Northern Ireland, I was a Catholic Irish-American, which provided credibility within Catholic communities, but I married a Northern Irish Protestant and haved family that live in a Protestant neighborhood, which built trust among Protestants. In South Africa, I had racial privilege as a white, but gained credibility with blacks since I taught at an all-black university in the early 2000s.

In order to maximize the power of the research participant, I ensured that interviews were confidential, that the participant knew she could control how much she shared on a particular subject, turn off the voice recorder at any time, and approve the written interview once it was transcribed. To assure confidentiality, participants provided informed consent orally. Pseudonyms ensured that no participant would be identified by name. In addition, removal of any personal identifiers, such as street of residence or place of work, proteced confidentiality. Participants received transcripts of their interview and had the opportunity to omit any data they did not want included in the project.

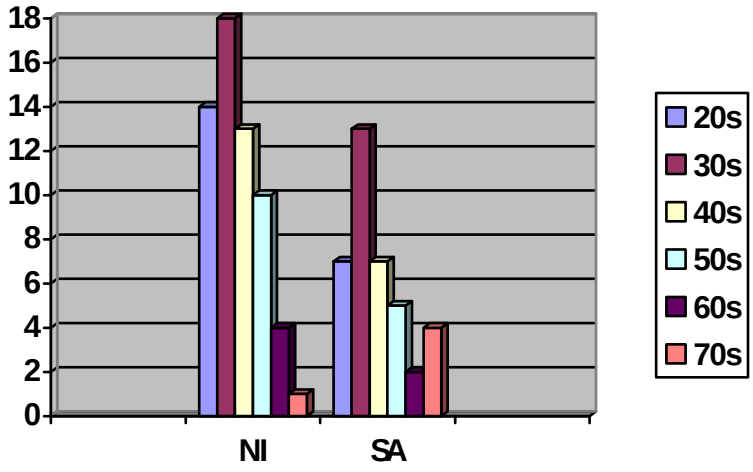
Interviews provided the space for individual and confidential conversations where participants share their experiences. I interviewed two populations: community workers and women. I utilized snowball sampling. In snowball sampling, each interview tends to lead to other interviews. In meeting with members of local community organizations, government officials, local police, and academics working on violence against women, I gathered names of other possible research participants. I also became connected to research participants through chance meetings and word of mouth. In the small networks of Belfast and Port Elizabeth, I repeatedly heard the same names, which reassured me that I understood the layout of the helping organizations in the area.

I aspired to achieve a diverse research sample. Since women's stories are so unique and can depend significantly on socio-location, I wanted to ensure that women from two countries came from diverse backgrounds. While I primarily utilized snowball sampling to gather participants, I also found participants through community centers, and service organizations. The tables below illustrate the extent to which I ensured that interviewees varied by age, ethnicity/race, class/neighborhood.

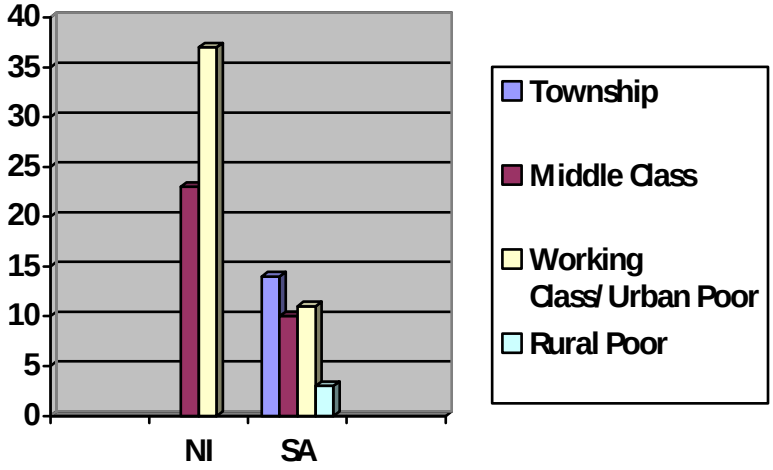


Participants by Religion or Race/Ethnic Background

*Women in Other group were Chinese, Eastern European, Indian, and Roma/Traveller.




Participants by Age




Participants by Class

As shown above, participants differed according to race/ethnicity/religious background, age, and class. Women from Northern Ireland came from diverse neighborhoods within Belfast and on its outskirts. They did not want their neighborhood to be named out of the concern that such information would break their anonymity. Women with disabilities also added to the diversity of the population. In Northern Ireland, one participant was blind and one participant was epileptic. In South Africa, one participant was confined to a wheelchair. Many women also had chronic physical or mental health conditions that compromised their quality of life. In South Africa, one participant had HIV/AIDS, and a few complained of diabetes or high blood pressure. One Northern Irish woman and one South African woman were each diagnosed schizophrenics. Several women from each country experienced depression or anxiety at some point in their lives. Some of these chronic physical and psychiatric illness calls into question where the line of disability actually begins.

Attempting to maximize diversity has its disadvantages as well. Casting such a wide sample lengthens the analytical process and makes research more cumbersome. The value of determining whether findings apply to multiple settings makes research in two countries too important to dismiss. If I had chosen to limit more extensively the parameters of this research in order to shorten the process and simplify the analysis, I would have chosen either to limit research to one deprived neighborhood within each setting or to interview only the poorest women in each country, since their narratives would be less likely to be told in another venue. Each narrative, however, provides another side to a multifaceted puzzle, and gathering so many stories can only enhance a researcher's understanding of gender violence. Consequently, I am grateful for all of the data I gathered.

The main research questions I investigated were: 1) How do women experience gender violence? 2) Do gender role struggles in the aftermath exacerbate gender violence? 3) Do new laws on gender violence impact women's experiences? and 4) Do new institutions and improved policing help women when they do experience gender violence?

Using semi-structured interviews, participants guided the course of the interviews. Research methodology centered around the value of the individual story of each of the participants and the importance of participants using their own words to share their stories. As a result, interviews remained open-ended and participant-driven. From the participants' stories, I then began the work of piecing together the answers to my overarching research questions. I asked participants two initial questions to guide the interviews. One question involved whether the participants felt safer during the political transition than they did during war, and the other question involved whether their lives improved since the war ended. The answers to such questions may have depended upon what the women expected of the peace process, which would be based on their personal histories, their political affiliation and their socio-location. The question of safety did not reflect women's political bias since all women who felt unsafe attributed it to gender rather than to politics. They also indicated surprise in their lack of safety, which shows that they had no preconceived expectation of feeling unsafe. The second question was asked as a springboard into each woman's life stories. Responses sometimes brought a comparison, but usually focused on the problems that each woman continued to experience. Women in South Africa, for instance, usually responded, "We have a lot of new rights, but I suffer a lot of hardship". Women would then discuss their problems. Women most likely focused on their current material circumstances than compare before and after the transition. As a result, stories

were highly personal, politics were very infrequently discussed on an abstract level, and focused on basic human needs.[2]

Focus groups afforded the opportunity for collective discussion of these issues as a means of triangulating results from the interviews. During the focus groups, women from various community organizations came together to discuss gender-based violence. In each case, the organization and the participants granted oral consent, and focus groups took place in a room at the organization that recruited the participants.

Participant observation provided the researcher an opportunity to better understand the reality of women's experiences with service providers. The investigator shadowed workers at local women's community organizations in each city and collected data through participant observation. In Northern Ireland, participant observation occurred through volunteerism with Amnesty International Northern Ireland, which led a major campaign against violence targeting women in Northern Ireland. In South Africa, a community training with the Family and Marriage Association of South Africa (FAMSA) provided an ideal venue for participant observation.

Interviews took place mostly in English, since English is the language spoken in Northern Ireland and is the lingua franca of South Africa. Those in South Africa who preferred to speak another language were able to do so with the help of a translator. My

[2] In general, South African women's expectations before the transition were high. Many of these women felt that, at least legislatively those expectations had been realized. When one began personal conversations with women, their reality was much harsher. In contrast, Northern Irish women's pessimism was apparent. As a culture, many in Northern Ireland did not expect much to change with the transition, and the political impasse at the time of the interviews did little to change that. Some community workers in particularly deprived, usually Protestant communities, expressed extensive hostility at the inattention from the government and the lack of improvement from the transition. While many community workers expressed frustration on some level, the hostility in select communities indicates a bias that seems particular to working-class Protestants in this era.

research assistant in South Africa accompanied me for most of the interviews that required translation and transcribed the interviews.

The data from women's stories identified common themes across the interviews. Feminist researchers interpret women's experiences and code them for major themes that emerge across the body of research (Garko 1999). Following classic qualitative methods (Bernard and Ryan 2010), the researcher conducted interviews until the sample was saturated. When no new themes from women's narratives emerged, the sample became saturated. Major themes emerged with the following frequency:

| | |
|---|---|
| Concern for children after witnessing domestic violence | 80% |
| Suicide | 10% |
| Experienced Low Self-Esteem | 100% |
| Divorce | 32% |
| Poverty | 42% |
| Chronic Physical Health Problems | 26% |
| Mental Health Problems | 38% |
| Drug and Alcohol Abuse | 18% |
| Issues with prescription drugs (access or follow up) | 30% |
| Difficulty accessing some services | 70% |
| Poor treatment by government or voluntary agency | 65% |
| Frustration with police or courts | 95% |

| | |
|---|---|
| Frustration with Gender Role Socialization | 85% |
| Women's centers or shelter helpful | 68% |
| Paramilitary or Gang intimidation | 88% |
| Youth Intimidation | 40% |
| Self-blame | 88% |
| Feeling less safe than during conflict | 98% |
| Rape, Attempted Rape, or Sexual Assault | 32% |
| Domestic Violence | 58% |

When possible, I triangulated with data from other sources, such as quantitative data, government documents, or police and court records. However, feminist methodology recognizes that women's stories may not always be possible to be triangulated (Naples 2003). Statistics and official documents may not adequately speak to the reality of a woman's experience. Often, a wide enough research sample that shares a similar experience is the only way of knowing whether a woman's experience is common. Especially when South African police do not even track domestic violence cases, triangulating encounters with the police can be difficult.

## Personal Statement

Extensive personal experience from living and working in each country ensured that I was equipped with knowledge about each society necessary for embarking on such a project. I first studied the condition of women in Northern Ireland during six months in the field in 1996, just as the elections for the peace talks were under way and the Women's

Coalition formed. Volunteering at women's and peace organizations gave me the opportunity to understand the structure of women's organizations and their attempts at personal development of women. I also gained insight into the uneasy relationship between working for peace and working for women's equality. I produced a Master's Thesis on attempts to transform militarized masculinities in 1999, which helped me to differentiate between avenues for men to take responsibility for their actions and make healthy, non-violent decisions and venues for males to cite their grievances toward the women's movement.

My focus shifted more to interpersonal aspects of violence while working at a women's shelter in Pittsburgh. There, I developed an expertise in both prevention and intervention in domestic violence. Given my attempts in the education department at the shelter to develop sustainable prevention efforts rather than crisis approaches, I view domestic violence as part of a larger culture of violence in the United States and globally. I see the ways that domestic violence occurs regardless of race or class, but that, like Crenshaw (2010), one's position in society determines the way in which one experiences obstacles.

Lecturing at a black university in South Africa from 2002-2003 deepened my understandings of interactions of violence with race and class. In South Africa, I began to see the struggles of women who attempted to reconcile their desire to be free from violence with what they saw as preserving their culture. Although I conducted trainings in the US on cultural issues with domestic violence, living in South Africa heightened my proficiency in the interactions of gender-based violence with global racism and colonial legacies in the developing world. After this experience, I determined it absolutely necessary to conduct a study that facilitated an understanding of women's conditions in two post-conflict situations

that share many parallels, including dynamics of conflict and timing of the peace process, but that are quite different in terms of global privilege. I hope lessons from both societies will help other societies emerging from conflict build institutions that challenge gender-based violence.

## Organization

Chapter One describes the three types of violence endemic within post-conflict Northern Ireland and South Africa—performative, domestic, and structural. Performative violence, largely created out of remnants of paramilitary and gang structures that existed during the war now exist during the transition as collective bodies through which men can together enact violence upon women. Domestic violence, a much more hidden form of violence, appears to exist outside the boundaries of the post-conflict context, but women find that the politics of the transition dramatically shape the extent to which they can access help. Structural violence is violence in the form of patriarchy deeply embedded in institutions and systems within society that may appear to help women but actually harm them. These three forms of violence work together to keep women in a subordinate status within their societies.

Chapter Two explores the discrepancy between men's perception of women's gains in the aftermath of conflict and the reality of such gains. Men perceive women to gain politically, educationally, and in employment and fear this trend will continue. In addition, they fear a loss of opportunity for themselves. While some evidence can be manipulated to support men's fears, academic data and government statistics do not support the male perception: women are not making significant gains. This perception facilitates hostility toward females. As men perceive women to be overstepping their traditional gender roles, men who adhere to gender role stereotypes and feel hostile toward women may be more likely to inflict gender-based violence.

Chapter Three examines women's experiences with paramilitary, gang and street violence. Data indicate that women overwhelmingly live in fear of street violence – 88 of 90

informants indicated that they feel less safe walking the streets during the transition that during the war. Women who endure violence from paramilitaries and gangs experience coerced prostitution, intimidation, harassment, silencing, rape, and sexual assault. Such violence appears to be linked to establishing power and control within neighborhoods and is often conducted within groups and openly. Such violence is performative--men perform this violence to maintain status within their community.

Chapter Four discusses the violence against women that is conducted in private and kept secret. Such violence is largely perpetrated by intimate partners and tends to manifest itself in a pattern of abusive behaviors that escalates until the relationship is severed. Intimate partner abuse relies upon tactics such as degrading one's self esteem, controlling one's whereabouts, and manipulating the children to keep a woman trapped in the relationship, believing the relationship is her fault, and believing that she cannot survive on her own. Key to a woman's healing from such a relationship is restored belief in oneself. To prevent such relationships, instilling women with healthy degrees of self-confidence and disrupting traditional gender role stereotypes that elevate the masculine and degrade the feminine can be helpful.

Chapter Five discusses structural violence from two prominent points of intervention—the health care system and the criminal justice system. In Northern Ireland, health care professionals tend to over-prescribe sedating medications and fail to refer women to professional services for domestic or sexual violence. In South Africa, poor women struggle to attain adequate health care for chronic health, reproductive health, or mental health problems that arise out of gender violence. In both countries the criminal justice system perpetrates violence upon them because it fails at a variety of junctures to help a woman get her case from the initial call to the police through to sentencing. Common

concerns exist around police believing them enough to gather sufficient evidence or take the perpetrator to jail, a lack of victim-friendly environment at police and courts, courts dismissing cases, and courts handing out excessively light sentencing. Many women choose not to call the police because they do not believe the criminal justice system will help them. The healthcare and criminal justice systems provide two examples of systems that perpetuate violence against women because they harm women more than they help them. Such systems fail women if they add to a woman's burden. Eliminating the structural violence involves taking gender violence seriously, recognizing gender stereotypes and not making assumptions based on such stereotypes, educating service providers about dynamics of gender violence and ways of treating women with sensitivity, and embedding increased gender sensitivity within policy and practice. Since abusers are not necessarily violent toward anyone other than their partners, no reason should exist that suggests that men in armed conflict are more likely to perpetrate violence. An additional factor, specific to armed conflict, would need to be present that would lead to increased domestic violence.

Chapter Six describes women's healing processes. It outlines what types of paths worked for women to become whole again, regain self-confidence, make empowering choices, and take control over their lives. It discusses the importance of women's centers and other support systems in this process. Healing is both an interpersonal and social project. Women must repair themselves, but, nurturance and understanding from society can expedite that process.

# CHAPTER 1
# PERFORMATIVE, INTERPERSONAL, AND STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE POST-CONFLICT TRANSITION

Feminist research shows that a patriarchal structure is a causative factor of violence because it promotes the male desire for power and control over women. Patriarchy is the domination of women (hooks 1984). It encourages and supports sexism and misogyny, the hatred of women. It is embedded within societal institutions, cultures and personal attitudes. Patriarchy promotes a sense of entitlement among many men, especially among perpetrators of gender violence, because this ideology helps them to justify their actions (Dobash and Dobash 1998, Walker 1979). Patriarchy permits society to blame the victim's actions for the incidence of violence, which also allows society to justify non-intervention. Sexist ideology, which "produces what is allowed to count as reality," (Ingraham, 1994, 360) infiltrates social institutions to enable male power. Each culture constructs gender roles according to its beliefs about men and women. While specific forms of violence against women may differ between cultures, the occurrence of violence against women appears to be universal (Dobash and Dobash 1998, 16).

Patriarchy promotes dichotomies of sex and gender that privileges men and degrades women. These categories of sex, while used throughout this dissertation, are not as clear-cut as most societies see them. Within a patriarchal society, many see differences between men and women as natural rather than as social constructs. Believing that gender differences are part of nature, either through believing in inherent differences between men and women or

through believing in rigid constructions of gender roles, provides the basis for male entitlement to dominate women. A belief in such dominance increases the likelihood that men will use a form of patriarchal violence to control women.

When one believes in entrenched gender roles, one is more likely to perpetuate gender-based violence. Desire to prove one's masculinity through denigrating the feminine reproduces violence (Connell 2005, Messner 2009). Many forms of violence against women, such as domestic violence and rape, are often utilized as social sanctions for overstepping one's prescribed role. Ingraham describes it as follows: "Rape and domestic violence...can be seen as the effect of social structures that situate men in a hierarchal relation to women and to each other according to historically specific heterogendered and racial components" (Ingraham 1994, 359). As seen in the attacks on women in Northern Ireland as well as in South Africa, men are more likely to utilize violence when they feel their traditional roles of dominance are threatened. Kelly argues, "Sexual violence occurs in the context of men's power and women's resistance" (1993, 3). Kelly means that men, who are most often the perpetrators of sexual violence, resent any deviation from their image of the ideal woman and feel entitled to utilize physical and non-physical forms of violence in order to regain control. To be clear, not all men aspire to such power over women or perpetrate sexual violence against them. Lundgren (1998) explains that violence against women involves a normalization process to make it acceptable behavior and an internalization process to make the woman see it as her fault. Lundgren sees the normalization process as an assertion of traditional gender roles. The man fulfills his status through this behavior and forces the woman into her place. "...The woman's space for femininity is reduced to a minimum, and she is gradually effaced and 'killed' as an individual woman" (Lundgren, 1998, 171).

I divide this dissertation into three types of violence that women in post-Apartheid South Africa and post-conflict Northern Ireland experience—interpersonal violence, performative violence, and structural violence. All three of these forms of violence are gendered. Interpersonal violence most frequently occurs in private. Perpetrators are intimate partners who inflict a variety of forms of domestic violence, acquaintances who perpetrate rape, or family members who sexually assault their victims. Such violence is often intertwined with one's interpersonal sense of identity and masculinity (Connell 2005, Messner 2009, Gibson 2005, Knox 2002). Performative violence encompasses violence that men may enact within groups to increase their status among other members within a group. Such violence is common among institutionalized organizations such as gangs, paramilitaries, and armies. Structural violence, a term utilized among peace researchers such as Galtung (1996), Brock-Utne (1997), and Lederach (1994), occurs when social systems inadequately respond to the needs of individuals (in this case women) due to biases against them and systemic problems within social institutions fail to respond to their needs.

Some forms of violence, such as rape, can inflict performative, intimate, or structural violence on the women depending on the context. In day to day life, women experience the violence of rape in South Africa and the United Kingdom. Each country received reports of over 10,000 rapes during 2006 (Seager 2009, 58-59). If such violence is inflicted as part of a strategy of war (Mertus 2000), as part of a process of a male bragging about his sexual prowess, or as part of a tactic of sexual harassment and humiliation, then such violence contains a performative element. If such violence occurs within an intimate relationship, is designed to control the victim, is not spoken about, and may not even be considered rape, then it is intimate violence. Both forms may be structural for two reasons. First, the patriarchal structural of society sanctions and normalizes such incidents rather than causing

the community to intervene to change the outcome. Second, social institutions, such as the criminal justice system (see Chapter 5), fail victims on a structural level because they do not bring perpetrators to justice or adequately help victims. It is no wonder, then, that global estimates indicate that the actual number of women raped may be as high as 50 times those reported.

## Performative Violence

In both countries, many men continue to be involved in paramilitaries or gangs and continue violent behavior within their communities. Harland, an academic and practitioner on young men's issues, found through his research "that violence and paramilitary influence continue to perpetuate a male youth subculture epitomized by sectarianism and increasing racist attitudes. Underpinning this is an enduring cycle of suspicion, fear, and distrust of others and a confused state of mind that leaves these young men "stuck" somewhere between the ceasefire mentality of paramilitaries and the ambiguous messages of peacebuilding" (Harland 2011, 414). Young men do not appear to build trust that their communities will meet their needs and continue to rely on seeking social capital through dominating others.

In South Africa, men who participate in gang life have a similar lack of trust that authorities will meet their needs. Xaba (Xaba 2001) finds that gang subculture permeates South Africa during the political transition due to role loss similar to that which the men in paramilitaries experience in Northern Ireland. Gang activity during the transition now involves criminal rather than political activity. Hence, men continue to utilize violence in public life. Such violence detracts from women's experience of safety, but it does not create a role loss that requires men to utilize violence at home more frequently than during the

conflict. Xaba focuses on the way men were considered heroes for committing violent acts to challenge Apartheid and make the state ungovernable, and now these very same acts are considered criminal and anti-social. Also, he discusses the extent to which an old boys' club exists as remnants of paramilitary structures that exclude and subordinate women and promote misogyny. Morrell shows that when violence ends, gender role construction needs to be renegotiated or else men will act out their traumas, unfulfilled masculinities, and desire for status on the women most important in their lives (Morrell 2001). While such authors argue that male violence in post-conflict South Africa makes women unsafe, they cite rapes and trafficking rather than domestic violence, a distinction to be clarified later in this chapter.

Due to political conflict, young men rely on violence and militarization to fulfill their identity as men during political conflict. With violence becoming less acceptable in the transition to peace, men struggle to find new ways to assert their manhood. Campbell's (1992) case study of young men in Natal explores male feelings of disempowerment when violence becomes a less acceptable assertion of one's masculinity. She describes the way that men are socialized from an early age within their homes to use violence to assert power and prove themselves. She argues that when a man feels a loss of power in one area of his life, he will compensate through the use of violence. Violent behavior, then, is a way for a man to retain a sense of himself. Taking away guns is taking away masculinity. This process is doubly disempowering for young men because they have seen the process of asserting violent masculinity as a rite of passage into manhood. When this is no longer acceptable, young men are at a loss as to how to assert themselves as men. Consequently, intimate relationships offer a convenient venue through which to exercise power and control (Campbell 1992).

Some theorists (Cock 2000; Morrell 2000; Peterson and Runyan 2010) suggest that in the aftermath of conflict, decommissioning weapons impacts a combatants' identity, and, in order for it to be restored, men need to impose violence against women. Theorists also argue that war teaches one to dehumanize the enemy and to be more aggressive. However, combatants continue to have outlets for such hostilities through involvement in paramilitaries and gangs. They can continue to be involved in drug and sexual trafficking, petty crime, and battles within and between groups. Ni Aolain finds that potential increases in domestic violence remain inconclusive (Ni Aolain et al. 2009), but academics have documented increases in petty crime, drug trafficking, and attacks against immigrants and homosexuals (Knox 2002).

In addition, intimate partner violence may not stem from patriarchal control but rather relate to war trauma. If it stems from the latter, then it fails to count as domestic violence because it lacks the historical pattern of misogyny, power, and control and manifests itself as a new behavior that could relate to psychological problems rather than patriarchal violence. Spousal homicide upon re-entry to society after war may need extra scrutiny to determine whether it should be considered domestic violence. When one spouse kills another, police usually consider it a case of domestic violence. However, in order to meet domestic violence criteria, a pattern of extensive terror leading up to the murder needs to be present. Therefore, domestic violence is not simply violence between intimate partners, but, as Marcus (1994) suggests, also involves a partner terrorizing another partner.

If a partner who inflicts violence experiences a mental disorder, the violence perpetrated may not count as domestic violence. Statistics on those who experience trauma from combat are difficult to ascertain. Hermannn reported that 35-40 years after World War II and The Korean War, prisoners of war continued to experience disabling symptoms

(Hermannn 1997, 87). Hence, it is possible that a certain percentage of violence against intimate partners upon re-entry to civilian status relates to untreated trauma. One must scrutinize whether a soldier who killed or harmed his wife on his return suffered from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder or other mental impairment as a result of trauma.

Sexual violence intersects with political struggle in a variety of brutal and systematic ways that often remain unnoticed and fail to be included as crimes against humanity. Rape and efforts to control female sexuality intersect with political conflict. International institutions recognize rape as a war crime in Rwanda, The Democratic Republic of Congo, and Bosnia; South Africa and Northern Ireland[3] are two ethnic conflicts for which rape was not utilized as a mass strategy to destroy the enemy (Scully 2010, Mertus 1999). Rape functions as a political weapon and as a tool of domestic gender discipline. In Northern Ireland, for instance, if a member of the IRA or UVF raped a woman, his paramilitary was likely to protect him rather than police such crimes (Interviews with Dorothea and Julianne, August 10, 2006). Protestant leader Ian Paisley, worried that the Catholic birthrate would eventually make Protestants a minority in Northern Ireland, called on women to "breed babies for Ulster" (Jacobs et al, 2000, 50). Paramilitaries traffic pornography for funds (Clare 1989, Janke 1994). Prison guards sexually harassed and assaulted female prisoners (Corcoran 2006, Artexga 1997, Interview with Sinead, October 26, 2006). MK officers forced female combatants to wear IUDs to prevent pregnancy (Hassim 2006, 89). Hassim reports that men in MK at times sexually abused female combatants (Hassim 2006, 98-99). Apartheid security forces placed deployed two HIV+ men into a hotel to infect as many black women as possible (Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 154). In each environment the

[3] Bosnian feminists successfully lobbied the international community to recognize rape as a war crime (See Waller 2001). Since then rapes became an acknowledged tactic of war in conflicts such as Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Zimbabwe (see Geisler.2004).

conflict impacts and continues to impact the way they experience rape. The residuals of the conflict continue to play a role in women's experience of sexual violence as men continue to perform violence for and with each other in the context of paramilitaries and gangs.

In most societies, regardless of their political status, rape is a weapon for the social control of women. Rape still takes a political form because it acts as a systematic project to undermine the well-being of women so that they cannot realize their full potential. Many women from the study who experienced rape from people they knew did not necessarily identify it as rape because they knew their rapist and he did not necessarily carry a gun or knife (Warshaw 1994, 19). So, male control over dating rituals and male entitlement promote unhealthy sexual patterns. Such patterns place the responsibility for saying no onto the woman; even though she might be socialized to be polite and unassertive (Warshaw 1994 23, 42). These rituals blur the demarcation between what constitutes unhealthy sexual practices, as compared to sexual assault or rape. In addition, rape is also political when the government and governmental agencies fail to exercise due diligence in instilling mechanisms to prevent and confront rape. So, even if war is unrelated to rape, rape is part of the political process of dominating women.

Furthermore, rape is political because language that promotes rape gives men social power. Marcus argues that rape is designed to feminize women and make men more masculine. Bestowing men with more masculine attributes gives men social power, as they take the role as actors, and their goal is to render a woman passive. "A rape act thus imposes as well and presupposes misogynist inequalities; rape is not only scripted--it also scripts" (Marcus 2003, 435). When saying that rape is scripted, she means that rape reinforces traditional gender roles of women and men as passive and active, respectively. In arguing that rape also "scripts" she argues that society prescribes roles for individuals to

follow. Women, who may derive no benefit from following social scripts still may do so as a result of their learned behavior in society. Marcus argues, however, that that individuals "have the power to rewrite the script" (Marcus 2003, 435) through actively resisting gender norms and through intervening to disrupt behavior that promotes or sanctions rape. Society is not doomed to re-enact the same script repeatedly, and individuals can write a script that empowers women and makes them less vulnerable to rape.

Sexual violence continues to shape women's experience in the post-conflict era in both Northern Ireland and South Africa. It is worth restating that this research finds that women in both countries feel less safe from gender-based violence during political transition away from conflict than they did during the conflict. Eighty-eight of ninety research participants admitted that they feared rape, sexual violence, and attacks from men more so in the mid-2000s than they did during the conflict. The reality that many findings in Northern Ireland parallel findings in South Africa underscore that sexual violence is not simply an African problem. Colonialism created the conditions of conflict within so many societies, and individuals have had to wade through the trauma experienced during war to rebuild their lives and their societies.

Sexual violence makes women more vulnerable than men in daily life. Women must make decisions about public transportation, walking the streets alone, attending parties at night very differently than men do. Even women who have not yet experienced sexual violence must alter their lives because they may become victims. Fatima, a Muslim South African woman of Middle Eastern descent, successfully articulates the way women who may never have been "victims" of a gender-based crime still live with the fear that they could become victims of such a crime. "We talk about gender and equality but the fact remains that I might be raped because I am a woman. Thank goodness it's never happened to me,

but the fact that I think that at some point it might happen and that is not a good thing, living in fear, knowing that you are eventually going to be a statistic" (Interview with Fatima, March 15, 2007). Safety, then, is gendered, as women experience safety very differently than men. When individuals perpetuate sexual violence, all men benefit. Theorist Liz Kelly argues, "The obvious fact that women have been excluded from structural power has been ignored, as is the fact that individual violent men, as well as men as a group may benefit, at least in the short-term, from their use of violence" (1988, 33). Men do not fear walking alone at night the way women do. Men do not fear pregnancy the way women might. Men do not depend on women to protect them the way women often depend on men to protect them. Sadly, the very men that may be "protecting" women-- acquaintances, intimate partners, and family members-- may be the ones committing the sexual violence.

While patriarchy is responsible for the sexual violence that women experience in public venues in Northern Ireland and South Africa, the presence of organizations that have not disbanded since political conflict continue to heighten women's insecurity. Here, such groups utilize performative violence to control women. Here, they induce gender violence in order to posture for other males or to gain the respect of other males through their display of dominance.

## Intimate Partner Violence

Intimate partner violence is difficult to regulate because some acts can more easily be criminalized—physical and sexual abuse—while financial, emotional, mental, and verbal abuse are much harder to prove and regulate. Sexual violence also is difficult to adjudicate because it revolves around whether the act is considered consensual (MacKinnon 1989, Kelly 1993). The definition of domestic violence is sufficiently broad that policy makers,

practitioners, and media may all carry different and conflicting understandings of domestic violence.

Often, the general public defines domestic violence as any violence that occurs within the home. Such a definition is incorrect on three fronts. First, domestic violence includes intimate partner relationships but not child abuse. Child abuse, unless the abuser uses children as pawns within domestic violence, involves differing dynamics to intimate partner violence and experts in child abuse are best situated to address such situations (Bancroft 2002). Second, intimate partners need not be between two people living together, and laws in South Africa and Northern Ireland, as the next chapter illustrates, are currently updated to reflect this understanding. Domestic violence describes violence between intimate partners whereby one partner, usually male, uses privilege and entitlement to exercise power and control over the other partner. Some activists consequently prefer to use the term "intimate partner violence." Recognizing that no perfect terminology exists to describe this phenomenon, this dissertation utilizes intimate partner violence, intimate partner abuse, domestic violence, and domestic abuse interchangeably. Third, domestic violence does not have to include physical violence and is not a one-time event. It is a pattern of controlling behavior that escalates in frequency and severity. Abuse can include any of the following forms: emotional, financial, mental, sexual, or physical. When physical violence enters the relationship, years of controlling, isolating, and degrading events have eroded the victim's sense of self and her support network (Dobash and Dobash, 1998**,** Walker, 1979; Bancroft, 2002; Duluth, 2011). With the understanding that domestic violence is a repeated pattern of control, and that male entitlement and belief in rigid gender role construction place men at risk of perpetrating such violence (as above), the current study can integrate domestic violence literature with literature on conflict and violence against women.

One theory largely argued in African-American communities argues that men who feel emasculated politically or economically, may find power through utilizing domestic violence (Hill Collins 2005, Powell 2000, Omolade 1984 West 1999). Since oppressed men feel a lack of control, they try to assert control over their intimate partners. Fanon (1967) posits that when one is dehumanized by a colonizing power and deprived of self-worth, enacting violence restores that sense of power: "At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force" (Fanon, 1967, 94). Fanon describes the way violence can humanize individuals who experience oppression from colonialism. It can assert one's sense of fearlessness and restores his self-respect (Fanon 1967, 94). McKendrick (1990) argues that men who experienced insecurity and emasculation from the structural violence of Apartheid attempted to regain their self-esteem by beating their wives in the same way African-American theorists see violence against women as a means of achieving one's masculine status after experiencing emasculation from a disempowering white society (Hill Collins 1995, Guy-Sheftall 1995). Such men naturalize the need to dominate and suggest that when one is oppressed in a venue, one must in turn oppress someone else. Such men exploit their oppressed status in one venue to justify oppressing others within another venue.

Scholars argue that men whose professions require them to utilize authority are at risk for committing domestic violence due to their desire to dominate. Connell (2003) argues that high-ranking politicians, businessmen, and religious leaders are all capable of promoting gender-based violence. Connell (2005) argues: "So the top levels of business, the military and government provide a fairly convincing corporate display of masculinity...It is the successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence underpins or supports this authority)" (Connell 2005, 237). Since theorists suggest that men who utilize violence can also abuse their wives, perhaps Connell's work

dispels myths that domestic violence only happens among poor people. His work indicates that class is not a causal factor in abuse. Adherence to strict gender roles, a strong sense of entitlement, and the belief that one's intimate partner's role is to serve his needs underlies the mentality of an abusive man (Bancroft 2002, 52-54). Intimate partner violence stems from traditional conceptions of masculinity and femininity that make men feel entitled to assert power over women to control their behavior (Walker 1979, 1994).

Shelter workers from Northern Ireland corroborate academic literature that dispels these myths about abused women: abused women only come from impoverished or minority backgrounds, abuse is an anger management problem, abuse results from drinking and drugs, and a woman can provokes abuse (Bancroft 2002, Walker 1979, Dobash and Dobash 1998). Shelter workers argued these myths about domestic violence are pervasive within Northern Irish Society. Such myths include that "I [A shelter worker] must work with a rough sort" from public housing, that they are "low-life women getting themselves in this situation" (Shelter Worker, Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Those who believe in such myths assume that abuse is drug or alcohol-related, since perpetrators "get out of control" and victims "are more vulnerable" (Shelter Worker, Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Even though shelter workers observe community members attributing domestic violence to drugs and alcohol, they do not view substances as causes of abuse. Drugs and alcohol may only exacerbate an already-abusive situation (Shelter Worker, Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Moreover, shelter workers unanimously agree that women from every/all socio-economic backgrounds experience domestic violence and rely on shelters to help them escape abuse (Moffett 2006). According to Meredith (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006), a senior

shelter worker, women of all religions, all ages, all economic sectors, all careers can experience domestic violence.

Women who worked in Shelters and Crisis Centers believe that violence against women related less to the pervasiveness of political unrest, and more to the pervasiveness of patriarchy in a society. Post-conflict literature tends to overlook evidence that perpetrators of domestic violence feel a special entitlement to utilize violence against their intimate partners and rather than other people (Northern Irish Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006; Northern Irish Shelter Worker Interview, November 29, 2006; South African Shelter Worker Interview March 5, 2007; South African Shelter Worker Interview March 31, 2007). Hence, perpetrators of domestic violence, as opposed to other forms of gender-based violence often do not appear violent (Bancroft 2002, Dobash and Dobash 1998, Walker 1979). So, ministers may be just as likely as paramilitary members to perpetuate some form of domestic violence on their intimate partners, to rape women, or to sexually harass women as paramilitary members. It appears that the common thread in domestic violence, rape, and sexual harassment is a feeling of entitlement among the perpetrator, an extensive belief in traditional gender roles, and general agreement with patriarchal values. Such characteristics can exist throughout all sectors of society, including combatants. Misogyny and adherence to cultural stereotypes of hegemonic masculinity and femininity tend to be the primary indicators of violence against women.

