An emancipatory African victimological assessment with specific reference to the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia

by

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Dedication

To my late aunt, Sarah ‘Mummy’ Cader. I miss you.

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First and foremost, I would like to give all the glory and honour to the Lord God Almighty Jesus Christ for His support, guidance and counsel during one of the most trying times in my life. Philippians 4: 13 has been my mantra throughout my academic life and never have I repeatedly spoken a verse out loud as I have with this one. It carried me through many late nights and a dam's worth of tears. Thank You Lord. Thank You very much.

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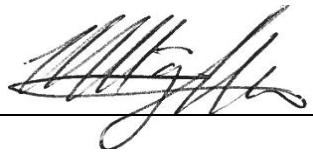
Finally, to the women of the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia, I would like to give a heartfelt thank you for all that they have taught me. This research study would not have been possible without them. I wish only the best for them and their future.

Declaration

I, Mariska N. Matjila, hereby acknowledge that the product of this dissertation is my own work and that all references, quotes and citations have been duly credited. This dissertation is being submitted in accordance with the prerequisites for the degree of Masters of Social Science with specialisation in Criminology at the Department of Criminology, University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, Republic of South Africa. Furthermore, this dissertation has not been previously submitted for a qualification at another university or research institution.



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Summary

In light of numerous momentous milestones that feminism has achieved around the world, by enabling women to pursue employment in various spheres such as medicine, politics and business, it has inadvertently placed women from indigenous societies in condescending positions. By not recognising this problematic error, Western and Eurocentric feminist theories subsumed all women under a universal umbrella. Being viewed as the 'Other' woman by Western/Eurocentric ideologies has positioned women from 'developing' countries in areas that have come to restrict their unique voices. This, more so for indigenous women as they have been perceived by some feminist scholars and activists to be in need of dire assistance. Moreover, this assistance is solely derived from Western policies that has neglected to acknowledge the uniqueness of African women's problems. As a result of this neglect, indigenous African women have been victimised into believing that Western and Eurocentric development plans have been implemented to aid in the modernisation of their communities. The victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women in Africa is a subject that has garnered a limited amount of research. The plights of these women has been documented over the years, however, the implementation of policies, laws and intervention programmes has received criticism from African scholars, as well as some Western scholars. These criticisms stem from the possible effects that certain cultural practices may have on indigenous women. Notwithstanding, the influence of patriarchy on their lived experiences is a matter that some African scholars believe requires attention.

Utilising an exploratory standpoint as the basis for this study's aims, the possible victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women in their communities was explored, as well as the causes that may contribute to their victimisation. Furthermore, due to the need to understand the problems of indigenous women from an African perspective, this study sought to explore whether or not an emancipated African perspective could assist in explaining the meanings, and experiences attached to the roles of indigenous women in their communities.

The use of a qualitative research model aided in the collection of the data necessary for this study. By employing a purposive sampling technique, 11 indigenous women from the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia participated in this study. The findings of the focus

group discussions were analysed thematically and various themes, as well as their respective factors emerged from the data. These themes and factors were explored, and discussed on macro and micro levels. This distinction during analysis made it possible to limit the overlap between certain themes and factors, as some themes and factors were linked via particular aspects of discussion. The findings illustrated that this particular group of indigenous women are vulnerable to victimisation and that certain traditional practices associated with their culture such as marriage contributed to experiences of emotional distress. Furthermore, patriarchy and its influence on their lived experiences was found to be a contributing factor to their victimisation vulnerability as well. Finally, the findings related to how indigenous women felt about their roles as women in their communities, highlighted that they were content with their positions as wives and as mothers. In addition, the love for their culture surpassed their desires for a modern life. Thus, concluding that Western and Eurocentric theories cannot be universally applied to all women from different cultural, racial and economic backgrounds.

The recommendations that were posed in this study emphasised a need to develop an African perspective that will decolonise and emancipate itself from Western, and Eurocentric ideologies, with the use of indigenous African women's personal narratives as a cornerstone. Multi-disciplinary studies may also need to be conducted in order to address the dearth of research, as well as the library of literature for academic research purposes.

Key Terms

Indigenous women, victimisation vulnerability, secondary victimisation, feminism, patriarchy, culture and emancipatory victimology

CHAPTER 1: GENERAL ORIENTATION AND PROBLEM FORMULATION

1.1. Introduction

Within and outside the circles of feminist academic studies, there seems to be a standard generalisation that all women experience the same amount of discrimination, abuse and victimisation (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010: 618; Maddison & Partridge, 2014: 32; Mulinari, 2014: 45). Unfortunately, that cannot be wholly true in light of events that have taken place over recent years which affected indigenous women, such as the practice of widowhood in some African countries, that is, the preparation of a woman for life as a widow through rituals and traditional practices such as cleansing. In addition, female genital mutilation (FMG), practices of *sati* in rural India, and patriarchal subordination (Coomaraswamy, 2002: 490; Kapuma, 2012: 64; Kaplan, Hechavarría, Martín & Bonhoure, 2011: 1). If one had to take a microscopic view of the world in which these women live (developing countries), one would then be compelled to ponder on these said experiences from an indigenous perspective. That would then mean that everything that the world has come to know and comprehend about the issues of African women has to be reassessed. This possible renovation indeed needs to be grounded on arguments that will not only stimulate theoretical growth forming a new paradigm within an African victimological context, but it should also be able to challenge what current data there is on the matter of indigenous African women (Packer, 2002: 3).

In order to gain a better understanding of the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women, this research study will explore the relevance of and need for an African emancipatory paradigm in the current era that indigenous African women live. This relevance need not be wholly segregated or isolated from past theories and Western-centric perspectives, but should be more sensitive toward the context and realities of indigenous African women, and not continue to accept the long-standing impressions of the plights of African women that Western-centric theorists have produced.

Therefore, this chapter will include a brief historical outlook within an African victimological context, with the aim of outlining the historical basis for the current experiences of victimisation and abuse of indigenous African women. This historical perspective will assist in understanding how the existing Eurocentric understandings came to be and how they have contributed to the current understandings of the plight

of indigenous African women. Lastly, with regards to the problem formulation, not only will unique arguments be underlined, but any existing attempts to address the issue of the victimisation of indigenous women will be discussed and critically evaluated.

1.2. Conceptualisation

The subsequent concepts that will be addressed below are going to be used as a backdrop for this chapter and for the rest of the study. It is therefore vital to consider that in the reassessment and subsequent re-imagination of a paradigm, certain concepts are required to be identified and analysed. Such information can then be used to further shape this potentially new African emancipatory paradigm on the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous African women.

1.2.1. Indigenous people

The word indigenous has a complex history, because of the various negative connotations associated with it, for example, 'primitive', 'backward' and even 'uncivilised'. It takes its roots from the Latin word *indigena*, which means someone who is native to a specific country. In the middle of the 17th century it was used to describe products or people that were native, or belonged naturally to a particular region (Hodgson, 2002: 1038). However, since the 20th century, its meaning changed and became complex. Currently in the 21st century, the meaning of the word indigenous has become even more controversial and ambiguous. Its legal, political and social definitions have been further misconstrued by numerous disenfranchised groups using it to promote and define their agendas (Hodgson, 2002: 1038). According to UNESCO (2006: 10) and Shizha (2013: 2) due to the diversity of indigenous communities around the world, a universal or official definition of the term is still debated. Shizha (2013: 2) opines that although most scholars use the term to describe indigenous people as minorities in their native lands, he believes that such a definition is too narrow when considering the context of Africa. He argues that it could possibly disindigenise many African indigenous groups, because of the diversity of subcultural groups (Shizha, 2013: 2).

The definition that is acknowledged and recognised globally by academics, and international politicians was adopted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) at the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples' Convention 169 in 1989 (Hodgson, 2002: 1038). It states that indigenous people are people who are descendants of populations that

occupied a country, or a specific geographical area when the country was colonised, or when current state borders were established and regardless of any legal status that they may hold, remain in possession of a few, if not all of their own economic, social, political and cultural institutions (Hodgson, 2002: 1038). Furthermore, they are considered to be tribal peoples whose cultural, economic and social conditions are distinctive from the rest of the country, and their status in life is maintained partially or wholly by their community's traditions, or customs, or regulations, or by particular laws (Hodgson, 2002: 1038). Although this definition of who or what are indigenous people is recognised by international scholars and politicians, many African scholars and politicians disagree. Adefarakan (2011: 35) believes that the term 'indigenous' is multi-layered, because it is composed of a variety of experiences in which both difference and similarity co-exist. In other words, indigenous cannot be viewed as a singular identity, category or experience (Adefarakan, 2011: 35).

Adefarakan (2011: 35) explains that some African tribes such as the Yoruba of Nigeria, for example, have a lived experience that was influenced greatly by the slave trade which forced them into various parts of the Americas, Europe and the Caribbean. Therefore, their culture, spirituality, world-view and language cannot be bound to one geographic area as a result of their migration. With regards to land and the connection that indigenous people have with it, he states that the academic world needs to take into consideration how colonisation and the slave trade forcibly removed many indigenous people from their land of origin (Adefarakan, 2011: 37). This point was made, because academia had unwittingly disqualified those indigenous people who no longer resided in their country of origin. Examples of such indigenous people are the Aborigines in the Americas, the Pacific area and the San of Southern Africa (Adefarakan, 2011: 37; Hodgson, 2002: 1042; Shizha, 2013: 2). Furthermore, the current migration of Africans to various parts of the world due to globalisation was another reason why scholars had to re-evaluate their disqualification of some indigenous peoples. In essence, an indigenous person's connection to their ancestral land should also not be viewed as singular, because such connections and feelings of belonging take many forms. Therefore, only one experience of such a link should not be a prerequisite for disqualification (Adefarakan, 2011: 39; Hartley, 2015: 58; Shizha, 2013: 2).

Lastly, in Adefarakan's (2011: 40) opinion, those individuals who were colonised can identify as indigenous even though they are no longer on the land of their ancestors, because such connections are flexibly, or culturally, embodied and embedded. Hartley (2015: 58) and Hodgson (2002: 1042) agree that a constant historical connection to pre-colonial communities can be deduced from many definitions around the world to be a key element in determining the status of indigenousness. Self-identification and ethnic identity were also determined to be key elements in this definition. The notion of self-identification was emphasised as a criterion for indigenousness by the ILO at the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 (Hartley, 2015: 58; Hodgson, 2002: 1038).

So then, what are the opinions of African politicians regarding the definition of indigenous? According to Shizha (2013: 2) the definition of the term to refer to communities who are on the borders of modernisation was a restriction made by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Such a term would then be reserved for the Maasai in Kenya, the Taureg who can be found in the Sahara Desert in the Northern parts of Africa, the San in Southern Africa, in the central Rift Valley of Tanzania, the Hazabe, and the Ovahimba who are located in Northern Namibia (Saarinen, 2011: 151; Shizha, 2013: 3). However, with that being said, some African politicians firmly believe that all Africans should be viewed as indigenous to Africa, whilst others, such as those from the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) are of the opinion that the terms indigenous and 'aboriginality' (original inhabitants of the land) should not be used synonymously with one another (Hartley, 2015: 56; Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1937). The reason being that it has been difficult to deploy such a complex concept amongst Africans and that, as mentioned earlier, only certain tribes should be strictly associated with it (Hartley, 2015: 56; Shizha, 2013: 3).

In 2003, the African Commission's Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities (ACWGIP), which was established by the ACHPR in 2000, stated that using an exact definition to define indigenous or indigenous people could allow some governments to ignore the rights of some indigenous communities that did not fall within the margins of strictly defined boundaries (Hartley, 2015: 58). The aforementioned sentiments link up agreeably to the rest of the information that was discussed throughout this section, because it is clear that the concept of 'indigenous'

and all that forms part of it may remain a constantly complex one. However, with much of African culture, its knowledge and languages appropriated by societies outside indigenous communities, how are they included in the definition of indigenous? Adefarakan (2011: 40) postulates that individuals from the dominant group who have appropriated indigenous identities do not form part of this definition. The reason being that they are the descendants of settlers and they politically co-opted to identify themselves as indigenous, yet they did not make an attempt to attend community meetings regarding indigenous issues, nor have they assisted in the fight to protect indigenous cultures, knowledge and languages (Adefarakan (2011: 40). Shizha (2013: 3) supports this argument and believes that the term indigenous should belong to those individuals that are of original African descent by ancestry. The lineage of settlers and colonisation cannot hold the rights to such entitlement (Shiza, 2013: 3).

Therefore, in light of the information that was discussed in this sub-section and for the purposes of this research study, the indigenous individuals who will form part of this research study will be those who have embraced the fact that the world around them has modernised, but do not feel the need to abandon their cultures nor their indigenous communities. The reason for this is, because the aims of this research study emphasise the exploration of the victimisation of indigenous women from an emancipatory perspective. A perspective that is not inclusive of the indigenous African diaspora, as the focus of this research study is on those indigenous societies who remain rooted to their culture and way of life. This continuous connection can be witnessed in how they dress (traditional clothing) and in the generational engagement of cultural practices.

1.2.2. Women's movement/liberation in Africa

Much has been documented on the women's movement in Africa and how it has come to grasp the attention of the world at large. According to Ray and Korteweg (1999: 49) the mobilisation of women in developing worlds, including that of Africa stems more from the collective abilities and mind-sets of women. This means that women who mobilise together do so because they have a common interest. Even with that being said, they further argue that although there is a collective cohesiveness among these women, not all their interests are aligned with one another (Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 52). Some women collaborate because they are mothers, some simply to resist the

oppressive nature found in political realms and others do so because they need to find a gateway with which to unleash their unique identities (Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 52). Liberation movements indeed constitute a world in which these women feel that due to the effects of different historical processes, an unhinging procedure must then develop in order for them to feel liberated and unrestrained. In other words, free and unrestrained from the ever-so emphasised feminine duties that some believe need not apply to all (Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 52).

To make a point concerning the level of involvement that women played in the political sphere, a comparison can be made with the USA. In 1872, Susan B. Anthony voted in the country's national presidential elections. However, she did so illegally according to the law at that time (Richards, 2007: 190). It must be clearly noted here that the purpose of including this piece of international history is merely to demonstrate how issues that may seem minor to men, may actually impact negatively on women. So much so, that, as mentioned in the above paragraph, women could mobilise together in order to deal with these concerns. In the 1800's it was illegal for women to vote, yet according to Susan B. Anthony and many others, if they were considered to be citizens of their country then how unfitting could it be for them to vote (Richards, 2007: 190)? This question, though presented here not verbatim, was integral in her speech during her trial in 1873. Between 1945 and the mid 1960's women's need for change still stemmed from political inequality. The desire to not only be seen culturally as a woman with an eternal designated position, but as someone who can actively contribute to society was the ongoing motivation that fuelled them (Richards, 2007: 190; Taylor, 1989: 765).

Though it is obvious that no women in Africa during the 1800's could have heard of this opposition as the technological communication tools were not available and the slave trade was yet to be abolished, this did not stop women all over Africa from opposing their own oppressive conditions. In the context of the 20th and 21st century, many women mobilised together for similar reasons. In Algeria, for example, the women's movement ignited in 1981 due to the displeasure that the women felt concerning the country's family law (Salhi, 2003: 30). The Family Code was passed into law in 1984 despite the many protests from women. It dictated the subordinate roles that women must carry out without question and should they seek to liberate themselves from this law, the government would not be responsible for them (Salhi,

2003: 30). Although parts of the Family Code were revised in 2005, thousands of women and children have become homeless as a result of this law. If a woman initiates divorce proceedings, she is seldom taken care of and must therefore rely on her own means to survive. Remarrying can cost her custody of her children as her new husband is not related to them. It is for such reasons that many women choose not to remarry (Landinfo, 2018: 27). In this case it was not the right to vote that compelled the women to rally together, but the desire to confront what they believed to be an oppressive patriarchal system. A system in which a woman could get divorced if she so desired, but would then receive little or no effort of support from her ex-husband (Landinfo, 2018: 27; Salhi, 2003: 30). In Southern Africa the emancipatory movement of women also drew its own support. In South Africa women became involved in the Inkatha Freedom Party and they did so after a new perspective about the roles of women in traditional culture was considered (Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 57). The party believed that they needed to promote the position that women held in their rural communities and address issues of development, and empowerment. This decision was formally made by the Central Committee of the party in 1980, because they wanted to emphasise the role that women played in the party's agendas for development (Hassim, 1993: 2; Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 57). They no longer occupied passive political roles and this was the basis for their movement. In both instances (Algeria and South Africa), liberation movements such as these could only maintain their momentum if their leaders were actively aware that they alone were the ones that determined how loud their voices could be, and the force with which they brought it (Ray & Korteweg, 1999: 57; Salhi, 2003: 30).

The Constitutive Act (2001) of the African Union and the new Protocol that was added to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1986) concerning women's rights, has been considered to be a milestone in ensuring the rights of women in Africa. These new laws make allowances for women in the realms of business, policy making and social spheres (Rebouchē, 2006: 235). These social spheres may include domestic situations as well as work environments (for example sexual harassment laws). These new laws have become an important and integral part of the lives of many African women as they have finally permitted women in Africa not only to be seen, but also to be heard. One of the greatest changes the world has come to notice is the wave of women that have flooded the political sphere in Africa (Ettang, 2014:

189). Not only are they becoming ministers in parliament, but some were also sworn into office as presidents such as the former president of Liberia Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, former president of the Central African Republic Catherine Samba-Panza and the former president of Malawi Joyce Banda (Ettang, 2014: 189; Rebouchē, 2006: 235; Parpart, 1986: 8). Although every effort to effectively facilitate the growth of women's rights in Africa and to ensure that they are permanently cemented not only in the minds of men, but also in the heart of gender political debates, one question seemingly cannot be answered with great conviction. That question would then be: how has the liberation movement of women in Africa benefitted those of indigenous descent?

For the purposes of this study the relevance of such social movements do not aim to interfere with the traditionally cultured politics of indigenous communities, but they may be of great use in better understanding or preventing the victimisation of women. Cliff (1984: 3) suggests that women's movements stem from two different points: Marxism and feminism. His thoughts on feminism are very much like that of Ray and Korteweg (1999: 52), but his thoughts on Marxism is what differentiates his "definition" of the women's movement from theirs. Cliff (1984: 3) leans more towards Marxism in order to explain how such liberation movements came to be. According to Marxism any outcries of retaliation come as a result of ongoing and unwanted class struggles. For Cliff (1984: 3), it has nothing to do with sex, but he explains that women's position historically is a fuelling factor, because the emancipatory movement of women has justification for complaining that women are not adequately acknowledged in history. According to this theory, history was written mainly to illustrate men's story. Even though not all men have been included, the exclusion of women from history is the fundamental complaint. Yes, women such as Joan of Arc and Queen Elizabeth I have made history, and many others from the Bible, however, this group fails in comparison to men (Cliff, 1984: 3). To further explain how Marxism affects this liberation movement, the argument by feminists is that not all women are the same; very much like not all men are the same. The perception of women from a traditional standpoint, by associating women with specific unchangeable and inherent characteristics, explains cultural and social patterns as the outcome, not due to external influences; but the product of what a woman is (Cliff, 1984: 4). So in essence, according to Cliff (1984: 4) women's movements arise at times as a result of unfair treatment by other women from other classes.

With two different, yet somewhat similar perspectives, how then can the women's liberation movement be defined? For the purposes of this research study one would have to define it in the context of indigenous women. Therefore, in light of the patriarchal and cultural structures that exist in indigenous communities, and how negatively some may view them, an emancipatory movement amongst indigenous women would come as a result of any possible shared experiences, and a common interest in making their situations better. Though many stand for political reasons, it would seem as though the perspective used by Cliff (1984: 4) carries more weight theoretically and may be potentially applied throughout the rest of this study. If it seems to be a matter of class and not political equality that women of indigenous circumstances are not included in the progression of life, then a deep exploration of this issue with regards to class must be addressed.

1.2.3. Victimisation vulnerability

To be vulnerable means, in simple terms, to be easily susceptible to harm, which could manifest in the form of various factors. These factors thus create a barrier in which individuals, maybe unknowingly, find themselves behind. This barrier does not permit the individual to navigate their way out and so they are psychologically, emotionally and sometimes even physically trapped (Bruce, 2013: 100; Oxford Dictionary, 2010). However, since humans are unique in their capabilities to withstand vulnerabilities of any nature, it is important to note that the success of this type of entrapment does indeed depend on specific factors. Such factors may include sex, age, experience, communication obstacles, a high or low level of social and emotional intelligence, and anxiety related to future events or perceptions of others (Bruce, 2013: 100). These factors may influence whether or not individuals feel victimised as well as how damaging the experience may be (Bruce, 2013: 100).

To illustrate a clearer understanding of this notion, some researchers point out that in the case of women's level of vulnerability, one has to factor in their physicality with specific reference to their lack of physical prowess (Ikeda, 1995: 179). Since women are often viewed as generally smaller in stature compared to the average man, it is believed that they make for easier targets. A good example of such vulnerability would be in the case of rape, whereby a man can easily overpower a woman smaller than him. Furthermore, in instances where natural disasters occur victimisation vulnerability

increases for women, because of their position in society as explained below (Ikeda, 1995: 179; Junger, 1987: 359).

Some members of societies that are still patriarchal may not experience such vulnerability in more modernised countries. Which means that the probability of them being vulnerable to cultural practices may be low, because they do not practice certain traditions anymore. However, in developing countries such as Bangladesh such vulnerability exists (Ikeda, 1995: 179). When a cyclone hit the country in April 1991, many women died. This natural disaster's link to victimisation vulnerability serves more a social psychological aspect. In Bangladeshi culture (rural) women may not leave their homes as a result of *purdah* (Ikeda, 1995: 179). The literal meaning of *purdah* is a curtain, but is used in a figurative manner to illustrate the separation of men and women. With this law in mind women are prohibited from leaving their homes without the escort of a man. This prohibition does not just ensure that the women limit contact with men who are not related, but also ensures her chastity (Ikeda, 1995: 179). The strictness with which *purdah* is upheld varies from one community to the next. In more modern communities, a justifiable reason must be presented as to why the rule was not adhered to. Many women died in the floods that ensued when the cyclone hit, because of this law as they believed they were not allowed to leave their homes regardless of the cyclone destroying their villages (Ikeda, 1995: 179). By their movement being restricted to the confines of their homes without the supervision of their husbands, many women become vulnerable to such disasters. Broadening the scope of this topic one could almost safely presume that they could also become victims of other circumstances, such as being raped by intruders and committing suicide due to a lack of social contact. All this as a result of this law being imposed, because of their gender role (Ikeda, 1995: 179).

The above case study is simply meant to demonstrate how vulnerable women are to situations that they wish they had control over, but unfortunately do not. Many indigenous women around the world are at the mercy of their submission to cultures such as the one described above (Ikeda, 1995: 179). Being told that one cannot leave one's own home, because one may taint the image of one's husband by doing so and dying for that belief, can only showcase how psychologically vulnerable many indigenous women are. This type of vulnerability will be explored further in depth in chapters two and three.

Western-centric knowledge is of the notion that victims should be categorised into different groups. This “normative hierarchy” has made it seem as if there are victims who are to be considered more deserving of the criminal justice system’s time and efforts. Some individuals’ victimisation plights are probably also considered to be justified and need no intervention (Peacock, 2019: 392). This selective conundrum has been, by the larger academic and legal world, viewed as unacceptable. More so, arguments that surround the matters of traditional practices and those individuals involved, presume that there are no victims. This assumption seems merely to be an opaque conclusion drawn by many simply, because no one has been bold enough to identify the victims, remove their cloak of invisibility and make it known that cases of victimisation do indeed exist (Peacock, 2019: 392).

Secondary victimisation can be coupled to the above paragraph. In the cases of secondary victimisation, which culminate from victims not having their testimonies believed by others, victims become even more vulnerable. How a victim is perceived is usually impacted by extra-evidential factors (Campbell & Raja, 2005: 97; Correia, Vala & Aguiar, 2001: 329; Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). In a study conducted by Mulder and Winkel (1996: 307) it was suggested that the behaviour of the victim in a non-verbal manner and the victim’s ethnic identity, within the context of various opinions of truth detection, empathy or observation could be considered to be extra-evidential factors. When victims are interviewed by the police their non-verbal responses are usually also observed (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 307). Such behaviour may form impressions about the victim that could either hinder the course of them achieving justice or it could invoke feelings of sympathy from law enforcers. During interviews victims tend to be nervous, some may become fidgety (playing with their hands) and others speech may be mumbled, or muffled (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). An observer may perceive such non-verbal behaviour in one of two ways depending on their emotional mind-set. The first could be that the observer, in pursuit of seeking the truth, may perceive such nervousness as a means of guarding the truth. This then, would not bode well for the victim (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). The second would consist of an empathic perception by the observer. This is usually found in instances where social workers are involved. The victim’s apparent nervousness would then be seen as the aftershock of his/her ordeal. The credibility of the victim then may rest on these two factors (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308).

The credibility of any victim is vital to their case being heard and justice being served for the offence that they had to endure. In the context of this research study, the two factors discussed above can be linked to how indigenous women attempt to make their voices heard. Sometimes the observer can be empathic and understand the gravity of their situation, thus making an attempt to intervene on their behalf. Other times, as will transpire in chapters two and three, an indigenous woman's credibility status as a victim may rest on whether or not she herself allowed the abuse/victimisation to occur.

The second extra-evidential factor is ethnic identity (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). According to the study, a victim's ethnic identity may also influence how the observer views them. Black victims have more of a challenge in forming sympathetic positive impressions on observers. In America, jurors tend to lean more to feeling sympathetic for victims from their own ethnic groups (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). What may make matters worse would be the weakness of the evidence presented. The credibility of the victim is then also called into question and the severity of the crime reported (Correia et. al., 2001: 329; Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). Subjecting victims to further scrutiny (secondary victimisation) only dampens their faith in the criminal justice system, especially if they have been considered by observers as deserving of their fate (Campbell & Raja, 2005: 97). Victimisation vulnerability comes in many forms and its link to this study is important. Indigenous women may indirectly suffer from this treatment, and may even feel discarded by the world at large (Correia et. al., 2001: 329; Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308).

1.2.4. Culture

Many theorists throughout a number of social science disciplines (Anthropology being a leading discipline) have defined the concept of 'culture'. However, in order to remain within the scope of this research study and its objectives, this study will not delve into the various and complex anthropological definitions of culture that currently exist. This concept will therefore rather be discussed in relation to the topic and its associated factors as shown in the section below.

According to Williams (1983: 88) two fundamental differences in the meaning of culture need to be distinguished. In the first, meaning culture is an aspect or category of one's social life that is defined theoretically. It needs to be understood outside of the margins

of an already complicated world of human reality. Culture here is equated with other abstract areas of social life such as politics, biology and economy (Sewell, 2005: 39). In order to group certain things as cultural or as culture would then be to claim them for any specific sub-discipline or academic discipline, for example cultural sociology. Therefore, culture would then be only understood as a singular term, as it is categorically placed as abstractly analytical (Sewell, 2005: 39). The second meaning of culture is less complicated and does not require much explanation. In this second meaning, culture may be defined as a compound world of practices and philosophies. Here, culture then is commonly associated with or linked in an isomorphic tone to 'societies', or with a sub-societal group that is clearly identified (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). Examples of such would include European culture or South African culture, or even the culture of being in a gang. The contrast in which this term is applied is not about non-culture and culture, but it's between two different cultures (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39).

Continuing with Williams' second meaning of culture, other anthropological theorists such as Susan Wright (1998: 10) refer to the concept of culture as being politicised. Wright (1998: 8) is of the opinion that older definitions of the term that contained descriptions of it being bounded, it being a checklist of defined characteristics and that culture has an essential system that is shared and meaningful, also referred to as authentic culture, were not entirely incorrect. However, in more refurnished perspectives regarding culture, she states that 'cultures' cannot be nor could they ever have consisted of entities that were naturally connected (Wright, 1998: 10). In this complicated world, trying to assemble meanings that are sound and relevant is the problem that affects mostly people from underdeveloped countries. Thus, her argument that the term 'culture' is being politicised. This seemingly unnoticeable argument will be addressed in more depth in the second chapter as it brings to light certain facts about the idea of 'culture' that many tend to ignore (Wright, 1998: 10).

So then, what is culture, or according to the above perspectives, what are cultures? In Barnard and Spencer (2002: 206), though there is no exact definition of the word, they stratified its meaning historically in order to minimise the amount of critiques that many scholars may potentially have. In one sense, culture can be seen as 'humanistic'. That means in order for an individual to become accepted as part of a 'civilised society', that individual needs to be cultured. This would then refer to his/her level of

sophisticated taste in social activities/behaviours (Barnard & Spencer, 2002: 206). For example, music, visual arts or even literature. Then one finds that in the plural sense, an individual would be the subsequent result of their specific culture growing up. Any differences that are observed amongst people should be explained on the basis of their cultural differences (Barnard & Spencer, 2002: 206). A further example, keeping in mind Williams's (1983: 88) second definition of culture, can be taken from the differences between American and Japanese cultures. In Japan, when corporate members of a company greet one another they bow as a sign of respect no matter how close the bond between them is. However, in American culture it's the exact opposite. The closer the bond members of a particular company have with one another; the more displays of affection they will demonstrate in order to showcase this bond (Sewell, 2005: 39).

Mentioning further readings of Barnard and Spencer's (2002) perspective on culture would deter us from the overall objective of this section, as they are more likely to be of benefit to the theoretical discussions that will come in chapter two. So therefore, in essence, the most relevant definition of the term culture(s) for the purposes of this research study would then place it in the plural sense. That means that cultures are learned from infancy and further development in a person's behaviour would be greatly influenced by the vast meanings, beliefs and symbols pertaining to that specific culture. For example, in the case of traditionally indigenous women how they dress and behave speaks volumes in their particular cultural setting. By that one means to say, that if a women dresses appropriately according to the standards of her specific culture then she will be highly respected/favoured, and thought to be a good choice for a husband.

For the purposes of this research study the second meaning of the concept culture will be utilised for the duration of this section. It will also be used as a basis for theoretical discussions in chapter two to possibly assist in explaining certain reasons behind the victimisation of indigenous women. It is clear that the meaning of what a culture is pertains mostly to one's beliefs. These beliefs are then put into practice and exercised through rituals, and traditions that further mould or influence one's identity. It is through culture that human beings become distinctly categorised and evolve.

1.3. Historical perspective

The following historical perspective will be discussing the history of indigenous women in pre-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa. After which, the discussion will be narrowed down to their existence in colonial Namibia and lastly what has changed in 20th century Namibia that has altered the lives of these women. Since an actual indigenous community will be a major part of this research study, including a brief background about their history, culture and way of life is important.

1.3.1. Pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa

In pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa, the image of an indigenous woman was one of the care-giver, mother and the domesticated half of their male counterparts. Needless to say, it simply meant that indigenous women embodied the role that was bestowed upon them way back in the times of the Bible when the first woman, Eve, fell. Since then their roles have been isolated to keeping their homes immaculate, raising the children and ensuring the well-being of their spouses (Isike & Uzodike, 2011: 33; Allen & Devitt; 2012: 3516). Apart from such domesticated roles women were also viewed as peacemakers. This means that in some sub-Saharan African societies they were seen as more passive between the two sexes. Meaning that women were not inclined to go to war and as a result of their docile fragility were, in no uncertain terms, meant to belong at home (Isike & Uzodike, 2011: 33). There have been some who argued that women could be seen as “jural minors”, taking into account how their upbringing was under the watchful eye of their fathers, and later on in life their husbands (Sudarkasa, 1986: 91).

In essence, African indigenous women simply existed as organic beings that served very little purpose in life. It is because of this visual passive nature that many women in colonial times were subject to sexual abuse and other forms of violent victimisation (Deer, 2004: 129; Kuokkanen, 2008: 218). For example, in countries like Namibia women were not taken note of and their political rights were non-existent. If a crime such as rape was brought forth, the penance could be equated to that of the theft of two oxen (Cooper, 1997: 474). If they refused to obey orders set out by their husbands or chiefs, then corporal punishment would be their sentence. These and other acts of victimisation, such as being disowned by their husbands for being infertile (as men did not blame themselves for such biological faults) were the norm in indigenous societies

of the Herero, Nama, San and Damara (Cooper, 1997: 474). Land ownership, much like any other society in the world at that point in time, fell out of their reach once their husbands passed away. It could only stay in their family if there was a male heir to carry on the patriarchal lineage. In other instances, for example in Owamboland, the deceased's belongings went straight to his siblings or parents (Cooper, 1997: 474; Richardson, 2004: 19).

1.3.2. Colonial Namibia

In colonial Namibia the roles of women were still much in the realm of subservience. It still fostered a patriarchal atmosphere, especially in indigenous communities. Importantly, when one speaks of colonial Namibia, it needs to be noted that colonial rule only ended on the 21st of March 1990. So therefore, even though all historical discussion pertaining to women in Namibia before 1990 seems as though it should mimic post-colonial dates, it should not be interpreted as such. This point is imperative in that Namibia is still very much a young country and there is no evidence of that lacking in her economical and agricultural status. In the periods between 1960 and 1989, the voices of women were beginning to make their way up the political ladder. Though that may have seemed like progress, in many respects women were still treated as inferior beings (Cooper, 1997: 474). For example, in the communities of Owamboland, women had to adhere to set curfew times. If any of them were seen outside their homes during late nights, they would be shot without question. Such a law did not seem to take into account that it would become an insurmountable challenge for pregnant women (Cooper, 1997: 474).

From 1969 - 1979, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) organised the Women's Council (SWC) and women were granted permission to join the military. This strategic political movement mobilised women in the hope that their solidarity would fuel camaraderie between them and their male counterparts. Not only that, but SWAPO believed that it was every woman's right to be a part of the struggle to fight for an independent Namibia. Effectively, she was now more of an asset than previously thought (Cooper, 1997: 474). One of many new laws that came to the fore in colonial Namibia was witnessed in the passing of a new law known as the Laws of Ondonga. These laws were formulated by the Ondonga, which are a community of people who speak Oshiwambo and live in the northern parts of Namibia (Hinz, 1997: 72). The laws

were declared in 1989 and it should be stated that the *Ooveta* as it was also known, "…contain only those parts of the laws of Ondonga which the King's Council felt to be of particular importance, such as the provisions which outline the procedure for initiating a court case, for appeal, and for the transfer of a case to higher courts culminating in a hearing before the King's Council…" (Hinz, 1997: 72). In relation to women's issues, the law made provision for widows and the property that they owned with their deceased spouses. Before this law was enacted, the manner in which the property was distributed could only take place after the mourning period according to custom (Hinz, 1997: 72). During this time the family of the deceased would then be permitted into the homestead to take whatever belongings they wished to take and all the while the widow had to be confined to her hut or the homestead's kitchen. With this new law, during the period of mourning the widow is permitted to move about the homestead at her discretion to safeguard its integrity (Hinz, 1997: 72).

1.3.3. 20th Century Namibia

In 20th century Namibia and subsequently to date, the role of the woman according to research has not changed much (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2008: 48). In politics, her *persona* has been acknowledged and laws have been put in place to safeguard her rights. Women are no more the inferior and passive beings, which the world of men claimed them to be. That of which will be deliberated in the legal frameworks section below. For the purposes of this section, the following paragraphs will highlight how a conservative country such as Namibia still views the role that the woman plays in traditional societies.

According to research by Ambunda and De Klerk (2008: 48) the different cultures that exist in Namibia still believe that the power lies with the man. He should therefore remain the sole breadwinner in the family and, all and final decisions are made by him. If any consultations were to be made with his wife, it would only be in connection with matters concerning their children's health and education. Even then he has the power to overrule her (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2008: 48). In some traditional societies the woman loses all her possessions to her husband and any income that she may incur due to the fact that she might have to assist her spouse, automatically becomes his responsibility (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2008: 48). That is to say that how it is spent lies solely with him. All these structural beliefs seem to be found in almost all the cultures

in Namibia. In the Oshiwambo, Damara, Herero (particularly the Himba as was noted in previous sections of this chapter) and Nama cultures all believe that a woman's place is that of mother, care-giver and house-keeper, for lack of a better word. These indigenous cultures are still of the premise that though the men respect women as human beings, it does not change her master status in society (Ambunda & De Klerk, 2008: 48).

1.3.4. 21th Century Namibia

Once again it must be reiterated that Namibia is a young country and so any differences between the 20th and 21st century may not be too significant. In 1999 Namibia, amongst other countries such as South Africa and Zambia, became involved in a three-year gender development programme (Mukhopadhyay, 2003: 45). It was launched by KIT Gender at the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam in 1999 and its main goal concerned gender equality mainly through governance. The aims of the programme would be achieved through integration and transformation. This programme was directed mostly to the needs of poor women in countries that needed development (Mukhopadhyay, 2003: 45). Advocating for changes regarding inheritance rights, for example, was one of the issues that were addressed. Two of the most important objectives of the programme was to ensure that women staked a claim to new entitlements founded on the needs of women impacted by a lack of influence and rights. The second objective was to effect change within government institutions to better their capabilities to actively address women's interests and needs (Mukhopadhyay, 2003: 45). Good governance in this programme permits poor women to participate in agendas concerning development by altering the priorities, rules and procedures. For example, the programme Sister, aimed to increase the number of women in political offices and research was conducted to find means of doing so (Mukhopadhyay, 2003: 45).

However, with that being noted, many others believe that more needs to be done for women who are disadvantaged. Many practices are still taking place that marginalise women, because of the strict patriarchal society in which they find themselves. Culture undoubtedly plays a major role in the existence of these practices in the 21st century. So then, to presume that countries like Namibia are successful in promoting gender equality is a stretch (Visser & Ruppel-Schlingting, 2008: 152). Chapter two will provide

a deeper exploration into this matter through presenting existing theoretical perspectives that could provide potential explanations, and pinpoint possible solutions to this problem (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014: 76).

1.3.5. The Ovahimba tribe of Namibia

The victimological approach to the understanding of the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women in an African context requires the analysis of an actual indigenous African tribe. However, before the applied part of this research commences, a brief description of the Ovahimba tribe and its intricacies will be outlined. Their history, culture and the various roles that their women participate in will be explored.

According to archives the Ovahimba originally were part of the Herero tribe of Namibia and this fact supports the reason why they too speak the same language as them known as Otjiherero. During the 16th century they broke away from the main group and migrated from the Central Lakes region southward through Angola into Namibia where they settled in Kaokoland (Crandall, 1996: 330; Harring, 2001: 39; Saarinen, 2011: 151). They roamed the lands freely and their cattle would graze near waterholes, however, they unfortunately became victim to other tribes who stole their herds of cattle. As a result of this onslaught and the fact that they were dispersed (making it impossible to mobilise as a resistance), the Ovahimba thus adopted a hunter-gatherer way of life. This lifestyle was shunned upon by other Herero tribes and earned them the name Aardvarks or Tjimba-Herero. As a result of this a great deal of the tribe fled back to Angola (Crandall, 1996: 330; Rodil & Winschiers-Theophilus, 2018: 147). Without land to call their own and no cattle their name was eventually altered from Tjimba-Herero to Ovahimba, which translated means beggar. This unsettling turning point in their lives did not last for very long and under the guidance of a Herero leader named Vita, and with the help of Portuguese colonialists, the Ovahimba managed to gain back their land. Not only that, but their herds of cattle were also reclaimed and in the 1920's they migrated back to the northern sections of Kaokoland where they are now permanently settled (Crandall, 1996: 330; Saarinen, 2011: 151).

Livelihood within the cultural context of the Ovahimba can be considered to be rather uncomplicated in nature and does not contain many material facets found in the modernised world. The Ovahimba number between 20 000 and 50 000, and they are pastoralists. This means that herding cattle is a way of life for them as it forms part of

their livelihood and pride (Bollig & Heinemann, 2002: 269; Harring, 2001: 42; Nyathi, 2015: 136). In the middle of their villages they have what they call the Sacred Fire and this fire symbolizes a gateway with which to contact their ancestors, and to seek their counsel. The Sacred Fire continually burns throughout the day and night to keep the gateway open. The men are responsible for the cattle and to ensure that they graze where necessary. Each village has what is known as a Headman (who is the eldest male) and he oversees many obligations. Some of which pertain to marriages, births, domestic disputes and rites of passage (Harring, 2001: 45; Nyathi, 2015: 142).

The women rise early every morning and apply the popular red paste that many tend to notice on their skins. This some say is used as make-up and others say it used to ward off insects; and this red paste known as *otjize* is also put on their hair. The women of the tribe, however, say that it is merely just traditional make-up for them and the men do not wear it (Rodil & Winschiers-Theophilus, 2018: 147). Young girls are circumcised (also known as female genital mutilation (FMG)) as soon as they reach puberty and go through a rite of passage just like the boys, and husbands are chosen for them as soon as they are born. All the basic traits of being a good and helpful wife/woman are learned from a young age and they carry these customs all the way into adulthood. Girls are married from as young as 17 years old to their betrothed and move to their husband's village, and also adopts their customs (Barnett & Hume, 2012; Sherman, 2017: 78). The women milk the cows and must fetch water, and prepare meals. Some women have the responsibility of raising the children; not only theirs, but those of other women as well. Other duties of the women also include churning butter and pounding maize to make flour. Himba women are dressed in short skirts and their hair is done according to their status, that is, whether they are married or not (Bollig & Heinemann, 2002: 297; Scelza, Prall & Levine, 2019: 3; Van Wolputte, 2017: 4). When women give birth they do so at their mother's homestead. Other accounts of childbirth traditions state that it is done outside the village walls and the women are later escorted back by other women who then take them to a place just near the main hut; here the mother and child stay for about a week as a form of good luck (Sherman, 2017: 77; Van Wolputte, 2017: 4).

The matter of FGM (female genital mutilation) will be discussed in more depth in chapter three, however, it is important to note that information regarding victimisation pertaining to this is almost non-existent as information about this tribe is mostly for

anthropological purposes. FGM is a sensitive and important topic to discuss in this research study as much of its practice is rooted in culture. Any victimisation that may occur in this tribe can be merely speculated. Past research on them has not provided sufficient evidence to prove, even just slightly, that these women are unhappy. To emphasise, much of the research conducted on them has been for the subject matter of anthropology. This must then become reason enough to motivate future researchers in the fields of criminology and victimology, to further explore the need for research in terms of their specific victimisation vulnerability.

It must be clearly noted that in order to properly understand the scale of this topic and its depth, one needs to view it from within. Taking a theoretical observatory stance, that is, using only theories to understand the issue, will not benefit any furthering of understandings from an indigenous approach. Including members from an actual indigenous community that is very traditional in its way may assist in the understanding of this problem. In essence, using the narratives of indigenous women will be a key component in understanding the issue of any victimisation that they may have, or do experience.

The inclusion of the above historical perspective is important for this research study, because being knowledgeable of the history of any issue is necessary in order to understand why certain circumstances have either changed, or remained the same. Therefore, with respect to this research study's topic, one cannot research such a sensitive issue without first exploring the historical relationship that indigenous women have with the men in their lives and their culture. Earlier in this chapter, a discussion concerning the legal frameworks involved in the women's movement was mentioned. It will be discussed in the section below and will deal with how legal policies have benefitted women internationally, and in Africa.

1.4. Legal frameworks

After Namibia had gained her independence in 1990, the rights of women gained more and more ground. Swapo's Women's Council became the largest women's organisation in the country. More laws were amended and passed that made allotments for women not only in politics, but also in the domestic sphere. Going back to the *Ooveta* laws of the Ondonga tribe, on 20th August 1993 these laws were amended to adequately and coherently state what the consequences were to be if

women were the victims of injustice (Bauer, 2004: 480; Becker, 2006: 32). This proclamation was made to the Ondonga society by their leader King Kauluma Eliphas. No international influence was involved in the amendment of the *Ooveta* laws, as the King's Council believed that they had the ability to deal with traditional matters internally (Hinz, 1997: 76). The legal capacity of Traditional Authorities to handle internal matters and to propose new laws has been a longstanding practice for years before independence. It is for such reasons that the Namibian Constitution, though supreme, recognises the legal power that Traditional Authorities exercise in their communities (Hinz, 1997: 76; Werner, 2008: 13). The alterations to the previous laws were made to bring about a more concise equilibrium between men and women, but more importantly, to protect widows from being wronged. This change in policy came about, because according to the traditions of the Ondonga as the social and political environment changes, so does the need for some laws to change (Hinz, 1997: 76). In the political sphere, more and more women have been elected to take up seats in parliament, and government offices. In 2004, women made up 40% of the local councils and 29% in the National Assembly when it came to voting privileges (Bauer, 2004: 480). The Traditional Authorities Act (17 of 1995) was put in place to limit the coercive ruling power of leaders in indigenous communities. This act was later repealed and the new Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) was enacted in 2001. Any law that was enforced under the original act remained legal under the new act, barring any conflicts with the policies of the new Act. Furthermore, any Traditional Authority that was established under the original act may legally continue to exercise his power under the new act (Traditional Authorities Act, 25 of 2000: 15; Werner, 2008: 14). The power of Traditional Authorities lies now within the proximities of cultural matters and customary law. However, although the country's constitution recognises these laws it is heavily stipulated that they cannot supersede that of the Constitution's supreme laws. This Act also makes provision for women to be formally recognised in traditionally authoritative positions and are protected by the Act against discrimination (Becker, 2006: 32).

The final legal framework of note would be the one that was internationally adopted worldwide after the United Nations (UN) enforced it and is known as The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (UN Women, 2009). This convention was adopted in 1979 and aims to prevent all forms of

discrimination against women. Recently in 2008 responsibility for the convention and servicing of the committee was moved to the Office of the High Commissioner in Geneva. Closer to home, a similar charter was drawn up by the African Union (AU) called the Protocol to The African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa. It was adopted in July 2003 and ultimately aims to improve the lives of all African women. It acknowledges that the rights of all African women need to be protected and that women play an important role in society (AU, 2005; UN Women, 2009).

The above efforts to incorporate women in a world normally dominated by men indeed may deserve recognition, however, the actual reasons for these efforts should be called into question. If all the above legal reformations have been done just to place women on par with men, then why are some laws not implemented effectively? In Namibia, for example, although the prevalence of widows being evicted from their homes occurs seldomly, some areas still practice it (Ubink, 2011: 327; Werner, 2008: 3). The reason for this being that some Traditional Authorities do not understand the contents of the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) and the Communal Land Reform Act (5 of 2002), of which the latter was controversially passed in 2002. This controversy occurred, because non-government organisations (NGO) disagreed with how fast the Communal Land Reform Bill was rushed through parliament. This more so, because investigative findings stated that there was a lack of input from stakeholders and the majority of rural people were not aware of the Bill's existence (Werner, 2008: 13). The Communal Land Reform Act (5 of 2002) stipulates that Chiefs of communities or Traditional Authorities have the power to revoke, or to allocate land rights under customary law. These rights become legal once the Communal Land Board has ratified them (Werner, 2008: 13).