**Historical Background of Gender Role Stereotypes**

While every culture within Northern Ireland and South Africa retains its own unique history, some broad parallels exist about the way these cultures construct gender. First, men act as the breadwinners, decision-makers, protectors of women, and heads of the household.

Second, women maintain the home, care for the children, serve the needs of men, and perform behind the scenes work. This division of labor allows men to participate within the public sphere outside the home but relegates women to the private sphere within the home. It maximizes men's privilege, but limits women's options.

Each conflict, and each side within each conflict, manufacture hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity to simultaneously promote their goals within the conflict and to elevate the masculine while degrading the feminine. Hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005) and femininity are normative roles that society expects of men and women. While men and women may subscribe to these gender ideals, their experiences often do not match the norm. When either men or women deviate from hegemonic masculinity they receive social sanctions. Men, for instance, may join a paramilitary in order to fulfill the ideal of toughness (Harland 2011). Society may punish women for being too promiscuous or for failing to meet the accepted criteria for a good mother.

Stereotypes of women during conflict prevent women from realizing their full potential because society perceives women in simplistic and disempowering ways. Images of women in war tend to emphasize their roles as mothers and caregivers, depict women as supporters of men rather than as active agents, and display them as symbols of the nation who are enacted upon (Lorentzen and Turpin 1998, McCann 2003). McClintock, Mufti, and Shoat (1997, 105) outline the four stereotypical roles of women in conflict. She says 1) society expects women to reproduce to ensure one's group dominates numerically; 2) mothers, through childrearing, pass on cultural values to a new generation of citizens; 3) women become symbols of the nation itself (such as imagery of Mother Ireland or Mother Africa); and, 4) women involve themselves in the conflict through activism. Activism within this model enhances women's visibility (Lorentzen and Turpin 1998). Women who espouse

more masculine roles, such as soldiers or activists that contradict maternal imagery, garner less visibility (Artexga 1997; Corcoran 2004, Lorentzen and Turpin 1998).

As we will see, such depictions of women, which feature prominently in South Africa and Northern Ireland, deny women agency, as they portray women as one-dimensional characters rather than multi-dimensional and complex individuals. Stereotypical images pressure women to conform to, rather than challenge, traditional roles. Understanding that women's experiences may be more complex than history has portrayed them is essential to liberating women. In addition, observing the various ways women actively respond to their lives circumstances underscores that women utilize agency in diverse ways. Hence, women's neither women's experiences nor behaviors are uniform. The contributions of female combatants who fight against traditional gender norms through direct confrontation with armed soldiers is evidence that realities of women's and men's experiences often do not match the stereotypes. Since men in general who are abusive utilize the male privilege they garner from societal constructions of gender role stereotypes, examining historical constructions of gender is a necessary prerequisite to observing the way abusers utilize these constructions within their relationships.[4]

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[4] The Northern Ireland, patriarchies on both sides involve hostility due to past victimization and fear of future harm. Men and women retain separate spheres, and men militarize out of fear of losing what they have. In Ireland, both Catholics and Protestants historically relied on the concept of separate spheres to define gender roles, where ideally earned money and fought for the country and females tended to the home and children (Luddy 1995, Kiberd 1994, Bell 1976). Religious figures tended to define women's role as, first, preserving their own purity and sexual propriety and, second, shaping the morality of future generations (Porter 2002). For Catholics, women demonstrated the iconic role of grieving mother who sacrificed for the cause of Ireland during many tragedies during the conflict. The 1981 Hunger Strikes is etched powerfully in historic memory through murals that portray hunger strikers with Mother Ireland, or hunger striker Bobby Sands with his grieving mother (Artexga 1997).

Many Protestant churches expect women to abide by traditional gender roles. Historically, many fundamentalist Protestant denominations require women to respect patriarchal authority in the family through the concept of "headship." Headship grants men authority as leaders and decision-makers. Headship manifests itself differently among denominations, but some churches do not allow women in leadership positions or give women permission to speak during a service; some require women to wear head coverings. Some Irish scholars argue that headship implies women's spiritual inferiority (Porter 2002). The Orange Lily symbolizes the woman's role as the devoted, Protestant mother. Rev. Ian Paisley, who led the conservative and

African communities tended to stereotype women as wives and mothers, and accepted male decision-making power over the family and within public life. Since traditional gender role stereotypes granted them less authority than men, women did not have full status within the liberation movement. Until 1943, the ANC excluded women from membership. Under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke, women organized and founded the Bantu Women's League in 1918 (Lapchick and Urdang 1982). Even once women were allowed to be members, the ANC did not incorporate the concerns of black women in the political platform (Lodge 1983). Women actively protested legislation that denied their rights. For instance, they organized against Pass Laws, which restricted their movement and ability to obtain employment. In 1956, 20,000 women staged a march on the Union Building in Pretoria to protest the Pass Laws. Although husbands failed to support women in their protest, the Pretoria march became a famous and celebrated part of historical memory in the struggle against Apartheid. It appears that once the march achieved success, male leaders in the anti-Apartheid movement cultivated the image of the woman as a "rock." The Mothers of the Nation in the mid-1980s garnered their title for managing

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powerful Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) for 1971-2008, called on women during The Troubles to "breed babies for Ulster" (Jacobs et al, 2000, 50), demonstrating the way a culture relies on women's bodies for its continuance. It also shows the dominance of imagery of women as mothers, nurturers, and reproducers of culture. Focusing on this role allows the culture to make invisible women's other capabilities and contributions. In one study of Protestant women, Moore writes, "They are expected …to 'rear their children to continue the true Protestant tradition,' a duty another woman saw being fulfilled by 'sending your children to good Protestant things, such as Girls Brigade"' (Moore 1994, 2). While churches expect women to serve through performing many background and support roles, including making tea and buns at church functions, communities rarely value women for the work they do perform. So, not only are men's and women's work separate, but also their work is valued differently. Women's work remains hidden, private, and undervalued (Ward 2006, Porter 2002). When men generate a sense of hostility because they feel that women usurp their rightful role, then men are more likely to perpetuate gender violence. As employment and educational opportunities change due to global capitalism, men, as Chapter One illustrates, are likely to blame and punish women. Men are more likely to demonstrate hostility in groups on the street, through their intimate relationships, and through failing to help women navigate social systems such as the criminal justice or health care systems.

their home life, working to support their families, and involving themselves in the anti-Apartheid struggle. Such activists now became celebrated mothers in both the public and private sense—they struggled, endured, and fought with resolve and determination.

Hence, gender relations in Northern Ireland and South Africa underpin the way that gender role stereotypes create a climate that controls women's access to public life, their image, their finances, and their autonomy. Such rigid stereotypes can lead to violence because they create rigid standards of femininity and give men permission to punish women when they deviate from such prescribed roles. In the political transitions, as political and economic realities transform to grant women new opportunities, gender role constructions need to transform accordingly. Otherwise, hostility toward women's opportunities will fester, and men will inflict violence against women.

## Structural Violence

In Northern Ireland and South Africa, where societies attempt to recover from racial and ethnic/religious conflict, patriarchy remains present, even if such societies remain preoccupied with the most blatant binaries manifest in the war. Hierarchies that promote racism, ethnocentrism, classism, heterosexism, religious superiority, war, and environmental destruction all emanate from attitudes of dominance. Patriarchy remains inextricably linked to other forms of dominance (Peterson and Runyon 2010), and, hence, contributes to the mentality that promotes violent conflict. War, then, does not cause gender violence. Rather, patriarchy that is embedded within the structures of dominance and war cause gender violence.

Legislation, a major strategy toward promoting equality within both societies, is not an effective strategy for challenging social norms upon which gender equality relies. The impact of legislation in challenging social norms is limited. Ni Aolain, et al (2011) write, "the status of women in society is determined primarily by social norms and gender equality and these norms are only weakly affected by legal institutions." They argue that gender disparities in access to health, education, jobs, and politics facilitate women's unequal status, and such inequalities relate to women's status within the economy. Hence, taking steps to remedy the economic impact of gender inequality is critical to improving women's status. Ni Aolain et al. argue that such steps involve improving women's access to resources, and such access is clearly necessary. Improving women's status must occur in conjunction with transforming stereotypes about men's and women's roles. As Peach (2001) argues, constructing the law to reinforce binaries of women as victims and men as oppressors reinforces gender stereotypes and denies women agency when they experience gender violence. Challenging gender stereotypes is necessary to promote cooperation and mitigate hostility between the sexes.

Peacebuilding literature (Peterson and Runyan 2010, Lederach 1994, Lorentzen and Turpin 1998, Enloe 2000, Crocker et al. 1995, Galtung 1996) has long discussed the way societies in conflict utilize binaries to create two polar opposite groups. One's identity becomes intertwined with being part of one group, and one's sense of self is also defined as not being part of the other group. Within societies moving away from protracted conflict, humanizing the "other" group tends to be a first step toward peacebuilding. In Northern Ireland, cross-community exchanges among youth operate under the belief that dialogue between opposing groups would help each side realize that they share similar hopes and

fears (Hargie and Dickson, 2003). In South Africa, Nelson Mandela made significant historical efforts to overcome cross-racial and ethnic divisions (Johanson and Jones 2011).

Despite efforts to build peace, dichotomized thinking, based on us vs. them, good vs. evil, either/or binaries, prevails within each society. Such binaries foster in-groups and out-groups and foster competition between groups (Peterson and Runyan 2010, Brock-Utne 1997, Hargie and Dickson, 2003, Galtung 1996, Lederach 1994). Such competition along race, ethnic, gender, class, or religious lines facilitates dualisms, which leave little room for cooperation and facilitates struggles for power.

After formal conflict ends, unless dichotomized thinking is interrupted, violence against one group will be replaced with violence against another group. In Northern Ireland and South Africa, violence towards immigrants, hostility towards the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered (GLBT) community, and ethnic resentment indicate that enemy images continue to exist within these societies after the cessation of formal conflict. The dichotomous relationships between self/other and in-group/out-group, then, are more complex and more firmly entrenched within society than the traditional Protestant/Catholic and black/white binaries. The same dichotomies that promote enemies in war promote gender hierarchies. Hence, defining oneself in opposition to one's enemy and constantly striving for power over others only leads to an increased need to prove oneself. It never leads to security in one's own identity.

Johann Galtung distinguishes between positive and negative peace (1971). Negative peace exists when war ceases, while positive peace exists when society develops structures to meet human needs (1971). Building on this concept, he contrasts direct violence with structural violence (Galtung 1971). Direct violence involves explicit perpetration of violence on the macro level (i.e. war) or micro level (murder), while structural violence involves

exploitation. Galtung characterizes structural violence as follows: "The archetypal violent structure, in my view, has exploitation as a center-piece. This simply means that some, the topdogs, get much more (here measured in needs currency) out of the interaction in the structure than others, the underdogs" (1990, 293). Such a system is exploitative to the "underdog", as it deprives the underdog her/his needs while granting excess to those with greater privilege. Privileged groups usually retain some benefit based on social divisions. Types of privilege can include race/ethnic, gender, class, and ability (McIntosh 1992, Collins 2005). Since structural violence is experienced unevenly, and many citizens are not even aware that it exists, changing such systems becomes difficult.

Farmer, when working on HIV+ patients' access to clinical medicine and observing structural violence within healthcare systems, describes structural violence as follows:

> "Structural violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way… The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people … neither culture nor pure individual will is at fault; rather, historically given (and often economically driven) processes and forces conspire to constrain individual agency. Structural violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of scientific and social progress" (Farmer et al. 2006)

He adds that structural violence is often economic and politically driven and cannot be blamed on one single actor. Culture cannot excuse or be the source of blame for structural violence. In addition, historical specificity does impact the way individuals experience structural violence within a society. Finally, those who experience structural violence, in the case of healthcare, often do not benefit from scientific advancements.

Structural and direct violence deprive individuals of their basic human needs. Galtung highlights four basic human needs: "The four classes of basic needs - an outcome of extensive dialogues in many parts of the world (Galtung,1980a)-are: survival needs (negation: death. mortality); well-being needs (negation: misery, morbidity); identity, meaning

needs(negation: alienation); and, freedom needs(negation: repression)" (Galtung 1990 ,292). In order for individuals to meet all of their basic needs, society needs to provide positive systems to ensure that individuals can have a sense of well-being, feel meaning to their lives, and instill a sense of identity and belonging. If social structures contribute to individuals feeling alienated, repressed, miserable, and lacking a sense of personhood, then those structures perpetuate harm and violence upon individuals. Social systems that perpetuate harm should be changed to allow individuals to reach their full potential as citizens. Ho (2007) uses human needs as a measurement of whether structural violence violates human rights. She first argues that violation of structural rights is a human rights issue. Using Amarta Sen's understanding of poverty, she argues that when one cannot utilize agency due to structural violence to the point that one cannot meet one's human needs, than structural violence is a violation of human rights.

Hence, violence need not involve just the intentional infliction of pain from an individual perpetrator. It can involve systematic harm embedded within society that deprives individuals of their ability to meet their human needs. Often such violence goes unnoticed because society cannot hold one of its citizens culpable. In fact, the entire society has a role to play in this form of this violence, because it takes the whole society to dismantle the patriarchal injustices embedded within such systems and rebuild them in a more just and egalitarian way.

A narrow focus on peacebuilding risks excluding other aspects of creating a successful post-conflict transition, such as reproductive health, curbing the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and economic development. In Northern Ireland, women's health organizations, domestic violence organizations, and personal development organizations, according to administrators of these groups, struggle for funding from European Peace and

Reconciliation money unless their projects bring Catholics and Protestants together. Healing women and preserving women's health, which The Troubles often overshadowed, appear not to be central in such a mandate. In South Africa, since HIV/AIDS has become such a severe problem and the funding stream is sourced differently, the society does not have to worry about funding cross-community projects as much. The end result, however, is that larger structural forces such as patriarchal power relations do not get the kind of analytic or funding attention that they deserve.

Much of the task of peacebuilding is to transform such enemy-images and humanize the other side (Lederach 1994, Hargie and Dickson 2003, Galtung, 1996). However, many peacebuilding projects work only within one dimension of political conflict, such as Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland or blacks and whites within South Africa. Such a narrow focus excludes other dimensions upon which enemy images fester within a conflict, such as between men and women or between rich and poor. Ongoing political unrest, and the presence of weapons, gangs, and paramilitaries thus continue to shape women's experiences. Some men who remain involved in paramilitaries and gangs use their connections to threaten women. Such men still utilize violence in public life and feel perfectly entitled to do so in private life. It appears that men who feel entitled to dominate their partners do so regardless of their socio-location, and that their position in society impacts the tactics at their disposal through which they could threaten women (Crenshaw in Fineman 1994). In addition, women's positionality determines the resources they can utilize. For instance, the risk women experience for paramilitary violence depends upon the community in which they live and possibly their level and type of involvement within the paramilitaries.

Feminists who investigate gender violence in the aftermath of conflict argue that hierarchies of male dominance continue to be reproduced during political transition. According to Meintjes, "The common post-war pattern the world over has been the recreation of patriarchal domination in new forms" (2001, 18). An Naiolin (2011) and Jacobs 2000 suggest that accepting global capitalism promotes and supports gender hierarchies that disempower groups of women, especially third-world, poor women. In addition, Meintjes 2001 argues that men tend to idealize the stereotypical images of women promoted during war and form a backlash against realities of women's gains (2001, 14).

Interventions, then, must focus on transforming the economic power structure as well as stereotypical images of gender. Economically, redistribution of resources such as land and housing, increased access to public goods such as health care and education, and job training can help build equality in the aftermath. The government's global economic policy needs to be scrutinized in relation to equality and well-being among its citizens. Socially, attitudes and behaviors within media, social institutions and networks, and family structures must be recreated. Meintjes asserts that focusing on abstract human rights language rather than the basic human needs of women obscures the practical ramifications of economic disparities and hinders women from becoming equal participants within society (2001, 4).

This study uses an intersectional lens to challenge binaries of power between races, classes, and gender. While scholars (Meintjes, 2001; Sharoni, 1995; Brock-Utne, 1997) acknowledge that the aftermath of war impacts society long after its end, scholars all too often do not focus on the ongoing structural impediments to true peace after conflict.

# CHAPTER 2
# MALE PERCEPTIONS OF FEMALE GAINS

South African and Northern Irish males perceive that women are gaining power over them politically, educationally and economically, and they fear that women will use their new power to dominate men. Hamber (2010) argues that, in South Africa, the benefits men imagine women to possess in the legislation, in education, and in the workforce do not match the reality of what women have attained. This chapter builds upon Hamber's argument and demonstrates that the following apply to both Northern Ireland and South Africa: 1) men feel threatened politically due to legislation against gender-based violence they believe favors women, but such legislation does little to change patriarchal structures that prevent violence or ensure proper implementation; 2) men observe women surpassing them educationally and believe that women succeed at their expense; 3) men perceive women to be advancing economically at their expense despite studies that indicate that women's economic success is limited. More women retain responsibility for unpaid caregiving, live in poverty, and work in part-time and undervalued employment.

An interdisciplinary approach using feminist theory, peacebuilding theory and globalization theory to understand gender-based violence provides a broader perspective to gender-based violence than each field alone could achieve. For instance, peace researchers who have theorized on gender-based violence have not utilized insights on domestic violence and rape generated from feminist theory and practice. Feminist theory on intersectionality builds on Peace and Conflict Studies, as it underscores the power dynamics

within and between opposing groups that Peace and Conflict Studies at times overlook. Finally, incorporating an understanding of globalization reveals that the entitlement of perpetrators and their desire to dominate mirrors that of privileged societies within international relations.

## Northern Ireland and Globalization: Men Lose and Women Win?

The intersections between economic insecurities resulting from globalization and neo-liberal economic policy, residual enemy images from the transition from war to peace, legislation designed to improve the status of women, and residual gender role stereotypes facilitate the male perception that women advance politically, educationally, and economically at men's expense. The Irish experience appears to mirror the same prejudices against the women of South Africa.

### Political Gains

Legislation, both specific to Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom, is designed to improve women's status. Since Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom, it relies on the British government for changes to laws on domestic violence and rape. Since the province has a devolved assembly, it can establish systems, such as The Equality Commission, to hasten political improvements in the region. The Equality Commission oversees procedures to ensure that processes - such as hiring, education and housing—are fair and nondiscriminatory. Interestingly, some discriminatory practices remaining from The Stormont Government[5], such as abortion, have never been overturned, and women continue to be denied the right to a safe termination of pregnancy. Although

[5] The Stormont Government, controlled by the Protestants between 1922-1972 discriminated against Catholics in politics, housing, employment, and education (Quinn 1993).

Northern Ireland is a devolved province within the UK, citizens of Northern Ireland, at least in the case of abortion, do not receive the full benefits of UK citizenship.

In Northern Ireland, The Equality Commission, established after the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, has established legislation to promote social and economic equality for nine identified interest groups. While The Equal Pay Act (1970) and Sex Discrimination Order Northern Ireland (1976) already existed, The Equality Commission put forth several new measures to improve the status of marginalized groups including women. They include: The Disability Discrimination Act 1995, Race Relations Order (1997), Fair Employment and Treatment Order Northern Ireland 1998, Equality (Disability, etc.) Northern Ireland Order (2000), Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) (2003) Special Education Needs and Disability (2005), Disability Discrimination Order (2006), Employment Equality (Age) Regulations (2006), and The Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations Northern Ireland (2006).

Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act (1998) is one of the most significant and most controversial pieces of Equality Legislation. It requires all "public authorities in carrying out their various functions relating to Northern Ireland to have due regard to the need to promote equality of opportunity – 1) between persons of different religious belief, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status, or sexual orientation; 2) between men and women generally; 3) between persons with a disability and persons without; and 4) between persons with dependents and persons without" (Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland, 1998). While such legislation appears to reflect movement toward equality, interpretation of this section in can possibly threaten the advancement of equality.

The legislation assumes no power differential between men and women, and, consequently, those applying the legislation attempt to ensure that men and women receive the same benefits, services, etc. Interpreters do not recognize differences in need that may require different actions, or that extra services may be needed to create equality. Many women's sector advocates argue that the law is being implemented in a way that can harm women. Sharon, for instance, discusses the way the government utilizes Section 75 to compel Women's Aid to accept phone calls from men on their battered women's hotline under threat of withdrawing their funding. Such changes force an established organization to transform its mandate to include men when their shelters and phone lines are already full of women. The mandate can potentially mix perpetrators and victims and cause staff to deviate from their field of expertise. The Men's Advice Centre and other projects do offer help to men, and so many mainstream organizations and churches are male-dominated. Targeting Women's Aid for not being "gender-neutral" seems unproductive in a climate filled with other organizations that are still male-dominated. So, rather than correcting the exclusion of women through improving their access to venues traditionally denied to them, officials have used the legislation to grant men equal access to women's services, even if men do not need the same types of services.

Another significant problem with Section 75 is that it provides room for government officials to dismiss needs of women with multiple forms of oppression. Elizabeth argues that Section 75 fails to account for the multiple identities of women (Interview with Elizabeth, August 11, 2006). Disabled women, for instance, become excluded because the government expects to include them in the disability strategy. However, they may be marginalized from the disability strategy as well. The same happens to rural women, and racial minorities. If

the government fails to take an intersectional approach to women's issues, then it may overlook the diversity of women's needs and not develop appropriate and inclusive policy.

It is unclear whether the interpretation of Equality Legislation represents a misunderstanding of the term or an attempt by men to distort it in order to assert power and control over women. Men in Northern Ireland, who live in a climate of victimization (Morrissey and Smyth 2002; Dawson, 2007), fear that a gender-corrective approach to policy will hurt them. Clearly, this is not the goal of a gender-corrective strategy. While such a strategy does require men to give up the desire to hold power over women, proponents argue that it is in the best interests of women and men. Just as Unionists fear Nationalists will gain power and oppress them, men feel women will dominate politics and marginalize them.

In the UK, The Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act (2004) improved upon the 1998 law. However, the disadvantages in the law could disempower the victim. The law allows cohabiting same-sex couples to apply for non-molestation orders (protection orders), makes culpability in the death of a child an offense, ensures temporary housing to any victim, protects victims who are immigrants, and makes a breach of a non-molestation order a criminal offense. This last provision makes the victim a witness rather than the plaintiff. According to Women's AID Northern Ireland, the law has the advantage of taking the burden of prosecution and of court costs off the victim and conviction carries a harsher sentence, but it also takes the control out of the victim's hands. In making the case a criminal one, the 2004 law allows the media to enter the courtroom, which can compromise the confidentiality of the participants. Women's AID argues that the act contains other shortcomings. Women's AID argues the law should have included provisions to ensure safety of child witnesses and their recovery from trauma. Moreover, Women's AID argues

that the act should have committed to fund the national hotline and provide public funds for temporary housing, relocation services, and counseling services. Finally, Women's AID emphasizes that successful implementation will be the only measure of the success of the law. They believe survivors of domestic violence should be consulted to determine the efficacy of the law (Women's Aid Northern Ireland 2011).

Some legislation impedes plaintiffs from prosecuting. For instance, perpetrators utilize the Human Rights Act 1998 at times to keep police officers from responding to domestic violence. Perpetrators cite the right for respect for "private and family life." Sections 98 to 113 of The Criminal Justice Act 2003 permit evidence of misconduct and a person's bad character. The "bad character" clause may be used by the prosecution to show a history of abusive behavior, or conversely, to help the defense by exposing the victim's bad character. One positive feature of this act is Section 116, which allows hearsay evidence when it regards a person's degree of fear in domestic violence cases. Permitting others to testify to a plaintiff's level of fear can allow the judge to understand the extent to which one experiences terror. Such testimony should impact the credibility of the plaintiff as well as the severity of the sentencing.

The UK women's sector argues that the national government needs to adopt an integrated strategy to end violence against women. The United Kingdom has launched a Domestic Violence Strategy, a Coordinated Prostitution Strategy, and a Sexual Violence Strategy, but government officials have no budgets, timelines, or plans for monitoring (Making the Grade 2006, 21). The Northern Irish Government has developed a Domestic Violence Strategy but no coordinated strategy to end violence against women. In grading each governmental department within the whole of the United Kingdom on its efficacy in confronting violence against women, the UK women's sector gave the government a 2.28

out of 10 for 2006 (Making the Grade 2006, 23), illustrating that public ministers, including education, finance, and media, fail to accept their role in an integrated strategy to end violence against women. "The Departments with the lowest scores show an unwillingness to acknowledge that violence against women is relevant to their Department and therefore recognize no responsibilities in relation to violence against women. We remain extremely disappointed with the Department for Education and Skills; they have a major role to play, particularly with respect to prevention and changing attitudes amongst children and young people" (Making the Grade 2006, 24-25). The Women's Sector recommends that the government develop an integrated strategy to end violence against women utilizing all departments, receive training, initiate extensive education and training programs for the public, and consider violence against women when crafting all governmental policy (2006, 24-25).

Feminists remain unimpressed with the current rape law. Prior to 2003, rape in all of the United Kingdom was a common law offense rather than a statutory offense. This means no explicit law existed defining rape, and courts based convictions only on results of prior cases. In 2003, England devised rape law. The law requires "sexual touching" where the perpetrator "reasonably believes" that the plaintiff does not consent (Sexual Offenses Act, 2003). As is the case in the US (Warshaw 1994, Kelly 1993) the definition of consent often remains highly contested. In 2008, Northern Ireland adopted the same act. Julianne, a survivor of molestation, expresses frustration that the UK government made no effort to strengthen laws against molestation and help survivors. She recalls marching on Downing Street and delivering a list of demands to then Prime Minister Tony Blair. Julianne says, "I don't think he even wiped his butt with it." Her anger resembles that of other survivors of sexual violence, service providers, and human rights lawyers against governmental

complacency in developing strong laws on sexual violence (Interview with Julianne, August 10, 2006).

**Economic Background**

In Northern Ireland, economic analysis remains strikingly absent from many post-conflict conversations, especially relating to gender (Gallagher 2004). However, since men perceive that women attain their economic and educational achievements at the expense of men in the transition, such data-collection is essential in order to scrutinize economic realities. Recall the cultural images of the defeated male and the overbearing female within Irish society. Such cultural stereotypes exacerbated the hostility toward women when men failed to be economically successful.[6]

The linen industry in the North was certainly a significant aspect of economic life for three hundred years. In fact, the success of linen mills separated the northern counties from those of the south, as northern counties did not suffer as much during the Potato Famine and, hence, did not become as resentful toward the British. By 1921 almost one million spindles and 37,000 looms meant that 70,000 women were directly employed, representing 40% of the registered working population. Over 100,000 people depended on the linen industry for their survival. The linen industry declined, however, and at the end of the 20th century only a maximum of ten companies remained, and they employed only 4,000 people (Graham 2011).

[6]This dynamic is similar to the stereotype of the overbearing African-American female who is blamed for the lack of economic success of the emasculated African-American male (Aldridge 2010, Hill Collins 2005, Guy-Sheftall 1995) despite economic realities that disadvantage African-Americans that are beyond the control of either sex

Work in the linen mills did little to liberate women. While women gained many jobs over the last two centuries, such positions paid little and provided substandard working conditions. The following quote illustrates that far from empowering women as workers and providers, jobs simply continued to dehumanize women. "When I grew up, men were unemployed and women were working, but jobs were slave labor. Women were going out and doing these terrible, boring jobs...then coming home and starting into cooking and cleaning. I took years fighting it in my own psyche, this thing of not respecting women" (McKay 2000, 117). While men felt emasculated when women became the breadwinners, women faced the pressure of a dual responsibility for household and paid labor (Bairner 1999).

Catholics confronted joblessness more than Protestants due to the structure of discrimination in the six counties of the North. Beginning in the mid-1800s, Harland and Wolff became a powerful shipbuilding company, known for constructing the Titanic. The industry began to collapse after World War II, when air travel became more popular. While the workforce peaked during World War II at 35,000, by the time the British government took control of the company, it employed only 3,000 people. In 2011, 500 employees attempted to rebuild the company. Those unwilling or unable to adapt to the changing economy felt lost and betrayed. However, the gradual decline of the shipbuilding industry left working-class Protestant men in the 1980s and 1990s with a sense of masculinity that met the same fate as the Titanic. Men who thought they would have a job for life found themselves unemployed with few marketable skills. Two enormous cranes, Samson and Goliath, continue to dominate the skyline and "The Titanic Quarter" was developed to increase tourism. However, male-dominated working-class industrial jobs in this sector became obsolete. Moreover, James Mackie and Sons, a machinery company and Northern

Ireland's single-largest employer, closed its doors in 1999. Consequently, Protestant working-class men who expected to inherit jobs found themselves unskilled and unemployed (Shirlow 1997).

**Post-Conflict**

The unemployment rate in 1998, the year of the peace agreement, was 10.9% (CAIN Ulster 2011). Research indicates that in some working-class areas in 1999, unemployment reached 12-13% in 1999 (Tunney 1999). However, the unemployment rate managed to drop throughout the peace process to lower than that of the rest of the United Kingdom. Whereas only 493,000 of Northern Ireland's 1.5 million people were employed in 1983, at the height of The Troubles, by 2004 employment rose to 678,000. While employment increased 37% in two decades, it only increased 17% in the rest of the United Kingdom. Consequently, Northern Ireland was less vulnerable to the recession in the 1990s than the rest of the UK (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 177). By 2011, the unemployment rate, after dropping below 8% rate increased again. The increase impacted the18-25 age group significantly, as 22.5% of those unemployed had not been employed for at least a year (Graham 2011).

Another side exists to this optimistic picture of declining unemployment. First, Smyth and Cebulla (2008) argue that many jobs are part-time labor. Such work often lacks the security, recognition, benefits, and compensation of full-time labor but still diminishes the unemployment rate. Second, disabled people do not count as unemployed in Northern Ireland. In Belfast alone, this counts for 11% of the population. If one includes all of the economically inactive members of society--students, retired individuals, caregivers, disabled, etc.--the number of economically inactive individuals totals 43% of the population (Belfast

City Council 2005, 4). Third, the percentage of individuals who seek welfare varies dramatically based on electoral ward. For example, claimants in the Lower Falls Road and Upper Falls Road represent 16.38% and 14.81% of the population respectively. Claimants in Oldpark and Court constitute 16.32% and 10.41% of the population respectively (Belfast City Council 2005, 3).

In addition, Northern Ireland's economic prospects remain limited because the region is so small and the workforce is so small, and limits exist to its ability to diversify (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 178). Economic theory suggests that the more diverse an economy can become, the more resilient it will be from market changes or natural disasters (Roderick 1997). Northern Ireland still struggles to develop a strong business service sector presence and still relies on manufacturing, community-based, and retail industries that draw little value. For instance, highly-valued industries such as banking and finance only contribute to 7.5 of industrial output compared to 15.5 in the UK (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 178). In addition, the post-conflict environment has not been appealing enough to attract foreign investment (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 178). On this point, the tide may be turning, however, when the New York Stock Exchange purchased a Belfast-based start-up and CitiGroup opened offices in Belfast shortly thereafter. In addition, the public sector in Northern Ireland accounts for 30% of its workforce, which is 10% higher than in the Republic of Ireland (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 182). Such a dynamic could relate to the particularities of a society in political transition and may change over time, but this source of employment fails to produce new wealth. Considering that the public sector relies heavily on subsidies from the British government to sustain itself, it also can induce fear among Protestants that the UK will look forward to the day when it no longer is financially responsible for citizens of Northern Ireland.

Protestants perceive that Catholics occupy more jobs than Protestants, and men perceive that women occupy more jobs than men. In each case, groups previously in power, Protestants and men, fear that previously subordinated groups, Catholics and women, will dominate them. Groups previously in power fear that Equality Legislation, designed to equalize opportunities, combined with the labor demands from the service sector instead of the manufacturing sector and from full-time work to part-time labor, will give previously disadvantaged groups the upper hand. The 2001 census revealed an overall decline in the workforce from 53% of the available workforce to 43.7%. The data shows a small decline in labor activity among Protestants and a small increase in wage labor among Catholics, but it still indicates that Protestants outrank Catholics in the workforce (Smyth and Cebulla, 2008, 182).

Of course, one can still be employed and live in poverty. In 2003, 29.6% of all households lived in poverty, whether they worked or not, and, in addition, 12.1% fell near the poverty level (Hillyard 2003, 29). Moreover, comparative studies between Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom, and The Republic of Ireland indicate that those in poverty in Northern Ireland are less likely to escape their circumstances (Palmer 2004; Sutherland 2003; Department of Social Development 2004). Such lack of social mobility can easily generate resentment. Finally, Protestants perceive Catholics as obtaining better levels of education. Gallagher's study (2004) indicates that educational attainment relates less to religion and more to social class (82). His data shows that Protestants and Catholics of the same social class obtain the same levels of education. Catholics appear to be succeeding in part due to their prior history of discrimination: "A paradox of the Protestant near-monopoly on industrial employment was that Catholics were in a position to make the transition to the service economy more easily because of a combination of equality legislation, a younger

workforce, and the lack of an industrial background" (Smyth and Cebulla 2008, 183). If the Protestant workforce can learn to adapt to the global economic changes and see some of their difficulties as part of the fallout of global capitalism rather than Catholic or female dominance, then they can 1) be more successful, 2) become educated in how to confront and adapt to globalization and 3) disrupt the enemy images between Protestant and Catholic, though challenging the perception that Catholics are dominating Protestants remains an unsubstantiated claim.

**Educational Attainment**

Men believe that women achieve educationally, and they have become resentful (Harland 2011; Shirlow 1997; Tunney 2000). Educational statistics support this perception. In 2007/2008, 74% of girls scored A-C on 5 GCSE, standardized tests taken in subjects of the students' choosing at age 15, as compared to 60% of males. After taking GCSE's, students can choose to continue schooling and take A-level exams, which determine the universities a student is eligible to attend. Fifty-six percent of girls succeeded in passing at least two A-levels, while only thirty-eight percent of boys did (DTIE 2009, 6). Morrissey and Smyth (2002) argue that two factors adversely impacted men's participation in education. First, The Troubles were more likely to disrupt young men's schooling than that of young women (164). Second, at some point during the conflict, young men decided that education was "uncool" (80). Young men, seeing deprivation, conflict, and systemic failures around them, engaged in anti-social behavior rather than prioritizing school (Bell 1976; Shirlow 1997). They did not see education as a path to achievement, and hegemonic masculinity instead came to be defined through violent behavior. Young women, on the other hand,

saw their mothers return to school or get qualifications through women's centers during the conflict. They carried the hope that education would lead to advancement.

Disparities in educational attainment between men and women appear to relate to perceptions of hegemonic masculinity that invalidate school as relevant to young men's lives. Women, then, do not succeed at the expense of men. Room exists in education for all to succeed if they choose to. In order for young men to succeed in school, they must choose to do so. They must believe that doing so will yield better opportunities in the future and that gaining more knowledge can be an end in and of itself. Families, peers, and the youth sector can encourage such choices. If young men choose to opt out of education, such a decision is theirs.

Paradoxically, men who may have underachieved in education still may be faring better in the workforce than women who overachieved. For instance, only 22% of local councilors in government are women. In 2008, only 2.3% of women, as compared to 7.4% of men, were entrepreneurs (DTIE 2009, 6). Hence, employment data actually indicates that women's successes in education did not translate into enormous success in employment.

**Economic Advancement**

The assertion that women gain economically is a more elusive topic of study due to the amount of time women spend in unpaid labor raising children, caring for elderly or disabled family members, and as housewives. Belfast City Council cites far fewer unemployed women than men. Unemployment statistics appear to indicate that education did lead to advancement for women. According to The Department of Trade, Investment, and Enterprise, only 4.4% of women were unemployed from April-June 2009, while 8.3% of men were unemployed. Only 2.7% of women claimed unemployment benefits compared

with 8.6% of men (DTIE 2009, 4). However, these statistics can be deceptive. The definition of unemployed includes people who "were available to start work in the two weeks following their interview and had either looked for work in the four weeks prior to the interview or were waiting to start a job they had already obtained" (DTIE 2009, 28). So, women who are unable to make childcare arrangements to start a job within two weeks, women who do not look for jobs due to caring responsibilities at home, who lacked marketable skills, or who lacked transport to look for work would all not be considered as unemployed.

However, their records also indicate that many more women are not seeking employment outside the household because they care for children, the disabled, and the elderly in the home. Forty-five percent of women in this research sample were caregivers, as compared to less than ten percent of males (DTIE 2009, 5). Therefore, even though women actively seeking employment may more likely find jobs, many women experience constraints from participating within the labor force. The government considers such women "economically inactive" rather than "unemployed."

Moreover, those women who are employed occupy more part-time and flexible employment, which counts them as employed but does not grant them the same status as many full-time employees. Women are disproportionately represented in part-time labor, as they constitute 83% of all part-time employees and 38% of all women who work are part-time laborers (DTIE 2009, 10).

Also, the gendered division of labor that creates sex-segregated industries are a factor, especially since professions that are typically women's work are often paid less. Almost all women work in the service sector, including health care and education. Very few women occupy manufacturing positions. Secretaries are predominantly women; 24% as

compared to 5% of men. Managers are more likely to be men; 13% of men are managers and 8% are women (DTIE 2009, 12). Women comprise only 35% of all senior managers in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Research and Statistics Agency 201, 4-11). Wage disparities continue to exist. Full-time women workers receive an average of £385.5 while males receive £438.8 per week.

Finally, many women gravitate toward non-profit work in the women's sector or the voluntary sector, which remains under-recognized and underpaid. Women's involvement within the women's sector and the voluntary sector may be important work, but thus far such employment has done little to promote their personal economic security. Morgan (2004) argues that women were instrumental in promoting community development and professionalizing the women's sector. While these sectors contribute to policy formulation, they continue to rely on volunteers and part-time workers, funders who at times dictate priorities, and constant funding insecurities. The total operating budget of the women's sector in 2001 was roughly 9.5 million pounds, indicating that it qualifies as a significant sector in Northern Irish society, but over 63% of the organizations operated on less than £10,000 per annum (Morgan 2004, 255).

Hence, gender workforce segregation continues to exist: women continue to be underrepresented in politics, business, and managerial positions and over-represented in part-time employment and secretarial work. Unemployment rates represent a false sense of women's employment, as economically inactive women who care for family and the household do not count as unemployed. Women's educational attainment does not appear to translate to equality within the labor force in either position or wages. Finally, while women receive the blame for young men failing to apply themselves at school, men still find better jobs at higher wages.

# Perceptions that Women Gain at Men's Expense: Post-Conflict South Africa

Did post-Apartheid legislative, educational, and economic gains for women result in significant male resentment to the point that some men would be more likely to perpetrate gender-based violence?

## Economic Background

After the colonial government imposed taxes on Africans and men needed to work in the mines to acquire cash labor, the economic structure undermined the cohesion of the family. Men often had secret betrothals and sexual encounters with women who lived near the mines (Arnfred 2004). Communities of sex workers who lived near the mines developed. A study of one area near a mine outside Johannesburg found that 50% of the women living in the area identified as sex workers, and 60% of adolescent girls in this area were HIV Positive (HIV+) (167). Men, who spent their money on alcohol and sex workers, often failed to send their wages home to their family.

While many families struggled economically during Apartheid, economic prospects did not improve after Apartheid ended. International sanctions against the Apartheid government in the 1980s precipitated a downturn in the availability of jobs. In 1994, when the transition to democracy began, unemployment dramatically increased as South Africa joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the government removed taxes on imports. In becoming a more globalized country after Apartheid, the workforce suffered (Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 166). Skilled workers who produce finished goods tend to benefit more in the global economy than unskilled workers who produce raw materials. South Africa's workforce is largely unskilled and its economy relies on mining gold,

platinum, and diamonds. Between 1993 and 1997, one million unskilled workers lost their jobs, and only 60,000 skilled workers gained employment. By the early 2000s, 35% of available workers lacked employment. Retraining and education of the workforce to transform into a more export-oriented economy continues to be lacking (Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 166). In the post-conflict environment, many men are unable to cope with the trauma from political violence, lack employment that would reassert them as the breadwinners of the family, and have trouble reintegrating into family life.

Severe economic stratification and feminization of poverty (Benjaman 2007; Phalane 2004) exacerbates women's experience of sexual violence and their vulnerability toward HIV/AIDS. Severe economic stratification under capitalism and as a residual of racial and ethnic discrimination also reinforces dominance over others. In South Africa, 4% of the population holds 40% of the wealth, while 75% of the population makes less than 50,000 Rand a year.

**Political Gains**

The government instituted three acts to advance women's rights in 1998. The Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1997 gave women the right to have safe and legal abortions. The Domestic Violence Act of 1998, arguably the most progressive act of its kind, applied to same-sex partners, non-married partners, and non-cohabitating partners. One could be arrested for any form of abuse, even verbal or mental abuse. A plaintiff could get a protection order from the courts, and a police officer could arrest a perpetrator of abuse without a warrant (Domestic Violence Act 1998). The Maintenance Act of 1998 requires that both parents of a child contribute financially toward that child's financial well-being. If only one parent financially provides for a child, it provides that parent with the

opportunity to seek remuneration from the court. The Victims' Charter of Rights of 2003 set out a minimum standard of requirements for the criminal justice system to ensure the victims receive information, protection, assistance, and restitution (Victim's Charter 2003). So, in theory, women's rights and responses from the criminal justice system should be clearly understood. Geisler argues, however, that these three acts would each require significant cultural change in order for any of them to become effective, and, without a strong women's movement, such change would be extremely unlikely (Geisler 2004, 141-2). However, attempts to bring land reform to rural areas during this same period never succeeded (Hassim 2006, 202). Such a move would have immensely helped impoverished women, and Hassim further argues that The African National Congress's (ANC), the major anti-Apartheid party and ruling party since the end of Apartheid, lack of commitment to the land reform policy exemplifies its indifference towards the plight of rural, poor women (Hassim 2008).

The Sexual Offenses Act did not take effect until 2007, nine years after the Domestic Violence Act. It expands the definition of rape to include any act of bodily penetration, rather than just a penis to a vagina, and any additional unwanted or coerced sexual act. In addition, it raises the age of consent for sexual intercourse from 14 to 16. It also considers intercourse between teenagers with greater than a two year age gap statutory rape. Moreover, one important revision to the definition of rape is to consider rape the non-disclosure of HIV status to any sexual partner. Such a directive can mitigate the epidemic by penalizing those who knowingly spread the disease. Finally, the Sexual Offenses Act is designed to penalize any known sexual traffickers.

Tripp (2010) acknowledges women's success during protracted conflict in advocating for progressive legislation on gender violence, and a strong movement certainly existed

during the struggle and during the peace process. However, Hassim and Geisler argue that part of the failure of subsequent governments to move forward with a gender equality agenda stems from the collapse of the women's movement in South Africa after the transition. During the struggle, women organized marches and protests. They played active roles in their capacity as women and as anti-Apartheid activists. During the peace process the Women's National Coalition formed (Geisler 2004) to lobby for a women's bill of rights, and, even though it failed to be incorporated into the constitution, the coalition was successful in getting legislation prohibiting violence against women on the agenda. However, after the initial phases of the transition, the women's movement shifted towards piecemeal grassroots activism rather than national coalitions that could effectively lobby the government (Hassim 2008). Hence, the women's movement became less powerful after the political transition.

Women made political gains through legislated party quotas. The ANC enacted a policy during the political transition guaranteeing that the party would ensure that a minimum of 33% of their delegates to the constitutional assembly were women. In formalizing a quota, the ANC prioritized that women's voices would help rebuild the new South Africa. After the first democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994, women held 117 of the 490 seats in the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces. By the early 2000s, 25% of women were public representatives, "placing South Africa seventh in the world in terms of representation of women; it comes in third when ranked with the developing countries. Women are increasingly holding positions of power, including speaker and deputy speaker of the National Assembly. Four of twenty-five ministers are women" (Myakayaka-Manzini 2003, 1). As of 2003, women occupied 157 of 349 seats in the lower house of parliament, constituting 45% of all members, and 16 of 54 seats of the National

Council of Provinces (NCOP), or 29%. South Africa retains the fourth highest percentage of women in politics throughout the world. Representation of women in the NCOP increased from 27% in 2004 to 45% in 2010, and 40% of the cabinet is female (Hicks 2010; Hamber 2010, 75). The government signed The Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing Platform for Action (Hamber 2010, 75).

While such significant representation for women demonstrates substantial promise for gender equality, the reality of their experience indicates that they still face substantial obstacles. Beginning with the peace process, the ANC rejected the Women's Bill of Rights, for which a cross-national coalition of women lobbied in the hopes that their pressing concerns would be imbedded in the 1998 constitution (Hassim 2008). In addition, the Office of the Status of Women has not succeeded in developing significant policy to improve the status of women (Hassim 2006, 264). Women continue to face stereotypes that they do not make good leaders (Hassim 2006, 195). Two women interviewed have experienced sexual harassment within politics. One held a high-ranking position, and resigned after false allegations negatively affected her blood pressure (Interview with Norma, July 2005). Another woman, a devoted activist during the struggle who survived a house burning and another attempted murder, revealed that the ANC promised her a position in government after the transition but failed to deliver on their promise. She currently works at a factory in Port Elizabeth (Interview Pumla, March 20, 2007). Each woman felt the ANC would have treated her better if she were male. Given that much female activism historically took place through the marginalized Women's League, such sentiments may well be true. Even if women have gained full status within the ANC, some men may have difficulty adjusting to working with women on an equal basis.

Other research participants struggled to balance their political careers with their duties at home. Husbands of two female politicians wanted to assert their traditional authority over them. Norma, a middle-class Tswana woman who became mayor of a medium-sized town, felt that her husband's abusiveness began when she graduated from school and his violence escalated with each promotion (Interview with Norma, July 2005). By the time she started making more money than he did, life became unbearable and she asked for a divorce. A middle-aged parliamentarian quoted her husband as saying, "You may be a politician, but when you step through that gate, you are my wife" (Class Presentation, University of North-West, March 2003). This powerful statement illustrates that one of the indicators of improved status of women, the increased number of women in government, does not necessarily lead to changes within familial structures. She did not reveal abuse within her home, but indicated that they both subscribed to the ideology that a man should be the head of the household and she should be subservient. So, while she found his declaration reasonable, his need to reaffirm their gender roles indicates some level of insecurity that her new status could change the hierarchy within the home.

In addition, women abandoned core concerns of the women's movement in order to gain acceptance within mainstream political structures. Women needed to take more centrist positions in order to get elected under the proportional representation system (Hassim 2008, 183). Also, the decline in the women's movement and its ability to influence the government left a void in external pressure that could lobby for power redistribution. Hassim (2008) argues that women relinquished their fight for economic equality in order to gain political equality. " At the outset of the negotiations, the concern with the peaceful transfer of power dominated discussions … As a consequence, gender concerns that extended beyond former equality, such as demands for the redistribution of power, were

marginalized or at best deferred to some future political era" (Hassim 2008, 133). Women, not wanting to disrupt the transition process, decided to set aside any discussion of more transformative gender concerns. In passing over such an opportunity, they would become complicit in perpetuating social stratification throughout the transition predicated on racial, class, and gender hierarchies.

**Educational Attainment**

In order to accurately assess gender issues in educational attainment, one must be sensitive to the highly racialized history of education in South Africa. The Apartheid government, in 1953, introduced Bantu education, a second-class educational system for blacks (Nkabinde 1997, 5). The philosophy of Bantu education held that society derived no value from providing a black African with an education which enlightened or empowered him or her. Such an education would only lead that individual to a false hope of a better future. Bantu education, then, would train blacks for the jobs available to them under the Apartheid system and do nothing more (Nkabinde 1997, 5).

Education served as a venue of protest and resistance, rather than learning and empowerment. Organized boycotts of school and protest marches during the school day became an acceptable form of resistance (Nkabinde 1997, 4). Education became a crucial site of struggle when the Apartheid government decided to conduct classes in Afrikaans rather than English. Under colonialism, blacks in South Africa have never had the opportunity to be educated in their indigenous language. This decision catalyzed the 1976 Soweto Uprising, where 20,000 students protested their substandard education and the government responded with violence, killing 176 unarmed youth.

In order to correct the massive racial inequities of Bantu education, a new, nonracial system attempts to desegregate the previous hierarchal one. However, race and class continue to play a significant role in determining the extent and quality of one's education. Whites still receive the highest degree of education, followed by Asians, coloureds, and Africans (Hallman 2004, 2). The government must overcome the historic overcrowding in black schools and the gross inequalities in expenditure between black and white schools (Nkabinde 1997, 14).

Compared to the drastic racial disparities, one may find any effort to promote gender equity in schools a waste of time and money. Substantial evidence indicates that girls are equal to boys. Data from UNESCO indicates that no significant difference exists between male and female enrollment in primary or secondary education, drop-out rates, literacy rates, and test scores. This study did discover that boys achieved better in math and physical sciences than girls did (Unterhalter 2005, 83). A study conducted in KwaZulu Natal found that girls finish primary school more quickly than boys and leave secondary school at roughly the same time as boys (Hallman 2004, 5). In the Eastern Cape, South Africa, where this study took place, women outrank men in education at every level of schooling, with 57.4% of females to 42.6% males in 2001 who completed each level of schooling. In addition, in the Eastern Cape only 43.9% of males achieved literacy, as compared to 56.1% of females (The Eastern Cape Report 2007).

Such data neglects to illuminate the broader landscape of obstacles the girl-child faces in obtaining an education. First, pregnancy impacts girls' educational attainment. Even though girls may finish primary school faster than boys, they often take longer to finish secondary school due to pregnancy (Hallman 2004, 5). Degree of wealth factors, as 70% of girls living in poverty in Hallman's study became pregnant, compared to 23% of those in the most

affluent group (Hallman, 2004, 5), and women who have been pregnant are only half as likely to graduate (Hallman, 2004, 6). In addition, girls still experience social expectations to leave school if the family needs more help to care for children or for the sick or if the family does not have enough money for school fees for all of the children. In the wake of HIV/AIDS, many girls stay out of school to care for dying parents or to care for younger children after they have lost their parents (Barnett and Whiteside 2002). Finally, school has become a hostile and frightening environment for many girls, as they face sexual harassment and assault from male educators and students (Unterhalter 2005, 85). Males intimidate and degrade girls through unwanted touching, suggestive comments, and jokes. Rapes occur on school grounds. Studies suggest that thirty percent of rapes of young women occur at school (Prinsloo 2006, 305). In the mid-2000s, schools fired thirty-two teachers for sexual misconduct (Prinsloo 2006, 313). Pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, and sexual harassment and assault indicate that girls may continue to face disadvantages due to their gender.

**Economic Advancement**

The education of women, however, has not translated into better employment prospects. Men still outrank women in employment, 49.7% to 41.1%. In addition, unemployment continues to follow a racial trajectory, where only 3.9% of whites are unemployed compared to 13.6% of blacks and 18.4% of coloured people (EC 2004, 83). Women participated in the labor force in 1980 at a rate of 25.8% and in 2000 at 31.4 %, while men participated in employment in 1980 at a rate of 48% and in 2000 at a rate of 52.1% (Okojie 2003, 18). While women narrowed the gap in employment, men still constituted the majority of employed persons. Jobs in the community and service sectors constitute the highest percentage of new jobs in the Eastern Cape in 2004 and, since such

sectors represent traditionally feminine fields, men may fear new jobs will go to women. So, the fear of women receiving more jobs in part relates to the reality that men would not transcend traditional gender roles and apply for traditionally feminized jobs.

While many families struggled economically during Apartheid, economic prospects did not improve after Apartheid ended. International sanctions against the Apartheid government in the 1980s precipitated a downturn in the availability of jobs. Disadvantaged after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ANC-negotiated settlement prior to the transfer of power maintained the liberal democratic framework that favored multinational organizations (Habib and Southall 2004, 521). In 1994, when the transition to democracy began, unemployment dramatically increased as South Africa joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the government removed taxes on imports. In becoming a more globalized country after Apartheid, the workforce suffered (Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 166). Skilled workers who produce finished goods tend to benefit more in the global economy than unskilled workers who produce raw materials (Rodrik 1997). South Africa's workforce is largely unskilled and its economy relies on mining gold, platinum, and diamonds. Between 1993 and 1997, one million unskilled workers lost their jobs, and only 60,000 skilled workers gained employment. By the early 2000s, 35% of available workers lacked employment. Retraining and education of the workforce to transform into a more export-oriented economy continues to be lacking (Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 166). "The tragic 'victims' of the ongoing cycle of poverty have been and continue to be poor black people who have no means of escaping this cycle. The adoption of neo-liberalism not only removed all possible means for the poor to survive poverty but it added on to people's poverty" (Phalane 1994, 159). Hence, the neo-liberal economic policies designed to elevate South Africa's status in the world did little to help those struggling within the country.

In order to develop a black middle class, the ANC's policies included Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (Habib and Southall 2003, 521), and, as Habib and Southall argue, strengthening a middle class facilitates antagonisms between those with capital and those without. In fact, just as some blacks improved their economic standing, the poorest suffered even more. As early as 1996, 10% of black households increased their income by 40%. At the same time, 40% of black households suffered income losses of 20% (Whiteford and Van Seventer 2000, 19). While the new middle class as a whole has increased from 8.8% to 11.9% of the population in 1994, Africans account for only 7.8% of the increase in the middle class. Whites, coloureds, and Indians constitute 33%, 15.6%, and 20% respectively (Habib and Southall 2003, 528). By 2000, the African middle class increased from 29% of the population to 50% of the population, re-igniting fears in whites (Habib and Southall 2003, 529). Government employment accounts for the largest professional change racially, and, according to Habib and Southall, "is the single most important factor accounting for the present rate of growth of the black middle class, and is clearly instrumental in consolidating if not accelerating the growth in the distribution of national income accruing to blacks" (Habib and Southall 2004, 538). Such government leaders are limited, though, in their ability to work toward poverty alleviation when they also desire to generate capital. Can a pro-capital path help the remainder of black South Africans or are their interests likely to increasingly diverge?

Stratification between rich and poor blacks became apparent throughout the interviews. Multiple township women often lamented the way younger black people left their township to be successful in politics or business and then forgot their roots. The women described young black entrepreneurs as having an attitude of taking their portion of the capitalist pie but not giving back to communities in need or their community of origin.

Some described family members who inconsistently send money to their families, bring siblings or parents to live with them in more affluent suburbs, or pay for their siblings to go to a private school. According to the women of New Brighton and Motherwell, the young who became successful distanced themselves from their families. Zandi and others felt that many adopted a sense of superiority due to their success and lost sight of important family ties in favor of material status symbols (Interview with Zandi, March 13, 2007; Interview with Mrs. Xaso, June 28, 2007).

Poverty remains excessive in South Africa. Data from 2008 indicates that the unemployment rate was 25.5%, and that what is known as the expanded unemployment rate, a rate that includes workers who are discouraged, lies at 37.1% (Antonopolous 2008, 2). Unemployment does continue to exhibit racial and gender dimensions. In rural settings and urban slums, 70-80% of the adult population is unemployed. Women's unemployment rates are higher than men's; 36.4% and 25% respectively among black Africans and 4.6% and 4.1% respectively among whites. Of unemployed black Africans, 11.9 million, or 54.4 %, are female as compared to 10 million males (Antonopolous 2008). Such figures are comparable to Benjamin's findings in 1999, where women constituted 56% of the unemployed (Benjamin 2007, 11). In addition, 50-60% of the South Africa's population lives in poverty. New trade policies hurt industries employing primarily poor female workers. Women suffered from downsizing in the textile and clothing industries, losing 17,000 jobs in 2004 (Benjamin 2007, 11). Poverty remains racialized and gendered.

Some argue that the government has increased welfare spending (Hassim 2008). However, the ANC, in an effort to reduce dependency on social welfare, reduced government grants for raising children, which disproportionately impacted women. In

Benjamin's study, the government reduced one woman's income from 700 Rand per month to 180 Rand per child (2007, 15).

The government built new houses and provided housing subsidies to over two million families. The government allocated forty-nine percent of such subsidies to females or female-headed households, including impoverished women. Research participants who received government housing expressed disappointment that the government chose cheap contractors who failed to correctly seal the roof and plaster the walls. In the government's haste to build houses quickly and cheaply, many contractors utilized shoddy workmanship, evidenced by leaky roofs and cracking plaster in the one room homes of participants in this study. The government did not issue doors with every house. If women did receive doors they risked locals stealing them. If neighborhood children broke a window, the women did not have the money to replace the window, leaving their house more vulnerable to intruders. In addition, contractors often placed toilets outside, which some research participants felt compromised their safety, especially at night. Women also hoped to get houses with multiple rooms, but many of them received houses with one room. They subdivided the living room and kitchen area from the bedroom with curtains or with walls they managed to install themselves.

While the ANC reported the number of families with water and electricity increased under their rule, the numbers actually decreased. "In a report done by the Coalition Against Water Privatization, it was found that despite the ANC government's claim that it provided an additional 7 million people with access to clean running water and connected an additional 3.5 million people with electricity, it had nonetheless disconnected 10 million people's water, 10 million people's electricity and evicted more than 2 million people from

their homes, all because of non-payment" (Benjamin 2007, 14). Hence, the government neglected its mandate to provide water and electricity to impoverished people.

The government also attempted to improve economic growth and reduce poverty through a neo-liberal Keynesian-based approach called the Reconstruction and Development Programme in 1994; the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy in 1996 to stabilize prices and inflation; a Child Support Grant in 1998 to provide cash for caring labor (including child care, elder care, and care for the sick); and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiatives For South Africa in 2006. Such policies have not significantly created jobs, as new low-skilled jobs have simply not been available in the current economy (Antonopolous 2008, 2-3). Hassim argues that governmental policies have lacked success due to ambivalence regarding policy, limited resources, lack of infrastructure and too much bureaucracy (Hassim 2006, 262).

Antonopolous suggests that the best way to create jobs that mitigate social exclusion is to create a public works program that provides short and medium-term work for poor people while they perform a service, such as building infrastructure. They would develop marketable skills and get paid a salary. In addition, Antonopolous proposes that, due to the inequalities resulting from the unpaid work of family care providers and noting that women provide 75% of all unpaid work, such unpaid work should be compensated by the state, and the state should support women in performing such work (2008, 4).

## Conclusion

Research in Northern Ireland and South Africa indicates that males perceive that political, educational, and economical gains of women occur at the direct expense of men and harbor hostility towards women as a result. The current study confirms Hamber (2010)

and Tripp (2010) that good legislation in post-conflict societies lack successful implementation, and this study examines why such a gap exists. It argues that political policy that promotes prevention rather than intervention in gender-based violence is crucial to eradicate the problem. Multi-sectorial initiatives within society are necessary. Such initiatives include understanding and transforming the way rigid gender role stereotypes promote male dominance, promoting economic empowerment, facilitating urban planning, developing public health initiatives, and prioritizing personal development programs. Educationally, women equal or surpass men, but room exists for men and women to both succeed. Hegemonic masculinity that makes men believe school is irrelevant to their lives prevents them from achieving, not women. Finally, even though women may succeed educationally, women still do not succeed economically. Women continue to bear the brunt of caregiving responsibilities, remain economically inactive, obtain only part-time jobs, perform feminized labor, are less likely to obtain managerial positions, and gravitate to low-paying sectors.

Even though such statistics disprove the male perception of women surpassing men, understanding such a perception is important for a study of gender-based violence. First, it illustrates that men feel competitive toward women. Second, it demonstrates that males sense that women have begun to encroach upon their traditional domain. As mentioned in the introduction, a rigid construction of traditional gender roles is a paramount indicator for male violence against women, as the male wants to punish the woman who transgresses her traditional role. Third, the male perception of women surpassing them appears to be accompanied with a sense of entitlement--that men deserve to do well in school, that men deserve jobs over women. The sense of entitlement, when combined with traditional gender role ideology, creates a climate where abusers, rapists, and perpetrators of sexual harassment

can justify their behavior because they believe society tells them that they are victims of women overstepping their boundaries. They believe they need to restore their identity and reclaim their power, and degrading women becomes the vehicle through which they can do so.

Not only do South African and Northern Irish societies need to stop fueling the male misperceptions against women that can lead to various forms of violence against women, but they also must recognize the economic dimensions of political and social conflict. Rather than focusing on welfare and poverty alleviation, empowerment programs and skill-building programs can help improve individual self-esteem as well as individual income. Government-sponsored infrastructure projects are one way to help. Such projects are not only important to eradicate poverty, they are important in generating income for women to earn wages so they can leave abusive relationships or choose not to become involved in an intimate relationship. In addition, government support for children, the disabled, and the elderly is an essential component of women joining the workforce, and viable policy alternatives should be proposed to either pay women for caregiving or find another caregiving venue.

Finally, the political transitions have coincided with a new phase of globalization, and such globalization has hurt the general populace within both countries. Globalization appears to facilitate greater economic competition between men and women in the working class with in each country. In reality, members of the working class compete for jobs with those willing to perform the same work for lower wages around the world. Government policies that promote neo-liberal economics in conjunction with little social welfare promote insecurity among workers who are already insecure from the political transition. Greater understanding about the impact of global economic policies and the way they shape life

during the political transition could improve awareness, activism and policy to improve individuals' quality of life. Such understanding could also allow men to stop making women the scapegoats for current political and economic trends.

# CHAPTER 3
# PARAMILITARIES AND GANGS IN PEACETIME

One of the most startling similarities between data from Northern Ireland and South Africa is the extent to which women fear gender-based violence when walking down the street. This section will unpack the finding that eighty-eight of ninety[7] informants across both countries felt less safe in their community after the peace process began than they did during intensive political conflict. This heightened insecurity relates very specifically to gender. This chapter will show that women's insecurity has shifted from conflict-related violence to gender-based violence. Their insecurity relates to a lack of control they experience of seemingly random acts of gender violence and intimidation within their communities.

Three research-based findings resonate within both countries. First, paramilitaries in Northern Ireland and gangs in South Africa continue to dominate public space within many communities, and these groups intimidate and inflict violence upon women. Second, performative violence against women, where men inflict violence with other men or in order to gain status among other men, occupies the public sphere. While paramilitary and gang activity might dominate some communities more than others, all women live under the fear of attacks, harassment, and rape. The existence of this type of violence threatens all women,

[7] Two participants who felt safer since the peace processes were Beverly and Sue. Beverly's father was a prison guard during the Hunger Strikes, and her family lived under constant threat of IRA retaliation (Interview with Beverly, December 15, 2006). Sue immigrated from China during The Troubles and lived under fear of anti-immigrant attack. Now that more immigrants have moved into Northern Ireland, she feels the odds of such an attack have diminished (Interview with Sue, September 7, 2006).

whether they experience violence of this nature or not. Third, paramilitaries and gangs fill the void that continues to exist from community distrust of policing. In Northern Ireland, individuals, at least historically, accept paramilitary justice to some degree. In South Africa, gangs, while once accepted as communal venues of protest, now face community distrust. Such institutions continue to be tolerated not only within communities but amongst the government and criminal justice system (Knox 2002,Vetten 2000).

## Women in Northern Ireland: Concerns for Safety after the Troubles

In Northern Ireland, on both sides of the political divide, paramilitaries provide young men with an opportunity to express their political discontent. In Northern Ireland, Unionists are largely less happy with the Good Friday Agreement, and working-class Unionists are the least pleased from the agreement (Shirlow 1997). Despite the agreement preserving Northern Ireland's status as part of the UK, many Unionists continue to fear that the agreement marks continuation of the many documents since the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 designed to appease Catholics and will lead to the UK government's eventual abandonment of Protestants. Many loyalists remain disaffected with the peace process, and leaders such as former Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader The Reverend Ian Paisley (1972-2008) continue to promote an "us vs. them" mentality that views political compromise as giving in. Even though the agreement preserves the main Unionist concern of remaining citizens of the United Kingdom, many Unionists fear the agreement will lead to further concessions to Nationalists. Hence, the sense that the British government betrayed them and an inability to trust Catholics or Nationalists caused an increase in paramilitary recruitment (Shirlow 1997). The vast majority of Catholics voted in favor of the agreement, but Republicans, militant Catholic/Nationalists, dispute the Irish government's agreement to

write their claim to Northern Ireland out of the Irish constitution, as well as retaining ties with the UK. Consequently, the peace process did not lead to a decline in paramilitary membership, as extremists remain dissatisfied. Paramilitaries still contain hundreds of active members[8]. More moderate Nationalists see the Good Friday Agreement as a stepping stone toward a United Ireland (Dawson 2007). Hence, the agreement appeals largely to moderate politicians interested in sharing power.

While political struggle may have motivated past paramilitary recruits, current recruits during the political transition may be more interested in displaying their dominance. "Young men in East Belfast" (Tunney 1999) concludes that young men continued to join paramilitaries in order to emulate heroes within the community and to prove their masculinity. One youth worker at that time explained that it was safer for young men to prove their masculinity through joining paramilitaries now that the conflict is over, and that these organizations provide a good venue for them to act tough in front of their friends (Tunney 1999). Indeed, authors such as Bell (1976) and Shirlow (1997) have written about the way men fulfill their conception of masculinity through the misogynistic practices of paramilitary organizations. Bell, for instance, identifies a youth culture based on sectarianism and demonstrating one's manhood through toughness.

According to the Northern Ireland Omnibus Surveys on Organized Crime, in 2005, 95% of research participants feel organized crime was a problem, and 68% declared this problem to be serious. Respondents believe paramilitaries to be responsible in 77% of cases

[8] The IRA, which had approximately 10,000 active service units over 30 years, retained 1,000 units in 2002, of which roughly 300 units remained active (Moloney, Ed (2002). A Secret History of the IRA. Penguin Books). The first Independent Monitoring Commission report in April 2004 estimated the UVF/RHC had "a few hundred" active members "based mainly in the Belfast and immediately adjacent areas." At its height, the UDA attracted 40,000 members. By 2007, The University of Ulster estimated its strength to be several hundred. Estimates indicate that only a few dozen were still active (http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/organ/uorgan.htm).

(33). The majority of respondents, 78%, attributed drug dealing with paramilitaries (Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey 2005, 34), while only 7% attributed prostitution to paramilitaries and only 3% attributed illegal immigration to paramilitaries (Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey 2005, 35). Cigarette smuggling, money laundering, robbery, and racketeering ranged from 59-28% (Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey 2005, 35).

In addition, since the peace process ended, 52% of respondents perceive an increase in crime, 32% felt it stayed the same, and only 12% perceived a decrease in crime. Hate crimes appear to be on the rise, as racially-motivated hate crimes rose by 15% in one year 2005-06 to a total of 746, and homophobic hate crimes rose by 12 % from 196 to 200 (Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey 2005, 31). In addition, 31% of street crime such as drug use and teenagers occupying street corners increased (Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey 2005, 32).

The statistical findings of this report agree with the qualitative findings for this dissertation and have a significant impact on women's sense of power and security in the post conflict environment. If young men and paramilitaries continue to dominate public space, then women need to navigate public space strategically and with greater restrictions. If organized crime continues to exert power within public space, then they may perform masculinity in front of each other to the detriment of women. If such boys clubs exist, then women remain excluded from power structures that control communities.

**Paramilitary Intimidation of Women**

Women in research for this dissertation felt that paramilitary groups intimidate women. Four research participants in different Protestant communities explicitly argue that paramilitary members were bullies, and had threatened or intimidated them. They cite the

extensive anti-immigrant aggression, continued paramilitary activity, and increases in street crime in the aftermath of conflict (Interview with Fiona, August 22, 2006, Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006, Interview with Lexie, August 25, 2006, Interview with Sue, September 7, 2006). These dynamics suggest that at least a portion of the returning militants' population continue to be interested in promoting militarization (Morrissey 2002). Moreover, paramilitaries, especially Protestant ones who historically received less international funding, are the main traffickers in sex, pornography, and drugs, and paramilitaries control many of the brothels in Northern Ireland. Such information demonstrates a link between paramilitary activity and certain organized forms of violence against women that should be further investigated.

Women, regardless of class, articulate that while they experienced less risk from political violence since The Troubles, they fear gender-based violence. Fiona, who lives in a republican community, says, "Women are not safer after ceasefires" (Interview with Fiona, August 22, 2006). Many women feel this to be true. Elizabeth, a middle-class intellectual, feels the safety issues have changed since The Troubles, and now is more concerned about gender-based violence (Interview with Elizabeth, August 11, 2006). Emma, a political moderate who does not live in a paramilitary hot-spot, says, "During The Troubles, you wouldn't think of being attacked because you were a woman, just the stray bullet or that thing. Now, I think people are more afraid of rape" (Interview with Emma, August 5, 2006). Emma seems to think nothing of "the stray bullet" during The Troubles; that type of violence became such a normal part of life. Emma describes how her attention shifted since the ceasefires from political violence to gender violence. Safety for Fiona and Emma, as with other women in this study, has not improved; it has merely changed in form. Gender violence is the new cause for insecurity, but the perpetrators for street-level gender violence,

paramilitaries and young men, remain the same. Women's fear of young men stems from the extent to which men dominate public space. They also seem to lack direction and to be involved with alcohol. Margaret, for instance, feels less safe because young men occupy community space through socializing and drinking on street corners: "Many people have said they would not walk the streets at night, because of the crowds of young people drinking" (Interview with Margaret, Women's Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006). "Young men in East Belfast" (Tunney 1999) shows that males felt that no space existed for them in which they could to spend leisure time, except on street corners or in Tesco's parking lot (Tunney 1999). They felt excluded rather than that they were dominating public space. One youth worker said: "The physical presence on the street is often related to paramilitary activities or within areas of disadvantage" (Tunney 1999). Women are aware of the potential involvement of young men in paramilitaries and their need to posture in front of each other to prove their manhood (Connell 2005). Sara feels the absence of acceptable policing in her community has permitted young men to burglarize houses, sniff glue, and set off fireworks. The perpetrators, she believes have fun while simultaneously diminishing the safety of others.

Women who said they felt less safe during the political transition than during the conflict cite the continued presence of paramilitaries and the dominance of young men on street corners as the reasons for their fear. Some women fear crowds of young men, especially if the young men were drinking, and subsequently alter their behavior. Charlotte says, "Many people have said they would not walk the streets at night, because of the crowds of young people drinking. That's an issue they are trying to address here. People might have been more likely to go out during The Troubles but there was less available then" (Interview with Charlotte, Women's Shelter Focus Group, October 20, 2006). Sara says, "I would be

more safety conscious. I do not walk by myself at night. There are always crowds of young lads. I don't think anyone should be out there because they are more vulnerable. Even young men are more vulnerable….You don't have to do anything; you just have to be there. Our idea of what is totally horrendous is just someone else's idea of fun" (Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006). Both sentiments illustrate that women feel that young men threaten them. Young men are more likely to roam beyond their neighborhoods, so women walking past such crowds may not know these boys the way they might have during The Troubles.

One reason women fear such violence may stem from another dynamic of the political transition—less insular communities. During The Troubles, individuals lived within their closed communities. Now they roam farther, mix with diverse crowds, and venture to new clubs and pubs in the city center. Citizens are confined less and less to their local pubs and are now seldom buzzed into locked doors. Several women discussed how since the transition, they move more freely outside their communities (Interview with Emma, August 5, 2006; Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006; Women's Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006). Since their communities were the only places they felt safe, they now experience greater insecurity. While they are not as confined to the social control they experienced in such insular communities, the greater freedom subjects them to greater risks.