Once Traditional Authorities do understand the details of the Acts, they are not obligated to interfere in matters where the husband's family remove his possessions from his house, because according to customary law such acts are not considered to be criminal (Werner, 2008: 14.) In some cases, some people believe that a few Traditional Authorities do not tell the members of their community about the amendment of certain customary laws. Thus, causing important changes in the community to be delayed (Ubink, 2011: 325). Even though a country's constitution is the supreme law and all other laws (customary and traditional) that come after it should

align with the principles enshrined in it, there are no guarantees that these laws will abide to the supreme rule (Landinfo, 2018: 26, Werner, 2008: 10). Not all new laws that make provisions for women seem to be properly implemented, more so in the rural contexts. For example, Algeria's Family Code that was discussed earlier, certain inconsistencies still exist that make it challenging for young girls and women to live their lives burden free. The amended Family Code (2005) states that both girls and boys must be legally married from the age of 19 years, but according to the UN Population Fund and UNICEF 2.2% of young girls in urban areas, and 4.2% in rural regions get married before that age (Landinfo, 2018: 26). Many rural areas perform traditional marriages, because it is expensive to travel to the city. Another reason why minors are married before the legal age is, because not much contact is had with authorities in urban areas. Thus, the true figures for child marriages are unknown, as many marriages are only registered after a young girl turns 19 years old. Other sections of the Family Code (2005) still seem to favour men more than women (Landinfo, 2018: 27). A man is able to file for a divorce without justification, however, a woman needs to provide ten reasons as to why she wants a divorce. These ten reasons are amongst other prerequisites such as the woman needing to prove that her husband was unfit in taking care of her and that he was sterile (Landinfo, 2018: 27). If she does get the divorce, the likelihood of her receiving alimony is rarely positive. Although the father must pay child maintenance after a divorce, many women seldom get what the law says is theirs, because if the divorce was initiated by her, the husband's family members may feel that she needs to ask her own family for financial support (Landinfo, 2018: 27).

In essence, the argument that the above paragraph was attempting to make concerns the issue of paper rights. That is, some of the laws that are made in a country to protect groups or individuals may mostly be theoretical in nature, and what occurs in reality is a different matter (Okereke, 2006: 6). This is, because the lack of proper implementation and enforcement of certain laws results in some groups feeling further marginalised, as it seems to be the case with indigenous women (Landinfo, 2018: 28, Werner, 2008: 15). This is why exploratory studies like this need to properly explore, and investigate if any post-colonial laws actually make a difference in the lives of indigenous women.

In the so-called developed nations such as Canada, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand many legal attempts have been made to intervene on behalf of women (indigenous included). It is well known that women empowerment has its roots in international soil and has spread globally (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 30; Daly, 2008: 7; Tinker, 2006: 1). Many of the advances that women have access to are more modern than in developing countries. It is not only the modernity of their countries that allows for them to benefit from their laws, but also the rate at which these legal policy changes are being made (Jaquette, 2017: 244). However, with that being said could there still be any weaknesses that developed nations are slow to tackle, specifically regarding indigenous women?

Internationally female politicians have become something of a norm, with the most famous of them residing in England and New Zealand. The New Zealand Labour Women's Council (LWC) has been operational since 1975 and has gained a lot of momentum. Since the council's inception, they have had two female politicians represent their country, spanning 25 years and from 2005 onwards 33% of parliament was represented by women (Curtin, 2008: 491; Orloff, 2002: 8). In the USA and Australia there is a call to diversify the environment in the business sector. Whether this be in universities or in corporate industries, the need to reach out to women and include them in business decisions has sparked debates around the world. Much of this debate centres on gender equality and many argue if it will continue becoming the sole reason that the inclusion of women in the business sector exists (Curtin, 2008: 491; Orloff, 2002: 8; Sinclair, 2000: 238). As positive as these facts may be, one of the weaknesses that developed countries, such as the ones mentioned in this paragraph, suffer from is the income gap. The income gap refers to the difference in financial earnings between working men and women. In some developed countries this gap has closed significantly, but according to some statistics not all work related areas pay women the same amount as men (Blau & Kahn, 2016: 12). In the United States of America there was a steady increase in the income gap after the 1980s, but by 2014 women who worked full-time were earning 79% of mens' earnings. Yet, with these findings, the Michigan Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) shows that there are wage discrepancies with regards to occupation (Blau & Kahn, 2016: 10). This means that although women may have the same occupation as men, they still earn less money than men. This is known as the 'glass ceiling' effect, where women find it

difficult to be on the same level as men in a working environment (Blau & Kahn, 2016: 10; Latchanah & Singh, 2016: 45; Nordman & Wolff, 2010: 10).

Statistics for the Namibian labour market also showed that in certain occupations, women earned less than men. For example, in 2013 men in the mining sector earned 18% more than women who had the same occupation, and in 2014 this figure increased to 45% (Mwetulundila & Indonga, 2018: 96). Other occupations within electricity and related industries showed that there was a 38% difference in wages earned between men and women (Jauch, 2018: 18). Statistics for Kenya showed that on average working women earned 11% less than working men, while in Morocco this figure was as high as 26% (Nordman & Wolff, 2010: 10). In countries such as Austria, Germany, Spain and Luxembourg, men earned three times (75%) more than their partners did. In Ireland, Finland and Denmark women earned only 40% in terms of income, whereas men earned 50% more (Harkness, 2013: 219). With that in mind, it is evident then that the possibility of 'developed' countries presenting false facades to inhibit the voices of women in order to minimise the amount of protests from them, may be postulated (Curtin, 2008: 491; Orloff, 2002: 8; Sinclair, 2000: 238). The relevance of the previous paragraph and this current discussion was merely to highlight how, regardless of the many legislative reforms that developed and developing countries have implemented, there is still a lack of implementation.

1.5. Problem Formulation

From the above literature it is clear that the world is still very much divided on the roles that women play in society. The significance of these roles may be respected in some indigenous communities and praised, but in other communities, women are to remain in the submissive position that life has bestowed upon them. To many it may seem that as a result of the new laws and various charters that have been adopted, and ratified, there really is nothing to be concerned about with regards to the protection of indigenous women. Though that may be the case, and all the legal efforts that have been put in place to protect women are recognised, it still does not answer the question of whether cases of victimisation are being dealt with effectively. If these cases do indeed exist, which is the current argument, are these laws enough to combat the issue of the victimisation vulnerabilities of indigenous women? From the outside an unrealistic portrait is painted to showcase to the world that African women are coming

into their own and are enjoying the same levels of equality as their male counterparts. Furthermore, on closer examination, the applicability of long standing theories pertaining to the plight of indigenous women, may be showing certain weaknesses.

1.5.1. Cultural embeddedness

When referring to cultural embeddedness, reference is usually made to how deeply ingrained that specific culture is within the being of an individual. In other words, individuals accept their cultures as a part of their ontology and epistemology. Societies that are deeply embedded in their culture value beliefs such as individuals respecting tradition, social order and obedience (Davidov, Meulemann, Schwartz & Schmidt, 2014: 268; Schwartz, 2013: 5). In the context of this study's topic, cultural embeddedness will be linked mostly to how it could have a negative impact on the relational ontology of indigenous women. That is, how indigenous women's culture relates to their lived experience. With the aforementioned information in mind, it may be possible then that cultural embeddedness has created an invisible barrier that allows indigenous women to perceive certain aspects of traditional practices as normalised behaviour (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014: 80; Okereke, 2006: 14). This raises questions such as; are they aware that it is not appropriate for a man other than their husbands to touch them? With that being said, it must be made clear that by 'touch' this paragraph speaks of intimacy consented by both parties. Furthermore, do these women understand that the right to say no to abuse, whether confirmed or not, is their right as human beings? Culture, which plays a large part in their upbringing or anyone's for that matter, also influences their psyche. Many cultures in Africa exhibit cases where the community directly puts pressure on the woman to please her husband, because it is how things are 'mean to be'. Any deviance would then mean that the woman has become unruly and forgotten her place (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi & Osirim, 2004: 692; Davidov, et. al., 2014: 268; Okereke, 2006: 11). Addressing the psychological strength of indigenous women in relation to any victimisation vulnerability is a concern. If an urban woman struggles to report domestic violence, how much more a woman from an indigenous community? By this, one means to say, that as a result of cultural norms and practices, some taboo, many indigenous women are forced (directly and indirectly) to keep quiet about their issues (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014: 78).

It is therefore no secret that any psychological injury that occurs has future implications on the individual. For many women across the globe, as their psychology is mostly constituted of varying emotions, these injuries may prove to be fatal. The general impact of victimisation on women may incur emotional turmoil such as destroying their self-esteem (Deer, 2004: 123). Many women, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter three, believe that verbal abuse (using vulgar language to hurt and belittle them) has a damaging effect on their psychology. As a result of this, many women choose to become reclusive and socially isolate themselves from family, and friends. Since how a woman perceives herself is a major contribution to her identity, a psychological breakdown may even result in suicide (Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858; Katz & Arias, 1999: 282). In light of the context of indigenous women, any psychological injury may be incurred as a result of her culture and environment. Majority of indigenous communities around the world are patriarchal and so their women are under their submission. A few examples of traditional practices that may negatively impact indigenous women are child marriages, female genital mutilation (FGM) and even the practice of preparing women for widowhood. Other examples also include physical abuse and marital rape (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014: 80; Okereke, 2006: 12). It could be that adhering to one's culture without protest may inevitably bring about dire consequences (Deer, 2004: 123; Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858; Katz & Arias, 1999: 282).

1.5.2. Female healthcare in indigenous communities

Another concern is the issue of healthcare. Women from traditional cultures, especially those who are stern in their practices, may suffer from a lack of proper healthcare. Issues of healthcare need not only pertain to the physical stability of a woman's health, but there are other matters involved that may affect this social issue. A few of those matters refer to service provision, the impact of NGOs and governments' awareness of these issues (Abramowitz & Moran, 2012: 123). The first question posed would be what and who is being prioritised in the healthcare sector? An answer to that question could be that those who are able to pay for proper healthcare are prioritised above those who cannot. Those individuals who cannot pay for adequate healthcare are disadvantaged, because of their poor economic status and geographical location. Therefore, not everyone can afford the luxury of proper healthcare services (van Rooy et. al., 2012: 763). Secondly, if this seems to be the case, then how are governments

and NGOs achieving their goals? Many NGOs attempt their best to assist indigenous people, especially the women, by travelling with what little resources they have to their rural areas. However, the impact of their help cannot be truly felt, because possible political disruptions such as civil wars, or the increased expense of travelling to rural areas due to poor road infrastructure may prevent them from doing so (Abramowitz & Moran, 2012: 123; Ohenjo, et. al. 2006: 1941). Most African villages do not have adequate sanitation facilities and any medical emergency that requires aid does not get attended to with haste, because the infrastructure (roads) does not allow aid to get there (Ohenjo et. al. 2006: 1941). As a result, drastic measures may have to be taken in order to get an individual the help that they need. Depending on the severity of the situation such measures may include risking the individual's life by walking to the nearest town for medical assistance, and attempting to mend the wound without proper medical equipment, or even medical training (Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 2).

Many of the reasons for these problems have to do with political instability and civil war in that country (Abramowitz & Moran, 2012: 123; Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1937). Some governments are reluctant or unable to divulge information that could assist in intervening adequately with these issues. Some of the reasons for government's lack of intervention range from their disinterest in dealing with indigenous communities, to the lack of proper maintenance on road infrastructure (Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1938). There is a lot of discrimination with regards to the attention that indigenous people receive from governments. A few of the reasons behind this discrimination are that some healthcare officials are either racist or prejudiced towards indigenous people. Other healthcare officials are fearful of indigenous people, because they are mostly viewed as uncivilised (van Rooy et. al., 2012: 765; Wodon, Backiny-Yetna & Ben-Achour, 2010: 12). It is for such reasons that some indigenous communities prefer the aid of traditional medicines such as herbs, instead of seeking modern medical assistance. Examples of such cases involve indigenous communities such as the Pygmies of central Africa and the San of southern Africa (van Rooy et. al., 2012: 765; Wodon et. al., 2010: 12). Trying to convince policymakers about new ideas that could improve service provision and development plans becomes a daunting task for indigenous people (Okereke, 2006; 7).

When it comes to the physical nature of women and its link to victimisation vulnerability, there are a number of concerns that need to be addressed. An example

of this link is the practice of female genital mutilation (FGM), or more commonly known as female circumcision. To the modern world the only form of circumcision that exists and for valid medical reasons is male circumcision. However, in some traditional communities in Africa, and other 'developing' countries, as well as in some 'developed' countries where immigrants are still embedded in their culture, females must also partake in it (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1). The female sexual anatomy is not equipped to handle such procedures, yet they are being done. Since it is all part of tradition, governments tend not to get involved. The physical consequences of FGM vary from haemorrhage to birth complications, keloids formation, infections (such as bacterial vaginosis), urogenital complications and even chronic pain. The psychological effects of such practices may include shock and emotional distress (James, 1998: 1033; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2). One could go further into how many indigenous women handle the onset of menopause. Are there clinics nearby that can assist them? If so, what is the quality of that medical care like? In some developing countries such as Nigeria, Namibia and the Gambia, for example, access to clinics or hospitals for indigenous women is a challenge. Some villages are estimated to be five kilometres from the closest clinic, if not more (Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 2). To reiterate what was discussed in the previous paragraph, in some instances, the medical care that indigenous women receive may not be of the same standard as it is in urban areas, because of either a lack of resources or healthcare professionals are not adequately educated on how to deal with indigenous people (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 4; van Rooy, 2012: 765). For some, the issue of better access to healthcare for indigenous women may easily be solved with the passing of new Bills and legislation. However, it may be more complicated than it seems. Much of this complication is linked to the patriarchal nature of some developing countries (Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 2). For example, in the Gambia government required health researchers to provide medical evidence that practices such as FGM had any dangerous repercussions for young girls. In Nigeria, religion and culture are deeply embedded in rural communities, which makes the task of trying to change the minds of the men in rural areas difficult (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2; Okereke, 2006: 12; Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 2).

Staying with the topic of healthcare services and how many cultures influence the degree of access women have to it, research needs to establish whether or not indigenous women are being educated about the values of family planning. It also

needs to further explore if indigenous women are aware that they also have an opinion on the number of children they wish to have. According to Caldwell and Caldwell (2002: 78) in the past 30 years it had been very difficult to get programs about family planning going, because of how deeply ingrained cultures in Africa were. That is, many traditions and practices of certain cultures are believed to be vital components in a community (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1). Attempting to make patriarchal societies understand the importance of such programs was an obstacle for most governments that tried to intervene. Not all their attempts are successful. In countries such as Tanzania, many rural areas are devoid of family planning initiatives and in other countries mostly urban women desire to make use of such programs (Caldwell & Caldwell, 2002: 78). Rural women are absent in research findings. This lack of interest in engaging willingly in family planning programs may suggest that there are other reasons for this besides unfeasible access.

Urban areas have become so advanced not only in their medical prowess, but also in infrastructure. Life expectancy and the quality of healthcare services in developed countries are better, due in part to medical advancements. However, this is not the case in some developing countries. As mentioned earlier in this sub-section, if one is not able to afford what others can, then one is not able to receive the same benefits as them (Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1941; Stierle, Kaddar, Tchicaya & Schmidt-Ehry, 1999: 85). As was discussed in the beginning of this sub-section, access to public healthcare is not a possibility for everyone. Many developing countries, due to the effects of civil wars, are not able to provide adequate healthcare for their citizens and women are the ones who may suffer the most, because of this. In countries such as Guinea and Rwanda, for example, 39% and 33.5% respectively, do not receive the benefits of healthcare because getting to some rural populations does not seem to be worth the effort (Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1941; Stierle et. al., 1999: 85). To reiterate on the previous discussions in this sub-section, some of the reasons for the lack of effort in implementing better healthcare services in rural areas is, because some governments discriminate against indigenous communities. Other governments require proof that certain cultural practices are causing harm to indigenous women and that there is an urgent need for better medical assistance (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2; Ohenjo et. al., 2006: 1938; Wodon, Backiny-Yetna & Ben-Achour, 2010: 12).

1.5.3. Economic problems

When one speaks of economic problems and how it is connected to the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women, two plausible arguments may be made here. One of them has to do with patriarchy and culture, and the other has to do with power and control. With reference to patriarchy, many patriarchal societies believe that the woman has no say in how the finances of the house is managed. Since the man is the head of the house and is the sole bread-winner, women are extremely limited in putting forth an opinion about how money should be spent in the house (Fawole, 2008: 168). The second argument surrounds power and control. When an individual has power over something like money, control over it then inevitably occurs. However, sometimes this power and constant need to control money in a household may lead to disastrous consequences for women (Chuma & Chazovachii, 2012: 6; Fawole, 2008: 168). By this, one means that many are not able to get access to the basic necessities to maintain their female lifestyles. For example, not being able to buy sanitary towels when their menstrual cycle begins, or shampoo to wash their hair as their husbands may believe that regular bath soap is enough. Some women are even subjected to begging their husbands/lovers for money just to clothe their children (Fawole, 2008: 168).

Whether there is financial stability or not within a household, women are able to experience abuse in both instances (Fawole, 2008: 168). In many indigenous communities around the world (New Zealand, Australia, Africa and Canada) many women are subjected, because there is not enough income being made by their husbands/lovers. As a result of this misfortune men tend to take their stress out on their spouses. There is a notable connection between these two arguments and this connection will be dealt with in more detail in chapter three (Heise, 1998: 270).

1.5.4. Criminal Justice System

In brief, the matter of the criminal justice system (CJS) and their response to the abuse, and victimisation of women is a subject that still remains an issue. The most notable of these causes is the issue of secondary victimisation and how the CJS handles matters of indigenous natures. Many women and especially indigenous women, do not seek the help of the CJS, because of the manner in which they are treated when they do come forward to report cases of abuse (Hohl & Stanko, 2015: 5; Medie, 2013:

383; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 141; Zellerer, 1999: 346). As was mentioned earlier on in this chapter, secondary victimisation is a major problem that many individuals have to endure. What makes this experience worse for women is the fact that there are times when the police themselves are responsible for the abuse and the victims do not wish to repeat their ordeal. In other instances, one finds that the CJS may view the women as 'deserving' of their fate. That is, as a woman, she may have led her assailant on (Medie, 2013: 383). It has always been known that women are treated much differently in the CJS than men and even though many legal attempts have been made to secure the interests of female victims, new obstacles seem to arise at every turn (Player, 2014: 277; Steinbrenner, Shawler, Ferreira & Draucker, 2017: 2; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 141; Zellerer, 1999: 346).

1.5.5. Dearth of research

Most of the research conducted on indigenous tribes/communities is mostly anthropological. Which means that the theories surrounding their studies have consisted mainly of knowledge that aims to understand their way of life and how their history still influences their lifestyle today. These theories also aim to provide information to both the social and academic world about how modernity can incorporate their existence without compromising, or disturbing their culture. As informative and supplementary as that may be towards the future development of the human race, it is a challenge to find any data that speaks of potential cases of victimisation. It is known that there are various forms of victimisation that indigenous communities face: from genocide (the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda) to forced relocation (the indigenous communities in North America), and even non-compensation for traditional knowledge that corporate companies take from them (Burt, 1985: 85; Daly, 2008: 230; Hartley, 2015: 51). In cases of the victimisation of women in indigenous communities, limited information is available, particularly in the case of southern Africa. Theoretical shortcomings in this regard in the past few years, have been strongly criticised by many feminist theorists (Ampofo et. al., 2004: 686; Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 34; Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013: 787; Maddison & Partridge, 2014: 31). Many of them suggest that these theoretical shortcomings are a result of Western and Eurocentric thoughts generalising their findings globally. This has sparked a theoretical war amongst many feminists, most of them from developing worlds (Burt, 1985: 85; Daly, 2008: 230; Denzin, 2005: 9; Mutsiwa, 2015: 71).

Research studies conducted by Stubbs and Tolmie (2008), Deer (2004) and Valencia-Weber and Zuni (1995), for example, mostly encompassed women from indigenous communities found in Australia (the Aborigines), South America and North America. Whatever data that is available in the academic world concerning African women is challenging to find. The available information on them rarely mentions anything to do with how women in indigenous tribes are affected by their way of life in an advanced modern world. Does this knowledge invoke feelings of neutrality within them, that is, it does not bother them in the least or does this knowledge produce feelings of longing for change, no matter how small? Whatever the reason, in southern Africa there is not much data to discard any claims of possible victimisation within indigenous environments. The existing data seems to lack the depth required to understand why women of indigenous descent allow, what the rest of the world deems to be inappropriate behaviour towards women, to go on. Much of this could be attributed to a possible lack of proper research design (Bolger, 1991: 1; Burt, 1985: 85; McGrath & Stevenson, 1996: 37).

Continuing with the above argument, the methodological limitations of studies that were conducted in rural areas seemed to have focused mostly on gathering statistical data. That is, data that consists mostly of numerical information. This data would then allow researchers to come to conclusions about the actual prevalence of certain social phenomena, and whether or not such data could be judged to be positive, or negative. That is, does the data show that the social phenomena under study is not a threat to the members of society, or does it show that the social phenomena may have repercussions linked to it (Jacques, 2014: 324; cf. Kaplan et. al., 2011: 3; cf. Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 4). Although quantitative research studies include informative discussions about their topics, they rarely include narratives that wholly represent explanations and insights into the lived experience of individuals. According to Smith (1999: 144) the narratives of indigenous people is important in adequately understanding the dynamics of their lived experiences. The proper and clear representation of such information is vital as it shows more respect to the voices of indigenous people. This is not to say that quantitative research studies do not show the same amount of respect, however, as mentioned in the above paragraph, depth is required in comprehending the full problem that indigenous women may face (Jacques, 2014: 324).

Getting into the lives of indigenous people in this manner seems to be or could be the only way to explore issues such as this research topic. This, more so in an academic field such as criminology where majority of research studies are conducted quantitatively (Copes, Tewksbury & Sandberg, 2015: 1; Jacques, 2014: 318). Though quantitative research designs may produce reliable results, more often than not they do not give a clear indication of the emotional depth and unique experiences that participants may feel. Such a scientific detachment in research studies pertaining to issues of this magnitude may not be very beneficial.

1.6. Research Objective and Aims

This research study does not seek to undermine the authority of men in households nor does it aim to establish some sort of vendetta on behalf of all feminists. This study is about victimisation, the experiential world of the indigenous African woman and her rights. An important part of this research study wishes to explore existing feminist theories and see if they are applicable in explaining the lived experiences of indigenous African women, as it has been discussed that women from so-called developing countries experience the challenges of life differently to women from developed countries. To achieve the overall objective of this study, the following aims were formulated:

- To explore the victimisation vulnerability of a group of women in an indigenous community with specific reference to the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia.
- To explore the causes of the victimisation of women in indigenous communities.
- To explore from an African emancipatory perspective, the experience and meanings attached to the role of women in indigenous communities.

1.7. Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, the various themes that have been discussed are vital to the exploration of this research topic. The victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women is a matter that needs to be attended to with precision and sensitivity. The arguments put forth in this chapter can only be regarded as stepping stones to an understanding of shortcomings that have plagued past research and theories. The exploratory use of these concepts in future endeavours, whether it be in the coming chapters of this study

or in future academic research, may provide legislators, policy makers and academics a better understanding of the world that indigenous people/women live in.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter a range of concepts were explored and explained. These concepts, like many other concepts used in research studies, are necessary to develop the framework in a research study. The theories that are used to assist in explaining, in part, the phenomenon that a researcher is studying would then be the content of the framework (Imenda, 2014: 189). Czarnocha, Dubinsky, Prabhu and Vidakovic (1999: 96) summarise the necessity of a theoretical perspective as being the tool that will assist a researcher in analysing data. Simultaneously, theoretical perspectives are revised during the process of data analysis and this cycle of analysis is repeated as many as times as possible in order to comprehend the epistemology of the research topic. In essence, Imenda (2014: 189) concludes that the framework of a theoretical perspective guides a research study and allows it the ability to explain, and possibly understand, the phenomenon under study.

In the sections to follow, the theories that will be discussed and debated should be able to give this research study the theoretical strategy it needs to study this social phenomenon. The first of the theories that will be discussed are the feminist theories and how they may be connected to gender and development theories. The second to follow will be that of the cultural theories. Much like the feminist, and gender and development theories, the cultural theories will be critically discussed to ascertain their applicability in explaining, and understanding the research topic. Amongst the arguments, any reliable case studies will be used as examples to either support or critically disagree with the theories.