Even though women experience heightened insecurity due to increased intermixing of ethnic groups within public space, integration of Catholics, Protestants, and ethnic minorities remains limited. Shirlow (1997) points out that although more affluent neighborhoods feature wine bars and more international cuisine, many neighborhoods are still quite segregated. This dynamic is evidenced by the increase in the number of "peace walls," tall barriers erected in areas where Catholics and Protestant neighborhoods would

otherwise meet, locally known as interface areas. Fear during the transition caused civilians to erect more peace walls than existed during The Troubles. The Community Relations Council in Northern Ireland reported that 26 peace walls existed in 1994. By 2009, 80 peace walls had been erected. Duncan Morrow, of the Community Relations Council says that the increase in these walls indicates that society continues to feel unsafe. He estimates that dismantling these walls could take 20 years (McDonald 2009, 1). Hence, distrust of opposing sides continues to hinder integration. Such distrust contributes to women's fear of sexual violence, and moving through unfamiliar territory exacerbates women's risk for violence.

For immigrant women who became attracted to Northern Ireland during the transition, racism and gender violence intersect to create heightened insecurity. Recent immigrants are often among those groups. Since the peace process, Polish and other Eastern European immigrants, as well as Filipino and African immigrants have entered the region. Research on attitudes towards immigrants indicates that the majority of the indigenous population fear that the influx spreads health and social services too thin and fear that immigrants take jobs from qualified Northern Irish people (Gilligan 2009, 2). In addition, academics indicate that with 14,300 ethnic minorities, according to the 2001 census, racism exists in tandem with sectarianism (Connolly 2008, 196). Such hostility toward immigrants and ethnic minorities poses challenges for abused women. For immigrant women, who have very little support, may not know the language, and are thrust in the midst of some of the most insular and racist communities in Northern Ireland, abuse takes on an added dimension.

For instance, Nadia, an Eastern European woman who sought political asylum in Northern Ireland, with her husband, son, and brother described her stress and misery at

staying in the house 85% of the time. The Housing Executive placed her in a paramilitary hotspot. Her fear of anti-immigrant intimidation from the paramilitaries, her isolation from the city center, a diagnosis of epilepsy and her experience of traditional division of roles within her family all work together to prevent her from going out of the house. In addition, not knowing English well makes it even more difficult to navigate public space. While the government could not control her disability or her immigration-status, they could control the neighborhood where they gave her housing. Granting her housing in a less politicized community could have put her and her family at much less risk (Interview with Nadia, August 24, 2006).

One research participants suggest that each individual needs to take personal responsibility for their safety: "Nothing can make women safer. Everyone has to take it upon themselves. We don't live in a perfect world. Women say I should be able to walk at night or wear what I want. Sure, you should, but you can't. But even when you are careful something can still happen" (Interview with Miriam, July 29, 2006). Her statement on personal responsibility reflects an attitude that blames the victim for being attacked and places little hope on the potential for systemic change. She reflects the societal attitude that questions women's actions prior to an attack and believes that both the way a woman dresses and where she goes provoke the attack. In addition, she denies that individuals live in fear on the basis that citizens of Northern Ireland have lived with violence as a normal part of their daily life.

Patricia, who works with rape victims, views paramilitaries as significant contributors to women's lack of safety both during and after the conflict: She says, "When The Troubles were on, the paramilitaries had all the firearms and bombs. They acted as another spoke to threaten women. Now, the paramilitaries still have firearms, legally or illegally. Paramilitaries

still threaten women" (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). She described one incident that had just happened where a woman came for counseling for a paramilitary-related rape and needed to determine how to best navigate her community given the organization's strong presence.

The end to The Troubles appears to not bring an end to paramilitary violence or paramilitary intimidation against women. Harassment from young men, many of whom may idealize paramilitary members, also seems to be a significant intimidating force for women. Society cannot be considered peaceful when such a high proportion of its population lives under such threat of street violence. This type of violence involves control over public space, displaying hostility toward an out-group, and performing one's identity toward one's own group. Simpson and Kraak 1998 argue, "Criminal youth gangs function as a cohesive vehicle for sustaining male identity when others fail as places of belonging" (5). Such violence becomes as much a part of proving to others that the perpetrator can garner power as it is about intimidating and humiliating the victim.

**Paramilitaries as Police**

During the conflict, both Catholic paramilitaries, most notably the Irish Republican Army (IRA), splinter groups of the IRA, and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), and Protestant paramilitaries, including Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Democratic Army (UDA), and Red Hand Commandos, policed their communities. Catholics distrusted the police force, and Protestants became increasingly fearful that the British government would betray them. The police have struggled to build trust with the public since the ceasefires in 1994, and, given that many community members still fail to trust the police, paramilitaries have continued to police neighborhoods. They

often utilize punishment beatings against those who, in their judgment, transgressed the community. Sometimes perpetrators "kneecap" victims, shooting the victim in the back of each thigh. Other times paramilitaries may leave a symbol of the beating, such as blood from the attack, to send a message to the community of the paramilitary's power.

Many women from this study disagree with the way paramilitaries exert their power within the community, but still do not rely on the police to fight crime in their community. Consequently, paramilitaries continue to fill the policing vacuum, and their swift and non-democratic style of justice often impinges on the safety of women. Such intimidating, male-dominated groups silence women. Sheila says: "It has made women fearful, fearful to speak out. It has made women turn their heads and ignore the racketeering and the drug dealing" (Interview with Sheila, November 9, 2006). Sheila also discusses the way women fear for their children. They fear that their boys will join the paramilitaries and fear that their daughters will date paramilitary members. "If you look at what it's shown us since the first Loyalists cease-fire, over twenty Protestants have been shot dead by people in their own community, so you learn to shut up and be silent. If you don't then harm may come to you and your family" (Interview with Sheila, November 9, 2006). While men are generally victims of punishment beatings, paramilitaries find ways to silence women. Protestant women tell of the way loyalist paramilitaries continue to utilize physical force as well as the threat of force to exert their power in the community and silencing women. One paramilitary firebombed a woman's center for meeting with Irish President Mary Robinson, whom they see as an enemy (Cockburn, 1998, 91-92). This sent a message to the women's center that the center itself should not make such decisions about meeting with members of the other side of the divide. In the paramilitary's view, women should not have the autonomy to decide whom to invite to their own center. In addition, individual women may

be silenced by fear of retaliation. One Protestant woman who originally agreed to meet with this author cancelled her interview (November 20, 2006). She stated the reason fear that paramilitaries would burn her house down if she said the wrong thing.

Paramilitaries act as judge and jury. Consequently, these groups retain control over their population through the fear of brutal punishment for stepping out of line. Punishment beatings not only impact the alleged offender, but they also send a message to the broader community regarding acceptable and unacceptable behavior. Pauline, a member of a deprived and politicized Protestant community, says: "I've heard of people getting punishment beatings for breaking into someone's house, joy riding, doing drugs. It's so ironic sometimes because they're getting a beating for taking drugs by the people who sold them the drugs in the first place" (Interview with Pauline, November 20, 2006). The irony she cites is that the paramilitaries control the drug supply. They may deal drugs to an individual and then punish that same person for taking drugs.

Catholics, too, still feel anxiety about paramilitary-related groups that continue to police their neighborhoods. For example, Sara explains that citizens groups attempt to police nationalist areas where the police are not accepted. They act as police, judge, and jury in all cases and use what she calls "bullyboy" tactics, including knee-cappings, punishment beatings, and forced removals (Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006).

Northern Irish informants' sense of safety is directly tied to their specific relationships to paramilitaries. One's neighborhood, the proximity of one's house to paramilitary hangouts, and the extent to which one knows or feels comfortable with paramilitary members impacts one's sense of safety. Megan is a 30 year-old mother of 4 who survived multiple abusive relationships. When asked if she felt safe, she replies, "I only feel safe because of the paramilitaries." She does not feel the changes in policing or Women's

AID have helped her. She has protection from her abuser because her son's father (not her abuser) belongs to a rival paramilitary and his group agreed to intimidate her abuser. She clarifies that she respects what they have done for her but that she does not support such groups or what they stand for. She also argues that they have done more for her than the police would do: "The police wouldn't do it. Oh, and the conspiracy that goes on between the police and the paramilitaries in this country is unbelievable." Megan's former abuser attempted to murder her with some of his paramilitary friends. The police arrested him but failed to charge him when he agreed to inform on his paramilitary. (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2006).

Her final sentence suggests collusion between Protestant paramilitaries and the police force. Megan believes that the police made a deal to drop charges against her abuser in exchange for information identifying other members of paramilitary organizations. Collusion, a very serious and deadly charge in Northern Ireland, occurs when the police cooperate with, participate in, or turn a blind eye to particular paramilitary activity, including killings, because such actions benefit another police investigation. Megan's story may not entirely constitute collusion, but does provide an example of cooperation between the police and a paramilitary member that works against the victim of abuse. It also shows that charges of abuse, even with a solid case, may be dropped if the police stand to gain from the knowledge of the abuser. Such a situation speaks to the way domestic violence may not be a high enough priority of the police service.

When an individual feels that the best protection against domestic violence is a paramilitary organization, a substantial pathology exists within the social structures of a culture. Megan's safety stems from her dependence on a patriarchal organization rather than freedom. She is a pawn within the paramilitaries' games. By allowing for paramilitary

protection of herself and her family, Megan makes a patriarchal bargain. Kandoyoti (1988) devised the term to describe women who concede to certain aspects of patriarchy in order to gain from some aspect of patriarchy. Here, Megan gains protection, but concedes to protection within the paramilitary structures.

Seeking help from paramilitaries facilitates a paternalistic discourse, where women need strong men to protect them. Relying on such protection fails to change the nature of violence, abuse, or rape. As Marcus says (2003), focusing on protecting women instead of preventing violence and empowering women assumes that rape, or any other type of gender-based violence, will always exist. Megan made a patriarchal bargain, where she conceded to the paramilitary's power in order to be protected. While such a bargain does not interrupt the script around rape, she did manage to improve her personal sense of security.

Without the organizations disbanding, they can still control their communities. Attacks they perpetrate do not appear to only be sectarian; they also threaten and harm women. When Julianne was 18, her father raped her. She became pregnant with his baby but later miscarried. His nephew was connected to the IRA, and when she went to Sinn Fein over the abuse, they swept it under the carpet. She said, "I mean you're the best paramilitary going and you don't know how to deal with issues in your own community" (Interview with Julianne, August 10, 2006). Eventually, the IRA advised her father to move to England. Incest from her father and child abuse that she experienced paved the way for her to accept sexual violence for much of her life. Julianne said, "I went through my life starved and abused myself for what other people had done. I had no self-esteem, self-respect or self-worth. After the sentencing I was going to die because life was not worth living and I couldn't live with this always being the victim," (Interview with Julianne, August

10, 2006). Had her community denounced such violence, then Julianne may have been able to move past her victimization more quickly.

Similarly, no avenues of support shaped Dorothea's feeling that she had no autonomy or agency factored into her abuse. She was in multiple abusive relationships and was raped multiple times. Here she describes the way a rape crisis center finally helped her realize she had choices and develop personal agency.

> I felt completely out of control and through my work at the center I realized I had choices. I was in my 40s. I had never, never realized that I did have the choices to say yes or no. I had 4 children in three relationships and I was abused and beaten throughout these relationships, but I really did believe it was my fault because I just could not understand. I felt useless and worthless and that's the way life was set out for me. When it came to the 10th person who abused me I just felt there was no point going on. I likened myself to a box of chocolates because I was passed around as a child to feed other people's hunger.
>
> I just lived my life suppressing my feelings until I came to the center and realized I had the right to say yes or no. I am in touch with myself. I am happy with myself. I am no longer the person people told me I was" (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006).

It appears that degree of community support for a woman experiencing gender violence impacts her degree of isolation, her self-esteem, and, consequently, her recovery.

Her daughter experienced sexual abuse from a man who abused 19 children, and he got a suspended sentence. Her daughter has since been in multiple abusive relationships. She feels responsible. Dorothea sees the lack of self-esteem she experienced from early sexual abuse as leading to her involvement in severely abusive relationships later in life. She also recognizes that if the mother does not feel a sense of self-worth, that the children are more susceptible to the same issues. Still, rape and domestic advocates would argue she is not to blame for what has happened to her children and grandchildren, but she still has to deal with their experiences of abuse.

Julianne's Catholic and Dorothea's Protestant community reacted through suppressing the issue. "Our communities were not very supportive." Julianne said. Her molester was involved with the paramilitaries. She told the IRA what he did, and they failed to respond. Catholics, schooled to seek help from the IRA instead of the police force, would expect the IRA to visit the offender. Depending on the nature of the offense, he would receive a warning, a punishment beating, a kneecapping, and advice to move to England, or be killed. With sexual violence, however, Julianne suggests that the IRA's response is less consistent and that, if they can, they will avoid the situation. (Interview with Julianne, August 10, 2006).

Dorothea, in her experience as a Protestant, agrees that paramilitaries continue to protect their members after being convicted of rape. "I know girls to this day who have been raped by the paramilitaries, gang raped. They still cannot come forward because they cannot trust anybody … One woman will never have children, and the perpetrators only served a five year sentence. They went straight out of jail and the paramilitaries protected them" (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006). So, the extent to which a paramilitary organization will protect women who have been raped or beaten may depend on the nature of the perpetrator's involvement with the group. If the individual is a respected member of a paramilitary, then the perpetrator is more likely to stay out of prison.

In addition, communities lack support for women who accuse individuals linked to paramilitaries. Dorothea said, "People in my community asked why I was dragging this up after so many years and put the past in the past. They really didn't want to know. I later realized they knew, but it just wasn't spoken about." Both women went to doctors, who simply prescribed a series of anti-depressants, and to their churches, who preached forgiveness toward the perpetrator. After one of Dorothea's perpetrators received a light

sentence, she tried to kill herself. Julianne says, "But it was to silence us and you know that's how they thrive on the silence and fear in you" (Interview with Julianne, August 10, 2006).

It is ironic that the same community that spent 25 years demanding an independent inquiry into the human rights abuses during Bloody Sunday in 1972, and that continues to demand public inquiries into the deaths of Human Rights Lawyers Pat Finucane (1987) and Rosemary Nelson (1998), finds past incidents of terror against women an unnecessary issue for community advocacy. In a political environment where citizens continuously revive past wrongs and never allow themselves to forget past injuries (Kapur 2004, Dawson 2007), letting go of the incident seems antithetical to social and political norms. It appears, then, that a double standard exists between historic memory from The Troubles and memories of victims of gender-based violence. The former can hold onto their wrong and be considered loyal to their cause, but society expects women who experienced rape, domestic abuse, or gendered assault not to bring up the past. Sexual violence appears disconnected from The Troubles, but when a perpetrator is connected to a local paramilitary, and when such violence occurs under the backdrop of political violence, the incident and the community response are actually inextricably linked to The Troubles.

**Trafficking**

Interviews with women reveal knowledge they have that paramilitaries, to varying extents, traffic drugs, pornography, and women. So, they actually promote some of the anti-social behavior that they punish. Women in this study linked paramilitaries with drug trafficking, pornography, human trafficking, and prostitution as a means of raising funds (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006, Interview with Pauline, November 2006, Interview with Sylvia, November 9, 2006, Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006). The IRA, who have

traditionally relied on the support from Irish-American organizations such as NORAID, have had less need to fundraise through selling women's bodies than Protestant paramilitaries (Atkins 2004, 329).

Acquiring information about trafficking can be difficult due to the fear of women who experience trafficking and the silence of those involved in the process. One center attempted to acquire such information. Amanda, from this center, says that she hears news of it happening, but so far women are not seeking help from them. She concludes, "Women are so afraid to tell their stories." Amanda speculates that, since gangs and paramilitaries are involved in trafficking, then women fear reprisal if they come forward. In addition, women know that very little resources currently exist to help them, so they fear that coming forward will not help them. (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006).

In 2011, journalists from the BBC reported that 88 brothels existed in Northern Ireland and that most of the prostitutes within those brothels had experienced trafficking. In addition, the article estimated that clients spent 500,000 British Pounds within the sex industry, which is higher than most other European countries (BBC News 2011). Such a report indicates that the trafficking and sex industry pervades Northern Ireland, and academics should conduct further research to uncover the relationship between trafficking, the politics of the transition, women's experiences with trafficking, and reasons for government inaction on the issue.

Patricia indicates that while paramilitaries might not officially sanction rapes, communities still see rapes as paramilitary-related. She observes sexual violence against the backdrop of The Troubles and the political transition. "And even as an organization for 25 years have been working with The Troubles as the backdrop and you see it as part of normal life. I see it when I'm away in England or talking to colleagues down south that you realize that it's not normal for massive men with guns and gang rapes and you see it doesn't happen in Dublin. It doesn't happen in London."

Some women have alluded to the reality that increasing immigration also appears to be bringing trafficking and prostitution to the surface. "We haven't figured out how to deal with it. But we do know that it's happening. There's a big group of Estonian women brought to Northern Ireland to work in a lap dancing club" (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). The topic of trafficking arose eight times during interviews in Northern Ireland. Many had the sense that it was happening, and some felt they had grounds to accuse paramilitary members as the prime traffickers. However, women only spoke about it in general terms as a problem that needed more attention, rather than an issue with which they had first-hand experience. Patricia describes two brothels of which she was aware: "It was a Chinese run brothel on the Donegal Road. Also, the UDA run brothels as well. They would get young girls at 14 and 15 years of age addicted to drugs and then use them as prostitutes. Since they were so addicted to the drugs, no matter how hard you tried to get them away from it they would always go back."

Other women explained that they, too, heard of paramilitary-run brothels that trafficked women, but most were quite vague. Research participants were either afraid to divulge too much of what they knew or they only had a general sense that trafficking occurred. Sex trafficking and prostitution rings are venues through which men can control women. The silence and avoidance of the topic within society allows it to continue. Control men have over the trafficked women keeps sex workers silent. A refuge worker described the abuse of one Polish immigrant. "She was actually here for three months before she got in contact with us. He had brought her over here under false pretenses. He told her she'd have a great job and great money. He virtually kept her a prisoner in the flat, he abused her whenever he felt like it" (Meredith, Domestic Violence Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Luckily, she escaped him. Other women do not fare so well.

In addition, men bring women to Northern Ireland as mail-order brides. Sue, a Chinese woman who has lived in Northern Ireland for more than 20 years identified a new dynamic within the last 10 years whereby men go back to China to marry someone they do not know well within one month because it is easy to find a woman in China who is looking for a better life in the UK. Older men who are divorced or widowed often seek out younger wives this way. Women who have been turned down for political status or who originally came into the country illegally are particularly susceptible. Women in these situations have a status completely dependent on men, and men take advantage of women's expectations and financially control them. The change in legislation in the South of Ireland that prevents women who give birth from receiving citizenship makes women even more vulnerable. They end up in Belfast because they do not know where they are going. Human trafficking has become a new issue. People pay debt bondages to get out of the country and then are tied to debt. The traffickers are smart so they avoid getting caught. Sue hears about mail order brides through other Chinese people and she observes it when older men come back quickly with a young wife. It is hard to do anything about it.

Such evidence from research participants indicates that more comprehensive study is necessary to determine the scope and impact of paramilitary involvement within sexual trafficking. Such information, for safety reasons, can be extremely difficult to acquire. Perhaps if the government employed a system of safe-houses for trafficked women and prosecuted severely those accused of trafficking, women victimized would more readily come forward.

**Resistance of Paramilitaries**

Women do resist paramilitary violence and negotiate with paramilitaries, often at great risk to their own safety. Pauline, a young mother from a highly politicized area, says, "People have gone to the paramilitary and said, 'You are accountable to us. This is our

community we don't want to suffer anymore" (Interview with Pauline, November 20, 2006). Pauline's feeling that the paramilitaries are accountable to the community mirrors the feelings a constituent might have to her local politicians. In fact, she is not disputing their presence, just specific behavior. This reflects popular acceptance of such organizations as a long-term presence in the community.

One woman from a different neighborhood who confronted the paramilitaries was Sheila, a middle-aged community worker in a deprived section of South-West Belfast. After seeing the detrimental impact of punishment beatings on the community, she met with paramilitary members to convince them to stop using such tactics. "At first I have to admit I was afraid, I was very afraid." Despite her fear, she refuses to be silenced and believes she needs to stand up for her community. "There were two attacks at the end of July. We asked the paramilitaries to stand back and let the community try to solve it and they've done that. So there have been no beatings or anything like that" (Interview with Sheila, November 9, 2006). She feels proud that she took action and at the outcome. The approach of working with the organization rather than going to the press or to the police yielded favorable results. Hence, even if the government refuses to negotiate with "terrorists" as a matter of principle, individual women must do so as a means of survival.

Sylvia, a passionate and committed community worker in the same deprived Protestant area resists paramilitary control through cleaning up the blood on the sidewalk after a punishment beating (Interview with Sylvia, November 9, 2006). Sylvia felt fed up with the silence, and when she arrived at work after a punishment beating took place in front of her office and blood stained the sidewalk, she took action. Women outside discussed their fear in cleaning up the remnants of the attack in case so as not to appear to take a stand against the paramilitary. She knew she took a risk, but she felt the need to clean up the

sidewalk. She wanted to take a stand against the intimidation of the paramilitary (Interview with Sylvia, November 9, 2006). Luckily, she received no sanction for such an action, but the fear of reprisal prevents many women from resisting in the same way.

Women's organizations repeatedly cite anger with the government for funding community projects that paramilitary members ran. They disapprove of the local government providing funding to paramilitaries to change murals in the community from promoting militarization to displaying local history. Two women call such funding "bribes". While the project's goal was positive, in that it tried to turn communities away from militarization, the fact that the government gave the money and power to the paramilitaries angers women who fought against militarization all along. Sylvia discusses the need for citizens to reclaim control of their neighborhood. She describes robberies of the elderly and racist attacks against foreigners as problems.

Communities are culpable in perpetrating violence against women. Paramilitaries continue to produce a climate of violence and fear. Institutions normalize domestic and sexual violence through their failure to effectively intervene. However, individuals and groups of women exercise agency through challenging paramilitary violence, advocating against domestic and sexual violence, and advocating that society listen to women's voices. While these women face obstacles, particularly relating to funding requirements and community intimidation, they persevere. In addition, the women's sector's focus on equality rather than transformation may be a strategy that limits their success. The focus needs to be on strengthening institutions rather than on lip service or empty legislation. Political will, money, time, and resources need to be invested on a large scale. Mechanisms need to be put in place for the community to work together on this issue.

However, women's center workers in West Belfast acknowledge that community members went to the streets in protest against the attack of two young girls in the mid-2000s. The research subjects did not explain why these particular attacks horrified the community. I inferred that their age might have mitigated societal blame for the attack. If they were older, perhaps, the community would have called their style of dress and their behavior in question. Nonetheless, society must have perceived these girls as innocent victims rather than girls who were "asking for it." This level of community protest about specific acts of violence against women illustrates that regular individuals within a community can unite in order to show that violence against women is unacceptable.

One would hope that such a public act of agency would send a message that these types of actions are unacceptable and prevent future incidents. Communities need to support those who report such incidents. Sending a collective message may encourage other women and girls who have been attacked or raped to speak out as well. Too often, we question victims rather than support them, and offering community support can make a difference with regard to gender-based violence. While paramilitary violence disproportionately impacts working-class Protestant women, all women still express fear when moving in public spaces.

# Women in South Africa: Lack of Safety after the Transition

## Sexual Violence

Rape in South Africa has reached epidemic proportions. International data from Myriad in 2009 indicates that every 83 seconds in South Africa, a woman experiences rape (Seager 2009, 59). In 1999, The Institute for Security Studies recorded 54,310 sexual crimes. Many more crimes likely remained unreported. One survey found that among women 17-48, for every 100,000 women, 2,070 attempted or actual rapes occurred (Jewkes et al. 2009; Barnett and Whiteside 2002, 166). In 2003, 52,425 rapes were reported in South Africa, and 6,066 occurred in the Eastern Cape (Eastern Cape Report 2004). In December 2007 police reported 36,190 attempted or actual rapes over eight months in 2007. Even more disturbing, a Medical Research Council study found that 27.6% of men reported that they had raped a woman or girl (Burcher 2009). As an expected component of social behaviors, the crime is not treated as an unusual or horrific event. This leads people to avoid intervening in incidents they witness. In addition, women struggle to achieve healing, justice, and good physical and mental health afterwards.

Among women in the township of Motherwell, lack of physical security intersects with lack of economic security. Unlike middle-class South Africans that barricade themselves behind walls and security gates, at least half of the twelve women from Motherwell had toilets outside their house and felt unsafe using them at night. Many women have broken windows and either no doors or doors that do not lock, so they fear intruders. If they cannot afford to put walls in one-room houses, then they lack privacy within their homes, which means they have little place to retreat if husbands demand sex. The proximity

of drinking establishments near houses means that crowds of men often harass women as they walk past.

Men may be free to roam the streets when they want, but women need to be more safety conscious. In South Africa, women feel less safe in their communities now than they did during Apartheid. Ntombe discusses the freedom she felt in walking through her community late at night, but now finds it unsafe to walk alone after 7:00 unless she has a male escort (Interview with Ntombe, May 17, 2007). Not only do women need to limit their access of public space because men might perpetrate violence against them, but they also need to rely on men for safety. Just as women in Northern Ireland may affiliate with paramilitaries, women in South Africa may make strategic alliances with gangs in order to increase their safety while navigating public space. A woman has the hard task of discerning whether she can rely on a specific man to protect her, which places her in a vulnerable position. Not only does she lose her autonomy, but she also places herself at risk that a protector may perpetrate violence against her.

Going out after dark or wearing suggestive clothing, within the discourse of many communities in South Africa, entitles men to touch women, no matter how unwanted. In observing a conversation about two teenage girls who were raped behind a dumpster, educated academics questioned why the young women were out so late and what they were wearing. That discourse as a point of entry into the issue around violence against women in public spaces places the onus for the attack on the woman rather than a perpetrator. Observers rarely question a young man's whereabouts or behavior. In addition, women who step out of their prescribed role, such as lesbians, can become targets. Moreover, vulnerable populations, such as immigrant women, also face heightened risk (Fuller 2008). Finally, poor

women, who are more likely to travel long distances on public transportation after dark, can experience heightened risk as well.

Gangs may perpetrate violence, and scholars at times fail to relate the crisis of capitalism to the resurgence of an equally robust yet less organized social movement, which manifests itself in the form of youth gangs and wanton criminal violence in the townships. Furthermore, they do not go on to explain what happens when organized political mobilisation goes awry (Mokwena, 1991, 1). Jackrollers in Soweto, Mokwena argues, perpetrate violence against women to express their hostility against the capitalist system that denies them job opportunities. Failing to express masculine prowess as breadwinners, they turn to sexual exploitation to prove their masculinity. One way this form of violence is different than other forms of violence is that jackrollers commit rapes out in the open and reveal their identity. They perform masculinity in front of others to display their sense of belonging. Over three months, 414 documented rapes occurred this way, although the real number is probably higher (Mokwena 1991).

Such masculine belonging derives from other groups who perform gender-based violence in front of or alongside each other. Vetten (2005) found that young men were likely to commit rape in groups in order to bolster their masculinity. Vetten finds, "Victims of crime survey calculated that 12% of rapes reported in their study involved two or more perpetrators (Hirschowitz, Worku and Orkin, 2000) while a study of 1,401 rapes registered between 1996 – 1998 at Hillbrow Hospital, Lenasia South Hospital and Chris Hani Baragwaneth (CHB) Hospital found 27% to have involved two or more perpetrators (Swart et al., 2000)" (Vetten 2005, 1). Vetten argues, "In acting together, the group develops a common sense of masculinity and power, which may reduce their inhibitions as well as diminish individual feelings of responsibility" (Vetten, 2005, 1). Her findings indicate that

much violence in South Africa is performative. Multiple perpetrators commit rape together in order to bolster one's standing among men.

One Saturday, a man approached Thandiwe and told her to go to his house. She knew he was a rapist and looked for a way out of the situation. She asked if he had a condom. As they walked, she found an opportunity to kick him, and, since he was quite drunk, he fell to the ground. At that point she screamed, and luckily got help from bystanders. Luckily, in Thandiwe's case, bystanders intervened. Such action from the community, combined with her attacker's inability to use force due to his drunkenness, saved her from the rape. The fact that nobody appeared suspicious until she had the chance to scream and bring the potential rapist to the ground indicates that bystanders may be less likely to intervene unless they know immediate danger and confrontation has subsided (Interview with Thandiwe, June 29, 2006). Her attempted rape reflects the male entitlement to handle and objectify women's bodies as women attempt to navigate public space.

Ntombe experienced two attempted rapes, one in her dorm room at university and one while walking through her township at night. During the first attempt, a drunken male student broke into her dorm room while she was sleeping. He stated his intentions, but she managed to distract him and sneak out. During the second incident, she walked home at night with four other young women. They realized that a group of young men followed them. As the girls walked faster, the boys did as well. The girls began to run, and so did the boys. The girls ran in different directions to confuse the boys. One boy grabbed Ntombe's arm, but she managed to break free and get home safely. After arriving home, she realized that another girl from her party did not arrive safely. She later discovered the boys raped her friend (Interview with Ntombe, May 17, 2007). Here, a group of boys performed masculinity in front of each other through demonstrating their ability to dominate girls through rape.

Women live in fear on a daily basis that they will be raped. Many women take precautions, such as not taking public transportation or not going out of the house at night. Other women do not have the means with which to take precautions. Work or school may keep them out after dark, and they may have to take public transportation and then walk a distance to their house. Rape, then, intersects with race and class.

**Gangs**

In South Africa, the political transition from Apartheid to democratic elections in 1994 brought joy and hope. With The African National Congress (ANC) garnering an overwhelming percentage of the vote, change seemed inevitable. As discussed in the last chapter, that change meant that more blacks could share in the wealth of the country, but did not decrease stratification. So, when men, some of whom sacrificed schooling to fight against Apartheid, now find themselves unqualified to obtain a job, they can easily feel emasculated. Participating in a drinking culture may help such men feel more masculine, but it may also contribute to alcoholism and indiscriminate sex that in turn proliferates HIV/AIDS.

Since the political transition in 1994, weak policing structures, the proliferation of weapons, grim economic prospects, and youth alienation (Shaw 1997, Xaba 2001, Campbell 1991) caused crime to increase dramatically and organized gangs to dominate criminal activity. Gangs control the sex industry. They hire sex workers, traffic women, and traffic pornography. Gangs also regulate the drug trade. Men very much dominate gang activity. Masculinity is tied to one's ability to make money outside of the system and through using women as commodities. In addition to buying and selling women, society allows men to have multiple relationships with women at once and to punish women if they object to it.

These activities of the South African gangs are a striking parallel with the paramilitaries in Northern Ireland.

Young men who are disappointed in their life chances run the risk of becoming involved in a gang. They perceive that they have little prospects in education and employment and are at greatest risk for paramilitary involvement. When one believes they will remain trapped in a life of poverty and fears that the government will make decisions that will harm their life chances, they may attempt to regain some power through participating in a paramilitary or gang.

For many of these men, membership relates more to the sense that the peace process did not improve their lives than to the actual politics. The peace process has failed to bring them better jobs, better working conditions better housing, improved public transport, and more leisure time. They may perceive politics, especially international politics, to be irrelevant to their lives.

Some young men might also choose to join gangs to restore their sense of identity, power, and belonging. The male perception that women gain at men's expense impacts men's hostility toward women. Such involvement can restore one's sense of hegemonic masculinity. Gun ownership in either country can make one feel powerful and masculine (Cock 2001), and inflicting violence on other men or against women can make them feel powerful.

Gangs often control women through prostitution and drug addiction. "Some women are engaged in sex work controlled by gangs. According to Brener and Pauw (1998), these gangs may be more controlling and abusive than pimps, and also prevent health educators from reaching the sex workers (who have, reportedly, been beaten for wasting time by talking to them). Sex workers controlled by gangs are typically younger than most

others (Ibid: 27). They are also often addicted to drugs. It has also been alleged that some young women are gang raped by gang members before they enter into sex work (Robertson 1996)" (Vetten, 2000, 6). The sex industry has increased since Apartheid ended, according to Beatrice, who shelters women trying to leave the sex industry (Interview with Beatrice, March 31, 2007). Increased unemployment, increased police permissiveness of brothels and sex work, and increased drug activity all contribute to rapid proliferation of the sex industry. Since the transition began, 52,000 asylum seekers and 16,000 refugees arrived in South Africa (Harris 2001). The influx of Nigerian immigrants has precipitated a shift in the demographics of gangs from coloured to Nigerian, and Beatrice argues that Nigerian gangs are primarily responsible for promoting sex work. Nigerians that have arrived in South Africa are stereotyped as a major force of gang violence in areas such as Port Elizabeth Social stereotypes feed into police actions. For example, Morris (1998) explains that: "Xenophobia and the perception that most Nigerians are involved in drug dealing has led to the police actively seeking out Nigerians … Almost all of the Nigerian interviewees had a tale of police brutality, corruption or intimidation" (1130-1131). Stereotypes that Nigerians are involved in gangs, deal drugs, run prostitution rings, and launder money run rampant. It can be quite difficult to separate the stereotypes from the facts. Some Nigerians may participate in such activities, but that does not determine the profession for the entire group of immigrants. In addition, many other individuals who are not Nigerians are likely to be involved in such illegal activity. This researcher recognizes the xenophobia that exists toward foreigners and has no intention of automatically accepting xenophobic stereotypes.

Two sex workers and their shelter worker discuss Nigerian gangs because these particular sex workers are involved with Nigerian gangs and the three women experience Nigerian gangs most frequently in the center of Port Elizabeth. Had this research been

conducted in a different area, or had the sex workers worked for a different type of gang Nigerian gangs, this study may not retain such a focus.

With all of the improved laws to help women, no legislation exists to help women in sex work. Clients and pimps tend to escape without recourse and police may arrest sex workers for loitering and jail them overnight. Such a penalty angers the pimp, who tries to force the sex worker to make twice the money the next night. Beatrice describes it as a double standard.

Indeed, such arrests appear symbolic rather than designed to interrupt the industry. They also punish the sex worker rather than the pimp or the client. If police penalized clients, then demand could be reduced as men feared arrest. If police arrested pimps, then they would interrupt the control pimps have over sex workers, and make pimping less appealing.

Sex workers interviewed assert that police colluded with Nigerian gangs. They assert that police took bribes from gang members and pimps to keep their businesses operating. Joyce witnessed her pimps bribing police 8,000 Rand a day to overlook drug trafficking or sex work. In addition, Beatrice discusses what residents told her regarding police and bribes, "When I'm with my girls and we'll see a street cop and they'll know if he's good cop or bad cop, meaning a corrupt cop." The threat of arrest, one would imagine, keeps a woman tied to a pimp who can bribe an officer or help her bribe an officer to keep her on the streets. Women, then, require the protection that pimps offer, but they pay the price of belonging to a particular pimp or gang. Sex workers, then, make a patriarchal bargain. In order to make money for their survival, they must forfeit their freedom to a gang.

Sex work can be dangerous. "The girls get beaten up by the cops, they get beaten up by their pimps, they get picked up, they get thrown out of cars, and they are knifed by a

client or shot by a client," says Beatrice. Sex workers face physical danger from police, who theoretically should protect them, from pimps, who they work under in order to be protected, and from clients, the source of monetary gain. Women take such risks generally out of desperation.

Joyce's story is an example of the desperation that can lead a woman to working on the streets and the way her disgust for the profession led to her drug habit. She says, "So when I started [in prostitution] it was actually disgusting, and I couldn't live with myself, but I knew why I was doing it and I had to do it. I was saving toward getting my kids." She was so disgusted at the work though, that when her pimp offered her drugs, she says, "Everything changed. I stopped working for my family and my kids and started working for drugs." Eventually she became indebted to her pimp and had no way out. She was trapped. The industry that was to provide her with fast money degraded her, led her to addiction, and placed her farther away from her goal of getting her children back.