2.2. Feminist Theories

Feminist theories have come quite a long way and have endured a journey that has been riddled with many criticisms. The development of these theories in the field of criminology in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s was to expose the rather vague reality of women's issues in criminology (Renzetti, 2016: 42). Criminology before then had been comprised of male dominated theories and these were used to explain the link between women, and crime. These theories were limited in that they were not able to acknowledge the possibility that women may potentially become involved in crime as a result of factors that excluded men (Flavin, 2001: 271; Renzetti, 2016: 42). Taking

external observatory stances would then account for many of the perceived notions behind the criminal tendencies of women. That is, between the 1960s and the 1980s, criminology as a discipline had generalised its research findings without attempting to explore, investigate and understand women and crime from a feminist perspective (Henne, 2017: 1). Feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology were aiming to break that chain. As the 1990s came and went these perspectives dislodged the idea of concentrating on all women as one homogenous group. In the mid-2000s, this subfield of criminological theory had matured and branched into its own vein of theoretical disciplines (Flavin, 2001: 272; Henne, 2017: 1; Renzetti, 2016: 43).

Renzetti (2016: 45) strengthened the position of feminism in criminology by arguing that it emphasised the need for researchers to be more mindful of the participant's narrative. The relational distance between the researcher and the participant being studied should be reciprocal, in that when the participant gives their narrative and time to the researcher, the researcher should give in return (Renzetti, 2016: 45). This can be done by the researcher showing empathy to the participant, or by giving specific participants information that could help them after the study is completed. For example, counselling in cases of narratives that included traumatic experiences (Renzetti, 2016: 45). Renzetti (2016: 45) and Flavin's (2001: 274) main argument, amongst other feminist scholars, is that the feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology aim to remove preconceived biases about the phenomenon being studied, and allow the participants' narrative to be the guiding tool in understanding it. This objective is necessary, because in the 20th century male dominated criminological research had focused more on the results of the research study, and less on the participant being studied (Henne, 2017: 1; Renzetti, 2016: 45). In essence, feminism in criminology does not suppose that true women empowerment should be demonstrated by committing offenses in order to be equal with men. It merely warrants the need to acknowledge that the factors which contribute to crime should not be generalised (Flavin, 2001: 272). However, with that being said, no theory in any field of study can be granted clemency or immunity from the minds of critics. Whether they be academic or political, all theories will eventually be critiqued (Henne, 2017: 1).

Regarding the feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology, many theorists and scholars such as Kathleen Daly and Kathryn Henne, for example, are of the opinion that they are mostly concerned with matters that are gender-based. So much

so, that it has become much like a tug-of-war between the sexes (Daly, 2008: 10). This perception may suggest that the main objective of these theories in criminology is to establish a power-based argument. In the sense that a man does not necessarily have to be the deciding factor when a woman commits a crime, as was discussed earlier in this section (Daly, 2008: 10; Henne, 2017: 1). Another argument regarding this issue (gender-based theories) is that female victims are always seen as fragile, but could later on challenge the *status quo* with the proper assistance of the legal system. It is for such reasons that feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology were viewed as one-dimensional, as they did not consider other plausible factors involved with regards to women and crime (Henne, 2017: 3). Other theorists posit that feminism in criminology lacks adequate diversity in the sense that it does not account for women who come from backgrounds with unfortunate histories. It does not account for women who reside in rural areas, women who are indigenous and women who are of colour (Daly, 2008: 10; Henne, 2017: 2). The latter part of this paragraph will be discussed in detail further on in this chapter.

What interests this research study is how the theories of feminism in criminology have affected the viewpoints of criminological researchers, and theorists in their understanding of indigenous populations. Since this study's main focus is about the interests of indigenous women, it stands to reason that the current discussion be directed towards them.

A few feminist criminological theorists such as Naomi Simmonds, Amanda Burgess-Proctor and Kathryn Henne, among others, are of the view that the lack of intense interest regarding women of indigenous descent, has come under great scrutiny (Henne, 2017: 6). This "blind spot" exists because feminist theories have struggled over the years to tackle the issue of intersectionality and indigeneity. Intersectionality is a theory that posits that the lived experiences of individuals, especially women, cannot be studied using a one-dimensional model. The lived experiences of women need to be studied and analysed from perspectives that highlight the complexities of sameness, and difference. Furthermore, categories of race, colour and gender need to be considered when researching influences of power. For example, how patriarchal powers affect women of colour (Cho et. al., 2013: 787). Indigeneity involves the matter of indigenous people, their indigenous identity and how the world is called upon to acknowledge their rights as indigenous people. Moreover, indigeneity highlights that

the issues of indigenous people should not be likened to that of the descendants of colonisers, nor should the troubles of these descendants who reside in colonised countries be generalised to indigenous people's lived experiences. Such viewpoints stem from the colonial history that indigenous people and Europeans share (Harris, Carlson & Poata-Smith, 2013: 5; Hartley, 2015: 54). The questions of how criminal acts, with regards to these two theories, impact the lives of girls and women have not been answered thoroughly. Some theorists believe that the reason for this is due to the fact that many of the theories about feminism have been overly generalised. That means that they contain Eurocentric roots, in which all women are part of one big social group (Simmonds, 2011: 17). This inaccuracy it seems, has been observed in countries such as New Zealand. For example, the ideas about *Pākehā* feminism misconstruing the notions about the knowledge, values and experiences of the Māori women has been criticised for a very long time (Henne, 2017: 6). *Pākehā* or Western feminism was criticised by Māori women as being untrue in their endeavours for female liberation. They criticised the feminist movement as trying to be racially homogenous and inclusive of all women (Simmonds, 2011: 17). Māori feminists believed that although there were some aspects of the *Pākehā* movement that applied to them deemed acknowledgement, *Pākehā* feminism could still not emotionally and spiritually lobby for the lived experiences of Māori women. Māori feminists stated that it was difficult to be included in an existing framework that was imported, and did not account for the cultural borders that exist for Māori women (Simmonds, 2011: 17).

The point that the above paragraph is attempting to bring forth is that feminist theories tend to mistake one problem for the other. By generalising their opinions, they presume to think that all women go through the same problems. That all women across the world experience issues of crime the same way and that their responses are in line with those who have never been researched. Despite the criticisms that were discussed earlier in this section, there are a number of elements in the existing theories that have been found to be more generally applicable to the topic of this research study. The theories that will be discussed below include liberal, radical and critical feminism, indigeneity, intersectionality, gender and development theories, and post-modern theories.

2.2.1. Liberal feminism

In the history of Second Wave feminism, liberal feminism stands out as one of its major feminist ideologies and it changed modern society in various ways. This movement, which began in the 1960's in America, culminated in the type of rippling effect that caused many women around the world to not only question their position in society, but to also challenge it. This 'moment' amongst novice feminists inspired countless women to march in their communities or cities to demand that their existence be recognised for more than what it actually is (Epure, 2014: 515; Sardenberg, 2008: 20).

Liberal feminism primarily rests on the basis that women should be equally permitted to gain access to the same resources and opportunities as men. These resources and opportunities branch out into the social, political and legal realms of modern society. Its *raison d'etre* is to eliminate various barriers that hinder women from becoming more than just ordinary housewives (Epure, 2014: 515). According to Calás, Smircich and Bourne (2009: 554) a complete overhaul would have to occur in certain predominately male sectors so that an equal avenue can be made available to women. Liberal feminists consider this important to the advancement of women who seek to break into spheres that were viewed, and accepted, to be too masculine for them. One such sphere is business and another politics (Baxandall & Gordon, 2008: 428).

Many liberal feminists emphasise the urgent need for gender equality. One aspect of gender equality concerned the rights of women to own their sexuality and reproductive programs. The responsibilities in a marriage should be shared between a man and a woman, with both filling the gaps in areas the other is not able to (Baxandall & Gordon, 2008: 420). The lack of education that numerous young girls and women worldwide receive is also another pressing matter that liberal feminism addresses. It is well known that in most patriarchal communities such as India, Iraq, Algeria and some parts of central Africa, women and young girls do not receive education. This academic segregation is due to the fact that, in these communities the education and development of boys takes precedent over that of the girls (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010: 622). Feminists of the liberal mind-set have set out to make it resoundingly clear that they do not seek to be equal with men, in terms of physicality and mental aptitude. Rather, the message that their movement attempts to convey, is that given the proper opportunities and respect women are more than capable to add value to their

societies. It is this message that prompted a vast change over the past few decades in some countries around the world. Examples of such countries are the United States of America, Japan, Australia and Germany (Epure, 2014: 515; Nicholson, 2015: 4).

Although this feat is extraordinary in its own right, the African movement was marred with controversy and obstacles. This in part, as a result of patriarchal opposition and underlying government agendas, and not, because women in Africa did not protest. During the 1980's in Africa, countries such as Ghana and Nigeria appropriated feminism as a means to an end. This political agenda projected an interest in the liberation and development of the women in their countries, and some scholars, and activists, questioned who truly benefitted in that campaign (Ampofo et. al., 2004: 688). Indeed, countries such as South Africa, for example, excelled in ensuring that women enjoy the same legal, economic, social and political benefits as men do. Senegal and Uganda appointed women in high ranking government positions in recognition of the valuable contributions that women made in that sphere (Arriola & Johnson, 2014: 498). However, with that having been noted, critics of this type of feminism have their reservations, of which some include the neglect of racial issues, false assumptions of universal womanhood and lack of representation for indigenous women.

Critics argue that although the movement of liberal feminism has made impressive strides in the past few decades, one cannot ignore its weaknesses. One issue that critics have with liberal feminism, is that it does not take into account the issue of race (Simmonds, 2011: 18). They critically opine that liberal feminism is white-washed and thus, does not seek out to acknowledge that women of all races experience hardships differently. More so, a host of factors such as class and culture are also ignored as part of their roster (Simmonds, 2011: 17; Maddison & Partridge, 2014: 28). African scholars, too, agreed with critics that liberal feminism's ideologies neglected to include the troubles of indigenous women, and even women of different religions in their manifesto. The "one-size-fits-all" propaganda has been fiercely contested by many critics and solutions, whether they be theoretical in nature or political, were voiced (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Choudhury, 2009: 157; Prügl, 2015: 615). Therefore, the theory of intersectionality is broached and will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

The argument in this paragraph is in reference to the discussion in chapter one (sub-section 1.2.1.), in which a distinction was made between indigenous women who had moved to urban areas and indigenous women who remained in rural areas. The focus once again is on those indigenous women who live in rural areas, especially rural areas which rarely have contact with the modern world. This research study does not claim to presume that indigenous women in Africa are completely unaware of the liberal feminist movement. The aim of this paragraph is to argue, and possibly challenge the idea, that there are indigenous communities whose women are aware or care about the overall motivation for liberal feminism. As was discussed in the beginning of this section, it is difficult for indigenous women to be a part of a framework that is already biased towards them, and does not consider the emotional and spiritual challenges that affect their lived experiences (Simmonds, 2011: 17). It would seem that from the feminist literature discussed, the term feminism and its movement is applied too liberally, and insinuates that indigenous women are aware of the dynamics of second wave feminism. Furthermore, that indigenous women can easily relate to the social, political and economic problems that international feminists experience (Choudhury, 2009: 157). Cultural embeddedness is also key to this argument, as is evident from the discussion in chapter one (sub-section 1.5.1.) in which it stated that cultures can be deeply ingrained within individuals. Therefore, forming part of their ontology.

2.2.2. Radical feminism

As liberal feminism was marking its territory in society, radical feminism began to take root in the 1980's and challenged the ideological campaigns of its sister liberal feminism. Although both stem from second wave feminism, radical feminism does not believe that an individual's achievement and personal choices are enough to change society. This feminist movement is set on highlighting the problems of domestic and sexual abuse (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 29; Nicholson, 2015: 4). Radical feminists are of the opinion that men and women differ greatly not just in their gendered responsibilities, but in their mentality as well. They go as far as to state that all that embodies a woman, her culture, power and pleasure, is dominated and overruled by patriarchal systems. Systems such as marriage, militarianism, politics and even medicine, play a major role in disarming women from their rights; be it sexual, medical, or economic amongst others (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Wacjman, 2010: 146). In essence,

the message that this feminist lobby wants made coherently clear, is that women do not need men in order for them to be successful. Hence, the term radical, as it calls for a complete separation from men and their ideals about a civilised, and structured society (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Thompson, 2001: 4).

The civilised and structured society that is mentioned above contains elements of sexual oppression and enslavement. Beran (2012: 37) states that in the world of sex workers, for example, radical feminists vehemently believe that women who work in such an industry are enslaved. For the purposes of this argument, this sexual servitude does not align itself with that of human trafficking for sexual transactions. Rather, their argument is that though some women claim freedom of choice and independence, the monetary exchange that occurs between the sex worker and her client is proof of patriarchal rights. The worker thus acknowledges that her male client has rights and power to control her (Beran, 2012: 37; Snyder-Hall, 2010: 257).

Another radical move by this type of feminism concerns sole ownership of a woman and her reproductive rights. Unlike the debate regarding sex workers and how they are “bought” for the night, radical feminists do not condone women’s subservient role in marriage, and how their reproductive assets are controlled by men (Wacjman, 2010: 146). If a woman is not able to conceive a child naturally, then *in-vitro* fertilisation would be the most viable solution. Radical feminists view the invention of *in-vitro* fertilisation as a domineering tool to silence a woman’s opinion on pregnancy. For them, it is a question of why a woman has to feel obliged to conceive, and what makes it difficult for men to accept the possibilities of a childless marriage (Wacjman, 2010: 146; Vukoičić, 2017: 35).

Some feminist theorists are of the opinion that radical feminism has a few flaws and that these flaws hinder the progression of radical feminism. Referring back to the matter of the sexual enslavement of women by patriarchy, sex workers felt offended and discarded the ideas of radical feminists that they were victims of their circumstance (Snyder-Hall, 2010: 257). They argued that radical feminists failed to acknowledge that they were autonomous in their decision-making. Furthermore, choosing to be in the industry was a choice that they felt empowered to make (Beran, 2012: 44; Snyder-Hall, 2010: 258). Snyder-Hall (2010: 258) criticises radical feminism further by stating that one of radical feminism’s mistakes was judging, and attacking

the personal choices of women. This judgement caused many women to retaliate in anger and thus the motivations for the movement became counterproductive. Critics have also criticised radical feminism for not fully understanding, and accepting, that many women are not threatened by notions of marriage. They state that this strategy of feminism does not bode well for them, because heterosexuality, and the attractions that are governed by it, still play a pivotal part in women's lives (Nicholson, 2015: 4). Not only that, but some women believe that being a mother is one of life's greatest joys. Furthermore, radical feminists' belief that heterosexual women who continue to sexually engage with men or live with them are a hindrance to the radical movement, was not supported by straight women. A vast number of heterosexual women took offense and this divide in opinion caused a split in the radical movement between heterosexual women, and homosexual women (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Snyder-Hall, 2010: 257).

With these critiques in mind, it then prompts one to reflect on African culture, how the philosophy of children and marriage is central to it, and how the ideas of radical feminism would be difficult to implement in an indigenous community. In the discussions above, radical feminism's philosophy centred around the need for women to divorce themselves from men completely and the sexual patriarchal institutions that they are enslaved to (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 29; Nicholson, 2015: 4). Some African women may not be able to implement the ideals of radical feminism, because of a number of factors. Firstly, African culture, marriage and children are extremely important components in an African community. Marriage in African culture signifies the union of two families and the formation of new bonds. It also means that the lineage of the clan will be continued, conflicts between families can be resolved and human existence will be preserved. This belief and support for the generational existence, and practice of marriage, is not solely based on patriarchal ideologies, but it is also a belief that matriarchs stand by (Dodo, 2014: 201; Kyalo, 2012: 214). If an individual in the community does not wish to be married, members of the community consider it to be an offense to the institution of marriage. They believe that the individual is destroying the image of marriage, by making it seem as if it is not important (Kyalo, 2012: 214). In many African cultures a marriage without children is believed to be meaningless, and may even blame the woman if none are born. This statement is

made to emphasise the point of this discussion: that children are central to life and to the continuation of the existence of humans (Dodo, 2014: 194; Kyalo, 2012: 214).

It seems that from the brief discussion above, the ideologies of radical feminists towards marriage and children do not outweigh the importance of such elements in African culture, because they are essential to life according to African societies.

2.2.3. Critical feminism

The theory of critical feminism consists of nationalist, post-structuralist and Marxist feminism. Unlike liberal and radical feminism that were born in the Second Wave of feminism, critical feminism finds its birth in the 'Third Wave' and it has come to be known as the "feminist theories of difference." (Casimiro & Andrade, 2010: 151; de Saxe, 2012: 186). Critical feminism employs methodological practices in order to study and critique elements that have fuelled the feminist movement for years. It was developed out of critical race theory and some feminist scholars believe that its methodological capabilities may be able to remould specific feminist theories of oppression (de Saxe, 2012: 193; Mulinari, 2014: 38). This theory postulates that scholars need to review their current perceptions of power, knowledge and matters concerning empowerment. According to critical feminist theorists, feminist ideologies and praxis does not adequately address the various perspectives of women. They also question the realities of other women. In addition, critical feminism debates the fact that feminism struggles to properly explore the intricate complexities of class, privilege and race. Some critical feminists state that feminist theories rely heavily on the common aspects of oppression that are shared amongst women. Hence, the need for feminists to alter their theoretical viewpoints (de Saxe, 2012: 190; Geisinger, 2011: 10).

Critical feminist theories, therefore, emphasise that the voices of women need to be heard through narratives, in order to fully grasp their lived experiences. This point is further stressed upon by women from the black empowerment movement. They hypothesise that the histories of black women's oppression need to be thoroughly scrutinised and studied. This, they believe, does not only apply to black women, but to those women who have been marginalised and indirectly forced to be included under the white woman's feminist umbrella (de Saxe, 2012: 191, Geisinger, 2011: 10, 32, 40; Hart, 2002: 141). With regards to the explorative intentions of this research

study, this critical approach to feminist theories is consistent with the ideas of using the narratives of African indigenous women to give insight into their diverse lived experiences. The earlier viewpoints of this research study contested that preconceived theoretical biases need to be removed when researching sensitive topics. Therefore, the thoughts of critical feminism coincide with this research study's approach, because it promotes the need for women to narrate their lived experiences on their own terms. However, much like the first two theories that were discussed in this section, critical feminism has also been critiqued.

Some scholars are cautious of the narrative approach to studying and reshaping theories of the 'Other' woman's lived experiences. They argue that the criteria employed by feminist theories to investigate and achieve their objectives, should be seriously mindful of criticisms regarding validity, generalisability and reliability (Casimiro & Andrade, 2010: 152; Hart, 2002: 149; Mulinari, 2014: 47). Another criticism is that although critical feminists strongly rally behind the diversification of feminism, remaining vigilant to the ever-changing dynamics and processes of the global economy, and politics is paramount. These processes, though welcoming of feminist ideals, have an underlying brutality about them and they exacerbate racial, gender, and economic inequalities (Mohanty, 2003: 509). This means that although feminism has in many ways been successful in establishing women in male dominated areas such as business and politics, the processes that influence the global economy to constantly change, may not always accommodate the ideals of feminism. These processes may include the need for male consultation in matters of trade wars, or even more assertiveness in political disputes between countries. Feminist ideals receive less attention in such regards, because women are viewed as sensitive and emotional, and men are considered to be more assertive (Latchanah & Singh, 2016: 46). For example, in chapter one (section 1.4.) the subject of the 'glass ceiling' was raised (Blau & Kohn, 2016: 10). This 'glass ceiling' represents the barrier that educated women struggle to break through. No matter how hard they work to be promoted in their profession, it may not be sufficient enough, because there will always be a male competitor that will be considered before them. Therefore, it is imperative that the connection between culture and the politics of economy not be forgotten (Latchanah & Singh, 2016: 45; Mohanty, 2003: 509).

Finally, feminist theories that debate the issue of difference, face a limitation. Even though the concept of the 'Other' woman is strongly discussed and debated in feminist circles, they neglect to pay attention to the fact that that in itself may be an umbrella term, inclusive of all cultures. Yet this may not be the case, as there are numerous and distinct cultures in the world of women from developing countries. Each, thus, having a unique lived experience of oppression (Mulinari, 2014: 35; Zinn & Dill, 1996: 323).

What is clear from this theory is that there is a great emphasis on race, class, gender, and studying the intersections of oppression. However, one does critically find fault with including all indigenous women under one umbrella, and therefore, can agree with the above sentiment that the stratification of indigenous women is warranted. This, once again, because cultures, especially in Africa, differ tremendously and although patriarchy is a common element among them, the dictation of their women's lives differs. Hence, it is important to take such issues into consideration when studying the victimisation of indigenous women.

2.3. Indigeneity

This theory, though vast in social sciences and anthropology, will be briefly discussed in this chapter. The reason being that one does not want to steer away from the crux of the matter, which is the main issue of indigenous women's victimisation. For the purposes of this section and to continue along the lines of criminological feminism, the theory of indigeneity will only be explained with regards to the aforementioned.

2.3.1. Indigeneity and criminological feminism

The overall premise of indigeneity has to do with the rights and criminalisation of indigenous people. How they are viewed by the modern world and how they manage to hold on to their indigenous identity is also a key argument of this theory (Harris et. al., 2013: 5; Hartley, 2015: 54; Shiza, 2013: 2). However, as stated before, this section will not look at this theory as a whole. It will rather take vital points from it and try to form important arguments that involve women's victimisation. Many anthropologists, and now criminologists, have documented this matter over a wide range of research studies. Hartley's (2015: 52) research on the recognition of the indigenous identity of the Batwa in Rwanda after the genocidal war between the Tutsis and the Hutus, is one such example. He states that the Batwa, which are categorised as pygmies, have

struggled to be acknowledged by the Rwandan government as an indigenous people. Research done by Shiza (2013: 3) contested the absence of indigenous knowledge in sub-Saharan Africa. Shiza (2013: 3) argued that politicians who decided what type of education was valid for African children, were neglecting the important contribution that indigenous African perspectives and knowledge could offer the African school curriculum. Furthermore, Western education had undermined the process of learning for students of indigenous descent, by imprisoning their conceptual capabilities, feelings, actions, beliefs and attitudes (Shiza, 2013: 6). Lastly, Bartels (2012: 1) conducted research on indigenous Aboriginal women in Australia and how they were being treated in the criminal justice system. One of the issues that the study pointed out, was that although policies had been implemented to consider the needs of Aboriginal women, they were not being taken seriously. Secondly, the amount of indigenous women in the criminal justice system was an inaccurate representation, considering the fact that the overall numbers were low (Bartels, 2012: 1).

However, with that being said, in the subfield of feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology that does not seem to be the case. The manner in which the academic and political world has viewed indigenous people seems to have bred a colony in which many crimes take place, and remain unaccounted for (Anthony, Bartels & Hopkins, 2015: 53). When offenders of indigenous descent go on trial in modern courts, they are treated the same way as non-indigenous offenders. In other words, their indigenous background, state of mind and their environmental, and social differences are not taken into account when they are processed in the criminal justice system. The argument is that their indigenous identity and the circumstances in which they are found, should bear a considerable amount on the suitability of a certain sentence (Guenther, 2006: 17; Henne, 2017: 8). For example, Bartels (2012: 10) and Henne (2017: 8) elaborated on this matter by stating that the circumstances of Aboriginal indigenous women's offending were not being properly assessed in the criminal justice system. The characteristics of indigenous women differ from that of non-indigenous women, because they show more excessive signs of disadvantaged circumstances such as addiction, sexual abuse and domestic violence (Bartels, 2012: 10). In order for the criminal justice system to ensure adequate service delivery to indigenous women, it needs to go beyond recognising their rights as indigenous people. They need to take into account the realities of indigenous women's offending with regards

to structural influences, and how these lived experiences contribute to their offending (Bartels, 2012: 10; Henne, 2017: 8).