One venue where Joyce still has control is in negotiating condom use. While many sex workers she talks to shy away from asking the client to wear condoms, Joyce insists on it. She says that once money is exchanged it is difficult for girls to say no if he refuses to wear a condom. Joyce, however, is able to be assertive enough, and can turn guys down who refuse to wear condoms.

Joyce feels that sex work fails to grant her autonomy or empower her, and she observes the same to be true for many women. She says, "Most of the girls are doing it for the money, and the money's for the drugs. Prostitution--I would say that 98% of prostitutes do not like what they do. There's always some sad story behind their life on the street." Out of the sex workers she encounters, women are not happy with their life circumstances. They do not feel sexually emancipated or in control of their lives. They live under the

control of their pimps. They all have a reason for living on the street that involved unfulfilled dreams. Her story counters data that describes sex work as a freely chosen option that can empower women (see discussion in Bernstein 2007). For her, it led to drugs and violence.

Naomi, a white woman, became involved in sex work through her mother, who was a drug addict and prostitute. Taken from her mother at age 2, she did not reunite with her until age 17, at which point her mother prostituted Naomi. Naomi reported that she was raped 23 times and held hostage 4 times. Naomi's mother also introduced her to drugs. Naomi stayed involved in sex work and eventually married her Nigerian pimp.

Frequently women develop intimate and often spousal relationships with their pimps. In many cases, such relationships become abusive. Both Joyce and Naomi experienced intimate partner violence at the hands of their husbands who were also their pimps. Joyce describes the way her abuse escalated to a devastating final beating:

> It escalated over the years and it started off as a little slap every now and again and got worse. The last …point I felt I had enough because one day soon I felt I'd end up losing my life. His temper got so bad that I ended up in the ICU – I had broken ribs. I had stitches in my head, I had a broken ankle. My face was beyond recognition. It took me about 3 months to recover from that beating. That's when I started realizing that my daughter was about 3 months old, that I had to stop completely. Either he was going to kill me…his temper, when he lost it he didn't know what he was going (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2007).

Joyce blames the intimate partner abuse she experienced on her drug habit, on her tendency to defy her husband's wishes, and on her lack of success in making enough money on a particular night. If she saw her drug habit as separate from the abuse she received, she might be able to take less self-blame and develop a more empowered sense of self. At the time of the interview, she seemed to believe that getting off drugs and turning to God could help her turn her abusive marriage around. Seeing the drugs as a gateway into an abusive

relationship, rather than the reason for the abuse, could help her. Now she is a Christian and he visits her at the shelter. They are undergoing counseling and she hopes he can change. She does have ambivalent feelings, though, as the negative memories do sit with her. Joyce indicates that she, rather than the abuser, needs to change in order for her relationship to work. She also sees that her pimp needed to stop making money from her sex work and find an independent sense of income. Becoming a provider, she feels, vindicates him because it means that he accepts more of the male traditional gender roles (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2007).

In contrast, Naomi does not think her husband is going to change. Unfortunately, Naomi's belief in her partner's inability to change stems from her belief that some cultures are more likely to be violent toward women than others. Since she is in an interracial relationship, it may be easier for her to scapegoat all Nigerians than to see fault with him in particular. Making such generalizations may help her accept the abuse. Even though she knows she does not deserve such behavior, she stays with him because she does not want her kids to have the traumatic childhood she did. She wants two parents for her children, even if one beats the other. Here, she identifies a mother and a father as the most important factor in bringing stability to her children's lives. She does not feel that her children witnessing the beatings will have an impact on her children. Staying married helps her to feel that she breaks the cycle of her mother's difficulties in raising her (Interview with Naomi, April 24, 2007).

Yonela, in contrast to Naomi and Joyce, challenged traditional gender roles through joining a gang after developing a drug addiction in university. She describes herself as "more brave and man-like" than most of the other gang members. While she took on more of a masculine identity through fighting alongside gang members, the gang also encouraged

her to utilize gender stereotypes to her advantage. For instance, since nightclubs only searched males, she could transport packages without being caught. Hence, while she retained more masculine qualities, the fact that she was a woman gave her an edge over other gang members.

She soon realized how demanding the gang would be. They would constantly demand that she sell drugs to make money, and they placed pressure on her increasingly. They would threaten her to ensure she continued to make her quota. She felt trapped but needed to get out. She likened her role to that of a prostitute. Although her role differed from Joyce and Naomi, her treatment was similar. They used her to sell as much as possible and continued to expect that she sell more and more. Yonela tried to escape the gang, but they kidnapped her and raped her twice. They also tried to kidnap her family. She struggled to find refuge, and the gang has not approached her again since she found refuge. Now she is trying to make a new life for herself.

Yonela's story indicates that even women who display more masculine tendencies can be victims of sexual violence and still feel responsible for their attack. Yonela dropped out of university after becoming a drug addict and joined a gang. She fought against young men from other gangs and knew how to protect herself. When she tried to leave the gang, though, gang members kidnapped her and gang raped her. It appears that when she deviated from the gang's commands, they stopped treating her as one of the guys and began to exploit her vulnerability as a woman. Rather than focusing on all that she overcame, she discusses the way she still experiences self-blame. Yonela says, "It delayed my life. I have lots of regrets. Self-blame, all those things. Looking back I think I could have finished school and been working now" (Interview with Yonela, April 24, 2007).

Yonela's story questions where the line is between free choice and violence. She appears to have freely chosen to involve herself with drugs and a gang. However, the way gang members used sexual violence to punish her shows she lacked free choice once in the gang. Rather than discussing the strength utilized in escaping the gang, she focuses on her regrets. She continues to struggle with whether she can return to school or obtain a job, as her lack of self-confidence from her previous experiences appears to hold her back from building a positive future for herself. The emotional toll that gang membership and subsequent sexual violence took on Yonela has similar features to other women who experienced gender violence, including self-blame, diminished confidence, and questioning one's responsibility for the violence (Interview with Yonela April 24, 2007).

One final perspective comes from Beauty, the mother of a gang member and drug addict who resides in a Township outside of Port Elizabeth. She worries about her son's activities, as she knows he steals from neighbors and uses drugs, but she does not feel she has any way to control his behavior. Community members called her to a meeting and attacked her because her son stole from members of the community to feed his drug habit. Bruises covered her body, and her body appeared frailer than in prior meetings. Beauty revealed that men and women, but mostly women, assaulted her since her son wronged them and left the township. She had no idea what resources exist in her community to help her, how to file charges, or how to find family counseling. She weeps for the harmful actions of her son. She wept for the physical pain and for being ostracized from the community. She did not think mothers should be punished for the actions of their sons (Interview with Beauty, March 11, 2007).

Her experience shows the way women deemed bad mothers bear the burden of society's dysfunction. First, they live with the guilt and self-blame of feeling as if they have

failed as mothers. Then, the community blames the mother for their children's actions. Just as society blames the wife for her husband abusing her, society blames the mother for the wrongs of her children. In her case, she feared community violence for a long time and eventually experienced it. Beauty's case illustrates the way women can inflict gender-based violence on other women through judging them for how they raise their children. It also shows the double standard in culpability, as the community does not hold her husband responsible. Moreover, her husband punishes her through inflicting physical and emotional abuse on her because he considers her a bad mother.

In South Africa, entanglements with gangs, in whatever capacity, can lead women toward gender violence. Each party researched -- a gang member, a mother of a gang member, an intimate partner of a gang member, a sex worker for a gang member – became involved much more deeply than she intended, lost control of her involvement, wanted to change the nature of her involvement, received punishment if she did escape, and received punishment from the community if she could not escape.

Lack of police regulation of drug trafficking, sex trafficking, and prostitution and weapons trafficking enable gang activity to thrive. Such legislation and implementation is not traditionally considered under the routine mandate of tackling gender-based violence. The idea of helping the groups that society perceives as passive and acceptable victims is more politically expedient. Stopping gender violence within communities that are less socially acceptable, such as prostitutes or drug addicts, appears to be less of a political priority.

**Conclusion**

In South Africa women's experience of sexual violence is deeply interconnected with their experience of poverty. Women are more likely to make patriarchal bargains, engage in sexual relationships or sex work in order to ensure their survival and their children's survival. This places them at greater risk for association with gangs, drugs, and HIV/AIDS.

In Northern Ireland and South Africa, men continue to dominate public space through paramilitary and gang violence. Such violence often takes the form of the drug trade and further research may reveal sex trafficking as well. When men dominate public space, women are pushed indoors. When women come into the public, they risk sexual harassment, assault, and rape. The risk is elevated if it is nighttime, if they are dressed in a flirtatious manner, and if they have been drinking. Gender violence becomes the fault of the woman for not staying in her place rather than the fault of the perpetrator. As long as such society sanctions such boys clubs controlling public space and performing masculinity, then women will feel as unsafe in public as they did during war.

# CHAPTER 4
# WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE WITH PERPETRATORS OF SEXUAL AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Women's experience of domestic violence remains strikingly similar to one's experience in any other society. The main issues women face in Northern Ireland and South Africa are so similar, in fact, that discussing them separately would be repetitive. The finding that dynamics of domestic violence remain constant despite the political transitions support the assertion that patriarchy rather than war lies at the root of domestic violence. The political transition does not appear to impact whether or not women experience domestic violence. While it does provide the backdrop for their experience, many women do not find it relevant to the way their intimate partner treats them. Findings from this study, however, indicate that women do feel the transition impacts the options available to women as they attempt to heal from domestic and sexual violence. This chapter emphasizes the major ways sexual and domestic violence impact women. The first half of the conclusion will focus on women's healing process and the extent to which voluntary organizations in each country help facilitate such healing.

Most women face violence from intimate partners or men they know. Unlike paramilitary or gang members who may flaunt violence to prove their masculine prowess, these men tend to publicly deny that they inflict violence. Perpetrators, rather, enact violence in order to uphold patriarchy through promoting traditional gendered divisions of labor and gender role stereotypes. As a result, individual abusers tend to adhere to strict social norms around gender role socialization because various forms of gender-based

violence uphold social ideologies that privilege men and degrade women (Dobash and Dobash 1998, Walker 1994, Bancroft 2002).

Domestic violence stems from male desire to assert power and control, and uses social norms to do so. Ni Aolain et al. argue social norms, defined through family and group relations, "determine a woman's status in society and restrain her ability to step outside stereotyped roles" (Ni Aolain et al., 2011, 35) without social sanction. Ni Aolain et al. argue that gender-based violence operates as a mechanism to "undermine women's abilities to become productive agents for development and reconstruction" (2011, 36). Gender violence serves the utilitarian function of keeping women within the private realm of society and limiting the degree to which they can participate as equal citizens. Women may attempt to step outside their stereotyped roles, but, if social norms do not support such movement, they may encounter hostility, discrimination, and violence.

While the transition, as argued in Chapter One, exacerbates male hostility in the public arena, it is possible that such hostility can spill over into domestic relationships. If an individual women's status improves, and her husband feels threatened, he may be more likely to act abusive. However, such a dynamic is likely to occur whether or not a society is in transition. Capitalism, political transition, or individual empowerment could all be the variables that alter the dynamics of abuse. The way individual factors, such as one's positionality, one's self-esteem, one's adherence to gender roles, one's temperament, interact with macro forces most likely explain one's likelihood to become abusive.

Research participants do not necessarily see political backdrop of the post-conflict environment as informing abuse. While such violence occurs in the social realm of the political transition, the individual woman often does not think about politics when experiencing family violence. The social context of patriarchy may be more relevant for the

woman experiencing violence. Most likely, she may not be able to think about the broader forces of society because her abuse forces her to focus on daily aspects of fear and survival. For instance, when answering a hotline call shortly after September 11, a victim of domestic violence revealed that her family criticized her for not expressing concern about the tragedy. She explained that when one is concerned with day to day survival, it is difficult to think beyond the immediate (Women's Center and Shelter of Greater Pittsburgh, hotline call, November 2001). Women living within post-conflict societies often do not recognize the impact of the political transition on their lives until they encounter helping professionals, contemplate calling the police, or have to go to the hospital. At this point, they realize such institutions may be better or the same as they were during political conflict.

In the context of broader society, women remain concerned about three key dynamics that significantly impacted their personal lives—men imposing traditional gender role ideals, men interfering with women's relationships with their children, and men controlling women's sexuality. As discussed in Chapter One, the economic realities of the post-conflict transition make adhering to the ideal of rigid gender roles even more difficult as masculine jobs become cut and low-waged feminized feminine labor emerges. Since men continue to cling to the value system that espouses traditional gender roles, men struggle when women take on paid employment. Hostility manifests itself through painting women as the "bad mother", which is the worst insult within the context of such traditional gender roles. Controlling women's sexuality is an historical means of displaying victory, that one has conquered women as part of the "spoils of war" (Lorentzen 1998). Such misogynistic perceptions help to create a society that normalizes gender violence and enables men to perpetrate domestic violence.

**Gender Role Stereotypes: Imposing Traditional Breadwinner and Caregiver Roles**

Gender role stereotypes create a climate that permits violence against women. Such stereotypes facilitate male entitlement to retain power and control over women because they make women dependent on men for financial support and physical protection, give men access to public life while keeping women in the private realm, and allow men to make decisions for the family. These stereotypes create rigid standards of femininity, and allow men to punish women for deviating from roles of devoted wife and mother.

The most common degrading behavior that women within this study experience, regardless of the level of physical or sexual violence they endure from intimate partners, centers upon male entitlement to make decisions on their behalf. Such decisions include when and if a wife can work, under what conditions a woman can leave the house, and with whom she can speak. Such behaviors indicate that men uphold a concept of gender roles that involve men as the breadwinners, decision-makers, and heads of the household that permeate both the Northern Ireland and South African cultures (Maitse 1999, Morrell 2000, Hamber 2010, Harland 2010, Porter 2006, Kiberd 1994, McWilliams 1995). Despite a clear distinction in racial composition between each country, the geographical distance, and differences within specific cultural practices, the major tensions within the household remained strikingly similar. One startling difference is the degree to which women in South Africa feel compelled to accept abusive or degrading behavior for the sake of their own survival.

Men who espouse controlling behavior dictate whether or not women can work outside the home. Nkosazana owns a sewing machine and sold clothes that she made, but her husband forced her to stop. "He said he cannot take the wages of a woman. She must stay at home and look after the children. I was not a full worker because he did not want me

to go and work" (Interview with Nkosazana, March 11, 2007). Lydia, a middle-aged Catholic from South Africa, describes the traditional roles within their marriage, "I had to mind the kids. That was my job, not his job" (Lydia in Women's Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006). Nadia, an Eastern European who sought political asylum in Northern Ireland, is married to a man who only permits her to stay at home and look after their child. Staying in the house so much makes it difficult for her to learn English and to become friends with other women. Since the rest of her family is still in her country of origin, she feels lonely and depressed. (Interview with Nadia, August 24, 2006).

Abusive men do not want women to develop their self-esteem. Lydia, a middle-aged Catholic woman in Northern Ireland, described the way her husband demands that she not work outside the home and insists that she care for their children. Although she feels more self-reliant now, she stays in the relationship because she feels too afraid to not have a man in her life. She reports that her increased confidence is angering her husband, "He's fed up with me finding my own voice" (Interview with Lydia, Women' Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006). She remains in the relationship because she has no money to divorce him. Consequently, she repeatedly needs to negotiate her independence with his desire to constrain her into a more traditional role. While she takes steps to build her support network and her self-esteem, she lacks the financial security to leave the relationship. Myrna, too, had a husband who demanded a great deal from her. After joining a local woman's center, she responded differently to him. "Before, I kept quiet and let him go about his own business. I say things now I would not have said before. I will not be a doormat anymore" (Interview with Myrna, Women's Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006). The center helped her realize that she did not need to live under his rules, and divorced him. Similarly, Prudence, from a township in South Africa, divorced her abusive husband: "When taking

the decision to divorce, you say, 'I've had enough. I want to be free in my house.' Now, I do not have money for food, but I would rather worry about that and be free in my house" (Interview with Prudence, March 11, 2007).

Abusive men often take control of finances, and may gamble or drink the money away. Sometimes this represents entitlement, while other times it coincides with difficulty adapting to losing jobs. With a decrease in the availability of traditionally masculine working-class jobs, as discussed in Chapter One, men who believe in traditional gendered divisions of labor tend to have difficulty adapting. For instance, Megan, a Northern Irish Protestant, worked in a factory making suits while her boyfriend struggled to find a job. Alienated from his lack of employment prospects, he began to spend his days gambling. Eventually, he would steal her money and gamble it away (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2007). Mandy, a coloured South African woman, observed that her partner dropped out of family life once he lost his job. He began spending his days drinking and would only come home when he wanted food or sex. He often started arguments, broke household items, and beat her (Interview with Mandy, March 6 2007). In contrast, Nadine's husband, although a prominent South African lawyer, incurred tens of thousands of Rands of debts due to gambling. He appeared to feel entitled to do so, even though losing this money required Nadine to ask her parents for money to pay off the debt (Interview with Nadine, February 9, 2007).

In addition, social workers Mpho and Carol, both workers at South African voluntary organizations describe family dynamics they observe in the transition where women find jobs and make more money than their partners. Partners who adhere more stringently to conventional gender role norms become resentful towards their partner for being more successful. They direct their hostility toward their partner rather than the

economic system that fails to provide them with viable jobs and begin to degrade and abuse their partners in order to restore their sense of power over women (Interviews with Carol and Mpho, February 15, 2007 and February 21, 2007).

Husbands may become abusive or cause marital difficulty if their partner becomes more active in the public sphere. For instance, men may struggle when women advance professionally. Recall Norma's story from Chapter One. She became a prominent government official, and her husband felt threatened at her authority. His abuse escalated. Though she had the self-confidence to hold an important governmental position, he eroded her self-esteem and made her feel utterly dependent within the relationship (Interview with Norma, July 2005). In addition, men may not appreciate their wife's involvement in women's centers or community activism. In Northern Ireland, Margaret's husband returned from years as an IRA prisoner to find a more outspoken, self-confident wife. While he was in prison, she ran the household, acted as breadwinner and childrearer, and enjoyed her role as a community activist. She has no intention of taking the back seat to her husband. She reported his displeasure with her current status and discussed the ensuing discord within their marriage. While she was not happy with his behavior, she did not report that he acted in an abusive manner (Interview with Margaret, Women's Center Focus Group, October 20, 2006).

**Interfering with Women's Relationships with Children**

Women remain concerned about the way spouses manipulate relationships with their children in order to gain power and control over women. Such exploitation is common in abusive relationships around the world (Dobash and Dobash 1998, Bancroft 2002, Walker 1994), and is not specific to post-conflict related circumstances.

Just as participants in political conflict are able to exploit images of the ideal mother to control women, abusers can invoke such images to guilt, blame, or shame women into acting according to their wishes. Intimate partners can exploit images of the ideal mother in a variety of ways. First, men find that pregnancy may be a safe time to increase or begin abusive behavior because women may believe that two parents will benefit the child. Next, abusers can blame women for not conforming to standards of ideal motherhood. Since such standards exist in society, women may feel guilty for not adhering to such standards. Third, abusers can manipulate the child's feelings about the mother so that the child begins to blame the mother, rather than the abuser, for the violence. Finally, a woman may punish herself for not living up to the ideal standard of motherhood. Since domestic violence can traumatize an individual and that trauma can compromise her ability to parent, a mother's sense of self can further become eroded.

When women become pregnant, men may begin or increase abuse. They may expect to gain more leverage over women because women want their children to live in two-parent households. Four participants in this study stayed in abusive relationships longer than they otherwise would have because they wanted fathers for their children. For instance, Megan, a young, Northern Irish Protestant who witnessed abuse as a child, describes the way she married her ex-husband even though he began to abuse her when she became pregnant with her son. She hoped that after the marriage, the stability of a family unit would end the beatings, and she convinced herself that his behavior would change. Now, she faults herself for believing he could change. "I was sorry enough to believe that" (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2006).

In addition, intimate partners who have abusive tendencies often exhibit needy behavior. They enjoy the attention from their partner and fear that a baby will divide their

partner's energies. For Mandy, a coloured woman from South Africa, abuse began when she became pregnant. Her boyfriend threw her to the ground when he heard the news. Any circumstance could ignite his temper, and he would break household items, scream, and use physical force against her. He became the jealous child who used deviant and aggressive behaviors to terrorize the household. When she left for shelter, he broke windows of his mother's home and threatened her life if she refused to reveal Mandy's whereabouts (Interview with Mandy, March 6, 2007). The more Mandy's partner felt he was losing control, the more violent he became.

Second, abusers may attempt to persuade the children that the mother is to blame for the abuse. Sometimes, children may blame their victimized parent for the abuse because she is an adult and is failing to control or to change the circumstances (Bancroft 2002, 248, 252). Children may internalize the abuser's degrading comments toward their mother and begin to see her through the eyes of the abuser. Sometimes children identify with the abuser and in order to be aligned with the individual in power in the family unit. They may also believe the put-down their mother receives and even contribute denigrating comments themselves. Norma, a black woman from South Africa, experienced this dynamic. She said, "They had a tendency to blame me. He was trying to influence them" (Interview with Norma, July 2005). Only after the children observed her ex-husband inflict similar abuse on a new girlfriend did they begin to realize their father's responsibility for the abuse.

Children may feel that their mother betrays them when she takes action that promotes her own needs. Societies do not necessarily see fathers' lives as entangled with their children. Bancroft describes that children often feel "The target of abuse is at fault and not the abuser" (Bancroft 2002, 247). Children may fault the abused spouse for dissolving the marriage, rather than the spouse who controlled, abused, or stifled the other. Nadine, a

70-year old white South African, endured severe beatings from her husband for 40 years and finally left him only a few years before he died. Her four adult children pressured her to attend the funeral, where she listened to many dignified men praise his character. Despite this sacrifice, her children distanced themselves emotionally and geographically from her, despite her need for constant care due to numerous physical ailments resulting from the abuse. She believes that her children are angry with her for leaving him and for not forgiving him for decades of abuse. When reflecting on the abuse, she said, "If I knew what I know now, the effect on all of us…" (Interview with Nadine, February 9, 2007). She never completed the sentence. As we spoke further, Nadine believed she could not change the outcome and felt that, no matter what she did, her children would perceive her as the bad parent. Nadine does not see a means of changing the circumstances of her life. Her children keep their distance from her. She lives in chronic pain with limited mobility. She enjoys very little in her life. She feels that her dead husband stole her life from her and stole her children's affection from her.

Finally, research participants internalize guilt and blame themselves for dysfunctional behaviors in their children that emanate from their lives with an abuser. For instance, Norma feels it is her fault that her teenage daughter began acting out and later became pregnant. She blames herself for not doing more for her children. Similarly, Dorothea, a Protestant woman from Northern Ireland feels responsible for her choice of becoming involved with an abuser. She blames herself for her daughter's string of abusive relationships: "I realized my children were brought up in such dysfunction because of my choices. My daughter is a mirror image. My daughter has had numerous violent partners. I don't have such a good relationship with my daughter because she tends to throw the blame on me" (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006). Dorothea, like many women, did not

realize the potential impact her abusive relationship had on her own children at the time. She now does everything in her power to support her daughter. She babysits. She listens to her daughter. She provides shelter. She goes to court with her. Still, Dorothea blames herself for not being a good enough mother (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006).

Other women feel remorse that their children were exposed to any violence. Vivian, a white Afrikaner from South Africa, recalls the way she relied on her children's help to reach safety during her husband's beatings. If he started beating her, she would maneuver toward her children's room and escape through their window. Knowing that her husband would settle down and eventually fall asleep after she left, her children passed a sleeping bag through the window to her, and she would sleep outside all night. She knew her children would be safe in the house but knew she needed to escape. She regrets the amount of abuse that her children witnessed (Interview with Vivian, April 10, 2007). She feels that if the children did not experience direct abuse they were not impacted. Vivian manages to blame her ex-husband for the abuse her children witnessed. She is able to shed personal blame because she underwent cognitive behavioral therapy, where she learned the patterns of his control. She also currently practices meditation and yoga, both of which keep her centered, focused on the moment, and reduce her anxiety.

In addition, when mothers experience trauma from domestic violence, their ability to parent may be compromised. Hermann (1992) argues that trauma can "overwhelm the ordinary systems of care that give people a sense of control, connection, and meaning" (33). Megan's story represents this: "I lost the love for my daughter. I couldn't even look at her. If she cried, I left the room. I just had no interest in her whatsoever. I started coping with the panic attacks and just went on with my life as if there was never a child involved"

(Interview with Megan, November 22, 2007). Megan (interview November 22, 2006) had enough of a support network that she had help rearing her children when she needed it.

Women do not commonly "lose the love" of their daughters. Some dramatic event must happen to disrupt such a bond, and, in this case, it was domestic violence that led to post-partum depression. Rather than asking for help, women commonly feel guilty when they experience such guilt, indifference, or resentment toward their children because society tends to label them as bad mothers (Lorentzen and Turpin 1998, Chodorow 1989, Hays 1989). Keeping such feelings inward advances depression. If social services and other agencies can to find ways to help mothers cope with their trauma and parent effectively while undergoing hardship, rather than labeling them as bad mothers and taking their children away, then women will be more able to heal because they will be more able to come forward for help after experiencing such troubling feelings.

Women throughout the world express difficulty with gaining custody, protection orders that include children, gaining child support, and gaining support from social workers, who may want to remove children from the mother for failing to leave an abusive man and thus punishing the victim (Crenshaw 2010). While the dynamics of the perpetrator's behavior may be very similar to a society not in transition, the obstacles a woman may encounter in dealing with more chaotic governmental systems that are still in flux can be more of a challenge[9].

[9] Meintjes also documents upheaval in gender roles within the household due to massive soldiers returning from combat (2001). While the numbers of prisoners released in Northern Ireland and the number of men returning from prison, exile, and underground in South Africa warrants significant study on this matter, such a topic complicates the scope of this dissertation too extensively. A more concentrated study that focuses entirely on this population, the extent to which gender role conflict led to domestic violence would be enlightening.

Women also contend with ideals of motherhood linked not only with traditional gender roles but with patriotism and civil war (Gasa 2005, Crilly 1988, Ryan 2004, Lorentzen and Turpin 1998). Society sees her job as sacrificial mother as serving not only the well-being of her children and family, but as upholding the moral compass of the political crusade. While a woman may be most concerned about the survival of herself and her children, if an abuser paints her to her community as immoral, selfish, mentally ill, or a bad mother, then community members find her behavior personally insulting because she fails to uphold her role in the political struggle. Hence, an abuser persuading others that she is a bad mother holds a dual significance when motherhood is tied not only to personal identity but also to one's loyalty to political struggle.

Societal condemnation will only add stress to the already-struggling parent and increased instability for the children. Moreover, it will reinforce society's view that the victim brings on the abuse herself. Social judgment impedes women from healing from abuse. Social support and empathy, on the other hand, can help women heal from abuse.

**Controlling Women's Sexuality**

Research participants in Northern Ireland discuss common tactics abusers utilize for controlling their sexuality: jealousy, possessiveness, and blaming the women's behavior to justify abuse. Such forms of abuse often present themselves in subtle forms in the beginning and gradually worsen. For instance, Nandhini, a thirty-something Indian woman living in Northern Ireland, noticed that her former boyfriend "used to get really possessive and jealous." She finally ended the relationship after he smashed a glass on a table after finding her conversing with another man. While she tolerated continued possessive behavior throughout the relationship, Nandhini blames herself for not recognizing the problems

sooner. She sees herself as "just very naïve" for involving herself in such a relationship and letting it get to that point. While she previously perceived herself as well-educated and a good judge of character, Nandhini began to question herself. Not realizing the subtle forms of control her boyfriend exercised over her made her doubt herself and her own judgment. Her lost confidence continued long after the relationship ended, and she blames herself for believing lies and for staying in the relationship as long as she did. Her experience exemplifies the way women internalize self-blame for perpetrators' actions (Interview with Nandhini, December 14, 2006). Punishing Nandhini for talking to another man exemplifies the insecurity of masculinity manifest within the post-conflict period. With masculinity defined through sexual prowess (Hill Collins 2005, Connell 2005), a man who is insecure of his masculinity is likely to be insecure of his sexual prowess. Such masculine insecurity may or may not be connected to the masculine insecurity during the period of the transition (Harland 2010). The most controlling men punish women for looking or talking to other men. Megan, a young woman from Belfast whose boyfriend nearly killed her, left the house against her boyfriend's wishes and went to a party. He arrived at the party with a gun and found her talking to a male friend. He escorted her home and severely beat her (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2006). Megan's story represents another example of extreme jealousy that relates to masculine insecurity.

Sexual violence women experience in South Africa involves coercion to have unprotected sex, agreeing to have sex in exchange for food or money, young girls having sex with older men, and women having sex with a man who has multiple partners. Such unhealthy sexual behaviors, in addition to rape, adversely impact women's physical and emotional health. They place women at substantial risk of contracting HIV/AIDS or developing other physical or mental difficulties. Patriarchal bargains provide evidence that

the government needs to dedicate resources to empower women educationally and economically. Many abusers, particularly in South Africa, feel entitled to have multiple partners. Mandy, a coloured a woman in shelter, describes her boyfriend as being abusive and unfaithful. He "slips out at night" to be with his girlfriends, and she puts up with this behavior because she feels that "without a man you are nothing" (Interview with Mandy, March 6, 2007). She now has no trust for men and wants nothing to do with her boyfriend. She feels unsafe, however, with only herself, her daughter, and her granddaughter in the house. The married man who attempted to rape Precious's daughter had sexual encounters with multiple women without the knowledge of his wife (Interview with Precious, March 13, 2007). In South Africa, the acceptable nature of men having affairs with women and having multiple sexual partners exacerbates male sexual control and women's low self-esteem (Arnfred 2004, Morrell 2001). With this pattern normalized, women, even if they do not like it, find they can do very little to change the culture.

Shebeens, informal drinking establishments in South Africa, often become a venue for such sexual exchange. Shebeens are establishments that serve alcohol. Often, they are male-dominated establishments, but women often visit to meet men and exchange sex for money. Many women go to shebeens and consent to sex because they want some free drinks and economic support. Justice describes the way that women will go to shebeens, meet a man, the man will buy her drinks and possibly some food, and, in return she will have sex with him. Justice, who is HIV+ is concerned that the young women who frequent shebeens might be so poor that they do not care if they acquire HIV (Interview with Justice, March 13, 2007). Women who go to shebeens, according to an article in *Prevention Science*, often become victims of sexual violence and HIV/AIDS. The article finds that those who regularly go to shebeens are at higher risk for HIV infection than those who do not frequent

them. (Kalichman 2008). In addition, Wojcicki (2000) conducted research in the township of Soweto outside of Johannesburg that indicated women in shebeens routinely accept sex for money due to dire economic circumstances and do not expect men to use condoms. Moreover, the study shows that women are at high risk for sexual violation at shebeens.

Finally, violence against women can take the form of societal judgment of women including double standards for men and women. Such is often the case with sexuality. In South Africa, women may experience societal judgment for out-of-wedlock pregnancy or having affairs. Prudence became pregnant out of wedlock. While she shouldered the responsibility for the child, the father of the child abandoned them. Her father judged Prudence to have acted immorally and forced her out of her family home. Reflecting on this experience, Prudence concludes, "Men are not like us. You just have a baby from him and it is you that must look after the child. He takes no responsibility. I don't know when this started, the belief that a woman must listen to a man" (Interview with Prudence, March 11, 2007)." Here, Prudence learned that, while boyfriends and fathers may make decisions that impact a woman's life, the woman carries the responsibility for herself and for her child. Beauty describes the way she developed an intimate relationship with a married man in order to have a male presence around her house so that she could feel safer. She feels conflicted with this relationship since she is a Christian and believes infidelity is wrong. She keeps her relationship a secret from her Church. Before this relationship, she became pregnant from a man who abandoned her and gave her no child support. She now has a child with the married man and he offers financial support (Interview with Beauty, March 11, 2007). She struggles to balance her conscience about her practical, emotional, and sexual needs with her personal moral uncertainty, guilt about lies to her peer group, and a desire to have this man

all to herself. She is aware that he controls the terms of the sexual relationship, and she accepts that the relationship on his terms is better than struggling alone.

Such women feel more pain from this degrading behavior than from the beatings and bruises abusers used to reinforce their demands. Research participants indicated that they lost their self-esteem, became depressed or anxious, had difficulty concentrating. Women need to develop self-esteem and self-confidence, but they also need resources so that they can achieve their full potential. Women struggling from day-to-day lack a sense of hope for the future, which causes them to make decisions based only on the present.

Women perceive their struggle as unrelated to political conflict. Women's experience of violence, enabled through control over their sexuality, manipulation of their relationships with their children, and reinforcement of women's relegation to unpaid, caregiving, and low-wage labor, imposes itself on the most fundamental and most interpersonal aspects of their lives. Their reactions are not tied to ideological principles of country, citizenship, or human rights. Rather, they relate to survival for themselves and their children and navigating through the minutia of everyday life.

The war these women fight against patriarchy and misogyny runs in parallel with, and sometimes intersects with, the more visible political conflict, and the stage of the political does seem to make a difference for women. For instance, as described in Chapter One, perceived advancements of women educationally, economically, and politically breed hostility from men during the political transition. If the war against women had also ended, such hostility would be resolved. Evidence indicates the opposite. So, while the civil unrest may be over in Northern Ireland and South Africa, patriarchy that facilitates the war against women is not.

When Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen (2001) say "there is no aftermath for women", she indicates that women continue to suffer during political transitions. She and other feminists speculate that war facilitates greater suffering for women, making the transition equally difficult for them. Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen (2001) indicate that part of the difficulty of the transition for women is that gender roles become reconfigured, and men often expect women to relinquish power during this process. While this dynamic resonates at least in part in Northern Ireland and South Africa, Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen blame the hardship on the war rather than the misogyny within the society. Patriarchy and misogyny remain the reasons women experience gender violence in whatever setting. War is just one venue through which patriarchy manifests itself, and patriarchy is responsible for the domestic and sexual violence women experience, not the war.[10] If misogyny and patriarchy were challenged, and institutions were built during the political transition that dismantled patriarchy, then the post-conflict period would be more meaningful for women. As Hamber (2006) says, re-imagining women's security during the transition in a gender sensitive way could empower women and lead to a more effective transition.

[10] The writer recognizes that women experience violence as a result of war, and here is referring to the everyday sexual and domestic violence rather than specific crimes of war.

# CHAPTER 5
# VIOLENCE WITHIN SOCIAL SYSTEMS

This study of women in Northern Ireland and South Africa shows that they experience violence not only through individuals who perpetuate abuse but also through social structures to which they turn for help. Medical facilities and the criminal justice system may be more socially acceptable than paramilitaries and gangs, but this research indicates that they are not necessarily any more gender sensitive than such anti-social alternatives. In fact, because women expect the more mainstream structures to meet their needs, they become more devastated when such systems fail them. The criminal justice and medical systems contain structural violence (Galtung 1995) because embedded within the systems are pitfalls, caused by sexism within the system, that harm women more than they help them.

Data from this study indicates that the criminal justice systems and medical systems need to be improved. In order for domestic violence and rape legislation to impact women more fully, it should implemented more consistently and in a more gender-sensitive way. In each case, police response has improved, but not systematically so. In each case, courts fail women to the greatest degree, as they fail to provide victim-friendly climates, remain understaffed, may decide not to prosecute the case, and, most important, give extremely light sentencing after they convict perpetrators. In addition, health care systems in both countries fail to provide women with access to gender-sensitive treatment. In South Africa, poor black women struggle to access any health care. In Northern Ireland, doctors remain

insensitive to the dynamics of abuse and sexual violence and tend to overprescribe addictive medicines. While each society gives women a different set of obstacles, solutions need to involve resources and personnel that are gender-sensitive and can treat the whole person.

The level of betrayal women have experienced from professionals designed to help them is extremely high. Women's risk of suicide reaches its highest point after women seek solutions through the system and fail to achieve their desired outcome.

## Structural Violence of Health Systems

Women in South Africa and Northern Ireland experience obstacles to receiving appropriate, gender-sensitive health care. Obstacles, however, differ between countries. Women in Northern Ireland often visit their doctors for anxiety or depression as a result of domestic violence or rape. Doctors overprescribe addictive medication and failed to refer them to professionals that could help them. These doctors lack awareness and sensitivity to gender-based violence and resources to help. In South Africa, white women experience similar problems to women in Northern Ireland. In contrast, black women from townships most commonly cite obstacles to receiving proper medical care. They encounter difficulty accessing clinics, obtaining medicine, and affording services. They also bear the burden of caregiving for the sick, with little or no outside support.

### Northern Ireland

The National Health Service in Northern Ireland has the advantage of being publicly funded and offering services to all of its citizens. While private health care facilities are beginning to offer more timely and extravagant services to those who can afford it, citizens in Northern Ireland feel the state is responsible for providing doctors, hospitals, and

medicines. While citizens enjoy the benefits of state-funded health care, they struggle to receive timely health care, particularly from specialists. Beven (2006) discusses the way the NHS throughout the UK struggles to reach quotas of timely ambulance responses, less than four hours of wait time in accident and emergency, less than twelve months wait for hospitalization for an elective procedure (Beven 2006). Propper (2007) discusses the extensive wait times for individuals seeking tests such as MRIs or visits to specialists. Once one's doctor refers a patient to a specialist, the patient receives a letter informing them as to the date and time of their appointment. Changing such an appointment can lead to extensively longer waits. Such wait times may make doctors more reluctant to refer individuals to specialists and more likely to prescribe medication to attempt to relieve the problem themselves and make patients less likely to obtain a second opinion.

Such wait times can be damaging to women who visit their doctor with symptoms of PTSD. Most women in Northern Ireland see their doctor, known as their GP, as their first form of intervention after domestic violence. They tend to visit their doctor for symptoms relating to anxiety or depression from living in an abusive household, but doctors often fail to look for the cause of the woman's anxiety choose instead to treat the symptoms with medication. If doctors fail to identify and take seriously the psychological consequences of the trauma such women endured, then these women may struggle to get appropriate treatment.

In one randomized clinical trial, Duffy (2007) discovered that waiting twelve weeks to receive treatment for individuals experiencing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder severely hindered their outcome. In his trial, one group received cognitive behavior therapy immediately, while the other group received medications as treatment and awaited cognitive behavioral therapy for twelve weeks. Despite extensive similarities in the scores of each

intake group, the group that had to wait for treatment scored poorly on all PTSD evaluations during the course of the year. Many in the wait-listed group showed no change in their condition even after beginning therapy. Duffy concludes that cognitive behavioral therapy emerges as the best choice of treatment for individuals with PTSD but cautions practitioners that co-mingling psychiatric factors and high levels of depression placed individuals at risk of a poorer outcome (Duffy 2007). Duffy's study reveals the necessity of providing immediate psychiatric treatment to individuals with PTSD in order to mitigate symptoms and minimize risk that it turns into a debilitating condition. Stigma around mental health and the long wait times at the NHS for individuals to see specialty providers may make such a process unlikely. In addition, without a strong recognition of the linkages between gender violence and PTSD, changing this pattern in the NHS appears unlikely.

With medicine easy and affordable for doctors to prescribe, anti-anxiety medicine became a common medical response to The Troubles in Northern Ireland and took on a gendered dynamic. In Sluka's 1989 study of women living in the Divis Flats, one highly active Republican community, the combination of political terror alongside social and economic deprivation led to many women receiving some diagnosis relating to mental instability. Such diagnosis was commonly referred to as "the nerves", a term as euphemistic as "The Troubles". Healthcare practitioners, though, tended to identify women as having "the nerves" and tended to treat women with sedatives to keep them calm (Sluka 1989). Such precedent for medical responses to political trauma lays the foundation for doctors' responses to traumas from domestic and sexual violence.

Research participants experience many classic symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. Megan reports panic attacks, hypervigilance, and a persistent sense of dread. "I was just waiting for something bad to happen," she says. In fact, Megan felt more

comfortable in a relationship that contained what she called "a tolerable level of violence" to one without violence (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2006). She describes the way she sabotaged healthy relationships because the sense of dread built up too much. When violence would occur in an abusive relationship, she at least had a release from that dread. Her symptoms of PTSD impeded her from functioning to her fullest capacity. She discussed how hard it was to raise her children when she had such symptoms. She could not work. She gravitated only to unhealthy relationships that took more energy from her. Without counseling, she could not overcome depression, anxiety, the sense of dread, hypervigilance, and negative self-esteem that she experienced.

One Shelter Worker suggested that domestic violence can cause several mental health issues. She says, "Well, most women in this level of domestic violence would have mental health issues. They all suffer from low self-esteem, lack of motivation. A lot of them are dependent because their first port of call with domestic violence is their family doctor (known as the GP). The GP is very quick to just write them a prescription for Diazepam, Lorazapam, or whatever" (Lena, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006).

Women living with domestic violence often describe how they feel to their doctor and doctors interpret their feelings not as legitimate outside threats to their safety and well, but as anxiety disorders. A women might tell a doctor of symptoms such as insomnia, panic attacks, hyper-arousal, or depression, and doctors, using a traditional medical model of intervention, do not ask them if any issues have arisen at home. Instead, they prescribe medicine. While the medicine may be helpful to anyone who is experiencing any of these symptoms, if a woman lives in domestic terror, such medications can dull her senses and her response to danger if she continues to live in the violent situation. In addition, GP's do not

appear to refer women to the resources available to help women in such situations. No research participants report that their doctors referred them to service agencies to help them.

Research participants repeatedly report receiving prescription drugs from doctors as a means of dealing with the health impact of gender-based violence. In Northern Ireland, prescribing benzodiazepines, such as Valium or Lorazapam, as well as anti-depressants, appears to be the standard of care when a woman discloses the cluster of symptoms related to anxiety or Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Women experiencing abuse, though, may experience these symptoms due to their heightened threat from abuse and not due to any disorder. Other women may experience PTSD or anxiety as a result of trauma from sexual or domestic violence and may need counseling to work through this situational problem. Eleven women's sector workers in Northern Ireland also mention sedatives as a common problem. Dorothea and Julianne candidly discuss the issue. Dorothea says, "I was on anti-depressants to keep me calm during the day and sleeping tablets to let me sleep at night and it was that way for thirty years." Dorothea adds, "I can't even count on my hands the number of times I tried to commit suicide" (Interview with Dorothea, August 10. 2006). Julianne describes the way doctors prescribed her pills for every purpose, "One's to function. One's to not function. One's to get up. One's to sit down. It was just bags and bags of tablets. So you'd be having another problem. More abuse after more abuse, if you understand. It was just medical instead of dealing with the issue." Dorothea characterizes it as "absolute dependency" (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006). According to one Women's Shelter Worker outside Belfast, "More than half our admissions of women who had been living with and fleeing from domestic violence are using prescribed, controlled drugs. A woman puts all these mechanisms in place to cope rather than to fact the problem" (Interview at Shelter, November 10, 2006).

Dorothea, Julienne, and the Shelter Worker raise some key health issues. First, when can women benefit from anti-depressants, anti-anxiety medication, and sleep medication, and when do the medications themselves become a means of avoiding rather than facing their problems? To what extent can such prescription drugs facilitate dependency, and how can doctors monitor their usage so that addiction does not occur, particularly with anti-anxiety benzodiazepines? Finally, to what extent do women suffer from other health problems due to the side effects from these medicines?

One must question the extent to which such heavy reliance on benzodiazapines (i.e. valium, Lorazapam, and Clonzepam) represents the doctor's treatment of women a modern-day example of Freudian-era labeling women as hysterical and providing them with sedatives (Hermannn 1992). One shelter worker describes the way society still stereotypes women taking such medicine or self-medicating with alcohol: "People see a woman with a prescription for Valium or another drug, or alcohol and you don't stop to look further than what you're seeing. They think of an unstable woman under the influence of alcohol or drugs. They do not realize it may have been the only way she was able to cope with the way she was living" (Meredith, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Societal perceptions appear to exist that "unstable" women require prescription drugs or alcohol.

Benzodiazepines may be a short-term solution to help an individual through the initial aftermath of a trauma. As a person undergoes therapy to resolve the root causes of anxiety or PTSD, benzodiazepines may mask the bodily sensations that one must work through to achieve resolution in their lives. As part of recovering from a trauma, Clonzepam argues that first an individual must feel safe. That person can then begin to construct a narrative of the trauma. Through telling one's story, with a beginning, middle, and end, a person can see the event as one that happened in the past (2004, 114). Through

developing a narrative, the trauma becomes contained rather than all-consuming. Then, in therapy a person can develop an awareness of bodily sensations and understand triggers to one's anxiety (2004, 116). In becoming aware of triggers, then one can eventually desensitize oneself from incidents that would previously act as triggers. Medicines, then, should not be a substitute for the therapeutic process.

Briere and Scott describe the way benzodiazepines are contraindicated as a long term treatment due to their addictive nature (2006, 207). Clonzepam (2000) discusses the way benzodiazapines are currently not popular among the psychiatric community, or at least the American medical community. Individuals can become addicted to such medicines, as they can develop a tolerance to such drugs, and their body will then require more medicine to achieve the same state. Patients may then find themselves unable to wean themselves off the substance when it no longer helps them or they no longer need it. The longer a patient relies on such medicine, the harder it can be on one's body to stop using it. Other psychiatric medicines may be more beneficial to the patient, but family doctors may not be skilled enough in their usage. If doctors refer women to mental health professionals and other supportive agencies who can more adequately assess the woman's needs, perhaps unnecessary medicine can be avoided.

Sedating medicine and any sleep medication can be harmful to women who continue to live under the danger of domestic violence. Such women need to rely on their anxiety and sense of danger to know when to implement their safety plans to leave the abuser's presence. If a woman's senses are dull, she may not be as quick to react to her abuser in order to escape or defend herself.

In addition, doctors may add to the problem through perpetrating individual violence. Gloria, a woman in shelter, reports that she visited her doctor after her husband

raped her. After she disclosed the incident to him, he locked the door to the practice, closed the curtain, and proceeded to rape her. He acted as though he was entitled to rape her since another man already did. After the rape occurred, she did not know what to do. She trusted him to help her, and he betrayed that trust, so how could she trust another professional to help her? Gloria did manage to escape her abuser and receive counseling for the multiple rapes. She did not press charges against her doctor, though. She wondered who would trust her word against him, a reputable professional.

This research illuminates a lack of proficiency among medical practitioners in Northern Ireland in diagnosing domestic violence. Medicine is proven to have its greatest effect when the patient also receives talk therapy (Hermannn 1992, Rothchild 2000, Briere and Scott 2004). Prescribing medication only and not including therapy in the treatment regime limits the patient's chances for a full recovery. Psychotherapy can help resolve the source of the patient's anxiety or depression and can reduce the reliance on medicine in the future. If a patient fails to comply with therapy, then no chance exists to work through the root causes of the trauma, and the medicine will only mask the symptoms. Medical practitioners need to be educated about clusters of tell-tale symptoms and also encouraged to make referrals to psychotherapeutic resources.[11]

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[11] In South Africa racial and economic stratification determine one's access to medical care. Three qualitative interviews indicate that women may lack holistic, gender-sensitive treatment plans to improve their quality of life after years of abuse. For instance, Nadine, 70 year-old Afrikaner female, endured 40 years of abuse during and after Apartheid. Her husband, during their forty years together, broke her ribs, her leg, and her arms. She has very limited range of motion in her arms, cannot raise her arm above her head, and cannot walk. She remains confined to a wheelchair from her beatings. The pain prevents her from sleeping. It is clear that her physical constraints take a psychological toll on her. She lives with the aftermath of the abuse on a daily basis. While she is privileged enough to hire two black women to care for her and has access to medicine and doctors, she carries the burden of resentment, pain and injury. While doctors seem ineffective at helping her manage her pain, she also lacks the psychosocial support to live with her condition, because she lives in isolation from her peers (Interview with Nadine, February 9, 2007). Nadine lacks a holistic pain management plan that incorporates wellness of mind and body. The interview indicates that she still carries significant anger

**Impoverished Black Women in South Africa**

Women who live in impoverished townships in South Africa face a different set of problems than their white counterparts. Instead of an insensitive medical establishment and a barrage of prescribed drugs to cope with violence, these women struggle to access the medicine and health services they need.

Studies on access to healthcare appear to have difficulty pinpointing the triple obstacles that women may experience due to their race, class, and gender. Laloo et al (2004), in a study focusing on race, find that blacks perceive that access to health care improved over the 1990s. Their research finds that one-fourth of the participants continue to face obstacles accessing health care, and that low socio-economic economic status is the primary indicator that they would encounter obstacles. Gender appears to not be considered in this study. Adamson (2003) queries where the gaps in access along race and gender occur, and hypothesizes that poor black women may be less likely to seek medical care than other

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and resentment toward her husband as well as regret for living with the abuse for so long, and, as Rothchild (2000) suggests, such an emotional burden may exacerbate physical problems. She does not participate in physical therapy to help her pain and range of motion, and her lack of mobility and social support may restrict her from getting to and from doctor appointments. Regular visits from nurses, physical therapists, and counselors could greatly enhance her quality of life. Two interviews with White women suggest that mental health treatment should be further investigated to determine the extent to which it benefits women. Nadine's friend, Lily, encounters the problems of overmedication, similar to many women in Northern Ireland. She takes so much medicine that she experiences memory loss, is easily confused, speaks incoherently, and is sedated (Interview with Nadine and Lily, February 9, 2007). In addition, Gillian, a 50-year-old white woman, suffers from mental health problems after escaping an abusive relationship with a member of the Army during the political conflict. She tried to commit suicide multiple times and developed an obsessive compulsive disorder. She has been in and out of mental hospitals, has tried various drugs to treat her disorder, and has brain damage from electric shock treatment. Now, she has difficulty speaking coherently. In each woman's case, aggressive medical intervention to treat the disorder resulting from the abuse rather than helping the woman heal from the abuse appears to have caused significant damage to each woman's well-being. In each case, labeling the woman as the source of the mental illness rather than her circumstances precipitated such aggressive medical intervention. Perhaps empowerment counseling coupled with a more closely monitored and more basic medicine regime could have left each woman more functional. These three vivid stories indicate that widespread research on medical interventions with White women who experience domestic and sexual violence, as well as women from all racial backgrounds that retain economic privilege, should be conducted.

members of society. Adamson's hypothesis suggests the problem lies at the individual level with impoverished women rather than at the societal level. The results of the study contradict this hypothesis and find that poor people were 60% more likely to seek emergency medical care than the highest economic strata, and black participants were 40% more likely. Consequently, Adamson concludes that such individuals do appear to take responsibility for their medical care, and that the health care services available must be providing the barriers. Qualitative data from this study can help provide a picture of where some of the structural gaps in receiving health services are.

The stressors of living within the townships complicate their experience, as all eleven research participants report one or more of the following chronic health problems: high blood pressure, diabetes, tuberculosis (TB), depression, or HIV/AIDS. The national prevalence of HIV/AIDS in 2008 was 10.9%. The percentage has remained relatively steady since 2002. The disease has a racial dimension, as black Africans account for 13.6% of the infected population, whites account for 0.3%, the coloured population's prevalence rate is 1.7%, and only 0.3% of the Asian population is infected (Avert 2008). According to USAID, South Africa has the fifth highest tuberculosis ranking in the world, with 460,000 new cases reported in 2007. The prevalence of TB continues to rise; in 1998, 338 cases per 100,000 people existed, but, in 2009, the rate jumped to 948 cases per 100,000 people (USAID Infectious Diseases 2012). Diabetes is another rising epidemic. Estimates in 2003 indicate that it impacts 3.4% of South Africa's adult population, and, by 2025, the percentage impacted should increase to 3.9%. Prevalence varies by community from 3-28.7%. The Indian population of Durban, at 13%, and the coloured population in Cape Town, at 28.7% are two communities researchers know to be significantly impacted (Rheeder, 2006, 20). While a 3.9% increase may not seem to make the disease at epidemic proportions, the

percentages of individuals already infected combined with the poor treatment outcomes of those with the disease make this projection highly significant. It illustrates that diabetes is not a transient medical problem, but a growing social illness that requires a comprehensive response. With such diseases ravaging the country, the degree to which one can access medical facilities, doctors, medicines, as well as proper support and nutrition will have significant impact on both the quality of life and longevity of a sick person. Thus, an individual living within a township lives with the risk of acquiring these diseases and of not finding adequate treatment for such diseases. If she lived in another part of South Africa diabetes or TB might be a manageable illness, but living within the township compromises her access to medical care, nutrition, proper advice, and sanitation.

Justice describes the obstacles she faces when trying to access medicine and government grants for herself and her husband, both of whom are HIV+. Her husband gave her HIV after having an affair with another woman. Justice describes obstacles with transportation to the clinic and the risk that the medicine may be out of stock when she arrives. Justice does not live within walking distance of a clinic nor does she have money freely available for transport. Additionally, when she travels to a clinic, it often does not have all of the medicines freely available to her. While she is aware of government grants for free antiretroviral drugs for all HIV/AIDS patients whose CD4 count is less than 200, the government denied her husband's application despite meeting the criteria (Interview with Justice, March 13, 2007). Such difficulties reflect that managing HIV relates to how the government chooses to allocate resources. Barnett and Whitside (2002) argue that with proper medical care one can live for more than twenty years with AIDS, but, without anti-retrovirals, one's life expectancy is twelve to twenty-four months. Hence, many South Africans view access to life saving drugs as a luxury.

Sexual violence puts young women at risk for contracting HIV/AIDS. Last decade, teenage girls were the fastest-growing HIV+ group, with a rate of 16% in 2004. Often, they contracted the disease because they were unable to negotiate safe sex with their partner or because they were raped. By 2008, 10% of the entire population was diagnosed with HIV/AIDS. Twenty-eight percent of women in pre-natal clinics were HIV+, and 10.9% of babies under two years old were HIV+ (South African Department of Health 2010). Gender-based violence due to dire economic circumstances makes women highly vulnerable to the disease.

Even if women do not contract HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence takes its toll on women's physical health and well-being. After an older man who lived on her street attempted to rape her, Mandisa could no longer concentrate on her studies, began acting carelessly, and needed to sleep a great deal (Interview with Mandisa, March 9, 2007). Yonela, after being gang raped, did not feel strong enough to return to university (Interview with Yonela, April 24, 2007). Several women who experienced abuse discussed high blood pressure, anxiety attacks, depression, and diabetes.

Women also disproportionately experience the burden of the HIV/AIDS epidemic as caregivers. Nobanzi, an elderly research participant, cared for two small children whose mother died of AIDS. One child was physically disabled, and this woman felt too old to care for such small children (Interview with Nobanzi, March 13, 2007). Justice cared for her husband even though he gave her the disease and she was sick as well (Interview with Justice, March 13, 2007). Nomsa cares for her grandchildren after her daughter died of AIDS within two years of acquiring the disease (Interview with Nomsa, March 11, 2007).

The caregiving deficit from HIV/AIDS falls on elderly women with scarce resources and health problems of their own. Grandparents raise their orphaned grandchildren after

they bury their own children. Zandi's daughter died from AIDS in 2005**.** Her daughter discovered she had the disease in 2004 when she gave birth but chose not to tell her parents due to social stigma. Then she became so sick, she had no option but to tell her parents. After receiving poor quality of care in the hospital, which Zandi attributes to social stigma around AIDS, Zandi took her daughter home to die. Now Zandi raises her daughter's child (Interview with Zandi, March 13, 2007). Happy is left raising two boys, one of whom is disabled, from her husband's first wife, who died of AIDS. She is elderly, has high blood pressure and joint pain that limits her mobility, but now she cares for these young boys as if they were her own (Interview with Happy, March 11, 2007).

Women in townships face the structural violence of a healthcare system that they cannot access. They struggle to get life-saving medicines as well as medicine to treat chronic illness. They have greater difficulty accessing doctors and hospitals and may face discrimination when receiving treatment. Women care for the sick and dying within the family and for children who have lost their parents prematurely. Infrastructure that provides visiting nurses and health care workers, improved access to medicine and nutritious foods, information on preventing disease and staying healthy, and financial support in caring for orphaned children could all improve the condition of women within townships. Currently, they face the structural violence of a health care system that neglects them.

## Structural Violence of the Criminal Justice System

In addition to a failed health care system, women in Northern Ireland and South Africa also encounter structural violence from criminal justice systems that often deter them

from reporting cases of sexual or domestic violence to the police.[12] This is in direct contrast to the freedoms promised during the liberation struggle – justice, equality, and freedom. While the transition is a time when institutions are supposed to become more just and equitable, the myopic focus on racial and ethnic binaries over gender inequality impedes a holistic examination of gendered structural violence within the healthcare and criminal justice systems. Shame, guilt, fear of reprisal, and fear of the community placing the woman on trial all contribute to a woman's sense that reporting such crimes will not help her. Moreover, low convictions and light sentences globally contribute to the sense among women that the legal system will not yield justice. In Northern Ireland and South Africa, women do not have positive experiences with the criminal justice system. Women in Northern Ireland see some improvements with policing, but do not see any improvements with sentencing if cases reach a conviction in court. Women in South Africa generally have negative experiences with police and courts. This section outlines the ways in which the criminal justice system in each country hinders women from achieving justice and security.

First, the writer discusses Northern Ireland police and courts, where the two systems operate in tandem, and then South Africa where the police and courts are relatively disconnected. In Northern Ireland, the Public Prosecution Service links the police service to the court system. It works with the police to determine whether sufficient evidence exists to build a case and then prosecutes that case in court. Such systems and protocol were strong and decisive, not at all indicative of a society whose systems were in flux. In South Africa, police stations and courts appear to be more disconnected, and the process of prosecuting a case seem much more likely to die out after one calls the police. Court systems, as described

[12] The problem also extends around the world. Globally, only 10% (UN Women 2011, 4) of people report rape or domestic violence

below, remain heavily backlogged and difficult for victims to navigate. The difference in one's ability to navigate through the whole system necessitates a whole-system comparison rather than a comparison of the police in each country and then the courts in each country.

## Northern Ireland

Just before the transition began, Monica McWilliams and Lydia Spence conducted the one comprehensive study on domestic violence during the Northern Irish Troubles between 1900 and 1994. They focused on the prevalence of domestic violence and the efficacy of the criminal justice system. The study then relates this data to comparable areas in Ireland and the UK. They found that spousal homicides occurred at a significantly higher frequency in Northern Ireland than in the rest of the UK or Ireland. They also determined that the criminal justice system focused on "policing" rather than adjudication and sentencing. Consequently, they argued that sentences in Northern Ireland were significantly lighter than those in Ireland and the UK.

Since 1994, despite improved legislation outlined in Chapter One and greater awareness of domestic violence and rape, criminal justice interventions still focus on policing to the detriment of adjudication. Research participants, while overall disappointed with policing, see some improvement in policing with regard to domestic violence. No evidence suggests that police response to rape is improving. In addition, no research participant sees any improvement with the court system on adjudication or sentencing on rape, sexual assault, or domestic violence cases. So, when individuals see progress, it is usually with first responders. With closer scrutiny, cases do not seem to reach court, conviction, and sentencing. Consequently, the court system is not bringing perpetrators to justice.

**Police**

Research participants, including women who experience abuse and shelter workers, perceive that the police are more likely than they were before the transition to charge perpetrators in domestic violence cases. During a focus group of nine shelter workers, the workers reached consensus that police have begun to take domestic violence more seriously and that the criminal justice system appears to fail women most often in the courtroom when sentencing perpetrators. Zoe said, "Spending time in court with victims, I see that the police are being more proactive in charging people" (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Perhaps the important work of Monica McWilliams during the transition period contributed to this positive development. While shelter workers saw changes, how police treat women remains dependent on the individual police officer. Meredith observes women "who praised the police and said they couldn't have done any more while others were treated horrendously by the police" (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Such uneven results mean that, even with improvements, women cannot count on consistently helpful policing.

Megan, a Protestant woman in her late-twenties with four children, witnessed domestic violence as a child and experienced abuse as an adult. Through her account, one can see the extent to which the police have evolved from the 1980s to the present day. "The police in the early 1980's never interfered with domestic violence. It was none of their business. Basically that's what they would always say. But by that time my boyfriend would have left the house, but it wouldn't be for too long. He would always come back in. So the impact of that was that you were always living on edge trying to protect your mum and your brother. They took him away to his mum's house, which was a five minute walk from my house…and told him to stay at his mum's that night. Ten minutes later he's back at my door

and so that's why I had to get an exclusion order. By this stage, I found the police very pathetic. I had no faith at this stage." However, by the late 1990's, the police were getting more involved with domestic violence.

Megan goes on to describe another incident where an ex-boyfriend came to her house one day with some friends, all of whom belonged to a paramilitary, and tried to kill her. She went to the hospital and the police response is as follows: "They called the police and he was arrested for attempted murder. I thought I was not safe here (since his friends were involved in a paramilitary), so I signed myself out of the hospital and went home. I had to go to court the next day to get an injunction against him to keep him away from me. Part of the bail condition was that he wouldn't come on the street where I lived. He moved in the house right across the street where I lived. And the police told me they couldn't do anything about it until he was up in court."

In receiving bail, her attempted murderer was able to continue to threaten her through moving so close to her residence. She did get a no-molestation order, but it could not prevent him from living so close. Even when he violated the order, the police refused to act.

> Later, I wanted to check the status of the case, and I phoned the police that were dealing with the attack and attempted murder charge. The police said, 'Ah he's just a wee boy with a big mouth.' It was dropped to occasional acts of bodily harm with intent to kill and criminal damage on my home and he got sixty hours of community service. This was in 2004 (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2006).

In addition, Megan suspects collusion between police and paramilitaries because of the perpetrator's sentence and her belief that he was involved with paramilitaries. Later, however, she also turned to the paramilitaries to seek protection. In 2005 Megan had a different experience with the police when she was robbed. The police arrived quickly, caught, and prosecuted the robber. She believes police are more likely to do something if

criminals are not related to paramilitaries. Although Megan perceives that the police responded more swiftly because the perpetrator was not related to paramilitaries, several questions arise. This researcher wonders if the police handled the robbery versus the attempted murder so well because the robbery did not involve domestic violence. Perhaps her experience illustrates that the police have improved in their responsiveness to communities. Perhaps it illustrates that police lack the skill, motivation, and proficiency to act on cases related to domestic and sexual violence. Through Megan's account, one can see the extent to which the police have evolved from the 1980s to the present day.

For many women, then, policing continues to operate as a form of structural violence against women. Women's most common complaints are as follows: First, women, due to community distrust in policing, may not call police. Second, police may not treat incidents of rape or domestic violence seriously. Third, police may treat domestic violence cases as mutual abuse and charge victims as well as perpetrators. Finally, police may not work to gather evidence because they expect that a victim will drop charges.

First, women in some communities still feel intimidation from the police due to the historical distrust of the police force in politicized, mostly, but not exclusively, Catholic, communities. Just as Crenshaw (1994) finds that black women in the U.S. lack faith in the police due to racial discrimination and, as a result, are less likely to report a case of domestic violence to the police, for women in Northern Ireland, distrust of the police may impact a woman's decision to report a case. While Catholics are most commonly associated with anti-police sentiment since they see police as agents of the British state, distrust of the police exists in paramilitary hotbeds within Protestant communities as well. Sylvia, who lives in a working-class Protestant area with significant paramilitary activity, believes the police neglect her community. "With no police in this area, they drive past in their land rovers. You'd be

lucky if you see them driving by" (Interview with Sylvia, November 9, 2006). She argues that women are less likely to report to the police because they make no effort to police in her community. In addition, Sheila, a Protestant woman, says, "We want to be able to go to the police" (Interview with Sheila, November 9, 2006). One reproductive health organization harassed by right-wing religious activists determined that seeking help from the police would do more harm to their clients than good. She says, "We made a decision as an organization about a year ago to not involve the police anymore because the presence of the police was also intimidation to the women" (Interview with Kelly, July 31, 2006). This service provider indicates that women, no matter their religious affiliation, feel the police intimidated them. Sara, a Catholic woman who divorced her abuser reveals that she would never report an incident to the police. She says, "I look forward to the day when a police service can come onto this street that I can trust" (Sara, October 30, 2006). These women from both sides of the divide express a desire to have a force they can count on, but continue to feel the police intimidated them or neglected their communities.

Second, police often lack effectiveness. Patricia, who works with rape victims, observes that a majority of women decide against reporting to the police because the police do not seem effective. Patricia observes that no difference exists between the number of Protestants and Catholics who report to the police, even though Protestants traditionally trust the police more than Catholics: "What I have seen in the last 25 years is they are equal and there's no difference in the amount of women who report it to the police. Catholic women were just as likely to report it to the police as the Protestant community. Saying that, only very few women report" (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). One might expect fewer Catholic women report to the police due to historic Catholic distrust in the police force. Since the numbers of women who report is so low, it appears to be a general

indictment on the police force's efficacy in handling rape cases. Patricia says, "I have to say, in our experience, over 25 years, women were treated equally bad" (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). Patricia concludes that the number of women who report rape and sexual assault is quite low, no matter whether their community trusts the police force or not.

Shelter workers shared their frustration when police officers failed to help women. Meredith says, "You think of all the barriers a woman faces when she tries to leave and then you think, How can the police help without adding to the problem?"' She and the nine other shelter workers in her focus group hope that greater education of the police would improve their efficacy. The workers fear that police will continue to add to women's trials rather than help them.

Third, police often label women and men co-perpetrators of incidents without understanding the context or the history of abusive patterns within a relationship. Police can mistakenly label women perpetrators when they use self-defense (either at the time of an attack or later on when the partner is more vulnerable). The Director of Domestic Violence at Police Service in Northern Ireland states that police statistics are indeed misleading because they only track the number of incidents without acknowledging the context of the incidents. She believes the statistics create an artificial perception that women perpetrate domestic violence more often than in reality. She saw only one case where she believes that the woman was a perpetrator. Nonetheless, Equality Legislation requires that police do not refer to "him" as the perpetrator or "her" as the victim. The presumption that men are just as likely to be victims of domestic violence is dangerous. It negates the presence of gender-based violence and denies the male privilege that exists in society. Of all domestic violence criminal charges for 2006-07, prosecutors identified males as perpetrators of 69% of crimes and females of 31% of crimes (NIO 2006, 27). Such a proportion defies current literature

which suggests that females constitute between 5-15% of perpetrators, and most of those perpetrators in fact act out of self-defense (Healy, Smith, and O'Sullivan 1998, Greenfield 1998, Bachman and Salzmen 1995).

Fourth, if police fail to gather evidence, cases may not reach court. Interviews with two police officers reveal that cases often failed to reach court once police handed them to the Office of Public Prosecution. Of the 23,059 domestic violence incidents reported to the police in the years 2005-06, police and prosecutors only classified 10,768 as offenses, or prosecutable crimes. Assaults constituted 58% of the crimes, criminal damage constituted 15% of the crime and breach of protection orders constituted 13% of the crimes (NIO 2006, 27). Hence, more than half of the times that victims phoned the police with legitimate incidents of domestic violence, police and/or the public prosecution service considered those incidents to be domestic violence but did not consider those incidents serious enough to be crimes.

In addition, prosecutors could drop the case if they determined that a) evidence did not warrant a conviction; and b) if they had reason to believe the plaintiff would not follow through with the charges. Domestic violence theorists argue that this is common, either because couples make up or perpetrators intimidate victims (Walker 1979, West 1999). Officers expressed frustration at women who pressed charges only to change their mind when the couple reconciled. Some shelter workers expressed a similar frustration, but they reminded themselves that they did not want to blame the victim and that a woman has the right to drop charges. Officers, public prosecutors, and some shelter staff appeared less forgiving of women who dropped charges. They were more willing to blame the victim, rather than to understand underlying dynamics of abuse that would make a woman drop charges. Intimidation, belief that the abuser will change, and fear of income loss might

factor into a decision about whether to proceed. Creating a partnership with the plaintiff could achieve several goals: agencies could help address issues of income loss, shelters combined with effective sentencing could ensure safety, and education coupled with counseling could help her understand the cycle of violence. Resolving these issues could grant agency to victims while minimizing the numbers of women who drop charges. Women make reasonable calculations when filing charges. If they know the legal system has a history of not yielding just or safe outcomes, then they will be less likely to proceed with a case.

**Courts**

The Northern Irish Assembly argues that under certain circumstances, including that of domestic violence, custodial sentences are not always desirable. According to NI Direct, "If an offender does not pose a threat to the public" then probation or community sentencing can "allow offenders to make amends for their crime." During one 2009 government debate, members of the legislative assembly recognized that perpetrators seem to receive more lenient sentences than perpetrators of non-domestic related assaults (DUP MLA Lord Morrow, 2009). "The Magistrate's Sentencing Guidelines" for Domestic Violence include the following in order of increasing severity: "Absolute or Conditional Discharge, Fine, Community Order, Suspended [Sentence], or Custodial Sentence" (Attorney General 2006). Most common non-custodial sentencing offenses for offenders are fines, probation, or new court ordered programs for perpetrators[13] (NI Direct, 2012). It appears that since abusers do not appear to be a threat to the general public and only to the victim itself, sentences are not as severe. Sentences do not account for the repeated pattern

[13] The merits and drawbacks of such programs will be discussed more thoroughly in the South Africa Program.

of abuse perpetrators inflict on their victims and the reality that victims feel often feel the threat is so substantial that they choose to go into hiding when courts fail to imprison perpetrators. The statistics above indicate only less than half of the incidents are prosecuted as offenses, but the actual statistics on how many of those offenses reach conviction are missing. In one letter to PSNI requesting such information, it responded:

> The Information Communication Systems Branch advised that the systems used are unable to be interrogated to such a level that would enable them to provide the conviction information for domestic incidents as there is no link between the incident and the eventual conviction. For this reason they would be required to manually collate the information for recorded convictions and types of convictions which would involve researching approximately 3500 records per year and at 5 minutes per incident it would take well in excess of 1000 hours" (PSNI 2010).

Hence, PSNI argues such data on domestic violence convictions would be inefficient to calculate.

Although police identified over 20,000 incidents, all of which individuals could in theory petition for a non-molestation order, courts issued only 3,683 non-molestation orders, or protection orders, (NIO, 2006, 27). Non-molestation orders are civil orders that individuals can file to against an abuser to complain about a type of treatment, regardless as to whether it qualifies as criminal. It states that the treatment bothers the plaintiff and she/he compels the perpetrator to stop. If the treatment does not stop, then violating the order becomes a criminal offense. This way, victims can still be protected from verbal, mental, and emotional abuse that is not considered criminal under UK law. Consequently, one would expect the number of non-molestation orders to much more closely resemble the number of domestic violence incidents reported to the police. The current number suggest that non-molestation orders are granted under overly stringent conditions, that the public is not made aware of their potential value, or that the public lacks confidence in their value.

During interviews with ten women from shelters outside of Belfast, this researcher consistently heard that the light sentences bothered them more than any other issue. "The judiciary is not hard enough. Definitely, definitely sentencing is not hard enough" (Lena, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). A shelter worker discussed a case where the woman in shelter was almost killed. She said, "One man was sentenced to ten years and got two. But, he nearly killed her. I think if perpetrators of domestic violence do to strangers what they do to partners and wives, the response would be totally different than what these women are facing on a daily basis" (Zoe, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). The implementation of light sentences sends the message that courts do not take the crime of domestic violence or sexual assault seriously. Moreover, light sentences become a safety issue and not simply a justice issue. With perpetrators on the street, women live in fear. They often leave their communities, hide from perpetrators, or seek protection from paramilitaries in order to survive.