If then, this is the case regarding indigenous individuals as a whole and how they are treated within the judicial system, how then are internal indigenous affairs being handled? What is being done through adequate research to assist in the uncovering of such cases? It is known, that the term indigenous is still being debated by a number of anthropological theorists. Is it then this academic debate that has sparked a myriad of dilemmas with regards to how modern judicial experts should go about addressing offending behaviour? It may be possible that this theory of indigenous identity and its link to culture (of which will be discussed much later) has allowed the world to sit back, and say, “Out of respect, we will not interfere.” However, with a lack of research being conducted on such a topic, one cannot adequately assess the validity of such claims. The condemnation of the lack of research done on the plights of Aboriginal women in Australia is one example of how feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology need to reassess their research, and theoretical perspectives. According to Stubbs and Tolmie (2008: 139) indigenous women are considerably overrepresented in research studies as victims of abuse. This overrepresentation exists, because the amount of indigenous women held in custody in the criminal justice system belies the overall numbers in the national population, which are much lower (Bartels, 2012: 5). Rudin (2005: 9) states that the representation of any group in the criminal justice system should not be unproportioned to their approximate numbers in the national population. However, he continues by stating that the reasons for this overrepresentation lies in the systematic tracking of the Aboriginal community (Canada). Delving deeper into the problem of overrepresentation, reveals reasons that are due not only to Aboriginal communities’ hesitance towards being enumerated as part of the national population, but most importantly, their overrepresentation seems to be connected to how correctional officers compile and report their individual cases (Rudin, 2005: 10). Some indigenous Aborigines may not be believed to be of indigenous descent or details of their indigenous identity are not noted due to a lack of enquiry by the police or correctional officer. Therefore, data regarding indigenous women in the criminal justice system should not be quickly concluded, as numbers tend to change (Rudin, 2005: 11).

Much of the violence in indigenous societies involves women and young children. One crucial point made by Schneider (2000: 72) states that the abuse of women is seen as an isolated event. This problem and many others is seldom connected to the subservient position in which women in society find themselves, minimal community and educational support, and the structure of the family (Schneider, 1992: 527). Furthermore, all the attention it seems, is fixated on the woman as an individual and her biological makeup (Tamale, 2008: 52). This should not be the case as the focus should actually be shifted to the offender and to those structures in society that continue to promote the oppressive subjugation of women (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3518). Furthermore, those structures that make allowances for violence and glorify it should also be focused on (Maluleke, 2012: 2).

The hardships of indigenous women and the manner in which their cases are dealt with in the judicial system concerns many feminist scholars (Bartels, 2012: 2; Henne, 2017: 8; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 138). Those women who commit crimes against their perpetrators are perceived as the typical ‘victim’. To reiterate much of what was discussed earlier in this section, courts do not take into account that their criminalisation has less to do with psychological determinism and more to do with the actual violence that takes place in the community (Bartels, 2012: 1; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 139). This misperception, thus, reconfigures the significant economic and social disadvantages that many indigenous women commonly face. This means that the judicial system attributes such crimes more to a personal inferiority complex and so leads to unjust judgements (Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 146). What this paragraph aims to explain is that there are deeper crevices that lay beneath the simple issues of the typical battered woman, which indigenous women face. The voices that are heard are viewed as mere pleadings instead of meaningful accounts of how systemic inequalities affect women (Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 146).

It is of no surprise then, that many feminist criminologists believe that it is imperative for criminological scholars to engage deeper into the problems of battered women. This can be said more so with regards to indigenous women. The evidence lies not only in the information that has been discussed thus far in this section, but also from the discussions in chapter one (sections 1.5.1, 1.5.2. and 1.5.3.). The above viewpoint may stand true across some indigenous communities, however, what has been stated are the viewpoints of international theorists. Though they may be in the ‘global south’,

their research studies were conducted with the aim of understanding the issues of indigenous women in their countries. It is for such reasons that it would be challenging to apply the results of their research to African situations, because there is a lack of comparability across contexts based on various socio-economic and cultural differences. So, therefore, this section brings forth its concerns regarding the feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology in Africa and southern Africa, in connection with indigenousness.

2.3.2. Indigenousness and African feminist criminology

Schneider (1992: 527) critically stated that the issues of women being abused should be much more “particular”, while simultaneously being “general”. In that, the problems that women face must be connected not only to their subordinate positions in society, but also to the more widespread notions of control, and authoritative behaviour (Schneider, 1992: 527). Furthermore, the experiences that women endure are complex and unique. These dimensions have to be explored in depth in terms of particularity and also generally, in terms of them being socially studied (Schneider, 1992: 527).

In Africa, indigenousness or indigeneity is rooted very deeply in pasts of colonialism. The multitude of cultures that a continent such as Africa is rich in, contributes greatly to indigeneity. However, as mentioned earlier on in this section, those broader historical problems will not be discussed. This research study acknowledges colonialism and the relationship it has to the history of indigenous people. Since such a subject has been well researched, it therefore not necessary to discuss it at length. What will only be utilised are the various points/connections that can be made with regards to feminism and the possible victimisation of indigenous women. According to some radical African feminists, many Eurocentric theories about feminism are disheartening, as they do not and cannot truly capture the image of an African woman’s struggles. They argue that black women in Africa hold a very unique theoretical position (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 119). In their opinion, black women stand between the racism and supremacist perceptions of the white woman, and that of the (usually internalised) patriarchal and sexist mind of the African/black man. African feminist theories are breaking academic ground as they oppose Eurocentric approaches, even though, in this research study’s critical opinion,

some theories cannot be completely discarded. The attention that African feminist theories bring to the issues of indigenous women has to do with how discriminatory social interactions impact the lives of many African women (Adefarakan, 2011: 44). In essence, the main argument here is that Western feminism has affected the history of indigenous identity so profoundly, that what was considered to be purely African has now been diluted by Western thoughts (Adefarakan, 2011: 44). An example that may support this statement is Shiza's (2013: 1) thoughts on indigenous knowledge and how African education needs to decolonise itself from Western knowledge. One of his reasons included the end to the power struggle between Western and indigenous knowledge. He argued that Western knowledge was, and may still be, dominant. It not only dismissed the importance of indigenous knowledge, but it overpowered indigenous knowledge as well (Shiza, 2013: 4). This matter is further complicated by politicians, policy makers and academics who received Western education at international universities. They returned with colonised ideologies and so undervalued, and undermined indigenous knowledge in development, and education (Shiza, 2013: 4).

For some theorists it is not gender, but seniority that defines the power relations in a community such as Yorubaland in Nigeria, for example (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). A statement such as that has not been well received by a few African theoretical scholars. Staying with the Yoruba tribe (in Nigeria) as an example, some African feminist scholars believe that it could be considered dangerous to say such things, in the political sense (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). This criticism stems from peer reviews of African feminist Oyeronke Oyewumi's work in *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses,* in which she claimed that the Yoruba are non-gendered. This non-gendered perspective is argued on the basis that the term gender was imported from Western/Eurocentric ideologies, and therefore, power cannot be linked to gender as it is diffused in a family and seniority is associated with age, not gender (Adéṣuyí, 2014: 26, Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 120). Bakare-Yusuf (2003: 132) and Adéṣuyí (2014: 30) argue that one cannot assume that Africans are non-gendered, and that power relations are non-gendered, because other factors such culture, political and social structures affirm that Africans cannot be non-gendered. An example would be that certain titles of chieftaincy are gender-specific (Adéṣuyí, 2014: 30). Though the term "woman" and her role in some indigenous African communities

cannot be likened to Western interpretations, Bakare-Yusuf (2003: 132) opines that there is a problem with assuming that seniority can be used as a basis to discount Eurocentric ideologies. There is more to it than that. She is of the opinion that certain African theorists do not comprehend the complexities involved when it comes to power, gender and seniority. The theory of seniority should not be the only factor considered (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). The reason being that gender does indeed also play a vital role. What can, however, be agreed on regarding the topic of seniority, is that the use of the word produces a world where sexual assault and other forms of violence exist. This mental block then rules out the possibility of the victim being able to defend herself, because she dare not challenge a man who is older than her (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). This disguise of power, however subtle, leaves many women vulnerable and easily susceptible to abuse or violence. Though this may not be clearly evident in the Yoruba's philosophy, the marginalisation of women is a practice that takes place all too often (Adefarakan, 2011: 45; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132).

It is apparent from the above arguments that feminist theories in connection to the indigenous nature of African women has a hurdle to overcome. This hurdle it seems, is not just for international feminist scholars, but it is also one for African feminist scholars to overcome. From what has been stated in the previous paragraphs, one can only wonder how much further such a theory must go, as the internal battles that plague African feminism seems to become ever more taxing. If northern African scholars are still undecided as to how much Eurocentric information should be left out of African theory development, what then can be said about southern Africa? This distinction between northern and southern African feminism is necessary, because of the different political eras in which north African and south African feminism was founded. This difference exists as a result of a political past that differs from one African country to the next. It is for such reasons that the experiences and definitions of feminism varies in northern and southern Africa (Goredema, 2010: 35; Mama, 2011: 8). Due to the vast traditions, cultures and histories that separate northern and southern Africa, the problem of trying to define African feminism remains challenging, especially with regards to the level that African feminism's terminology and subject should be set (Goredema, 2010: 35). That is why, though this may be perceived as an

indirect goal of this research study, it is important to investigate any theoretical uncertainties that may still exist.

2.4. Intersectionality

The following theory called intersectionality, stands on similar grounds as the one above. However, there are quite a number of distinctions that can be made in this theory, even though there may be a few overlapping qualities.

The theory of intersectionality emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s. Its premise lies on the fact that the crimes that women experience have to do with how interconnected structures of power with regards to class, race and gender fuel them. Some theorists have also added sexuality (ownership of a woman's sexual liberty by either her or her husband) to this equation, as the various types of oppression and discrimination tend to arise from these factors. Intersectionality's aim is to analytically interrogate these factors that some theorists believe shape power relations, identities and social issues (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Henne, 2017: 7). It is simply not enough to presume that gender alone facilitates crimes against women. Factors such as history and migration status also play a vital role. This theory was first introduced by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in the 1980s, in the United States of America, who felt that the feminist knowledge of Western and European women could not account for the vast experiences that black women faced (Carastathis, 2014: 305; Davis, 2008: 68). Women of colour and of indigenous descent face a variety of difficult challenges with regards to social justice and equal opportunities, which their white female counterparts do not (Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 2). This social misunderstanding is, in many people's opinion, because the female *Homo Sapien* species has socially and widely shared the identification of 'woman'. Therefore, the connotations associated with the term 'woman' should not be used so liberally and universally. The reason behind that statement is that the feminist theories produced by Eurocentric thoughts have basically eclipsed the pains and experiences of black, and indigenous women (Nash, 2008: 2; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008: 5).

Intersectionality is seen by some scholars as a concept that is productive and is widely utilised in academic fields such as sociology, literature, history, philosophy, and anthropology. It has also made its way into dimensions of ethnic studies, legal studies and feminist studies. Some scholars even have faith that intersectionality has promise

for future qualitative research studies of crime and it is universally relevant (Burgess-Proctor, 2006: 27; Cho et. al., 2013: 787). Some scholars venture that intersectionality is a vital tool that can be used to critically enquire about these social parameters that may in some way affect many indigenous women. It is able to assist in clarifying the misunderstandings of power and its link to gender, class, and race. By doing so, this theory illustrates how power has the ability to mould the identities and experiences of women (Cho et. al., 2013: 787; Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 2). For example, in a country such as Botswana, majority of the people live according to traditional ways. The women remain under the submission of their father before marriage and, after marriage, submit to their husbands (Mookodi, 2004: 57). Keeping in mind the theory of how power influences an African woman's life, this example brings forth one of many key elements that pertain to power in traditional societies: the matter of *bogadi* and *lobola.* This issue in the past 20 years has perpetuated aggressive behaviour towards women who are married. The power aspect in this case is the knowledge that the husband "paid" a substantial amount for the wife and she, therefore, has little or no rights to anything. This inherent fear of her husband, thus, would prevent her from seeking legal help, even though her family may monitor the level of power her husband exercises (Adefarakan, 2011: 46; Mookodi, 2004: 57).

The point being made in the aforementioned example, is that Western and European women do not exist in a culture that allows for a man to pay her family a certain amount of money just to marry her, and henceforth, be considered 'property' of her husband. For them it is often a case of first courting and then asking for her hand in marriage. So, therefore, intersectionality seems to emphasise that the gap of different violent experiences endured by women is too wide for Eurocentric and Western knowledge to fill.

2.4.1. Critique

As exciting and promising as the theory of intersectionality sounds, it does, like every other theory, have its drawbacks and critiques. For the purposes of this research topic, this section will only mention those critiques that are relevant to it, and the subfield regarding feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology. Some scholars have stated that the scope of intersectionality should be reconsidered or completely disregarded (Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 2). There are a number of limitations that it

not only theoretically faces, but also practically. One of those limitations is the interconnected perception of subjugation. Intersectionality does not make it clear as to when this metaphor can be used, and to what extent it can be applied. It also does not seem to acknowledge that black women's lived experiences are influenced by factors other than oppression (Nash, 2011: 460). The interrelations of the class/race/nation/sexuality/gender nexus is another limiting factor of intersectionality. Intersectionality neglects to take note of the fact that globalisation can influence acts of violence, for example the resulting coalition on the War on Terror. According to intersectionality, the nexus mentioned earlier cannot be studied as separate entities. Class, sexuality, age, race, nation, gender and religion need to be explored and understood as elements that are intermeshed (Cho et. al., 2013: 787; Davis, 2008: 77; Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 2).

Another important critique it seems to be surrounded by is the issue of fixed and static versus the contextual, and dynamic orientation with regards to its research methodology. As mentioned earlier in this section, intersectionality was developed, because Eurocentric feminist theories did not cater for the needs and experiences of black women. Within that same vein, there are some scholars that critically suggest that, because intersectionality is grounded on the political and theoretical voices of black women, it fails to become a useful research tool in exploring the issues of other societies that are marginalised and other forms that social power manifests in (Cho et. al., 2013: 787; Henne & Troshynski, 2013: 2). That is, critics argue, intersectionality seems to only focus itself in the context of African American women. Thus, neglecting to recognise the fact that gender and race in marginalised communities, is experienced on different levels in various historical events and in particular contexts (Cho et. al., 2013: 788; Nash, 2011: 461).

In the opinion of some theorists such as Nash (2008: 3) and Carastathis (2014: 311), for example, intersectionality contains some paradoxes that are left unquestioned by anti-racist and feminist scholarship. As a result of this conflict remaining unresolved in anti-racist and feminist theory, this creates opportunities for error to exist. Thus, resulting in a confused notion about the concepts of oppression and identity (Nash, 2008: 3). Intersectionality's use of black women stands, in the opinion of other feminist scholars such as Cho et. al. (2013: 788), in murky waters. There is a two–fold problem with theoretically relying on the experiences of black women (Nash, 2008: 8). The first

problem is that although intersectionality aims to emphasise the exclusion of black women within anti-racist and feminist theory, they are perceived as a monolithic and unitary group. This means that while nobly intending to use black women as a theoretical basis to categorically oppose the 'black man' or 'whites', over the years it has been done in vain. This is, because outlining the vast variances among black women has become obscured in this endeavour (Nash, 2008: 8). Although the previous statement may imply that the objective of intersectionality is meaningless if it does not explore the different lived experiences of black women, it would be an inaccurate assumption. Nash (2011: 447) explains that in employing intersectionality as a means to study the experiences of black women, black feminism inadvertently neglected to scrupulously research the categorical heterogeneous concept of "black woman". Hence, in light of the information discussed in this paragraph, the primary objective of intersectionality still has meaning, however, it does need to be reassessed.

By abandoning the urgent need to address how factors other than gender and race mould a black woman's experience of abuse, is a demonstration of how such shortcomings in this theory fail to seize the wide range of criminal experience that black women endure (Nash, 2008: 8). The second critical point is that, intersectionality continuously reverts back to black feminism and does not demonstrate any intentions to bring forth new, and advanced tools that could assist in inventing other complex theories of identity. Furthermore, the narratives, stories and experiences of black women can be perceived as a means to strategically and continuously prohibit the advances of dual thought processes (Nash, 2008: 8).

Further critiques about intersectionality's usefulness is that there seems to be a plaguing question of whether or not intersectionality can put a spotlight on other feminist issues. By that, scholars are sceptical if intersectionality is able to briefly withdraw its attention from the particular problems of black women, to that of others (still non-whites). In its valiant conquest, intersectionality subconsciously is not able to answer the question of whether or not "…all identities are intersectional or whether only multiply marginalised subjects have an intersectional identity." (Cho et. al., 2013: 788). Although many feminist theorists are adamant that intersectionality incorporates all spheres of study, a staggering amount of the work produced by intersectionality has been solely focused on the multiple subjects that are marginalised. It is this

theoretical confusion that keeps scholars guessing about the crux of intersectionality's research goals. Are its objectives centred on marginalised prejudice or is it simply a theory that generalises identity (Cho et. al., 2013: 788; Nash, 2008: 9)?

2.4.2. Critique of intersectionality as a methodological research tool

As stated earlier, many of the criticisms that this theory faces have to do with its ability to be practically applied. Much of intersectionality's methodology is at best, questionable (Bright, Malinsky & Thompson, 2016: 61). The argument here is that intersectionality needs to be assessed in order to determine if it is capable enough to describe the ontology of identity. Not only that, but methodological tools need to be put in place that are flexible and attentive to the complex intersections of identity. According to some theorists it has become a challenge to adequately find a methodology that works well with intersectionality (Bright et. al., 2016: 61). The manner in which to go about studying intersectional hypotheses is still a rather vague journey. The reason for this is, because intersectionality is so broad and complex that, when certain elements which need to be analysed encompass a whole myriad of groups of analysis and societal dimensions, it becomes challenging. Though, this may be a drawback, some research scholars have come to cultivate ways in which to guarantee the success of their research studies (Bright et. al., 2016: 61; Nash, 2008: 5).

For some research scholars there is an ongoing debate as to which method for testing this theory will work best. It seems though that through numerous attempts, quite a number of social scientists have come to experience the quantitative methodology as an obstacle when experimenting with intersectionality. The use of statistical models for experimentation in intersectionality work best when investigating variables such as employment, social life, health and income (Bright, et. al., 2016: 61). However, there have been precautions against the use of such means of investigation, as they cannot go where qualitative methodology can take researchers. For example, intersectionality's prediction of black women's lived experiences is impossible to measure by interactions of a statistical nature. For this reason, a large number of researchers are in favour of using qualitative means to explore intersectionality, as it provokes researchers to study the lived experiences of their subjects (Hart, 2002: 150). This method, though, also has its drawbacks. The selection of the subjects who

are thought to be marginalised is predetermined. Therefore, as a result, researchers may not get a chance to interact with those subjects who have not been revealed in advance to be marginalised. The data about their experiences would have then be lost. One final note about this, is that by forfeiting quantitative methodology all together, researchers lose out on an expansive amount of quantitative data that may prove to be valuable (Bright, et. al., 2016: 61, Hart, 2002: 150).

What can be deduced from the above arguments and critiques is that, although the theory of intersectionality was devised by women of colour who felt theoretically oppressed by Eurocentric theories, it still has some drawbacks that need to be addressed. Despite the critiques that were mentioned in this section, the researcher is of the belief that the theory will still be applicable and will provide a useful tool for analysing the results of the current study. What is merely being stated here is that this research study concurs with many of the points that the theorists have made. Some of those points include the acknowledgement that women of colour face a variety of numerous challenges in life that differ from that of white women, and the notion that 'woman' is a term that should not be used liberally. This is, because Western and Eurocentric feminist ideologies of oppression cannot speak for the lived experiences of other women, especially indigenous women. Power and oppression influence identity, race, gender and class in a number of ways and it is important to understand that these two authoritative elements can manifest themselves in different ways as well. Lastly, class, gender, culture and race cannot be studied independently from one another, as they are interlocked and therefore, have the capacity to influence each other. It is also clear that much of the theory's dynamics may be applicable to the research endeavours of indigenous African women. These dynamics would involve an intersectional analysis of how patriarchal authority and power affects the lived experiences of indigenous women. It is also vital that the recognition and study of the different states in which power, and patriarchal authority exist be included in the analysis.

The essential premise that the problems that they face transcends beyond that of race and gender, compels one to consider it as an adequate theoretical research tool. This research study is mindful of the many critiques that were highlighted in this section, such as intersectionality's neglect of other marginalised communities and how their experience of oppression differs from black feminism's views. Also, the methodological

critiques concerning which communities are marginalised enough for research, is noted as well. However, in the current context of this research study, the strengths of intersectionality outweigh the potential limitations. This means that, black women cannot be the only subjects of interest. There are countless other 'non-white' women whose experiences differ greatly to that of black women. Also on a final note, not all indigenous women are black. Intersectionality theorists cannot overlook the fact that Asian, South American and Oceanic locations also consist of women who are indigenous to them.

2.5. Gender and development theories

In this section other theories that may possibly also offer an explanation as to why women of traditional African descent become prey to victimisation will be discussed. The first of these theories are the gender and development theories. It must be noted that this section is referring to social gender and development theories and not psychological gender and development theories. One will observe that as this section unfolds, many of the arguments made have somewhat a resemblance to the previous two theories. Some points tend to overlap, but the distinctive angles used in each theory is what separates them.

The theory of development and its connection to gender relations started in the 1970's, when the points of feminists concerning gender and development were beginning to be heard. Development agencies from international countries, majority of which were either European or Western, began to develop programmes that would incorporate women into the development of society. This incorporation was to the delight of Second Wave feminists and great emphasis was put on gender disputes. One of the most notable initiatives was, and still is today, known as Women in Development (Casimiro & Andrade, 2010: 139; Pearson & Jackson, 2005: 2). This programme took note of the social ills that plagued countries still developing, and agreed that gender matters are important factors to consider. However, in the 1980's and 1990's, many such countries found it challenging to pay their international debts, forcing agencies to rethink their strategies on development programmes (Pearson & Jackson, 2005: 4).

Regardless of this disappointing turn of events, women in developing countries embraced these challenges and began their own NGO's and development programmes. They were also able to highlight certain government problems

concerning international funding, stating that they were used basically as bait in order to receive such funds (Parpart, 2000: 1; Pearson & Jackson, 2005: 4). As a result of these allegations, feminists from developing societies had an outcry and declared that the actions of the state did in no way benefit marginalised women. Their (state) actions did nothing more than suit the needs of the allies of imperialists states, and the leaders of said states (Pearson & Jackson, 2005: 4). Therefore, as much as the agency of women in development has improved over the years, feminists still believe that their reservations are not without cause (Cornwall, Harrison & Whitehead, 2004: 1; Pearson & Jackson, 2005: 4).

Gender and development theorists such Marianne H. Marchand and Jane L. Parpart posit that women of developing countries are misrepresented by the knowledge of Western “experts” and that there is a need to shift away from them. According to postmodernists they challenge the ideas of modernity. That is, technological advancement and rational thinking guarantee the progress of humanity, and contribute to its enlightenment. Post-modern feminists challenge mens’ definition of what a woman is and so desire that women should not define themselves within the dyadic male/female relationship (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 2). They stipulate that there is more to being a woman and that being analysed as a subject rather than an object should become a primary objective. Postmodern feminists are of the opinion that feminist theories were developed according to the issues of women in Western and European worlds. These post gender and development theories argue that such feminist theories homogenously categorise women and that not all women are the same. This, in essence, seems to have politically stratified women and projected an image that states that those from developing countries are seemingly poor (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 6). They supposedly lack the political power to liberate themselves due to insufficient political resources and both their developing conditions, and gender oppress their liberation struggle. This distorted reality paints a picture that suggests that Western and European women are the idols of perfect feminism, and that their situations are comparable to those of women in developing milieus (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 7). Many scholars such as Uma Narayan, Amal Amireh and Lisa S. Majaj amongst others from developing countries, were criticised for being guilty of inadvertently adopting such theories. This is due to the fact that they attended Western

scholarly institutions and, thus, so presumed such theories to have valuable meaning, and context (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 8; Narayan, 2013: 3).

2.5.1. The 'Other' woman

It is clear from gender and development theories that women who are not from privileged worlds have been labelled as the 'Other' women. This labelling has victimised women from developing countries and has ignored their geographical, political and environmental differences. Many criminological and victimological theories suggest that there is more than one way to victimise individuals (Cornwall et. al., 2004: 1). Within this context it is apparent that women from developing countries, especially Africa, are being presumptuously theorised according to Western knowledge and experiences. Though some theories may have points worth considering, assuming that women from all walks of life go through the same problems could be considered problematic. To the outside academic world, the 'Other' woman has characteristics that set her apart from her developed counterparts (Escobar, 1994: 8; Kinnaird & Momsen, 2002: 4). She is represented as uneducated, poor, irrational, passive, sexually oppressed and traditional. As a result of this representation, the developing woman is thus seen as a victim – of history, of universal sexism, of globalisation and of an equally homogenised man from a developing country (Wood, 2001: 430).

Without the ability to save themselves, women from developing countries are at the mercy of their developed counterparts. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the field of gender and development, and academic experts to assist them. This statement refers to developed countries and academic's saviour complex (Wood, 2001: 431). Wood (2001: 431) stated that this saviour complex existed, because women from developing countries were viewed as ignorant, irrational and uneducated by development officials and developed academics. Since she is indistinguishable and substitutable in development cases, the knowledge gathered about one woman will suffice for development plans. This assumption is based on the premise that the knowledge of one woman's needs is merely the reflection of every other developing woman out there (Samuels & Ross–Sheriff, 2008: 6; Wood, 2001: 430). The discussions in the previous paragraph and this current one, served to illustrate one of the points of gender and development theories: that it is a misconception for development experts and

academics to believe that women from developing countries need their charity. Furthermore, the belief that without this charity developing women will continue to suffer as they always have. Such propositions are flawed and thus, to reiterate, the objective of this section is to demonstrate the need for more ethnographic studies that include indigenous women that represent their own realities.

Such an assumption as the one above, with regards to the “one-size-fits-all” mentality, serves to show that there seems to be no real, genuine urgency to properly investigate the actual needs of every woman in developing countries. Considering the information that was discussed so far, there seems to be a need for more inclusive and generalised research studies. Research findings should then be able to be generalised and theories can be developed from the generalisations, the data that was collected, and the data analysis technique. Much like the theories that currently exist did not include an interview with every woman in the western world, so too indigenous theories do not have to include every indigenous woman. However, more effort should be put into researching these women with the intention to generalise using the required and accepted empirical processes, and rigour, instead of using small groups to make large generalisations. Data and conclusions concerning the lived experiences of indigenous women that are presented on behalf of other indigenous women, does not sound credible. It would be beneficial to research studies if indigenous women received proper education and could conduct the studies themselves, as they would be more sensitive to certain cultural barriers amongst indigenous women. If, for any reason, such a prospect is improbable, then existing non-indigenous researchers need to engage more honestly with indigenous women. This should also be done without preconceived notions using ethnographic and phenomenological approaches. Victimisation, indeed, can never be presumed to come in one singular form anymore (Campbell & Raja, 2005: 97; Correia et. al., 2001: 329; Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308). It is clear, that, from the above literature the victimisation of indigenous women has morphed into another entity all together. To presume that all developing women are poor and uneducated does not only prescribe her to academic humiliation, but also, such theoretical knowledge aids in undermining her capabilities as a woman.

Yet, with such criticism, one must also acknowledge the undeniable truth that there are some women in the developing world that choose to live as they are, unimpeded by western perspectives regarding their lives. Some development aids and theorists

suggest that one needs to keep an open mind when it comes to dealing with such delicate issues (Wood, 2001: 433). Though, it is now believed to be of utmost importance to listen to the voices of developing women who have been silenced, development aids such as NGOs or health officials, for example, are still cautious. There may come instances where traditional/indigenous women do not wish to be interviewed and so, respond rudely, and disagreeably (Wood, 2001: 433). She may even tell the aids or academic researchers what they want/need to hear, all just to survive. Sadly, the possibilities of such cases are not unfathomable. The reason behind bringing attention to this topic is, because academic feminist theorists and development researchers cannot be so naïve to believe that no such woman exists. Such ignorance may come at a dear price, because if the arguments in this literature wish to emphasise the need for developing women to emancipate themselves without the assistance of Eurocentric and Western thoughts, that then leaves plenty of room for disappointment. Not acknowledging the reality that some of these women won't be able to match statuses of heroism set by the new essentialising and homogenising visions, could become a major obstacle (Wood, 2001: 433).

No feminist theorist wants to face the fact that there are women in this world who will simply not listen to anyone who wishes to help them. Indeed, in the eyes of the modern woman, with reference to indigenous women, this type of development assistance is crucial to their future (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 6; Wood, 2001: 431). Finding solutions and coming up with ways in which to overcome such obstacles could be a theoretical and practical pain. As ethics would have it, no harm in any form should ever befall participants in research endeavours. So then, how do academic researchers go about tackling this conundrum? One plan of action could be to understand the nature of their culture and traditional ways, as this plays heavily into their hands (Escobar, 1994: 14). Such a theory, though, will be debated more in depth later on in the chapter. It must be clearly noted that the discussion in this paragraph is not the opinion of the researcher or the research study, but that of the available sources. The remainder of this section will include a brief discussion around the terminology used when engaging with this topic. What is the politically correct way to state things? Has the academic language changed for the better and if so, are there any advantages of such change?

2.5.2. Academic terminology in gender and development theories

With reference to geographical differences, according to other developmental thinkers, for example, Chandra T. Mohanty, Gustavo Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash, the language and terminology used in the conversations of such matters, is not as coherent as it should be. The academic and political worlds are aware of terms such as *Third World* and *Western.* However, such terms are more connected to explanatory and political values that assimilate, and appropriate "difference" and multiculturalism via consumption, and commodification (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16). These two terms it seems, do not explain the situations of indigenous women as coherently as terms like *One-Third/Two-Thirds Worlds* or *North/South*. *North/South* terminology has got similar characteristics as that of *Western/non-Western* terminology (Mohanty, 2003: 505). It also discusses the differences between rich, privileged countries which have great economic and technological advantages, and those countries who are politically and economically marginalised. However, the only advantage these terms have is that they are capable of differentiating between the Southern and Northern hemispheres. It seems as though they are not capable of adequately discussing the issues of nations, and communities that are affluent, and marginalised, in terms of geography. In the political sense, they do, however, serve well (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16; Mohanty, 2003: 505).

In Mohanty's (2003: 506) opinion academia using terms such as *One-Third World* or *Two-Thirds World* may prove to be quite useful. It is the opinion of a few gender and development theorists that it would serve the academic language better, if terms like the ones aforementioned be used. The reason for this, is that these terms serve to explain the quality of life of peoples separated into communal majorities and communal minorities in the Northern and Southern hemispheres (Mohanty, 2003: 506). The groups of communal minorities consist of those people who have adopted the paradigm of modernity. They are economically adept and are known, in layman's terms, as the upper-class. The "social majorities" are the opposite. They are the group that do not regularly have access to what is known as the "standard of living" (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16). The little pleasures that they find in life have been influenced by their traditions in their local community and this mirrors their ability to flourish without the assistance of "global forces". Henceforth, the "social minorities" belong to the *One-Third World* (North and South) and the "social majorities" belong to the *Two-*

Thirds World (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16). The advantage of using these terms means that they are able to take a detour and not be connected to deceptive ideological, and geographical binarisms. By concentrating on the criteria for a good standard of life in order to differentiate between these two groups, these two terminologies focus on the continuities and the discontinuities between indigenous societies, and nations (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16).

Although the terms are categorised non–essentially, they do, however, incorporate the study of power and agency, which is considered to be imperative. The one drawback that this theory suffers from is the lack of attention it gives to colonisation and its history (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16). This is something that terms such as *Western* and *Third World* highlight. The problems of indigenous and native women, that are not led by postcolonial pathways, that is grounded in the incorporation and prohibition of procedures of heterosexist, racist, nationalist and capitalist domination, are not able to be grappled with easily in categories like *Western* and *Third World* (Mohanty, 2003: 507). However, they do become central and visible in a concept such as *One–Third/Two-Thirds Worlds*. This is, because the entitlement to sovereignty, spiritual and environmental practices, and their lifeways, by indigenous peoples, place them as the core for the definitive meaning of the Two–Thirds World or the social majority (Esteva & Prakash, 1998: 16; Mohanty, 2003: 507).

The above information highlights the importance of terminology and the meanings associated with certain terms within the academic space. The reason for this could be that past terminology could have marginalised many developing women, especially those with an indigenous background. The English language has changed drastically over the centuries and academic speech has followed the same route. The use of *One-Third World* and *Two-Thirds World* to describe the inclusiveness of indigenous peoples and the opposition they may face with societies from *One-Third Worlds* sounds probable. What is trying to be said here, is that the use of these two terms no longer strictly divides the world into two whole parts. In each of those two whole parts lies another world that academic theory has struggled to investigate and explore meticulously. This, in particular reference to the problems that many indigenous African women face.

It must be strictly stressed here that the reasons for incorporating the theory of development in a research study that is surrounded by criminological and victimological thoughts, is merely to identify it as a form of victimisation. As previously stated, the victimisation of indigenous women simply cannot be perceived to be one-dimensional. As is the subject of development. Development does not merely constitute the advancement from huts to modern buildings or from donkey carts to cars. On the contrary, in certain development situations that are linked to indigenous women and in feminist perspectives in criminology and victimology, research studies such as this one would like to extract the fact that development may just incorporate the internal victimisation of these women. By that, this study suggests that the attempt to emancipate traditional women, especially in Africa, may inadvertently fuel a violent retaliation within their patriarchal societies.

Finally, upon evaluation of this theory, gender and its connections to power, and oppression seem to be key elements in understanding the mechanics of any development programme that intends to assist the development of indigenous communities. It becomes necessary then, to consider these factors as not just independent ones, but ones that are capable of influencing one another. This deep comprehension of matters cannot then be presumed to be isolated events, and it should warrant feminist scholars, and development agencies to properly investigate the reasons as to why indigenous women are not adequately included in the benefits of development.

2.6. Cultural Relativism

In this section, the theory of one's culture having a supposedly negative impact on one's identity and lifestyle will be critically discussed, with specific reference to the relationship between a woman and her culture. More so, the relationship of an indigenous culture and indigenous women. It needs to be clearly emphasised here that this is merely an explorative perspective and to claim that there is any conclusive evidence in how cultures negatively impact indigenous women, would be unwarranted. What is simply being put forth here is the idea that cultures, though a sustaining element in societies, may inadvertently cause the victimisation of indigenous women. It is the possibility of this dark side existing, especially in the indigenous context, which encourages this research study to consider it thoughtfully and critically.

2.6.1. Culture and legislation

As mentioned in chapter one, this study will only concentrate on the second meaning of culture, which basically suggests that cultures are learned from infancy and further development in a person's behaviour would be greatly influenced by the vast meanings, beliefs and symbols pertaining to that specific culture. In that culture is a system of values, beliefs and practices that have been passed on for countless generations. Many of which have not changed at all. There are numerous cultures around the world that have adamantly remained with their ways, and many of those cultures can be witnessed in Africa (Ampofo et. al., 2004: 689). In Africa, indigenous women are deeply rooted in their culture. Majority of these culturally traditional societies are extremely patriarchal. This could be the reason why many of their practices continue to this day (Maluleke, 2012: 2). Such practices would include wife inheritance, polygamy, young girls getting married and female circumcision. Though many may not usually coin this as a practice, the disciplining of women through violent means has been a part of various traditional societies in Africa. Many women who are victims of this type of abuse view it as a means by which their husbands keep them in line (Cripps & McGlade, 2008: 242; Okereke, 2006: 13; Sayem, 2012: 643; WHO, 2012: 4).

For many traditional leaders in Africa, they would argue that this is a way of life and such as they have left the modern world to their devices, so must they also be paid in kind (Hinz, 1997: 76). In South Africa, for example, many traditional leaders are aware of the changes that customary law has made to their communities, but their patriarchal dominance is still strongly felt. In the province of Kwa–Zulu Natal, chiefs whom are set in their traditionalist ways, have defended their cultures and demand that they should be protected (Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 410). Section 31(2) of the South African Constitution states that people from a cultural, linguistic or religious background have the right and freedom to practice what they believe (Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 410; Rautenbach, Jansen van Rensburg & Pienaar, 2003: 15). Though this section protects all those who pertain to it, it could be that some traditional leaders use it as a means to their own ends. Customary law and cultural practices usually disadvantage women, especially those that have been sanctioned. The argument, thus arises as to whom will gain the more advantaged privilege of being protected by the constitution. There are sections that protect the right to equality, but the right to practice cultural freedom

also exists in the same plain (Rautenbach et. al., 2003: 15). Clashes regarding this vague debate are more often than not expected, as the reasons behind them are unfortunate. Customary law only serves to protect people from the "…illegal violence of the state or from the state that selectively enforces its own laws…" (Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 410; Nagengast, 1997: 354). All rights have the necessary responsibilities attached to them, which means that rights may be upheld as long as they do not infringe on the rights of others. Rautenbach et. al. (2003: 15) stated that maintaining the balance between an individual's constitutional rights and the rights of the collective is a difficult task. If certain legislations pass that protect the rights of individuals over the rights of the collective, then this might result in legislations becoming paper rights; a subject that was discussed in chapter one (section 1.4.).

It would seem that, from the above points, the protection of culture in any constitution could have a possible weakness. These weaknesses are in reference to the point that was made concerning the responsibilities of rights. If they conflict with the rights of others, then they should not be recognised (Rautenbach et. al., 2003: 15). As said earlier on in this section, there is no conclusive evidence of this argument. However, with that being said, it does tend to make one ponder deeply as to how much protection should be allocated to traditionally cultured communities. If this protection unconsciously permits unsanctioned practices to continue, in light of the fact that many traditional leaders are very much aware of such knowledge, then the burning question can only be, who is the law actually protecting? Yes, there have been provisions made for equality for women in indigenous communities, but to what effect?

According to some legal theorists such as Maluleke (2012: 18), the right to equality should supersede the freedom to practice one's culture unhindered. When cases of abuse arise in indigenous communities, courts should not allow the fact that their culture is constitutionally protected to deter the course of justice (Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 17). In some countries around the world such as Iraq, India, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria, for example, their laws indirectly defend psychological, physical and sexual abuse towards women should such events occur within the confines of their homes (Okereke, 2006: 9; Tenkorang, Sedziafa & Owuso, 2016: 5). Some laws, for example religious and cultural laws, even vindicate and justify the reasons as to why men receive preferential treatment in terms of access to employment and education. Notwithstanding, circumstances that involve a lack of

protection by the law and health care (Nagengast, 1997: 350; Okereke, 2006: 9). The argument here is that if women were permitted certain freedoms, then it would just lead to sexual freedoms being inappropriately expressed, traditional religion will break down and the ideas of what a traditional family is, will also disappear (Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 17; Nagengast, 1997: 350). The counter argument is that such perspectives may be unfounded and judgemental. To claim that a woman will lose her cultural identity, disrespect her religion or even usurp sexual authority over a man removes the opportunity for her to prove that it will not be the case.

Further arguments revolving around this topic of culture and how the laws of the land protect its practices, and beliefs will be further debated in chapter three. The reason for this is, because many of the points to come have much to do with the risk factors and impact of culture on indigenous women.

2.7. Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, it seems as though feminist theories have quite a journey ahead of them. There are a number of differing views internally that need to be resolved and many points of arguments require better clarity. It is clear that race seems to play quite a significant role in an attempt to separate Eurocentric and Western theories from African ones. However, though many theorists may not see it as a war amongst all women, it has turned into one; whether it was intended to be so or not. Of course, it is truly vital for the academic world to understand the problems of indigenous African women from an African perspective. The challenge for feminist theorists, researchers and activists around the world is to deliberate how they are going to address the issue of the theoretical division within feminist studies. This challenge does not detract from the fact that there are some useful, and very much needed, perspectives in feminist studies that can be applied in certain circumstances. Therefore, feminists from around the world need to come to a consensus that will benefit all women.

CHAPTER 3: EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Introduction

In chapters one and two, this research study discussed the various concepts that needed to be highlighted and the array of theories that could be used as guidance. These concepts included victimisation vulnerability, culture, the women's liberation movement in Africa and indigenous people. In this chapter the empirical literature surrounding the research topic shall be presented and critically discussed. A number of subjects pertaining to the victimisation experiences of indigenous women will be addressed in this chapter, including the nature, causes and impact of this topical conundrum.

3.2. Nature (impact) of the victimisation and abuse of women

The nature of any offense in a research study needs to be understood to its fullest capacity. The nature of the victimisation of women includes a variety of factors that differ amongst women from various cultures. These factors may range from physical abuse to emotional abuse, for example. The effects of the victimisation and abuse on women also vary as women's experiences differ greatly. In this section, the nature of the victimisation and abuse of women will be discussed, as well as how this victimisation impacts women in different areas of their lives. The sub-sections will highlight the various forms in which the victimisation and abuse of women manifests, and how the victimisation of indigenous women is projected.

3.2.1. Intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence (IPV) has been defined as any sexual, physical and/or emotional violence by male partners towards their intimate, common-law, and married partners (Breiding, Chen & Black, 2014: 7; WHO, 2012: 2). IPV can take place amongst heterosexual and homosexual couples from any race, or ethnicity. This form of social violence is an issue that affects many families and is a public health problem. The repercussions of IPV are believed to be long-term and they can come in the form of mental and physical health problems, notwithstanding serious public health and socio-economic expenses (Breiding et. al., 2014: 7; WHO, 2012: 2). Numerous studies, some of which will be discussed below, have been conducted over the past 20 years, and their results include acute health problems; both physically and mentally.

Some of these health problems included smoking, cardiovascular and reproductive health issues, heavy drinking and depression (Breiding et. al., 2014: 7; WHO, 2012: 5). The World Health Organisation's (WHO) (2012: 2) *multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence* report gathered data on the wide-spread problem of IPV. More than 24 000 women from different geographical, rural and urban areas, and cultural backgrounds in 10 countries were studied. WHO (2012: 2) found that 20%-75% experienced emotional abuse at one point in their lives, 4%-49% of women reported that they had experienced extreme cases of physical abuse at the hands of their partner and between 6%, and 59% of women said that their partner had sexually abused them. In the context of this study, the following research studies will focus on the prevalence of IPV in indigenous communities and their effects.

3.2.1.1. Prevalence of IPV in indigenous communities

In indigenous Aboriginal communities in Australia, intimate partner violence has become so alarmingly prevalent over the years, that many believe that these acts continuously violate human rights. Gender, the historical memories of colonialism and race are among the many factors that contribute to the abuse of these women (Andrews, 1996: 917). For example, in the case of race, Andrews (1996: 918) argues that intimate partner violence is not properly addressed, due to the differing status and role of indigenous Aborigines, and the matter of Aboriginal communities being seen as separate communities, instead of integrated parts of Australia's society. This, combined with the issues of a colonial past, are reasons as to why indigenous Aboriginal women experience abuse (Andrews, 1996: 918). These and other factors will be discussed in more depth as the chapter continues. For many Aboriginal women speaking openly about their abuse at the hands of their spouses/lovers, has become taboo. Much of this reluctance to speak out is due to the fact that many women believe that not much sympathy is cast their way. This lack of sympathy may come from non-indigenous communities who may view their situation with scrutiny (Andrews, 1996: 918; Willis, 2011: 4). Apart from that, is also the notion that their community will suffer further ridicule from larger non-indigenous white communities (Andrews, 1996: 917). Kerr, Whyte and Strang's (2017: 146) quantitative study investigated the prevalence of IPV in the Northern Territory (NT), Australia. They conducted the research study using NT police files of 61 796 incidents which were reported to law enforcement between January 2010 and December 2014. Their results discovered that from the

total number of incidences, 20 292 constituted crimes, of which 83% of the crimes involved indigenous Aboriginal women and the perpetrators were indigenous Aboriginal men. This meant that nine out of 10 victims were indigenous women and the main cause of their victimisation was alcohol related. These statistics are quite high considering the fact that indigenous women only constitute 10% of the NT population (Kerr, Whyte & Strang, 2017: 152).

In the Baffin region, found in the Canadian Eastern Artic, indigenous Inuit women have also come into the spotlight for radical cases of abuse. As is with the case in Australia, in the Inuit community many women do not come forward about the abuse that they suffer. In the police files it was reported that on estimation one out of 15 (7%) women, 19 years and older, were victims of abuse (Zellerer, 1999: 346). In the communities of Native Americans in America, the notion of abusing one's wife was seen as unbecoming of a man, and was heavily frowned upon by community members, and tribal elders. However, that has changed over the past few years and numerous cases of abuse have surfaced. In what is known as the Indian country, numerous amounts of women have been reported to be raped (Griffith, 2015: 787; Valencia-Weber & Zuni, 1995: 70).

Much of the data that is needed to properly understand the scope of this problem, is not available. Once again, as it is in every other part of the world, the reason behind this is the fact that many women refuse to come forward. Reasons for this include mistrust of the police, believing that the abuse is an insignificant problem and fears of revenge by their partner (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019: 8). What data there is suggests that 34.1% of Alaskan Native and Native American women are raped during the course of their life (Deer, 2004: 122). Statistics by the National Crime Victimisation Survey (NCVS) in the United States of America, reported that between 2017 and 2018 the prevalence of violent victimisation for indigenous people increased from 45.5% to 49.2%. These statistics are more than double compared to non-indigenous people. Even though these statistics show a high prevalence of violent victimisation, for the same period studied, the results showed that there was still a 2.5% decrease in the number of reported victimisation crimes (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019: 8). In a critical ethnographic study by Burnette and Cannon (2014: 3) which studied the effect of IPV on families, children and women, more than 70% of the women studied stated that they had witnessed IPV as children. The study involved 29 indigenous women from a

South-eastern tribe in the United States of America, and 65% of the women reported that they had experienced extreme and sometimes life-threatening moments of violent behaviour. The effects of IPV on the women included thoughts of suicide, depression and being hospitalised for physical injuries (Burnette & Cannon, 2014: 4).

Narrowing the scope of this problem to this research study's demographic, i.e. indigenous African women, the abuse and victimisation of these women is also a cause for concern. In Africa, statistics on how many women are victimised and abused is low, much like the rest of the world. It also comes as no surprise as to the reasons behind this lack of domestic violence evidence. Since the majority of the societies in Africa are patriarchal, many women do not come forward about their abuse/victimisation as some believe that it would make them seem to be traitors or collaborators against their own husbands/lovers (Andrews, 1999: 430; Wing, 1997: 952). In Sub-Saharan Africa, communities where the San live, also report high levels of violence against women and many of these cases result in the death of the woman. Some women have been known to fight back, which suggests the extremity of the situation (Becker, 2003: 13).