Shelter workers (Focus Group on in Northern Ireland, November 10, 2006) reveal that light sentences proved to be their greatest frustration, as they supported women who struggled to endure the trauma of a trial in the hopes that they would then be safe from perpetrators. If abusers received months rather than years in jail, such a sentence does little to make women feel safe and have the space to rebuild their lives.

One shelter worker feels that the judiciary treated women more harshly than men: "And, strangely enough, the statistics show that if a woman murders her partner, her chances of getting her sentence reduced would be virtually none. If a man kills his wife, his chances of getting his sentence reduced by a month or two is much, much higher" (Meredith, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). While some researchers find this example true in other countries (Dobash and Dobash 1998 and Fineman 1994), further

research into the extent this double standard holds true for Northern Ireland can help determine the extent of gender bias in the criminal justice system.

Shelter workers report witnessing police and courts at times failing to treat women with dignity. Meredith describes a case where the woman in a shelter chose to be in a separate room from the perpetrator during court proceedings. Although shelter staff helped to arrange these logistics ahead of time, once the victim got to court, Meredith says, "She was told that she was being really immature and she felt really bad about it. She was told that she would be in the same room because they were not wasting time again" (Meredith, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006)." This incident illustrates the lack of sensitivity within the courts regarding the power an abuser can have over the victim and the extent to which being in the same courtroom can be intimidating and frightening. In addition, the incident reflects improper judgment toward a woman. Characterizing the victim as "immature" demeans the victim's status as a competent woman. Considering her request as a "waste of time" undermines the validity of her emotions. Given that some service providers do judge women, then it appears that women make rational choices when they are hesitant to press charges against perpetrators.

Lena, a shelter worker, suggests that women are in shock in the early days following a violent incident. She feels that shock impedes them from fighting in court. Women, after experiencing a traumatic incident, need time to integrate the incident into their lives. Women in the initial phases of shelter often sleep a great deal and wear their pajamas all day (Lena, Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). They feel overwhelmed with all of the changes in their lives, uncertain of the future, loss of an intimate relationship, worry over children, and concern about their treatment by society. Court opens the already victimized woman to public scrutiny. The woman's actions are questioned and the victim

must relive her experience in a potentially hostile environment. If a woman is already overwhelmed and lacking energy for any endeavor beyond basic survival, court could simply be too much to handle immediately after an incident.

Data for conviction and sentencing on sexual offenses does not indicate that judges take sexual violence seriously. The rate of conviction for rape, after trial, decreased from 28.2% in 1994 to 19% in 2005. (Making the Grade, 2006, 5). In 2003, 108 defendants were convicted of sexual crimes, but only 56 of those criminals received custodial sentences (NIO, 2006, 79). Two individuals received less than six months in prison, while six individuals received nine years or longer. The average custodial sentence was three years. The average sentence for rape was seven years and seven months (NIO, 2006, 79). Hence, judges do not automatically put perpetrators of sexual offenses in jail, and such perpetrators may receive short sentences.

# South Africa

## Policing

Unlike in Northern Ireland, the police and courts do not keep separate statistics on domestic violence. South African Police Service track statistics on simple assault, aggravated assault, sexual assault, and murder but do not differentiate which of these crimes are domestic violence and which of these are not domestic violence. Police do not track domestic violence calls they receive in the way police in Northern Ireland track "incidents." Such scant data on domestic violence represents continued police inattention to the problem. Failure to track domestic violence reports indicates that police remain content to keep domestic violence hidden within other statistics and not discussed as a unique and important problem.

Statistics that are available indicate that women do not report incidents of rape, sexual assault or domestic violence to the police. In 1999, only one in thirty-five victims of rape report to the police (ISS 1999). While 25.4% of women were raped in 2011, only 3.9% called the police. Even less, 2.1%, reported intimate partner rape. One 2010 Gender Links survey indicated that 29% of women experienced physical or emotional abuse but did not indicate how many reported abuse to police (Machisa 2011).

A contingent of academics and police may dismiss statistics of domestic violence reports as not accurate. "Figures provided by SAPS are extrapolated by an assumed and untested percentage of under-reporting and by guesstimates of how relationships of dependency might inhibit reporting. The voluntary sector has therefore provided sometimes conflicting statistics not based on empirical and scientific research. But well-grounded empirical surveys are likely to encounter many of the same problems associated with SAPS

statistics" (Simpson & Kraak 1998, 2). Such questioning of statistical errors may discourage police from bothering to keep any statistics on domestic violence calls. After all, calls may be subjective, unfounded, or simply private matters. However, with proper training, police can become increasingly well-suited to document incidents and offenses. Even the most conservative police estimates can become helpful statistical resources for domestic violence researchers, activists, and policy-makers.

Women do not report domestic violence or sexual assault to the police for many reasons. Victimized women do not want to talk to strangers, women feel responsible, and they feel they could have predicted it (ISS 1999). In addition, the reluctance of black women, in particular, to report acts of gender-related violence stems from the lack of public confidence in the police inherited from the apartheid era, when the police played a largely repressive role in black communities. Under-reporting has been compounded by the difficulties SAPS has had in adapting to the transition: there are not enough human and other resources to effectively tackle the problem of violence against women, and morale is low (Simpson & Kraak 1998, 1)

Despite the training on domestic violence legislation conducted by non-governmental agencies, either not enough police receive such training or police fail to act according to the training they receive. According to South Africa's Independent Complaints Directorate, police refused to lay a charge after 53% victims were abused, incorrectly informing them that the law did not allow them to file charges (Democratic Alliance 2011). In addition, Democratic Alliance found police failed to inform 96% of victims of their rights, including that of applying for a Protection Order. The directorate concludes that 65% of police stations do not comply with the new domestic violence law (Democratic Alliance 2011).

Evidence from this study indicates that research participants lack faith in the police. When they called, they say that police failed to come, failed to take the incident seriously, and failed to make arrests. Women who have been raped criticize the police for their delay in responding to a call and for the lack of victim-friendliness when interviewing the victim. Tandiwe chose not to call the police after either of her two attempted rapes because she did not believe the police would help (Interview with Tandiwe, June 29, 2007). Nozizwe says, "When the police are called, it can take up to an hour, an hour and a half" (Interview with Nozizwe, March 9, 2007). Ntombe questions whether a victim of gender violence will have to die before the police open a case. She reported an attempted rape to the police. Although her clothes were ripped and she had bruises, the police refused to open a case because she still had her panties on. She feels as though rapists have more rights than women who are raped because they roam freely around society (Interview with Ntombe, May 17, 2007).

Finally, Yonela, a former gang member who was raped multiple times when she tried to escape the gang says that she tried to report cases in multiple venues. In all instances, police refused to open cases (Interview with Yonela, April 24, 2007). Police did, however, attempt to use her as an informant about the gang. They appeared more interested in punishing crimes related to drugs and non-gender violence than gathering evidence on rape. She refused to be an informant because she felt doing so would put her in too much danger.

Police intervention in rape is especially crucial because, in order for a woman to access Rape Crisis in Port Elizabeth, she must first open a case. Unless a woman accesses the police and the police agree to open a case, she will receive no medical treatment, anti-retroviral drugs, or counseling. Seeking help from the police station before the crisis center at the hospital means that she could wait hours for treatment after a rape. Eileen, who

works for the Department of Social Development, reveals that it often takes hours for a woman to see a detective and then hours to see a doctor (Interview with Eileen, April 3, 2007). The women would not be able to shower until all the evidence is collected. Women who have just experienced a trauma are not likely to put themselves through this process. Research participants from this study who were raped or experienced attempted rape did not go through this protocol. They either did not report the offense at all or reported it days after the incident.

The procedure of going to the police first could deter women sufficiently from getting medical treatment and acquiring medical evidence necessary to pursue a case at a later date. The police make the procedure of reporting a rape intimidating and possibly even traumatic for the plaintiff. They lack an awareness of the internalized shame, guilt, and self-doubt that rape victims commonly experience. This attitude puts the onus on the victim to endure extensive interaction with police and doctors at a time when she feels most vulnerable. If the police are the first port of call in a rape, then a woman may not have the adequate support she needs to go through this difficult process.

**Courts**

Only one case out of fourteen that South African research participants brought to the police made it to the courts. The case involved an attempted rape of Pecious's 15 year-old daughter. After being arrested, the man is out on bail and lives down the street from her, causing her undue anxiety. She and her daughter continue to await a court date. Meanwhile, other community members came forward and admitted this man sexually assaulted them. The delay in the court date gives witnesses time to question whether they will take the stand and community members an opportunity to question her daughter's behavior. Precious

continues to feel that the proximity of her house to his puts her daughter in danger on a daily basis, and she has little recourse. In addition, her daughter cries frequently, has trouble concentrating on her studies, and acts carelessly. She is worried about the effect of the incident and its ongoing aftermath on her daughter, and the delay in the trial compounds their stress (Interview with Precious, March 13, 2007).

Since so few research participants have success in getting a case to court, domestic violence officers can provide valuable first-hand information about cases that do reach the courts. One officer of the court clearly outlined the obstacles to women within the court system, as he feels courts require substantial improvements to meet the needs of victims of sexual and domestic violence. First, he says that waiting areas are not victim-friendly. Perpetrators and victims must wait in the same area, which can be intimidating to the victims. Second, not enough judges process emergency orders. No judge is dedicated for domestic violence, so magistrates must examine cases after hours in addition to their already-full caseloads. Funding for magistrates to process protection orders and to adjudicate domestic and sexual violence cases could reduce waiting time (Interview with Court Officer, April 16, 2007). All of these difficulties inhibit women from getting protection orders or taking a perpetrator to court.

**Counseling Perpetrators**

These findings agree with traditional domestic violence theory that indicates perpetrators of domestic violence tend to adhere strongly to traditional gender role socialization and utilize their ensuing male privilege to control intimate partners. They may display their masculine prowess publicly through proving that they control their partner, but

they hide, and convince their partners to hide, any use of sexual and physical violence. Even though such theory already exists, interventions do not match this theory.

Common interventions in domestic violence include shelter services for women and court-mandated counseling, probation, suspended sentence, or jail for men. Due to prison overcrowding, non-custodial options are preferable. These interventions do little to transform the gender role hierarchies that facilitate male privilege and enable such abuse. While in shelter, counseling, or a support group, women may learn about the way gender role stereotypes play a role in their abuse, but such information helps them only after they have already experienced abuse. Similarly programs that work with men, which are still in their infancy, largely work with men who have already perpetrated abuse, and do little to prevent abuse from occurring.

This research focuses on only one such program for men, called NICRO, which operated in South Africa. NICRO bases their program on the world-famous Duluth Model and adjust it for the cultural conditions of South Africa. Kristina says, "Men and women hold different cultural perspectives when it comes to their roles. We challenge that because women do not believe that men are entitled to punish their wives." Kristina states that NICRO has a sixty percent success rate working with voluntary clients. Kristina did not reveal, though, how many clients they included in the statistic. Voluntary and long-term participation, one and one-half years, are necessary to the program's success. She sees less success with shorter programs and court-mandated participants. Unfortunately, due to prison overcrowding, courts, eager to find non-custodial sentencing options, mandate perpetrators to NICRO's program. If courts fail to sentence perpetrators, then partners will continue to live in fear. Kristina suggests that courts spend few resources on domestic violence since they know the plaintiff will withdraw the charges. Perhaps, with greater

resources, fewer victims would withdraw charges because they would be more confident that their abuser would receive a custodial sentence.

Kristina observes that few court-mandated perpetrators take the program as seriously as the voluntary participants. Such perpetrators often fail to complete the program once the couple enters the "honeymoon phase" of the cycle of violence. Lenore Walker (1979) developed the cycle of violence in order to describe the pattern that commonly emerges within a domestic violence relationship. The cycle involves three phases: 1) the tension-building phase; 2) the violent episode, after which police and courts generally become involved; and 3) the honeymoon phase, when the perpetrator successfully reconciles with the plaintiff. During the latter phase, the plaintiff often withdraws the charges because she believes the perpetrator will change. The couple reconciles as the perpetrator apologizes, promises he will never harm her again, and blames her for the violence. Perpetrators stop attending counseling since they no longer have to prove to the partner that they will change and since they no longer have to serve their sentence.

NICRO finds it challenging to keep contact with either party after the violent incident calms. "We usually meet the women when they are in crisis, just after the abuse has happened and unfortunately only a few of them enter counseling. They go into the honeymoon phase and we don't see them again until another incident occurs" (Interview with Kristina, February 22, 2007). Finding ways to keep women and men connected to NICRO or FAMSA, even after the violent incident appears to be resolved, continues to be a major challenge for both organizations. Hence, programs for perpetrators are not likely to be successful 1) if the offender is court-mandated to attend the program rather than voluntary; 2) if courts use the program as a substitute for custodial sentencing; 3) if society focuses only on rehabilitating prior offenders rather than changing community attitudes on

gender role stereotypes that can prevent future offenders. Programs for offenders can always be an option for perpetrators in prison once they are serving their custodial sentence. To act as a replacement, though, all too often sends a message to the perpetrator that they can get away with crime, as long as the victim is their intimate partner.

Programs for perpetrators differ greatly from couples counseling, and couples counseling is generally contra-indicated in the field of domestic violence (Dissel and Ngubeni 2003). While academics and activists globally tend to discount mediation and restorative justice approaches due to unequal power between victim and perpetrator and concern for safety of victim, mediation or, what some call restorative justice, is being considered in South Africa (Disssel and Ngubeni 2003). In a study of 269 participants, 91% of cases ended in mediated agreement. Authors found extreme financial concerns of participants that deterred custodial sentencing as well as the African history of family mediating practices two important cultural factors that could promote restorative justice within South Africa. The article made no mention of consequences if perpetrators violated terms of mediated agreements or the extent to which this happened. However, given the extent to which perpetrators violate protection orders, some legal consequence would need to be implemented if partners violated the agreement. In order to ensure women were not avoiding custodial sentencing for financial reasons, government welfare programs may be a better long-term strategy rather than mediation to encourage women to stay in abusive relationships. Finally, one major concern with mediation is the same concern with court mandated counseling as a replacement for a custodial sentencing. It often sends the perpetrator a message that the crime is not as harsh as a crime of assault, property destruction, or attempted murder of another person.

Practitioners argue that the power differential between the parties can exacerbate abuse if counseling takes place (Walker 1979; Walker 1994; Bancroft 2002). Mpho, who works for FAMSA, an organization that helps families and counsels many victims of abuse, is open to joint counseling in domestic violence situations. She argues that part of the reason FAMSA works with men is that men simply are unaware of the new legislation that punishes perpetrators of domestic violence. With such a rapid transition, education is necessary to make individuals aware of the laws. FAMSA's divergence from current conventional wisdom in Western society makes one ask whether special circumstances, such as the need to educate the masses about the changes in legislation, should impact conventional best practices. However, Mpho does not seem satisfied with the results, as she reports that only two men last year admitted that they had a problem and wanted to change their behavior (Interview with Mpho, February 21, 2007).

Some programs with young men do attempt to challenge traditional notions of masculinity, but they may not prioritize working on gender-based violence. Youth Action Northern Ireland's Young Men's Project attempts to challenge conventional conceptions of masculinity, and works closely with the Young Women's Project. This project has researched and worked with youth on linkages between economic alienation, social alienation, violence, and masculinity (Harland 2010). It appears, however, that this project does not prompt young men to explore their privilege in relation to young women or the ways in which their behavior can degrade them. Similarly, a men's project that sponsored a conference on masculinity in Rustenburg in 2005 focuses on how society neglects boys and how young men face a crisis of their masculine identity (Men's Project, Rustenberg, July 2005). Such examples confirm Ni Aolain et al.'s (2011) assertion that work on masculinity

does not always take place in a feminist-centered environment in conjunction with work on femininity.

Appropriate interventions would involve working with populations of males on the way they construct their masculinity as well as with women on constructions of femininity. Cole and Guy-Sheftall (2003) voice concern that the African American community in the US over-emphasizes the plight of the black male rather than examines the intersections of race and gender within African American communities. Their critique can apply to Northern Ireland and South Africa as well. Even if class and racial/ethnic hierarchies work to the detriment of males in each society, gender roles still privilege men above most women. Identifying the way men can exploit this privilege to perpetuate violence against women and dialoguing about it can begin to change it.

Massive preventative education that challenges gender role socialization that privileges men and degrades women is necessary. Such education can take place through media that challenge gender role stereotypes, and dialogue in the schools about gender roles as well as domestic and sexual violence. Youth programs that teach cooperation between the genders rather than facilitate gender segregation could also help young people to learn equality between the sexes. Cooperation between local men's projects and women's centers is necessary to ensure men's programs do not replicate gender hierarchies. In addition, politicians and civil servants can begin gender sensitivity training. Community leaders—ministers, traditional leaders, and local activists—can serve as role models and mentors.

Two research participants who contemplated getting protection orders against abusers describe how difficult getting to the courts from their residence would be, and how intimidating they imagine the process would be once they arrived. If a woman can afford and locate transport to get to the courts, she may not be literate enough to understand the

paperwork involved in applying for a protection order or opening a case, and may be intimidated in telling her personal story of abuse to a judge. Hence, poverty, illiteracy, and lack of community support can also impede women from accessing courts.

**Conclusion**

Women experience structural violence from the medical and criminal justice system because both systems remain embedded with patriarchal values and practices. In Northern Ireland, the problem with the medical system lies in attitudes of doctors who assume that the root of women's problem lies in mental illness rather than in trauma and in the inability of the system to accommodate for the trauma women experience. In South Africa, inattention to women's health and women's lack of access to proper health care and nutrition inhibits their well-being. In relation to the criminal justice system, women in both countries suffer from police who fail to take their experiences seriously, cases that fail to court, and sentences that are too light. Light sentences especially bother women because, even when enough evidence exists for conviction, judges remain unwilling to punish perpetrators and keep women safe. The structural violence of patriarchy within these systems must be dismantled in order for women to achieve security in a post-conflict society.

# CHAPTER 6
# HEALING

## Seeking Help

Trauma theory indicates that healing from a life-threatening or life-altering event involves significant investment on behalf of the victim/survivor in confronting the negative impact of the experience (Rothchild 2000, Briere 2006, Hermannn 2002, Resick 1993). Ignoring the event, self-medicating through alcohol, or seeking comfort through co-dependent or other unhealthy relationships can be counterproductive to the healing process. At the basis of such theory is the need for the individual to improve one's self-esteem, decrease startle responses, decrease anxiety, and function to one's fullest capabilities (Walker 1994, other). Since so many memories of trauma are located within the part of one's brain that projects images and develops visceral responses to events, trauma theorists recognize the importance of an individual constructing a narrative of the trauma in words. Such a narrative can allow an individual to reconcile the images with the actual events and put them within the context of one's life events (Briere 2006).

Cutting edge therapeutic techniques such as Eye Movement Desensitization Reprocessing (EMDR), which helps an individual conjure images within a safe therapeutic relationship are emerging as possible responses to individuals coping with trauma. Therapy that gradually exposes individuals to the process of recalling the traumatic events and then coaches individuals on tools for containing their recall to such events when not in safe situations also has evidence that it works as a therapeutic tool.

For many women in Northern Ireland and South Africa, access to the above tools for healing is quite limited. No women within this sample mentioned experiencing EMDR, or exposure/containment therapy. Some women in each environment may receive such treatment, but practitioners also failed to mention these tools as options for women.

Women most commonly mentioned receiving help through discussion groups at women's centers or crisis centers. They felt such programs improved their self-esteem, reduced their self-blame, and helped provide emotional and practical support through the transitional process. Some women at these centers also discussed the importance of journaling, writing poetry, or expressing themselves through art.

Such work at these centers provides two important tools for healing. First, it helps women to construct a narrative of their trauma. Developing a narrative helps move the trauma away from the part of the brain that retains visual and visceral memories to the cognitive portion that can make sense of the event. Doing so can help an individual move away from automatic responses such as hyper arousal (increased alertness to harm even when not in the presence of danger; increased likelihood that a non-dangerous incident will trigger a fight or flight response) and anxiety. In addition, one can start to see one's traumatic event as having a beginning, middle, and ending, thus recognizing that the individual's trauma is over, and not something that the individual repeatedly relives (Rothchild 2000).

In addition, centers can help women recognize that they are not alone through hearing stories from other women. Through a survivor's ability to relate to other women, she can recognize the problem lies within relationships in society rather than with a deficiency within herself. She can begin to rebuild her self-esteem and self-confidence, learn to trust others, and set new goals for herself (Hermannn 2002).

Receiving the right help and support is crucial in allowing an individual to heal and in the time an individual takes to heal. The post-conflict environment in both countries impacts the funding available for services for women, the extent violence against women is prioritized as a trauma, the training of practitioners, and the infrastructure available to meet the demand for professionals to help women.

Respondents from this study who attempted suicide did so after attempting to receive help from service providers and not receiving the help they needed. If women had negative experiences from initial points of contacts at helping organizing organizations, then such negative experiences made women vulnerable to suicidal thoughts or actions. Megan, from Northern Ireland, witnessed abuse as a child, was molested, left home as a teenager, had multiple abusive relationships, gave birth to four children, and survived an attempted murder. She endured and learned from all these experiences. She did not contemplate suicide during any of these other traumatic life events:

> And through everything I have been through the police, the housing executive and the welfare. All three of them would have contributed to me trying to kill myself, not what all the other men have done to me. I have got up and dealt with the abuse and go on with that because I see bruises and black eyes and I know how to heal them. I've had so many. When welfare and social services turn their back on you, that's when I feel defeated (Interview with Megan, November 22, 2012).

Megan sought help from all the appropriate venues, and received poor treatment. It was after such failed attempts to get help, not after severe incidents of abuse, that she attempted suicide.

Beverly, from Northern Ireland, was discharged from the British Army when they discovered she was pregnant. Later, her husband abandoned her. After a case of alleged malpractice in a local hospital, she lost her sight. Unable to cope with her new disability, loss of employment, status as a single-mother, and divorce, she planned her suicide. She felt lost,

with nowhere to turn. She started to implement her plan through drinking and taking pills when her mother interrupted her. Her mother told her to do what she needed to do but that killing herself would create more problems than it would solve. Her mother said she would return in an hour and, if she was still alive, she would help her get the support she needed. (Interview with Beverly, December 15, 2006). Although Beverly had not found service organizations to help her, her mother's response provided the wakeup call she needed to stop feeling sorry for herself and start planning for her future.

Joyce from South Africa utilized self-destructive behavior as her self-esteem declined after she elicited the help of service providers and failed to get appropriate support. She tried to escape through medication. When she had a negative experience in an overnight shelter and could not get through by phone to another voluntary organization, she tried to kill herself. (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2006)

Such statements illustrate that a woman may feel more equipped to handle hardship that is expected, than one that is unexpected. When those who are supposed to help you fail to assist you, blame you for your situation, or make you feel shame, then that type of additional misfortune can make an individual feel so hopeless they contemplate suicide (Rothchild 2000, Briere 2006, Hermannn 2002). The above stories illustrate that the healing from such traumatic events is a process of rebuilding one's trust in oneself and in others. Helping professionals who are well-trained can be invaluable to an individual's healing. Negative encounters with helping professionals can re-traumatize the victim.

All three women indicate their desire to survive and a sincere understanding in the types of help they need to work toward their healing. When professionals fail to follow the woman's lead in her own self-empowerment, and when professionals do not listen to the needs women voice, such as assistance finding housing or jobs, support services in raising

children, or when they dismiss women's unique stories, then women risk becoming re-victimized. Such additional re-victimization can hinder the healing process.

**Shelters in Northern Ireland**

The women's shelter system in Northern Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom is arguably the most comprehensive system in the world. Founded in 1974, Women's Aid has been instrumental in developing policy, setting up safe houses throughout the region, and counseling abused women.[14] In Northern Ireland, each shelter is autonomous but also receives support from a home office. In observing two shelters in Northern Ireland, women at various stages of trauma and recovery occupy the same space. Some women cannot get out of their pajamas, while other women spend time looking for jobs. Staff at both shelters appeared to interact well with clients. They supported them, pushed them to go to the next level, and offer classes, support groups, and counseling with them. When I asked shelter workers what they did well, Meredith said, "We provide information, explain to them all these orders, and let them know they are safe." (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Abby chimed in, "We care for the whole person." (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006. Meredith provided information on the programs they have to empower individuals. They teach a course called "My Life, My Choices" in order to reinvigorate their self-esteem and rebuild their confidence. The courses help abused women to unlearn all of the gender stereotypes that fill them with feelings of doubt, that make it hard for them to leave relationships, that tell them not to stand their ground. Meredith says, "Women in shelter are dealing with this feeling of guilt and shame from society's messages about women and that's how abuse begins. When it gets to the very abusive stage there are other things involved that makes it harder for them to leave. I think it comes from society's views and history.

[14]Women's Aid Federation. "Our History." Women's Aid Website. Retrieved 02 October 2011. http://www.womensaid.org.uk/page.asp?section=00010001001900004&sectionTitle=Our+history

Meredith discusses the way empowering women involves examining traditional gender role socialization and developing the confidence in oneself to challenge these roles when women feel it necessary. Providing classes for women at various levels of trauma can be a challenge. Some women may not be ready to attend such classes. Many women at the shelter still walked the hallways in their pajamas and slept excessive amounts. Such women could experience depression, which may include loss of interest in all activities and be unable to concentrate; dissociative disorders, which involve feeling removed from one's body; a variety of anxiety disorders; or post-traumatic stress disorder, which involves reliving the traumatic experience (Briere, 2006, 17-34). Walker says, "It is important to pay attention to the needs of the women; each one will be ready for a group experience at a different point in her healing process" (Walker 1994, 418). Hence, if women in shelter experience varying levels of trauma, they will need to come to such classes on empowerment in their own time and through their individual process of healing.

When asked what they hoped to improve about their organization, they indicated that sometimes they felt out of sync with the main office. However, workers did not feel it significantly impeded helping women. Shelter workers only started keeping records over the last few years, so gaining long term data from shelters on abused women is difficult to obtain and workers would like to improve data collection. They also appeared unsure as to whether having no time limits on women's stay was the best policy. Some thought time limits on one's stay could be helpful for women.

Finally, when asked about the types of obstacles they may encounter due to the sectarian divide, Meredith said that the political divide made no difference within the shelter. Other shelter workers agreed that women adhered to the no politics rule at the shelter, and suggested that most conflict that occurred over child rearing practices (Shelter worker focus

Group, November 10, 2006). Walker argues that eliminating "turf issues", such as ethnic differences, can help women to feel more connected to each other (Walker, 1994, 78). In addition, women successfully avoid politics because their personal trauma usurps their sectarian differences. When one lives in a state of trauma, then other outside issues become less relevant (Hermannn 2002).

Conflicts among women usually involve personality clashes or judging each other's child-rearing techniques. Abby said, "I'll tell you what a big one issue is a woman commenting on the way another woman is bringing up her children" (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Given the extent to which society judges women on motherhood, including the way women judge each other, it actually makes sense that child-rearing induces the most conflicts, especially while women recover from the trauma of abuse. Women in shelter often cling to their identity as mothers as the one positive aspect of their lives. Northern Irish society, like most around the world, socializes women to intertwine their identity as humans with their identity as mothers (Lorentzen and Turpin 1998, Krilly 1988, Ryan 1995, Ward 2006). Attacking a woman's parenting, actually cuts into her core identity as much or more than as her religion.

Women's Shelters must also help women find permanent housing, often through the Northern Ireland Housing Executive, the public housing system in the province. Shelter workers indicate that the housing executive previously operated from the premise that a woman pretended she experienced domestic violence to be moved up the housing list. Meredith says, "The Housing Executive will say, 'Plenty of women who've been on the housing list and living with family and friends, decide to go to refuge in order to get homelessness points in order to get a house more quickly.' No woman would put herself in that position to live in a refuge with eleven other women and maybe up to 20 children all

common to a facility. "It's a nightmare,"(Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006).

Shelter workers do see some improvement. For example, Abby, a shelter worker, says, "The housing executive is much more empathetic and willing to listen to a woman. Up until quite recently a woman had to prove they were experiencing domestic violence. I was appalled," (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006). Meredith suggested that the housing executive continues to lack consistency in staff empathy toward abusive women, adheres to procedure at the expense of the woman, and lacks authority since it is part of a larger system.

It appears that some practical measures should streamline the housing bureaucracy. First, if the housing executive trusts the shelter to screen women to ensure they do not take advantage of the system, then the housing executive can begin the process assuming a woman in shelter needs emergency housing. Second, training on the trauma of domestic violence seems necessary for all employees of the housing executive. Policies designed to ensure sensitivity to women in trauma could minimize the chances the victim will return to the abuser or become involved in self-destructive behaviors. Finally, perhaps government grants for abused women to move into a new apartment would minimize the need for women to live in public housing while still giving abused women a new start.

Finally, shelter workers also have to mediate between clients and Child Protective Services. Shelter workers indicated that it was quite common for clients' children being taken away from them. Meredith said:

> "These women to this day have a real fear of social workers. In some cases it really comes down to that because they are terrified that someone will come in and take their children. More and more now we see social workers coming in here and working with mothers and certainly with us…I will say I see an unfair amount of justice when they insist the mother remove the children from the abusive home. What about him?

> Shouldn't he be the one that's removed from the home," (Interview with Meredith, November 10, 2006)?

Meredith's concern over child services exemplifies that women navigating supportive services in order to recover from gender-based violence face continued uncertainty that such services will in fact help them. They may not even go to such agencies out of fear that they will be treated as though they committed the violence. Such support services need to become more accommodating of women at different levels of trauma and recovery, more proficient in dynamics of gender-based violence that may delay a woman seeking help or cause her to return to an abuser. If these services are supportive, then they maximize a woman's chance for a successful recovery, to achieving justice, and to not returning to an individual who has harmed her.

The process of healing from the trauma of domestic or sexual violence can be greatly exacerbated when one finds that one is homeless, unemployed, and fighting for custody of one's children. Getting out of bed can sometimes be a major accomplishment for a woman living in trauma, and shelter workers admit that many clients when they first arrive can barely get out of their pajamas (Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006). When one has to contend with social services, the housing authority, the courts, in addition to finding a job and working on one's psychological well-being, such bureaucracy can be overwhelming and can even delay a woman from healing. Improved efficacy of these systems can help women spend their energy on moving beyond their trauma.

In addition to women's shelters, women's centers throughout Northern Ireland provide a safe space for women to gather, discuss their issues, take classes to toward a qualification, and participate in self-esteem-building support groups. Many women participated in personal development courses including assertiveness training in the 1990s that allowed women to stand up for themselves. They offer personal development courses

as well as Math and English to give women qualifications necessary to gain employment. These women begin the process of moving away from the isolation they experience in the home toward building camaraderie with other women. Simultaneously, courses available at the centers provide valuable stepping-stones for women to gain the confidence to return to school and get a degree. Some women, then, work outside the home, after never previously considering it as an option.

The network of women's centers challenge traditional gender roles and successfully empowers numerous women. One center woman said, "There was a joke here for a while that I would have to wear a hood over my head because there were so many women that would split up with their partners. I wouldn't intend to convince women to leave partners, but I would certainly flag unhealthy aspects of gender socialization that may make relationships unequal" (Interview with Lisa, August 30, 2006).

One obstacle some women's centers encounter is jealousy from men. At another center in a Catholic area, men wanted access to women's services, so women agreed to open support groups such as AA to men but keep other classes women-only. One particular center struggled with their relationships to men in the community. Sylvia said, "I have to say the community did not support the center." One group of Protestant men firebombed a women's center for inviting the Irish president Mary Robinson to visit (Cockburn 1999). They were unhappy with the center's decision to create ties with such a prominent Catholic. Men expressed anger toward women from the same center because the center only allowed women. Sylvia, a woman center worker, said, "We are fighting against men who feel insulted that they are not allowed coming into the woman's center' (Interview with Sylvia, November 9, 2006). Men do not see the need for women to have a safe space, to develop self-esteem, or develop skills.

Such men argue that they need a center for the whole community and not just men. These men are most likely correct in arguing that the community needs new resources for everyone, and the government should support family-wide and community-wide support services. The question remains, though, whether including men in women's centers is the best way to achieve this end. One must remember that women worked hard to develop these centers during The Troubles as a means of gaining support from each other. Such work should be applauded. However, unless work is done in tandem with women centers on transforming men and masculinity, then men are more likely to compete rather than cooperate with women's goals. Separate programs that meet the needs for men and women but that operate in conjunction with each other and with the leadership and wisdom of the women's movement would help both women and men cope with the outdated gender role norms that fail to match the economic and political realities.

Two rape crisis centers existed in Belfast, The Rape Crisis Center and Nexus. Research participants, such as Dorothea, expressed preference for The Rape Crisis Center due to Nexus's long wait times and contributions expected of clients (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006). Dorothea found the counseling and support she received at The Rape Crisis Center integral to her healing from her past of multiple rapes and abusive relationships. She said that she would have committed suicide had she not gained the support she needed. Through the center she began expressing herself through poetry, which has proven to be a valuable outlet for her. Now, she advocates for the cause of sexual assault survivors and helps other survivors (Interview with Dorothea, August 10, 2006).

During 2006-2007, The Northern Ireland Assembly threatened to withdraw The Rape Crisis Centre's funding over two accounting issues. One attorney familiar with the case, read the report explaining that the crisis center had documented for all funding but not

in the appropriate way at the appropriate time and so the assembly felt entitled to withdraw its funding (Interview with Fiona, August 22, 2006). Patricia, who works at the center, argued that the assembly utilized this tactic as a means of attacking the center because those that worked there spoke their mind and refused to speak the party line. She also added that the reason that the center had gone into debt over one item related to the suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly, which occurred frequently when it disagreed over political issues. With the assembly suspended, the center failed to receive its payment on time (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). Patricia says, "The government, the state, controls women's organizations through mandating that they be service-oriented rather than advocacy-oriented. There can never be an equal relationship because the very people you want to lobby are the ones who decide whether you have enough money to exist." Such severe threat of punishing an organization that so many women rely on illustrates the backlash against women occurring during this transition.

The Family Planning Agency (FPA) helps women discuss options around reproductive and sexual health, and they face two main obstacles. First, they experience protests from pro-life groups at both entrances to their premises on a daily basis that intimidate women. The center provides counseling to women about sexual and reproductive health. It does not provide abortions, and abortions are not even legal in Northern Ireland. However, groups against abortion feel entitled to intimidate women entering the organization and shame them into thinking that they have done something wrong. Kelly from FPA has tried to involve the police to stop intimidating women, but the police, who remain contested and intimidating within Northern Ireland, started intimidating the women as well (Interview with Kelly, July 31, 2006). So, the center continues to operate with protesters outside on a daily basis.

In addition, the organization struggles to receive proper funding because sexual and reproductive health is not seen as something related to the political conflict. Voluntary organizations rely on European Peace and Reconciliation money, which requires specific focus peacebuilding projects, usually with a cross-community focus (Interview with Kelly, July 31, 2006). FPA struggles for funds because sexual health often falls outside the remit of the funding criteria. Kelly argues, "sexuality is such a fundamental aspect of our being that of course this has been affected by the last 30 years…Well, because the focus has been so much on the conflict, these other aspects of a person have been ignored. This stifles an individual's development and their understanding of their sexuality" (Interview with Kelly, July 31, 2006).

Elizabeth felt that women's centers should be entitled to peace and reconciliation money "because I think we as a sector are cross-community" (Interview with Elizabeth, August 11, 2006). In addition, she argues for core funding on the basis that, "I think the government has recognized the work that women have done to maintain community stability in providing leadership and in providing very often the only infrastructure to keep communities going (Interview with Elizabeth August 11, 2006)." In addition, organizations struggled to keep projects running while also worrying about overhead costs. When discussing Elizabeth's need to hire an administrative assistant to help with day to day activities. She said, "To engage with everything that was going on there aren't enough resources (Interview with Elizabeth August 11, 2006)." One woman who works in a shelter said, "The government doesn't do enough to support places like this. There's plenty of evidence of domestic violence, what more do they need?" (Abby, Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 10, 2006).