Andersson, Cockcroft and Shea's (2008: 74) systematic research study discovered that in a 2002 survey conducted across Sub-Saharan African countries such as Namibia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Zambia, approximately 18% of women between the ages of 16 and 60 years endured intimate partner violence. In 2007, the same survey was repeated and the results showed that the same percentage of women in these countries experienced abuse and all within a period of 12 months. So much as 40% of women did not refuse their partners coitus when they refused to use a condom and an equivalent amount of men believed that it was inappropriate for a woman to refuse sexual advances by their partner (Andersson et. al., 2008: 74). The aim of this systematic research study was to explore if there was any evidence to demonstrate a causal link between IPV and HIV (human immune-deficiency virus). By employing a standard systematic review methodology and comparing data from various databases, the results of the study showed that there was a connection between IPV and HIV. In one group of studies consisting of three African countries, 23%-26% of women who experienced a history of IPV had a higher risk of contracting HIV (Andersson et. al., 2008: 74). Furthermore, a study conducted by McCloskey, Williams and Larsen's (2005: 125) in the Moshi Urban District of Tanzania to determine

the link between gender inequality and intimate partner violence, found that 21% reported physical or sexual abuse, and endured threats of violence in a 12-month period, and the life-time frequency of sexual, and physical assault was overall 26%. The results were from a sample of 150 clusters, consisting of 1 444 women aged 20-44. Some of the reasons for the abuse was a lack of education on the part of the women and another included mens' need to exert, and prove their masculinity when they felt challenged by a woman (McCloskey et. al., 2005: 128).

If the statistics for IPV are so high and women know, and understand the reasons for the violence, then why do they still remain with their husbands or lovers? One of the reasons behind women remaining was mentioned earlier in this sub-section, and it stated that women feared being labelled as traitors. One particular reason, amongst others, also requires being mentioned. This reason was explained by an American psychologist named Lenore Walker and she stated that IPV continues to occur in a woman's life, because it represents a cycle of violence (Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 453). Once again, to reiterate, cases and reasons differ substantially. According to the research that was conducted by Walker, this cycle of violence has three main phases and majority, if not all women, go through them. These phases constitute physical and psychological abuse that continuously repeats itself. The first phase involves tension building and here the individual experiences minor incidences of abuse, and belittling by the hands of her spouse. It is said that during this period a woman tends to, more often than not, justify the events and excuse her abuser (Allard, 1991: 192; Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 453).

The second phase involves battering or physical violence, and the batterer violently lashes out at the woman. Walker called it the acute battering incident, because in this phase the situation spirals aggressively out of control and the woman becomes completely helpless (Allard, 1991: 192). These moments of escalated aggression transpire due to a number of reasons, some of which involve a man feeling that the woman he is with is not good enough for him, or a husband's belief that his wife should not be more educated than him, and so he demonstrates this by cementing his position in the family through violent means (Dancing-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 453; WHO, 2012: 4). In the third phase, the abuser does a complete turnaround and lavishly spoils the woman with the intent to make up for all that has happened. This phase has been popularly termed the honeymoon phase. It is here that the abuser may even give up

drinking in order to pacify the woman, and win her heart again. In many cases the batterer tends to plead to the woman to forgive him and assures her that it will never happen again (Allard, 1991: 192; Dancing-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 454; Savage, 2006: 762). A few psychological researchers posit that women who experience intimate partner violence on a regular basis may develop 'learned helplessness' (Allard, 1991: 192; Dutton, 1993: 1197, Dancing-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 454). The continued repetitive nature of the abuse that some women endure, teaches them that they have failed in their attempts to quell their partner's violent outbursts. Women accept this 'lesson' and believe that there is nothing that they can do to change their situation. Thus, women end up believing and accepting that the abuse is now a part of their lives, and fighting their abuser is pointless (Allard, 1991: 192; Dutton, 1993: 1197; Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 454).

It seems to be quite apparent from the literature and statistics above that intimate partner violence and the explanation of being labelled a battered woman (see chapter two, sub-section 2.3.1), does not necessarily have to be isolated to Eurocentric and Western inclinations, or urban modern women only. Although the cycle of violence is a Western explanation for the reasons why women remain in violently unstable relationships, its premise can be used, to some extent, to explain the problems faced by indigenous women. Dutton (1993: 1197) opines that to fully understand this social phenomenon, one has to incorporate a multitude of emotional, cognitive, physiological and behavioural responses to violence. Only then is it possible to accurately reflect the varied lived experiences of abused women. This reality, she also adds, changes drastically over time and so cannot always be reliable (Allard, 1991: 192; Dutton, 1993: 1193; Schneider 1992: 522; Zellerer, 1999: 346).

All over the world, it is clear that indigenous women from every possible race are experiencing the same underlying, and unaddressed problem of violence. Though such forms vary in their degrees, experiences and the environments in which these women find themselves, one basic element can be concluded: this is a major problem and the path to any solution seems to be continually littered with obstacles. As was extensively highlighted and discussed in this sub-section, the obstacles to achieving a reduced rate of intimate partner violence may be caused by both men and women. Men, with their patriarchal ideologies and alcoholic behaviour, and women, with their feelings of fear and choosing not to report IPV cases. This statement does not blame

women for their choices nor judge them for it, however, it points out the need for society to be more sensitive to the experiences of women, especially indigenous women. By showing genuine concern, which is devoid of racial, class and gender bias, indigenous women may feel more encouraged to report their ordeals. The subsequent sub-sections of this subject of IPV will discuss the various forms that it manifests.

3.2.1.2. Physical nature

One of the first forms of IPV that will be addressed is physical abuse. Physical abuse is defined as a form of violence that results in subtle to extreme bodily injuries, and psychological trauma. This form of IPV can be witnessed as beatings, slapping, using fists to punch the victim, injuring the victim by attempting to suffocate them and/or choke them, banging their heads against walls, kicking the midsection of the body and pulling the victim's hair (Breiding et. al., 2014: 15). The factors associated with physical abuse vary from unemployment, alcoholism, inability to cope with stress, feeling powerless in a relationship, belief that there nothing wrong in hitting a woman, history of experiencing or witnessing physical abuse as a child, poverty, culture and religion (Cripps & McGlade, 2008: 242; Sayem, 2012: 643; WHO, 2012: 4). An array of research studies documented the effects of physical abuse and discovered that they included broken ribs, chipped teeth, thoracic or abdominal injuries, bruising, neck and back injuries, trauma to the head, lacerations, and problems with hearing or seeing. The physical health repercussions consisted of chronic pains, irritable bowel syndrome and severe asthma attacks (WHO, 2012: 5). WHO's (2012: 5) *multi-country study* reported that the frequency at which women involved in domestic violence incidents incurred physical injury was 55% in Peru. This means that more than half of women in Peru who experience physical violence, report being physically injured as a result. Although the frequency of physical injury reports was not as high as in Peru, 19% of women in Ethiopia reported physical injury as a result of violence (WHO, 2012: 5).

An example of some of the associated factors that were mentioned above can be seen in the following research study by Rajan (2018: 6) that was conducted in Qinghai province of the People's Republic of China. A sample of 100 people in the North-eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau were interviewed with the purpose of understanding and exploring the dynamics that governed domestic violence in Tibetan homes. The study included 76 women and 24 men, and out of the total number of

participants interviewed, 21 transcripts consisting of 17 women and four men were used for analysis (Rajan, 2018: 6). The findings of the unstructured interviews found that nine women experienced rare to extreme cases of abuse, two women reported that they were aware of cases which involved friends, and eight women stated that they knew of immediate relatives who were severely abused. Three male participants reported that they had hit their wives at one point in their lives (Rajan, 2018: 7). Some of the reasons behind the violent behaviours were punishment for disrespecting their husbands, dislike for housework such as cleaning, wives did not cook food when they were supposed to, going out with friends in town, and romantic affairs (Rajan, 2018: 10). The effects of the abuse caused some women to experience trauma and others stated that they were sad (Rajan, 2018: 16).

In another example, Allen and Devitt (2012: 3518) found that in 229 completed random surveys conducted at a local market in Liberia, 87% of individuals believed that in marriage, men and women were not equal. Twelve percent of the participants felt the opposite, and 96% reported that in marriage, men are more dominant with regards to power. These beliefs stemmed from religious and cultural values. Seventy-three percent of the respondents reported being abused and 53% were injured as a result of the abuse (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3519). Similar to the results in Rajan's (2018: 10) study, the reasons for the abuse were mostly culturally and religiously based.

The data from the example studies highlighted, demonstrate that the problem of physical abuse needs to be addressed more effectively. It is not to say that the current measures which are in place are unsuccessful, but better implementation of policies and laws should assist in reducing the prevalence of physical abuse (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3526; WHO, 2012: 7). In the case of indigenous women, Cripps and McGlade (2008: 243) state that intervention models that are meant to assist indigenous women are westernised, and fail to comprehend the full scale of problems faced by indigenous communities. These models or programmes lack cultural sensitivity and consideration to the history, and socio-economic issues of indigenous women. What could assist in changing this situation would be the inclusion of indigenous women's input and opinion on model designs, and how they can be effectively implemented (Cripps & McGlade, 2008: 243).

3.2.1.3. Psychological nature

Another form of abuse and victimisation that many women suffer from is psychological. As is in the first phase of the above-mentioned cycle of violence by Lenore Walker, psychological abuse sometimes does not, in some cases, escalate to violent outbreaks of physical abuse. With psychological abuse, women are subjected to ongoing bouts of taunting, name-calling, vulgarity involving verbally abusive language and emotional degradation (Aguilar & Nightingale, 1994: 35; Henning & Klesges, 2003: 857). The way in which a partner/lover uses or conveys his facial expressions, the tone of his voice and his gestures are ways in which this form of abuse may manifest itself (Marshall 1996: 380). Women who endure such taunts on a daily basis begin to develop a low self-esteem and their self-image is tarnished. The aim of this type of abuse is to threaten a woman with harm or emotionally harm her (Harper, Austin, Cercone & Arias, 2005: 1648; Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858). Researchers such as Dancig-Rosenberg and Pugach (2012: 435), amongst others, state that this type of abuse is meant to target thoughts, perceptions, behaviour or feelings, and evidently women begin to see themselves, relationships, and their partners differently. What is clear about psychological abuse is the fact that it does co-occur with physical abuse, although psychological abuse tends to manifest first. Almost as a precursor for things to come (Aguilar & Nightingale, 1994: 35; Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858; Marshall 1996: 380).

A few researchers, for example Burnette and Cannon (2014: 4), opine that there is evidence, that psychological abuse may have emotionally devastating effects on the victim. Some women reported that the attacks that they endured to their psychological stronghold were so severe, that it affected their emotional intelligence (Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858). They considered psychological abuse to be more intrusive when it came to perceptions of themselves. Physical violence had no such effect on them as the pain was inflicted onto their bodies and not their minds (Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858). Research done by Henning and Klesges (2003: 866) found that 93% of women had reported being psychologically abused first before there was any physical altercation. Harper et. al. (2005: 1649) hypothesised that there was a correlation between shame and anger, and that its participation in psychological abuse was worth noting. They hypothesised that shaming a partner may be an important factor in predicting this type of abuse. Shame is a negatively powerful emotion that is thought

to be influenced by a woman's acute alertness of how people negatively evaluate her. When this shaming occurs individuals tend to feel that their self-worth means nothing at all and they subsequently retreat into themselves, and are left questioning their existence (Harper et. al., 2005: 1650).

Much of our daily lives, cultural experiences, worldly/social interactions and intrinsic psychological beliefs (link between the mind and soul) involve a certain degree of psychological connection (Deer, 2004: 123; Marshall, 1996: 380). This connection, if well maintained and nourished healthily, can in fact produce mentally/psychologically fit human beings. However, if there is a violent disruption in an individual's life that could possibly render this connection to be severed, then the probability of psychological damage may arise (Deer, 2004: 123; Marshall, 1996: 380).

So many women around the world react differently to abuse and the severity of their psychological damage may also differ substantially. Low self-esteem, the inability to cope properly with stressful situations and an increase in depression are the most common effects of abuse (Aguilar & Nightingale, 1994: 35; Harper et. al., 2005: 1649). Much of this can be attributed to ongoing name-calling, the use of foul language towards a female partner and extreme cases of belittling, that is, made to feel unworthy or incompetent (Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858; Katz & Arias, 1999: 282). In a preliminary study conducted by Walker (2006: 157) it was found that post-traumatic stress disorder can be linked to how women react in the cycle of violence and that the effects described above are congruent with the empirical data in section 3.2.1. Keeping in line with these effects the emotional well-being of a woman is also greatly affected by abuse and victimisation. Due to their continuous occurrence, many women end up - once they have left the relationship - no longer trusting men, isolate themselves from the public and sometimes even family, and others blame them for the abuse taking place (Henning & Klesges, 2003: 858).

3.2.1.3.1. Emotional nature

For the purposes of this chapter, emotional abuse will be discussed as a sub-heading underneath psychological abuse. The reason behind this is, because there is a very close relationship between the two and many researchers use the terms interchangeably. Though this may be evident in various research articles, there have been numerous distinctions made between the two types of abuse. Therefore, it is

critical for the purposes of this chapter that that distinction is highlighted and will be made clearer when the impacts are later discussed (Farid, Saleem, Karim & Hatcher, 2008: 141; Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289).

Emotional abuse involves the humiliation, exploitation and even the terrorisation of an individual. Jealousy, accusatory behaviour and also aggressive reactivity are elements that can be found in emotional abuse. There are also “coercive” elements that are noticed and these will be discussed in brief (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289). Emotions may escalate at times in females and it is possible to break them using those very same emotions against them. Manifestations of jealousy in intimate partner violence may escalate to points of coercive control. Domination in this instance plays a huge role in stating to the individual that no other person is allowed to call them, nor is it permissible to be out late at night, for example (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289; Zavala & Spohn, 2010: 529). Emotional abuse also involves the isolation of the individual. Whether it be from friends or family members, being deprived of any emotional support from one’s social group may have detrimental effects (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289).

The issue concerning emotions is that they are, in most instances, intrinsically linked to a woman’s psyche. Therefore, the need to discuss this topic under psychological abuse. When emotions are attacked/degraded, that in effect stimulates the negative psychological thinking of a woman. Whatever means are used in order to achieve this harm towards her emotional stability, inevitably gets processed mentally. With a weak/low emotional intelligence, it is then possible for the victim to allow the abuser to coercively control them (Rodriguez-Carballeira, Porrūa-Garcia, Escartin, Martin-Peña & Almendros, 2014: 924). Earlier it was mentioned that emotionally abused women are isolated from their loved ones. However, one may come to discover that they may also be emotionally cut off from their spouse or lover. This emotional hostility from a spouse/lover may encourage feelings of loneliness within the woman, regardless of her being in a relationship (Rajan, 2018: 7). This emotional starvation could also develop feelings of dependence in a woman, in that she must now show her husband that she needs him indefinitely. This, in essence, exhibit acts of desperation on the woman’s part and thus signals to the man that an opportune moment has presented itself. An opportunity in which he then uses his wife’s weakness against her and thus

keeping total control of her. Henceforth, indirectly stating that she is nothing without him (Rodriguez-Carballeira et. al., 2014: 924; Zavala & Spohn, 2010: 529, 531).

There are a number of explanations as to the reasons behind the occurrence of emotional abuse. It must be noted that although most of the reasons for any form of abuse occurring are widespread across the board, the way in which they manifest differs somewhat. This is reiterated once again, because not all forms of anger result in physical assault; for example, in the case of alcohol consumption in large amounts. In some cases, employment of the woman (gender role issues) may instigate a reaction from the man. A modern, educated man from a heterogeneous society may accept such changes to the typical gender role stereotype, but a man who believes in patriarchy will feel differently (McCloskey et. al., 2005: 128). Men who witness their partners/wives earning above their pay grade or are even expected to handle certain duties that their wives would usually undertake, feel a sense of powerlessness, and thus act these frustrations out. In order to regain the power, they think they seem to have lost to their wives, must therefore be taken back, even if by force (McCloskey et. al., 2005: 128; Zavala & Spohn, 2010: 531).

Another explanation for emotional abuse that's been postulated comes in the form of control (Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 482; Tew, 2006: 44). However, one of the reasons for this control may be because of a minority factor. Being the minority in any given situation is daunting by itself, but more so when it is socially problematic. Men who come from minority backgrounds may feel that if they are not able to have some form of control within their own group, that is, at home, they own no form of masculine power. This lack of masculinity and thus, subsequent show of bravado fuels the ever growing need to keep/have control (Tew, 2006: 45). Unfortunately, for their partners they become examples to test their theories. In a study conducted by Zavala and Spohn (2010: 534) found that women who were in positions of control, even though it was indirect, yet perceived as a threat by their spouses, were more vulnerable to emotional abuse. Eighty-three percent of women reported that their partners had used various methods to keep them under control. Such methods involved unnecessary levels of jealousy, threatening them with violence and/or stalking (Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 483; Rajan, 2018: 15).

In one study performed in Karachi, Pakistan by Farid et. al. (2008: 142) using a sample of 500 pregnant women, it was discovered that about 43% of female victims had the safety of their family members threatened, faced isolation from friends and family, and abusive language was used to humiliate them. Amongst the reasons for the abuse were disputes about financial issues (30%), unemployment (18%), and stress due to the husband's work (25%), insubordination with regards to the husband (20%) and 23% stated that it was about family politics (Farid et. al., 2008: 143). In Mohr Carney and Barner's (2012: 292) systematic review of 204 studies, an average frequency of 80% of emotional abuse incidences were documented. The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey documented the prevalence of coercive control to be 41% and expressive aggressive emotional abuse of women was 40% (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 292). In a study conducted in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, which consisted of a sample of 1415 rural women, 14.6% of victims reported being emotionally abused, 11.1% reported incidences where emotional abuse was absent when sexual and/or physical abuse occurred, and 28.3% endured emotional abuse while simultaneously experiencing sexual and/or physical abuse (Jina et. al., 2012: 870). With the aid of data from the Malawi 2004 Demographic and Health Survey (MDHS), Bazargan-Hejazi, Medeiros, Mohammadi, Lin and Dalal, (2013: 40) found that the lifetime prevalence of emotional abuse was 13%. This data compared to others suggests that a country such as Malawi experiences less occurrences of this abuse, than other countries. However, it must be noted that although it may come across as good news and therefore should be dismissed, its existence should not be overshadowed.

The impact that emotional abuse has on its victims may be detrimental for them. As was stated earlier in psychological abuse, the effects run concomitantly with it. Many who endure this type of abuse suffer from a number of mental ailments. Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression are the two most common effects of emotional and psychological abuse. Depression can be found in 35%-70% of intimate partner violence victims (Helfrich, Fujiura & Rutkowski-Kmitta, 2008: 438). Approximately, between 55% and 92% of women reported that they experienced minor to extreme cases of PTSD. As is predominantly the case, the seriousness of any symptom depends mostly on how frequently the abuse occurred and the severity of it. Some women experience anxiety attacks (19% to 54.4%) and others experience phobias

(27% to 36%). The inability of a woman to maintain her independence and also to decide on matters that pertain to the protectiveness/upkeep of her health, are further examples of the damaging repercussions of abuse (Helfrich et. al., 2008: 438).

The statistics discussed above are, but mere examples of how serious the nature of this type of abuse is. The possibilities of it occurring within African indigenous communities may be high and the effects thereof may even be more severe. This can only be hypothesised as any data that is available is low and it makes it challenging to presume that indigenous women undergo the same effects as their international counterparts. Not all emotions are felt at the same degree and African patriarchal milieus may differ substantially with regards to how emotional and psychological violence is absorbed, and dealt with.

3.2.1.4. Sexual nature

Unlike physical, psychological and emotional abuse, sexual abuse differs in that it involves multiple varieties of violent behaviour. Such behaviours can include pressurising a woman into having unwanted sexual intercourse, forced penetration (anal or vaginal) and oral sex (Olive, 2012: 1; Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 290). Other acts of sexual abuse to coerce a woman to have intercourse with a man would include telling lies to pressurise her, using words of endearment and making promises that have no value, threatening to end the relationship if she does not sleep with him and using his authority, and influence in the relationship to pressurise her (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 290). This abuse is meant to inflict sexual, physical and/or emotional humiliation to a woman. In some aspects such as in patriarchal societies, the need to sexually control the reproductive rights of women may also be considered as sexual abuse, even though there is minimal data to support this (Mookodi, 2004: 58; Olive, 2012: 1).

Many women have stated that one of the reasons for the occurrence of the abuse is that they must have done something to trigger the aggressiveness within their lovers/husbands. Others claim that they become confused and find it difficult to distinguish between love, and sex. This belief stems from notions of unworthiness to be loved and that there is a defectiveness about them that they are unable to escape (McEvoy & Daniluk, 1995: 221). Another simpler reason for sexual abuse would seem to be the constant need for men to remain in power, and maintain dominancy in the

relationship. Such acts of totalitarian behaviour are more often witnessed in patriarchal societies. Other more typically known reasons for sexual abuse are alcohol and drug abuse, poverty and possibly suspicions of infidelity (Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 3).

According to reports the rate of sexual abuse of Native American women is three and a half times more than all the other races in America (Olive, 2012: 2; Wahab & Olson, 2004: 355). The NCVS reported that between 2014 and 2018, the rate of sexual assault crimes for indigenous people increased from 2.33% to 2.79% (Morgan & Oudekerk, 2019: 16). In more urban areas of America, one study reported that the use of alcohol and/or drugs on women as a “coercive agent” was 30%, 41% of women stated that they were threatened with harm if they did not comply and a larger number (67.2%) stated that they were held down (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 300). In more specific cases of sexual abuse such as forced sexual contact, the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) reported that 6% of women stated that they were forced to kiss in sexual manners, their private parts were grabbed and that they were fondled, while the use of authority was experienced by 10% of women (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 300). Amongst the indigenous Māori women of New Zealand, 8% reported being sexual assaulted (Robertson & Oulton, 2008: 2).

3.2.1.4.1. Sexual agency and condom usage

The following section will briefly discuss various arguments concerning the relationship between African culture and sexual abuse. Throughout this chapter and those before it, there have been numerous points of discussion where culture clashes with crime (the victimisation and abuse of women). In this case, what may not be perceived and accepted as sexual abuse in African culture will be critically discussed.

In many African countries sexual liberation is sternly frowned upon, if not forbidden. A woman has no sexual agency of her own and as pointed out throughout chapters one, and two her sexuality belongs to her husband (Kyalo, 2012: 213). Now, in African patriarchal societies women are routinely subjected to various forms of sexual abuse. These forms have been practiced in these societies for centuries and they have rarely been internally questioned (Baloyi, 2010: 2; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 2; Wadesango, Rembe & Chabaya, 2011: 121). One must keep in mind that the crux of sexual abuse is that it involves coercion. Which means that it is against the will of the person when these acts are perpetrated. The first example of many will be the aforementioned

sexual agency. In African culture a woman is prohibited from suggesting the use of a condom in the relationship, especially during marriage (Dube, Nkomo & Khosa, 2017: 6). So where is the connection to sexual abuse? The use of condoms in a marriage is viewed as being disrespectful towards the husband, and to culture. To reiterate the discussion in chapter two (sub-section 2.2.2.) concerning marriage, in African culture the bearing of children is seen as a blessing for the couple, the clan and the community. Any attempts to obstruct this life-inspiring event is considered to be an evil act. This obstruction in many African cultures can come in the form of contraception (condoms) (Baloyi, 2010: 2; Dodo, 2014: 201; Kyalo, 2012: 214). Another reason for the lack of condoms in marital sexual relations is connected to gender and power. It is considered an insult in African marriages if a woman asks her husband to use a condom. This alleged insult is directed towards her husband's fidelity and questions not only his faithfulness, but also his position as the head of the house (Dube et. al., 2017: 6; Kyalo, 2012: 216). A man whom regards himself to be faithful and a good caretaker should be trusted unequivocally. Furthermore, since they are husband and wife, and the sanctity of marriage protects them, the need for a condom is questioned (Dube et. al., 2017: 5; Kyalo, 2012: 216).