Another problem with funding women's organizations is that they are not eligible for funding set aside for trauma centers and victim's support organizations. As part of obtaining peace in Northern Ireland, the government established victim's support agencies and trauma centers to help people through trauma they experienced during The Troubles. The government appears to not include women victimized through gender-based violence because it does not see such victims as related to The Troubles. Patricia said: "Trauma centers set up funds for victims of The Troubles. We have found that none of this is available to the victims of rape and sexual abuse. And we would say there's a hierarchy of victims in Northern Ireland and victims of rape and sexual abuse are at the bottom of that standing and that seriously pisses me off" (Interview with Patricia, August 1, 2006). Victim Support, a group the Northern Ireland Office set up after The Troubles to compensate victims, fails to identify victims of sexual violence as victims of The Troubles. Victims of domestic violence who stay with their partners were not eligible for compensation. The group fears spouses would conspire in order to get money or that perpetrators would take money awarded to victims. Women who do call about domestic violence, though, do not even seem to want financial compensation. They seem to prefer to have someone to talk to. "Crimes against women in particular constitute a small percentage of people who contact us. If they call and are experiencing domestic violence they often will not say it is domestic violence; they just want someone to talk to" (Interview with Miriam, July 29, 2006). While rape victims are technically permitted to make claims, the offices visited during this research never received a claim resulting from rape. More often, claims revolve around immigrant attacks or assaults between men after bars close (Interview with Miriam, July 29, 2006). Hence, this Victim Support Group, designed to compensate <u>all</u>

victims of crime, tend to pay more claims to male victims than female victims because the law and social norms combine to enable men to feel more entitled to make a claim.

Part of the process of women healing is moving away from their victimization and focusing on strength, endurance, and resilience (Women's Center Focus Group, November 10, 2006; Interview with Miriam, July 29, 2006). Research participants generally said that their hardships have made them stronger, and they discussed ways they moved past victimization. Several women discussed that, due to the need to care for their children, they "just needed to get on with it"(Women's Center Focus Group, November 10, 2006, Women in Shelter November 10, 2006, Interviews with Dorothea and Julianne, August 10, 2006, Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006). Such women carried a strong sense that they had or were in the process of moving from victim to survivor.

Patriarchal systems impede healing processes in Northern Ireland. First, a hierarchy of victims continues to exist, where men victimized from "The Troubles" receive priority over women who experience gender-based violence. Second, paramilitary groups or right-wing groups attempt to intimidate centers where women receive treatment. Third, women center funding is jeopardized due to prioritization of funding for "peace and reconciliation" work and due to a backlash against equality work in Section 75. Hence, politicians, funders, groups, and individuals all influence public opinion and threaten the work of women's shelters and organizations that promote women's healing. Patriarchy in Northern Ireland, then, obstructs the healing process through belittling the work of these organizations, punishing them for excluding men, and devaluing them for not directly working on the narrow peace and reconciliation remit.

**Helping Organizations in South Africa**

Women from South Africa lacked the same sense of unanimous enthusiasm over women's shelters, centers, and crisis centers shared among women in Northern Ireland. Women's shelters in South Africa operated independently of one another on diverging philosophies. They relied heavily on the personality of the individual running the shelter, and the success of the woman's experience depended on the extent to which she connected with the shelter director. Many women in South Africa lacked access to such organizations or even the knowledge that such organizations existed (Motherwell Focus Group, March 11, 2007). Since shelters were more personality-driven, they were less embedded into the structure of society. Women more commonly reported negative first points of contact with a particular organization, which resulted in increased suspicion and a decreased desire to return (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2007, Interview with Naomi April 24, 2007, Interview with Yonela, April 24, 2007). Unlike shelters in Northern Ireland, some shelters emphasized God as a source of healing.

**Service Agencies: Access and Obstacles**

While social service agencies may help some women heal from abuse and sexual violence, research participants experience obstacles to voluntary organizations meeting their healing needs. The personality and helpfulness of the initial person they talk with determines whether the woman feel hopeful or discouraged that the organization will be helpful to them, and this feeling will impact the extent to which they follow up with the organization. Joyce contacted a family counseling center called FAMSA and a shelter operated through The Department of Social Development (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2007), and Yonela tried to get shelter at Mother of Hope and seek counseling through

FAMSA (Interview with Yonela, April 24, 2007). Both women experienced their initial points of contact as unhelpful and discouraging. Both women contemplated suicide shortly after not feeling supported from these establishments. Such initial encounters can be highly dependent upon the timing of the phone call, the frame of mind of the victim, the level of training of the individual receiving the phone call, and how quickly organizations can get women shelter or counseling appointments.

Various national networks exist in South Africa to help women with violence, but women's accessibility to such organizations is highly variable. Organizations, such as People Opposed to Women Abuse (POWA); FAMSA, which helps families in needs; NICRO, which works with male perpetrators of domestic violence; Lifeline, TAC, and IDASSA, which focus on HIV/AIDS; and GLBT organizations that work with gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people; house main branches in major cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. In Port Elizabeth, no branch of a GLBT organization existed, and Lifeline only had a weak presence. POWA's closest branch was two hours' drive away. While FAMSA's presence was strong in Port Elizabeth, even women in townships outside Port Elizabeth had difficulty accessing the organization due to limited transport. To solve the problem women in townships face regarding lack of access to service providers, a FAMSA representative visits some local townships weekly. After interviewing twelve women in Motherwell (Motherwell Focus Group, March 9, 2007), however, none of them knew of FAMSA's presence in the area.

In Port Elizabeth, FAMSA and NICRO work on domestic violence. FAMSA interviews women who entered the shelter -system to determine if they qualify for the 30-day shelter. They provided individual and family counseling. In addition, they train local police officers and community members about domestic violence. NICRO, while it does

provide counseling to victims, specializes in counseling perpetrators. NICRO also works with community leaders within their own community structure. NICRO, for instance, reaches out to traditional leaders that still play prominent roles in rural areas. Nina is concerned that abused women in rural areas still face pressure from families and traditional leaders to stay within abusive relationships. If they attempt to leave, they often have nowhere to go, and may be ostracized by their communities. Consequently, NICRO attempts to work with traditional leaders to educate them on abuse and teach them to support women. She says, "We have tried, and we've had some success."

One problem that FAMSA workers identified was access to funding. Similar to Northern Ireland, money for peace and reconciliation is beginning to dry up now that the conflicts are considered resolved. Carol says, "It is getting more and more difficult to maintain resources because money is drying up. Money is not freely available as previously. Countries that were giving us money are not giving us money any more. There's not so much funding anywhere" (Interview with Carol, February 15, 2007). So, women who do not experience any less domestic or sexual violence must contend with helping organizations that have less money available to help them. Less money means more overworked staff, undertrained staff, and operating fewer programs to help women heal from the traumas they encounter.

The shelter system appeared to be a patchwork of organizations that non-profits, Department of Social Development, and individuals connected to churches ran. Although shelters were not interlinked in the way that Northern Ireland Women's Aid was, one shelter system consists of an interesting three-tiered model. In this model, an abused woman would seek emergency housing at Mother of Hope for 24 hours. FAMSA would then assess her situation, and if they deemed her a victim of domestic violence and wanted to leave her

abuser, she would move into a 30-day shelter. After the 30 days expired, a woman could find transitional housing at a lodge where she could take classes to gain skills for a job until she could manage to live on her own.

While Northern Ireland maintained a well-structured network of safe houses for women, Women's AID does not distinguish between women who needed a safe space for 24 hours, accommodation for 30 days, or a transitional facility, and some workers considered this a disadvantage (Women's Shelter Focus Group, November 9, 2007). South African society could benefit from developing a more coherent and comprehensive shelter system, and Women's AID could benefit from a tiered model that considered the diversity of women's needs during each phase of development.

The Department of Social Development, in the rural area of Uitenhage outside Port Elizabeth, focuses mostly on abused children, and only houses women if the children have been abused. Merapelo, who works with rape victims in the area, says: "Now, we noticed that in the ads they just speak about children, children, children, not domestic violence, not as much. DSD focuses on children and not women (Merepelo)." Merapelo attempts to develop a more cooperative community-wide program to help rape victims and invites the government, FAMSA, NICRO, and The Department of Social Development to work with her. She says, "They don't come. They don't play a role, especially Social Development who don't believe this is within their scope of duty. It's not only a police thing. The other organizations must help. It must not be made a police only issue" (Interview with Merepelo, April 17, 2007). While the Department of Social Development's mandate involves many children's services, women's services, disability services, and services for older citizens, (dsd.gov.za) individual offices can choose which portions of the mandate on which to focus. In visiting the Utinhage shelter, a worker at the department indicated that The Department

of Social Development in Utinhage is concerned about rape only if it involves the rape of children (Interview with Eileen, April 3, 2007). They choose to narrow their remit to help children who experience abuse, not women.

The final shelter operates autonomously from the government and voluntary sector by a Christian woman named Beatrice. Beatrice feels God calls her to help less fortunate women. Most of the women involved themselves in prostitution or gangs, and she established a shelter to help them escape such lives and direct them toward God. She patrols the streets in order to find women who are considering escaping their lives, mentors them, and provides them shelter and a communal living environment. She views herself as the one who can save women from their lives, and it appears that she takes a prescriptive approach to these women rather than one that values individual choice and empowerment. She says, "A lot of time they say Beatrice you've rescued me, you changed my life. You saved my life. I say it was not me, it was God, so they have no doubt in relation to the truth…they are so broken" (Interview with Beatrice, March 31, 2007). She seems to enjoy her role as "rescuer".

The advantage of Beatrice's shelter is that she finds women who have multiple problems—addictions, prostitution, domestic violence, gang affiliation—that they might not otherwise find a way out of their situation. In addition, Beatrice helps to fill the void in the lack of facilities for women in the area. She says, "We're stretched to the limit and there really aren't any other facilities except Mother of Hope and that's only for 3 or 4 hours and then they're home-based for a month. They're working with abused women in a state of trauma for at least the first month, so nothing's getting in." Letting women stay for as long as they want, she argues helps them (Interview with Beatrice, March 31, 2007). The difficulty with her shelter is that it is not institutionalized and she runs it without support.

Moreover, if women do not accept her Christian paradigm, then they may return to their former situation. Through meeting Beatrice and the women within her shelter, though, one can understand the importance of working with women with such complicated problems who society may otherwise ignore.

**Support through Christianity**

Many research participants in South Africa rely much more on Christianity for support than research participants in Northern Ireland[15]. Part of the reliance on Christianity is class-based and resource based; the women in South Africa who find support through churches do not have elaborate women's centers, nor do they have the hope of the state providing them with other mechanisms of support. Christianity also provides a venue for women to support each other. In Motherwell, women form solidarity through worshipping together. Women pray aloud for strength to overcome their struggles, sing and dance, as well as cry together (Observation of Church in Motherwell, March 9, 2007). The church group in Motherwell resembles some of the women's centers in Northern Ireland, where women bond through laughter, shared experiences, and improved inner strength.

Second, praying is one way they can exercise agency. It is a means they can feel they are actively taking measures to change their situation. "Well, because Christ is on us He always with us in many difficulties and so many challenges" (Motherwell focus group, March 9, 2011). "Just pray to the Lord to give you a job, and He will give you, and feed your children" (Interview with Thandiwe, June 29, 2007). "You pray for Heaven only but here on

[15] Churches in Northern Ireland often situate themselves in relation to the conflict that they offer little refuge for women (Porter 2002). Individuals within the church may still provide support, but such support may be more counseling-oriented than spiritually based. For instance, Sara, discusses the way Sister Mary Frances played an instrumental role in her healing process (Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006), but her role centered more around support and counseling than providing a Christian education.

earth you cannot get nothing" (Interview with Precious, March 13, 2007). Since women in such dire circumstances cannot rely on worldly powers to transform their life's circumstances, they attempt to empower themselves and change their circumstances through prayer.

Third, Christianity provides a venue for forgiveness. In Beatrice's Shelter, converting women to Christianity seems to be an integral aspect of their recovery. "There are so many success stories -- when they start working with God and see God from my point of view -- I see them moved on and they've got married and they're working and taking care of their children." She sees finding Christ and integrating into mainstream society symbolic of their healing process (Interview with Beatrice, March 31, 2007). Joyce is one such woman who found religion integral to her healing. She says, "I learned [through church courses] a lot about healing - what you need to heal. I've a lot of issues. I've been hurt in my childhood and the rejection from my mom. I've actually dealt with some of that and forgiveness is the most important thing of all because if you can't forgive somebody for what they've done to you and you can't let go you tend to put a worth to that and you live in bondage" (Interview with Joyce, April 24, 2007).

**Volunteerism**

Women in both South Africa and Northern Ireland heal through helping others through problems similar to the ones they have experienced. In Northern Ireland, many of the women who work for women's centers, women's shelters, community centers, or advocacy agencies began their work because they received help working through difficulties in their own life. Pauline, for instance, works with youth on reproductive health issues after she became a teen mother (Interview with Pauline, November 20, 2006). Dorothea and

Julianne volunteer for the Rape Crisis Centre after finding support for their sexual violations at the center (Interviews with Dorothea and Julianne, August 10, 2006). Sara completed her degree in counseling because a counselor helped her when she experienced abuse (Interview with Sara, October 30, 2006).

In South Africa, women also help others as a means of healing, but they do so more while they are still in the process of healing rather than to give back after they completed their struggle. They volunteer with local organizations as a means of feeling connected to a worthwhile project, getting their mind off their own troubles, and feeling like they are productive agents rather than helpless victims. One woman said, "To be at the crèche you laugh and always feel happy because of children and I also think it is a good medicine" (Interview with Nobazani, 2007). Nobazani volunteers in order to keep herself from getting depressed. "I volunteer at the local clinic. I must get out of the house. If I stay in the house, I am depressed. If I am at the clinic, then I feel good" (Interview with Nozizwe, March 9, 2007). Keeping busy and leaving the house prevents her from being depressed because she is able to take action rather than stay under the control of her abusive husband and her gang-member son. The three founders of a soup kitchen in New Brighton volunteer because it bothers them too much to sit around and do nothing about the poverty they see around them (Interview with Mrs. Xaso, June 28, 2007). All such efforts exemplify a desire to empower oneself through helping others. Exercising agency to make one's community better or to make another person's life better is evidence of healing because it illustrates that an individual has moved away from being stuck within one's own trauma to see one's interactions with others. Recognizing one's own ability to act, whether on one's own behalf or on another's behalf, is pivotal to moving from a victim to a survivor.

# CONCLUSION

Northern Ireland and South Africa continue to lack social systems that help women to heal from violence and to punish perpetrators. The health care and criminal justice systems face a similar challenge in helping women: the underlying ideology from which each system operates is predicated upon negative, women-blaming assumptions. For instance, doctors in Northern Ireland operate from the assumption that women are damaged and need to be fixed through medicine rather than looking for underlying causes within their lives for anxiety or depression. In South Africa, the health system appears to accept that a proportion of the population is beyond reach and just gives up on them. Both health care systems display structural violence because each system contains specific areas of intervention that harms women rather than helps them.

The criminal justice systems in Northern Ireland and South Africa risk harming women. Women at times can have positive experiences with the police, but their experiences tend to be uneven. Police in both countries continue to diminish incidents of domestic or sexual violence, and they may arrest both parties for mutual abuse. South African women find that police might not respond to calls or take a long time to respond to calls. Such police behavior illustrates a lack of sensitivity to the power dynamics within domestic and sexual violence and that police do not respond swiftly to gender violence. Police are reluctant to gather evidence because they suspect the woman will drop the charges, which illustrates a victim-blaming climate among police. In addition, women in Northern Ireland do not always feel comfortable calling the police, and women in South Africa do not find police stations victim-friendly. Such a lack of comfort illustrates the way

race/ethnicity intersects with gender to intimidate women. Courts in both countries tend to not be victim-friendly and can take a long time to get to a case. Most importantly, when courts find a perpetrator guilty, judges sentence lightly, which compromises the victim's safety and sends a message to society that the offense is not a serious crime. Hence, the criminal justice system does not send a consistent and singular message to perpetrators that gender violence is not tolerated, nor does it send a message that it will help victims. Victims face a structural trap of wanting to take action to punish their perpetrator and achieve justice, but they find the odds of the process yielding either is slim. Consequently, they may calculate that it is in their best interests to decline to file charges.

This study based upon research in South Africa and Northern Ireland confirms that not only is sexual violence gendered, but that the violence of war is gendered. Sexual violence, like the violence of war, emanates from the desire to gain power and control others. Patriarchal oppression is interrelated to racial, ethnic, class, and all other forms of oppression. In addition, men and women experience violence from war differently and now experience the political transitions differently. Women continue to struggle to gain political power equal to men's. Women fear community violence, especially rape, and still feel that gangs, paramilitaries, and men control public space. Women experience trafficking and violence associated with sex work. Women continue to experience domestic violence. Finally, women face structural violence in several ways: through questioning their roles as mothers, through victim-blaming, through being considered irrational, and through being perceived as immoral or improper.

Gender role stereotypes within the context of this research promote gender-based violence. Such stereotypes box women and men into normative roles and give men permission to exert violence when a woman fails to live up to hegemonic femininity.

Moreover, stereotypes encourage men to constantly prove their hegemonic masculinity. Exerting violence and sexual prowess are integral components to hegemonic masculinity in most societies. In societies that experience conflict, the culture often requires women to step outside traditional gender roles. When women are unwilling to cede power to males returning from war, men become insecure and may resort to abuse in order to assert dominance. In a less patriarchal society, men would embrace women's gains and not view women's advancements as a challenge to their own. Northern Ireland and South Africa also display patriarchy through creating a social climate, not just an individual climate, where society at large is hostile to women's advancements and where it is socially acceptable for men to denigrate women for entering the public sphere. In order for men and women to work together to disrupt such patriarchal tendencies, one must examine language used to describe women, unravel social patterns of blame and responsibility, and unpack what justifies anger at women and violence toward women.

This study concludes that gender role uncertainty during the transition from war to peace fuels violence against women. Men who follow traditional gender role ideology the most find it hardest to adapt to women's empowerment. Economic injustices within both South Africa and Northern Ireland facilitate an insecurity of gender roles, and the societies fail to shift their ideals of masculinity and femininity when the economic climate changes. Males that internalize feelings of hostility toward women because of the government, society, and global capitalism's failures to meet their needs are at greatest risk of perpetrating violence against women. Communities within each country support such violence through promoting patriarchal attitudes that facilitate a hierarchy of men over women and competition between the sexes. Community culpability in promoting gender-based violence must be challenged.

While this study shows that certain dynamics around violence against women are universal, women's specific experiences of violence and strategies for survival and resistance differ. Environment and socio-location determine how gender violence impacts a woman and how she responds to such violence. For instance, women from more deprived communities feel more vulnerable to paramilitary violence in Northern Ireland. In South Africa, women from townships experience racism and impoverishment, and, as a result, lack the resources to help them that are available in more privileged areas. One's culture or one's background shapes the weapons that perpetrators have at their disposal and the options a woman has in responding to such violence depend on how her socio-location intersects with the type of violence she experiences.

Societies in transition from war to peace are well-situated to develop important policies to improve the lives of women and men because they have the opportunity to reconstruct their entire social fabric. If enough institutions prioritize eradicating gender violence, economic potential exists to develop a multi-sector strategy that identifies ways to prevent, punish, and rehabilitate offenders while empowering women to identify and disable abusive behaviors and to heal from the trauma of rape and domestic violence. As citizens shift behaviors away from political violence, a ripe moment exists through which to educate the general populace about gender-based violence. Shifting the perception of gender violence from an individual problem to a societal problem, in which all citizens have a role to play to eradicate it, is essential in gaining public recognition of social culpability in promoting attitudes and behaviors that can either encourage or discourage such behavior.

Changes in the way society views services and additions to the services offered are necessary. If the government sees women as objects in need of protection, then interventions may limit their mobility and freedoms rather than work to create a safe

environment that empowers women. Evidence of the South African government viewing women as objects of male protection and of the government viewing women as having similar status to children rather than male adults exists in speeches from governmental officials (Zuma 2011) on gender-based violence. In recent speeches from South African President Jacob Zuma, for example, he discusses problems women face along with problems that children encounter, which portray women as unable to care for themselves. The president fails to distinguish the dynamics between violence against women and violence against children. Such a linkage suggests that men retain a responsibility for protecting women. Such a response promotes sexism because it promotes gender dichotomies of men as protectors and women as protected and fails to allow women to reach their full potential within society. Government officials should instead discuss the need to empower women, to help them meet their life's potential unconstrained by violence. Hence, unless the structural conditions that make rape and coercive sexual relationships so prominent within South Africa are eradicated, the law will have minimal effect.

## Attitudinal Change as Transformation

Transforming societal hierarchies into more just and equal social structures can create trepidation for citizens because the world, as it currently exists, has been built upon such hierarchies. However, taking such a leap would benefit all, including those who hold the most power. Transforming society would involve challenging rigid gender role construction and rigid gender roles hurt both sexes. These roles force men to prove their masculinity repeatedly and perpetuate insecurity in their masculinity (Connell 2005). Such roles force men and women to live up to normative roles within the family that, as discussed in this dissertation, are far removed from the actual reality of the way that labor is and

historically has been divided. Recognizing that gender roles are unhelpful stereotypes can relieve both sexes from the psychological harm of feeling that they are failures for not achieving the prescribed standards of masculinity and femininity. Further, such an awareness can force marital partners to negotiate honest divisions of labor. Men and women can be equal partners in practical efforts within community, church, and school groups to foster equality between the sexes.

**From Protection to Empowerment**

Traditional rhetoric around rape and domestic violence involves protecting women rather than empowering them. For instance, shelters should serve as a temporary service for women, not a solution for transforming society. Using shelters and crisis centers after women become victims is an intervention strategy rather than a preventive strategy. Relying solely on intervention tactics without including prevention efforts accepts that gender-based violence will always happen. Hiding women in shelters imprisons victims, not perpetrators. Shelters are a way of removing women from their support systems, their houses, and their lives. Through forcing women into shelter rather than sentencing men to prison, society incarcerates women. Shelters need to exist while domestic violence continues to be so high, but they are not the solution to domestic violence. A focus group of shelter workers feel adamant that shelters are currently a necessary band-aid for society, but that changing societal views of women so that shelters were no longer necessary is the key to effectively challenging domestic violence. Shelter workers find that their biggest obstacle to eradicating domestic violence is that society still misunderstands it. "We encounter brick walls on a daily basis here about people's lack of knowledge, their lack of understanding, and ignorance in regard to domestic violence. They do not believe it happens in their community and they

are too scared to challenge it." Shelter workers interviewed feel they noticed some increased awareness over the last two or three years, but acknowledge they have a long road ahead of them (Shelter Worker Focus Group, November 10, 2006).

Rather than wait until after a woman has undergone a trauma and a man has already offended, society can disrupt the patterns of patriarchy and build a new foundation to prevent such gender violence. Doing so will mitigate negative outcomes of trauma, physical health problems, expenses in the judicial system, and the loss of productive workers due to disability from trauma or imprisonment. Such work becomes essential when the HIV/AIDS reaches epidemic heights and when domestic violence and rape become venues through which women acquire the disease.

Societies can prevent rape and domestic violence through infrastructure, education and empowerment. First, infrastructure can improve women's safety and access to resources. The government can provide funding to make it safer for women to use public transportation and provide proper lighting to improve women's sense of safety. Police should reach out to communities to establish a positive and trusting relationship and be a presence within communities that can deter street crime. It should also include providing proper and safe housing for the impoverished as well as enough welfare and job training that that empowers women and men.

Attitudinal change that transforms gendered relationships is necessary to disrupt patriarchal structures and beliefs. Preventive education through schools, media, social networks, and voluntary sector-run workshops can become a cornerstone of preventing gender violence. Such education involves transforming gender role stereotypes that elevate the masculine and degrade the feminine. Such work can build women's self-esteem and de-link masculinity from misogyny. Healthy relationship classes can teach men that sexual

intercourse without consent even within a marriage or dating relationship is still rape. They can also teach men that masculinity need not be linked with sexual prowess, and perhaps make it less socially acceptable within South African society for men to have multiple sexual partners. In addition, government and community efforts can work to destroy sexual trafficking and prostitution networks. Men's projects can work in conjunction with women's projects to ensure they do not promote competitive, anti-female values. Funders can provide incentives for voluntary organizations working with men and women to work together, but the priority needs to remain of eradicating male privilege that stems from patriarchy and of challenging gender role socialization that leads to gender-based violence. Moreover, funders should recognize that many women still need women-only spaces where they can recover from trauma and empower themselves, and that it makes sense to exclude men from such projects. Finally, funding for men's groups should in no way detract from funding for women healing from trauma. The variety of work requires that a broader pool of resources should be dedicated to all projects, with the hope that such projects will impact the level of gender-based violence and that the social acceptability of gender-based violence will be diminished. Investing now can save money and increase human capital in the long run.

In conclusion, practical interventions must involve pre-empting, rather than merely reacting to, gender-based violence. Societies must recognize that female empowerment is linked to gender violence, and empowering women involves acknowledging and interrupting the violence against them, promoting self-esteem, and providing them with the tools to become economically self-sufficient. Prevention also requires disrupting traditional gender roles in cooperative efforts among young men and young women. Youth clubs, community centers, and church groups can all begin projects to unravel the social scripts that men and

women receive at young ages that promote roles of men as protectors and women as the protected as well as men as sexually aggressors and women as guardians of sexual boundaries. Such practical interventions must prevent rather than manage gender-based violence. Marcus says that responses to rape in the US "can produce a sense of futility: rape itself seems to be taken for granted as an occurrence and only post-rape events offer possible occasions for intervention" (Marcus, 2003, 432). The same is true in Northern Ireland and South Africa. Societies should not assume rape or any form of sexual violence is inevitable. Accepting that gender violence will occur and responding through interventions to mitigate the social impact fail to provide women with justice or enable them to achieve their potential. Even if she does not experience it personally, a woman lives in terror that it can happen to her. A society's goal should be to decide that sexual violence is unacceptable and to devise strategies to prevent such violence. Strategies need to diminish male entitlement to dominate others, increase women's self-esteem and assertiveness, and lessen society's tolerance for such violence.

This research project will be distributed widely within the areas of research. Participants in the research requested copies of the final document, and I want it to be available to them for reference, activist, or educational purposes. In addition to creating an accompanying book of participant narratives, I intend to devise a policy document for each government on what steps to take to better realize the goal of eradicating gender violence. In addition, I intend to create a training manual for each country, working with individuals who are already challenging traditional gender roles, on how to challenge gender-violence in their efforts and how to make questions of gender roles and gender more violence widespread in society.

**From Responding to Incidents to Recognizing Patterns**

Interventions for violence against women should be based on the understanding that violence against women is a pattern of behavior whereby perpetrators seek power and control over women. All men, not just the perpetrators, benefit due to this violence. As this dissertation has shown, men are more free to occupy public space, live in less fear, and do not receive the same social sanctions as women. Women who have not experienced violence live with the knowledge that they may one day be subjected to it, and many women alter their behaviors in an attempt to prevent it from happening. Trauma that often results from such violence prevents women from reaching their full potential as citizens. Men do experience violence, but they as a group are not subordinated because of it.

Therefore, interventions must recognize the wider societal pattern of gender-based violence and the patterns within specific relationships of intimate partner violence. For instance, with domestic violence, police and courts need to be trained on its dynamics and provide victim-friendly facilities. Police must document all forms of abuse and harassment, so they can help courts determine whether a pattern of intimate partner abuse is present. If police and courts determine a pattern of abuse, then perpetrators need to be jailed and rehabilitated from jail. Sentences need to reflect the detrimental impact that rape and domestic violence can have on plaintiffs. In addition, screening for abuse or a history of sexual violence should become routine within hospitals. Those conducting the screening should become more proficient in how to ask women to disclose abuse and identify signs of domestic violence. Communities can offer support to women through not questioning a victim's behavior, intervening if they suspect or observe violence, and promoting healthy relationships between men and women.

Societies must reflect upon larger patterns of sexism within medical, and criminal justice systems, and other forms of state and non-state interventions. Corea and Petchesky (1994) argue that access to services, freedom from intimidation while receiving services and safety in receiving services are part of one's basic human rights. Such rights can be difficult to monitor, though, because social conditions rather than legislation determine the extent to which women feel empowered to access health services and counseling and not be harassed when they do so -- to access transportation that allows them to navigate public space safe from sexual violence, to maintain financial autonomy so they need not depend on sexual partners for income, and to contribute to larger decision-making structures. They argue that the international community must emphasize affirmative responsibilities of states to provide resources for all women to receive the same quality of care. Also, they argue that states must not merely meet the criteria of women's basic rights but aspire to fulfilling women's human needs.

Since rape and domestic violence relate to deeply embedded societal problems of gender dominance, the solution needs to come from all levels of society. It involves prevention as much as intervention. It involves the work of schools, churches, community organizations, doctors, psychologists, police, courts, and elected officials. Only with a multi-layered approach can a society break the cycle of gender violence.

**Cooperation Instead of Competition**

As long as systems of domination outweigh systems of cooperation, then a society will encourage patriarchy and misogyny. For instance, as discussed in Chapter One, South Africa and Northern Ireland, in promoting a global capitalist ideology since the transitions, are sharpening inequality and expanding unemployment. Men, who previously felt secure in

the workforce, now blame women for taking jobs away from them, rather than the government for promoting the neo-liberal framework that shipped their industries overseas in favor of low-waged feminized employment. Even though men continue to outrank women in employment, they continue to blame women for any decline in male jobs. Hence, when men perceive a loss within capitalism they exert power in another venue.

In order for hegemonic masculinity to be demonstrated in a different way than exercising dominance over others, governments should model cooperation and compassion over dominance. South Africa's political transition began to show signs of cooperation when the Apartheid regime relinquished control of the country and when it began a process of truth and reconciliation. However, the ANC has not continued to remain cooperative. Ethnic factions within the group have fought for dominance, the government strives to be the superpower of Africa, and the government has promoted neo-liberal economic policies that hurt those that are already struggling economically. Its continued economic stratification, lack of sustainable development, and workforce incapacitated with disease make one question the extent the transition ever reached its potential and whether the government could do more to improve the quality of life of individuals. Northern Ireland, on the other hand, adopted a power-sharing arrangement that only facilitates stalemate after stalemate, as neither side appears to internalize the belief that the conflict is over. Northern Ireland has begun an economic recovery within service and information technology sectors, but citizens from deprived communities still fail to benefit from such developments.

Gender violence is a global problem. "Women and girls are still 70% of the world's poor and bear the brunt of globalization and this is why a feminism without and beyond borders is necessary to address the injustices of capitalism" (Mohanty in McCann, 2003, 452). Mohanty sees women's struggle as closely connected to the anti-globalization struggle.

She finds it necessary for women to build global solidarity. Globalization shows us that women's experiences are not isolated from the rest of the world. Globalization also shows that the ideology of economic domination continues to permeate the world. Such domination needs to be challenged in order for the domination of patriarchy to be eradicated. A country's position within the global economy determines the relative privilege or poverty of its citizens. Even those from the most deprived communities in Northern Ireland, though, have access to basic health care, social services, and schooling that all citizens of the United Kingdom receive, which means that even the most deprived citizens have a significantly higher quality of life than those in South Africa. Moreover, the voluntary sector in Northern Ireland benefits from its membership to the European Union and the funds it brings. However, if the UK continues to privatize education and health care, and undercut social services, Northern Ireland could experience a significantly greater degree of economic stratification. Relinquishing the ideal of dominance and replacing it with more cooperative and humane political and economic institutions can facilitate a more egalitarian and peaceful society.

Cooperation could take the form of transforming health care systems to ensure the health and well-being of all citizens based on their level of human need. It could be an opportunity to explore and intervene in public health issues that appear to be common outcomes of living in an environment of war and gender violence. These include post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, depression, high blood pressure, diabetes and chronic pain. Citizens will not feel safe until they come to terms with the physical and emotional consequences of such violence and until society supports them in that process.

Cooperation needs to take the form of ending all forms of domination based on race, ethnicity, class, gender, ability, age, disability and heterosexism. South Africans have

focused on public displays of reconciliation between oppressors and oppressed without large-scale interventions to challenge individual hatred. Northern Ireland has attempted many cross-community interventions between Catholics and Protestants but has never utilized large-scale reconciliation processes like South Africa did. Moreover, Northern Ireland and South Africa's myopic focus on ethnicity and race, respectively, only permits citizens to perpetuate domination in other areas. We see such domination not only with gender but also with the working-class and immigrants. A society should not transfer hate and domination from one venue to another. Rather, all forms of domination need to be reconciled simultaneously, and any strategy should emanate from extensive dialogue with the individuals experiencing the particular need. One cannot simply expect travelers, disabled individuals, the elderly, or the infirm to adapt to the dominant culture. The dominant culture should adapt to include their needs.

In addition, we must ask what relevance patriarchal dominance has for the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender population. How might the same sexism that leads to violence against women contribute to violence related to homophobia? What similarities and differences exist between domestic violence in same-sex relationships and heterosexual relationships? This study has not found the answers to such questions, and future research must do so.

## Conclusion

This study recommends cross-national research on best practices to transform hegemonic masculinity. Would involving men more significantly in child-rearing practices help to change hegemonic masculinity that denigrates traditionally feminine work and elevates masculine work? Has improving women's involvement in public life elevated

women's status and decreased their risk for gender-based violence? If such change is not accompanied with changes in men's attitudes but instead with insecurity that women usurp men's traditional role, then how effective can elevating women's status in public life end violence against women?

Further research should continue to listen to women from a variety of backgrounds. Further research could explore more thoroughly the similarities and differences between different social groupings, especially those of different sexualities, different classes, and in urban vs. rural settings. This research illustrated general themes among women, and began to distinguish which were more pronounced amongst different race and classes. It showed the way socio-location did play an important role in the way women's experiences manifested themselves, even if their concerns were similar to each other. It also begun to show that disability is a relevant feature in the way a woman experiences gender violence and should be examined further.

This research brought forth some important findings that should be explored in greater depth. First, women indicated a concern over sex trafficking, but could provide very little data on the matter. It is worth exploring in greater detail. Second, the incidence of mental health problems after experiencing gender violence appears to be another issue that issue that arose from this study, but was hard to determine as a concrete finding. This issue also raises the question of the extent to which women's support networks adequately address mental health problems that arise from gender violence. Finally, research participants clearly indicated concern for their relationship with their children and the well-being of the children. An important study is to examine the impact of domestic violence on child witnesses from the perspective of the child, grown or otherwise.

I look forward to utilizing the findings from this study in a number of ways to work in conjunction with the research participants. Findings can be utilized as the basis of an advocacy document, policy document, or grant application. I hope that the participants will help determine how the findings are utilized.

Mohanty says, "If we pay attention to and think from the space of some of the most disenfranchised communities of women in the world, we are more likely to envision a just and democratic society capable of treating all citizens fairly," (Mohanty in McCann, 2003, 452). In addition, gathering women's stories helps women to feel their experiences are valid. Such affirmation can help women feel empowered. Finally, McKay, in underscoring the centrality of women's movements to developing peace within societies under post-war reconstruction, argues that annunciation, the processes of developing just social institutions and cultures, is necessary to facilitating peace and the well-being of all citizens. She discusses the way consciousness-raising groups can promote psychological changes within women that improve self-esteem and make them more independent. Such groups have challenged cultures of male dominance. She argues that "Peace psychology, too, must begin the process of annunciation and conscientization in order to bring to consciousness the realities of how gender constructs the process of societal reconstruction and, thereby, work toward change based on principles of equality of men and women" (McKay in Lorentzen and Turpin, 1998, 360). Hence, society should not develop peace processes without scrutinizing the way gender role constructions perpetuate war. Society must find ways to devise institutions that challenge gender roles and, hence, disrupt patriarchy.

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