To give more insight into the above issue, anthropologist Quentin Gausett (2001: 514) in his interviews with men and women of the Tonga in Zambia, discovered that some of them believed that having sexual intercourse during pregnancy on a regular basis was good for the baby, and that the semen gave the baby strength. Thus, using a condom would prevent this. Also, according to culture, asking to use a condom was equivalent to asking a man if he was unfaithful (Gausett, 2001: 514). Gausett (2001: 514) opined that such perceptions were possibly the result of unpopular and ineffective family planning programmes. A research study by Maticka-Tyndale (2012: 59) which analysed 1479 research studies in southern Africa, corroborates the aforementioned study. The results of her systematic review of the relevant literature, found that in countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Rwanda and Mali, men believed that the use of condoms posed an undesirable obstruction to the fulfilment of their sexual needs (Maticka-Tyndale, 2012: 63). It seems that the beliefs that were mentioned in Gausett's (2001: 514) study were still evident 11 years later.

Lastly, in a study conducted by Dube, Nkomo and Khosa (2017: 4) in Katlehong, Johannesburg, South Africa, found that culture, monetary power and gender, were

behind the reasons as to why condoms were not used in customary marriages. The aim of the study was to explore the views of customarily married women (eight), between the ages of 25 and 30 years, on the use of condoms in their marriage. The women interviewed stated that it was difficult to ask their husbands to use a condom, because of their unemployment status. Since the husband was the breadwinner, he had every right to refuse. Some women reported that as a result of the payment of *lobola*, their sexual agency belonged to their husbands (Dube et. al., 2017: 4). Finally, cultural pressure from family members such as aunts, for example, also played a role in the lack of condom use in customary marriages. They were told that a woman had to endure the difficult circumstances of her marriage and that if she returned to her parent's house, then it would be regarded as disgraceful and embarrassing (Dube et. al., 2017: 5). Some women in the study stated that they do not express their displeasure towards such beliefs for fear of being ostracised by their family members, and for fear of divorce. While others reported that they believed that African culture and society viewed challenging one's husband to be inappropriate (Dube et. al., 2017: 6).

In Western societies, the use of condoms in marriages or casual relationships is more prevalent. The feminist liberation movements discussed in chapter two (section 2.2.) allowed for women to fight for control of their sexuality and liberal sexual practices such as the insistence of a condom during sexual intercourse. Data from the National Survey of Sexual Health and Behaviour (NSSHB) consisting of 5 865 participants (aged 14-94) in the United States of America, showed that 20% of adults used condoms in their last 10 experiences of sexual intercourse (Reece et. al., 2010: 270). In the same frequency range, 11% of married adults practiced the use of condoms. One of the main reasons for the success of this practice amongst adult women (12%), was their level of education, in which it was reported that many had bachelor degrees (Reece et. al., 2010: 272).

The empirical discussion surrounding the hostile relationship between culture and condoms demonstrates that gender, culture and power seem to interlock. One social structure cannot be analysed on its own, without the influence of the other. Neither can one element exist without the other's presence, however subtle. This discussion seems to reflect the points that were mentioned in chapters one and two regarding the challenges that indigenous women may face. A few of those points included cultural

influences on the victimisation of women, and on gender roles, and how an intersectional analysis of their lived experiences may be an effective approach in understanding their narratives. For the purpose of clarity regarding indigenous people, this critical discussion is not referring to the indigenous diaspora located in urban areas, but to traditional indigenous people who live in rural areas. Especially, those rural areas that have minimal contact with the modern world.

3.2.1.4.2. Link between African cultural practices and sexual agency

The next example that requires attention once again is the physical violation of a woman's sexuality. By this one speaks of 'surgeries' that alter the physical presentation of a woman's sexual parts and also the maintenance of it (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122). The two most common cultural practices that refers to the previous statement is female genital mutilation (FGM) and virginity testing. What will be highlighted here is simply the idea that the physical alteration or maintenance of a woman's sexuality against her will should constitute sexual abuse. Female genital mutilation can be defined as the partial or complete cutting of a woman's external genitalia (Maleche & Day, 2011: 7; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122). The most sensitive parts of a woman's genitalia are partially or completely removed by surgical means. The different types of FGM are Type I clitoridectomy, Type II excision, Type III phraonic or infibulation circumcision and Type IV involves pricking, stretching, incision, scraping or piercing procedures that can cause injury to the labia, clitoris or both (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122). Type I clitoridectomy is a procedure in which the clitoris is removed. Type II excision involves removing the labia minora and the clitoris, whereas Type III phraonic or infibulation procedures are the most extreme, because they involve the removal of sections of the labia majora, the labia minora and the clitoris. In Type III procedures what skin that remains of the labia minora is brought together forming a raw surface. In some African communities, these pieces of skin are sewn together with the use of thorns (Baloyi, 2010: 3; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122).

FGM is a cultural practice that occurs in 28 African countries such as South Africa (Sotho and Tsonga communities), the Gambia, Malawi and Tanzania, and no anaesthesia is used (Maluleke, 2012: 16; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 123). In Malawi, Type I circumcision is performed by a traditional counsellor or nurse with the use of finger nails as 'surgical' tools. In some African cultures a small opening is left for

urination and menses, while in the case of Malawi, a soft drink bottle sized wooden penis or an egg is inserted in the vagina as to widen it enough for the accommodation of any sized penis. Wounds are treated with a mixture of herbs, ash, cow dung or butter (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122). According to the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2006, 78.3% of young girls and women in the Gamiba between the ages of 15 and 49 years, endured it (Kaplan, 2011: 2). The physical effects of this practice on women are chronic pain, ulceration of the genital tissue, urine retention, haemorrhages and vaginal tearing during sexual intercourse, which could lead to various types of infection. The psychological effects vary from shock to depression (Maluleke, 2012: 16; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122). In the African countries that practice FGM, community members believe that the need to perform it is to preserve a woman's gender and ethnic identity, female virginity, a family's honour, ensuring that a woman will be able to get married one day, and it is done to maintain a woman's health and cleanliness (Kaplan, 2011: 1).

The second cultural practice highlighted earlier was virginity testing. Virginity testing is a traditional practice that occurs in South Africa (Kwazulul-Natal and Eastern Cape provinces), Zimbabwe, Malawi, Egypt, Libya and Swaziland. Internationally, this practice can be witnessed in Iraq, Macedonia, Indonesia and Afghanistan (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Maluleke, 2012: 10). This traditional practice involves the inspection of a young woman's genitalia with the aim of determining her virginity status. The cultural reasons for this practice revolve around the sanctity of a young woman and safeguarding her for marriage. In the ritual, the hymen is inspected by inserting a finger into the vagina to ensure that it is still intact (Maluleke, 2012: 10; Kyalo, 2012: 216; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 126).

The main objective of virginity testing is to create a culture of abstinence amongst young women. The fear of being revealed that one is no longer pure is meant to influence the successful practice of abstinence. It is considered to be a shame for the family and for the woman if she is found to be impure. In South Africa and Zimbabwe, virginity testing is performed in ceremonies consisting of large groups of girls and women at a time by locally appointed elderly women (Maluleke, 2012: 10; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 126). Young girls and women who are confirmed to still be virgins receive a white mark on their foreheads, as well as a certificate. Those who are no longer virgins are identified with a red mark and must attend counselling (Wadesango et. al.,

2011: 126). Maleche and Day (2011: 13) stated that the resurgence of this traditional practice was to prevent the further spread of HIV, and the promotion of abstinence. Many people in rural and urban communities in South Africa, were proud that their traditional values and beliefs had returned. In 2004 in Zimbabwe's Makoni area, 4000 young girls had to undergo virginity tests at a ceremony near Osborne dam. The traditional chiefs in rural areas have jurisdiction in terms of customary law to handle matters of a cultural nature (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). The psychological effects of virginity testing on those who are given red marks include humiliation and depression, caused by being ridiculed by family members, participants who received white marks and the community (Wadesango, 2011: 127).

Maluleke (2012: 10) argues that the practice of virginity testing is biased with regards to gender, because the same cultural beliefs are not applied to boys and men. This inequality stems from the subordinate cultural and social roles that women have been placed in. Furthermore, the responsibility of practicing abstinence should not have to be solely shouldered by women (Maluleke, 2012: 11). Those communities that practice these traditional tests should question the possibility that men may not be honourable in their social and sexual lives. If a woman should undergo a test in order to prepare her for marriage, then a man should also have to submit himself to such tests (Maluleke, 2012: 11; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). The social risks involved in exercising this traditional practice are thought to be harmful to women. Maleche and Day (2011: 13) opined that some of these risks may include the indirect advertising of available virgins for men to marry, or to engage in casual sexual relations with. Furthermore, there are some men who believe that having sex with a virgin will cure them of HIV (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13).

Although the exact definition of sexual abuse is not applied in the discussions above, its premise of coercion stands out. One last example to mention briefly once again, is the practice of widowhood in African culture. In chapter one this practice was discussed and one of the key issues mentioned was how a widow is forced to have sexual intercourse with an absolute stranger in order to cleanse her from evil spirits. Once again, this performed against her will all to preserve a culture (Maleche & Day, 2011: 3; Maluleke, 2012: 12; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 3).

To reiterate the critical discussion earlier in this sub-section, various elements interplay in the sexual victimisation and abuse of women. In the African context culture, power, gender, religion, class and possibly also age, influence one another in ways that affect indigenous women. It seems then, that more research may have to be conducted with the aim of collecting the narratives of indigenous women and allowing those narratives to decide whether or not indigenous women are at threat of sexual victimisation. Once again, reference is made to the indigenous women who live in rural areas, and to not those of the diaspora.

3.2.2. Culturally homogeneous societies

In societies where the laws that govern them are somewhat to say absolute, homogeneous characteristics may exist. Such characteristics may include ethnicity, culture, language and religion. There is not a lot of foreign influence in these societies with regards to their way of life. Examples of countries with homogenous characteristics are Japan and China (Kempka, 2013: 8). With that being said, it would be ignorant not to acknowledge the vast array of cultures in Africa and the differences that separate them. Shiza (2013: 2) believes in cultural heterogeneity and not cultural homogeneity. He argues that African cultures are too diverse and there are no commonalities with regards to a single culture. Furthermore, African cultures are specific in terms of language and tradition (Shiza, 2013: 2). On the other hand, without contradicting what was stated earlier in this paragraph about acknowledging cultural diversity, this research study questions such notions as the empirical discussions thus far in this chapter reflect another argument. That is, the values and beliefs of a woman's position, and role in the African cultures mentioned in this research study, seem to connect the cultures. The definition in chapter one (sub-section 1.2.4.) describes cultures as systems of beliefs and values (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). Henceforth, it must be clearly noted in this sub-section, that this research study does not classify indigenous African communities and their cultures as one large homogeneous group. Rather, each individual African community has got a sub-culture that homogenises them internally, yet simultaneously separating them from other cultures. Examples of such distinction may be seen in the uniqueness of indigenous or traditional attire, language and location (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). In essence, homogeneity can be witnessed in different forms, but for the purposes of this research study and chapter only the characteristics of cultural, and ethnic homogeneity

will be used as a premise. More so, for the goal of this section. Examples of cultural and ethnically homogeneous societies are the Tellensi and Ibo of West Africa, the Zulus in South Africa, and the Kikuyu and Akamba in Kenya. Advantages of such societies is that there are rarely any internal oppositions to their values, practices and beliefs as majority of the people agree with how things should be for them (Mutua, 1995: 1).

Therefore, the abuse and victimisation of indigenous women in such communities is seldom discussed. What little information there is regarding the stance of the community concerning the rights of women is not always readily available. As was discussed in section 3.2.1.1., one of the reasons why there is minimal empirical data on the victimisation of indigenous women is the lack of reported events, and topics such as abuse are considered taboo (Andrews, 1996: 918; Willis, 2011: 4). A possible explanation for this may be, because the majority of these societies are patriarchal and their practices run deep into history. This more so, because their people, and this includes the elderly women in that society, do not consider these traditional practices as harmful to women (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1; Kapuma, 2012: 64; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 121). What will follow in this section is a mere elaboration on how cultural practices and their connection to the communities that they are rooted in, has exposed many women to identity and human rights violations.

3.2.2.1. Cultural practices

The cultural/traditional practices that have been debated and discussed throughout this research study will only be mentioned in topical form. This means that once they have been identified, an immediate discussion regarding their importance in the community, the disregard that community members may harbour towards rebellious women, and the relationship that they have with one another will follow. In simple terms, this sub-section aims to critically question the need for the existence of these practices in modern times, and why it is difficult for women in indigenous communities to voice their displeasure.

The first two of these practices to be pointed out are FGMs and virginity testing. The definitions of these two traditional practices were discussed in depth in sub-section 3.2.1.4.2. and will be referred to in order to strengthen the points of this sub-section. According to researchers and anthropologists who are privy to these practices, their

significance lies within the preservation of the value of a young woman's virginity and sexuality (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1). These practices are in place so as to limit promiscuity among the women and to uphold the standards of the community. Many patriarchal villages, for example, pride themselves on the knowledge that their women, especially the younger ones, do not expose themselves to any sexual ridicule, such as promiscuous behaviour (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156; Hilber et. al. 2012: 1316). If this pride is tarnished, then the elder men may be seen as unable to control their women and traditional order by other villages. The women then become named, shamed and possibly punished. This shaming, according to the discussion in sub-section 3.2.1.4.2., can be done by the family, community members, or in the case of virginity testing, young girls who received a certificate and a white mark for being pure (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 126). To emphasise once again, the physical effects of FGM leave young girls and women physically scarred, and in pain. The psychological effects of virginity tests encompass emotional distresses such as humiliation (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). In turn, the aforementioned promiscuity can lead to what is known as honour killings. These killings occur in order to protect the honour of the family (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156). In some instances, sexual impropriety may not even have occurred, but any other act/behaviour that is deemed to be inappropriate for a lady may be punishable by death. Any member of a family can take it upon themselves to commit these crimes, ranging from maiming to murder. To preserve the honour of the family in the eyes of the community, such examples may have to be set. These crimes/practices occur mostly in the Middle East, South Asia and in Europe, the U.S.A., and Australia where Middle East societies can be found (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 156).

Finally, the practice of widowhood seldom has any opposition. The main purpose for the existence of this traditional practice in modern times is the belief that it will cure the woman and her family of evil spirits. Any refusal is said to lead to bad luck and this practice permits the woman to reintegrate into the community (Maleche & Day, 2011: 3; Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159). Countries such as Zambia, Malawi, Botswana and Kenya still hold true to these beliefs. In other instances, it is known as sexual cleansing (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 3). With reference to the traditional practice of *sati* in India, the performance of this ritual relieves the family from what is believed to be a burden from the shoulders. Widows

are seen in such societies as burdens on the community and family's resources (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159). Since such a tradition has been passed on from generation to generation, it is difficult to change the perception of the elder women within that society. One possible explanation may be that the older generation is steadfast in their ways and their subservience in patriarchal communities has been cemented for years (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1; Kapuma, 2012: 64). The issue here may also be a possible reluctance to let go of old ways. If they accepted change then it would most probably be as if an injustice had been committed. The reason for this point is that the older generation of women may harbour feelings of resentment towards the younger generation. So in order to prevent such an "injustice", anything resembling change is prohibited (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159; Kapuma, 2012: 64; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008: 8).

What may be deduced from the above discussion concerning cultural homogeneity, is that there are several disadvantages that need to be urgently revisited. The changes that are required are constantly being refuted by the leaders of such communities, as they choose to remain oblivious to the modern developments of the outside world. As a result of this ignorance many indigenous women may continue to suffer at the hands of not only their patriarchal leaders, but also at the hands of the very women that they expect to protect them. Although many African, and subsequently sub-Saharan African countries are plagued with these practices, no amount of legislature or social change will come about, unless it is accepted by its members from within that community. Thus, with reference to the discussions in this sub-section and chapter, the rights and values of a community seemed to be prioritised above those of the individual in that community.

3.3. Contributing risk factors of the victimisation and abuse of women

The objectives for this section are to explore what the possible causes of the victimisation and abuse of women entail. This research study has identified four possible causes and they will be discussed in accordance with the objectives of this research study.

3.3.1. Patriarchy as a risk factor

Since the Biblical era, the man has always been viewed as the head of the household. Throughout the millennia this view has not altered, except in countries where secular

perspectives are widely accepted (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3516; Baloyi, 2010: 3; Dube et. al., 2017: 6; Ferraro, 1996: 79). In this brief section, the issue of patriarchy will be debated and a connection will try to be formed between it, and the possible victimisation of indigenous women.

Patriarchy, in essence, is the rule of a man over a woman. In societies where men are the dominant voice and their beliefs the prominent one, women are expected to yield to this way of life (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3516; Dube et. al., 2017: 5). This yielding comes as a result of the many years of the reinforcement of beliefs and values of the man as the head. Many modern and non-patriarchal secular societies do agree to some extent with the beliefs (man as the head) of patriarchal societies, however, it seems that they have drawn a fine line between submission and abuse of power (Dosekun, 2007: 43; Ferraro, 1996: 79; Green, 2011: 111). This would then have become a part of the many reasons for the up-rise of feminism. Unfortunately, in some African societies, much of Asia, the Middle East and parts of Australia, and Canada that have Aboriginal communities, any feminist up-rising is not tolerated. In Dube et. al.'s (2017: 6) research study on married women and condom usage in customary marriage (sub-section 3.2.1.4.1.), the participants stated that in African culture it was unacceptable to disobey their husbands, or to challenge them. The Family Code (2005) in Algeria that was discussed in chapter one (sections 1.2.2. and 1.4.) drew attention to the subject of paper rights. Although women have equal rights in terms of the Family Code, certain sections still place women in a subordinate position (Landinfo, 2018: 10, 27). For example, Article 52 and 53 differ greatly in terms of equality. Men are permitted to divorce their wives without motivation of reason, however, women who initiate the process of divorce must provide the court a lengthy list of reasons as to why they should grant them one. Moreover, women must prove to the court that their husbands were unfit to take care of them (Landinfo, 2018: 10, 27). The aforementioned societies vehemently advocate for patriarchal principles. Contrary to popular belief, this system has not survived solely, because of the men having the ability to maintain their patriarchal power, but rather because the women of the older generation have been the ones to ensure its legacy. Thus, being passed down from one generation to the next (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Wadesango, 2011: 127).

Patriarchy in the 21st century seems to have ensured its dominance through socio-economic means and the law. Although women have equal rights according to the

laws of many countries such as South Africa and Algeria, for example, the discussions on specific topics thus far in this chapter appear to illustrate a different matter. With reference to marriage, *lobola* and women's sexual agency, the studies in section 3.2.1.4.1. demonstrated how power and gender influence one another. Referring once again to Dube et. al.'s (2017: 5) study as an example, *lobola* is used as an instrument of power to psychologically subdue women. To recall, some women in the study stated that lobola was a transaction in which the women was basically paid for, and therefore, her sexual rights belong to her husband. Furthermore, he has the authority to tell her what to do, when and how (Dube et. al., 2017: 5). Another example to illustrate how patriarchy and its presence in the law affect women, is with regards to the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) and the Communal Land Reform Act (5 of 2002) in Namibia. To reiterate the discussion in chapter one (section 1.4), Communal Land Reform Act (5 of 2002) makes it possible for women, especially widows, to own land (Werner, 2008: 13; Ubink, 2011: 325). However, the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) does not obligate a Traditional Leader to solve disputes of land claims. This is due to the fact that certain offenses in customary law are not regarded as such, and therefore, this places some women at a disadvantage (Werner, 2008: 14). The aim of these examples is to highlight how inequalities in the law appear to motivate patriarchy. On the one side of the spectrum, women are equal under the law, yet on the other side, the laws that make provisions for customary traditions disadvantage women. The lack of proper enforcement of certain laws that are meant to protect women's equality status under the law, need to be readdressed (Maluleke, 2012: 10). It is for such reasons, amongst others, that many policy makers (both health and legal) find it extremely challenging to introduce new perspectives of development. It is also this defence that leaves countless indigenous women vulnerable to further victimisation and human rights abuse (Kaukinen, 2004: 455; Phiri & Nadar, 2009: 13; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127).

To reiterate, power is a major force in any battle, especially when complete domination is at stake. This constant desire to dominate may also in fact be linked to how men in patriarchal societies associate with one another. If the man is seen as weak by his male peers, then he may seek to change that status by dominating his wife/girlfriend (DeKeseredy, 1990: 130; Tew, 2006: 45). All this to save face and not make it seem as though his woman is the one controlling the relationship. To provide support in the

form of information that will guide a man in the realm of power and domination, means to give advice to a fellow man on how to keep his woman disciplined (DeKeseredy, 1990: 130). Many men are reported to do this in order to maintain law and order in their homes (Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 482; Tew, 2006: 44). This social support mechanism allows a man to justify his actions towards his wife/girlfriend. This constant need to be in control and maintain it, may sometimes become more forceful when the woman files for divorce or wishes to separate (Brownridge, 2006: 519; DeKeseredy, 1990: 130).

So, this then should ultimately mean that the source of power could be the idea of seniority. It has been hinted before in chapter two, sub-section 2.3.2, that power and seniority may be connected. Though some discard this theory off as a cause for abuse and victimisation, others do agree that it cannot be ignored (Adéṣuyí, 2014: 30; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). If intersectionality seems to be an ideal tool for exploring this social problem, then according to its theoretical principles, one cannot simply put aside a possible cause to a problem without reasonable validation. There are arguments from historical feminist scholars and academics that patriarchy was not as oppressive as history makes it out to be. That many women have stood up to some oppressive acts and resisted. According to Dosekun (2007: 43) and Ferraro (1996: 80) a few patriarchal societies had women who resisted their oppressive nature, and others hardly experienced matters of interpersonal violence. Although the focus of this research study is on the modern influence of patriarchy on indigenous women, the information in this paragraph regarding matriarchal societies and women who had power in patriarchal societies, may be of use in establishing the difference amongst indigenous communities around the world. Specifically, how various indigenous communities are affected by power, gender, race and class.

3.3.2. Colonialism as a risk factor

The intents of colonialism were thus: one, once new land was discovered, settlers would seize it and conquer it; and two, once conquered maintain the power that they forcefully acquired from the native man (Harris, 2004: 167). In essence, colonialism was all about conquering new land and ensuring that European powers would be the dominant force. Whomever was caught in that seizure was, unfortunately, eliminated (Harris, 2004: 167). Although small parts of land were given back to native/indigenous

people, colonialists could not risk losing a larger part of what they had obtained. This, mostly due to the fact that they had to maintain their authority over the land. This unquenchable impulse and need to seize everything inevitably formed a bloody past that stained its roots. The results of which reverberate up until today (Harris, 2004: 167; Kuokkanen, 2008: 218).

When referring to colonial powers and their influence on patriarchy, one actually speaks of power. More specifically, how power and its dominance has kept women submissively under its rule for many years (Kuokkanen, 2008: 218). Though there may have been protests as time loomed on, it still seems to remain a constant barrier for urban women and, especially indigenous women, from gaining their independence. If not that much, at least access to some agency that will help their voices to be heard. According to many academic and feminist scholars, the presence of colonialism assisted in the reinforcement of patriarchy (Kuokkanen, 2008: 220; Schmidt, 1991: 734). Colonial rule found patriarchy at a time where its power was not as obtrusive as it is now. Power and patriarchy, pre-colonial rule, was accommodative of the importance of women's roles, and identities in its society (Deer, 2004: 129). Historical evidence shows that there were societies in which patriarchy recognised matriarchal power, and even encouraged it, while still maintaining its dominant power. For example, indigenous women in pre-colonial America had authority and traditional power in their communities (Deer, 2004: 129; Ferraro, 1996: 80). Deer (2004: 129) and Ferraro (1996: 80) stated that the historical letters of European colonisers documented how women were revered in their communities, and that violence such as rape, for example, was heavily punished. Also, the many historical accounts of European colonisers abusing indigenous women outweigh the accounts of indigenous men perpetrating violence against European women (Deer, 2004: 129). Simmonds (2011: 13) supports this historical analysis and states that in pre-colonial Māori culture the roles and positions of women, and men in their community had no fixed hierarchal structures. The evidence lies in the indigenous Māori language, in which tona/tana mean his or hers, and 'ia' (both she or he) cannot really be viewed as gendered pronouns (Simmonds, 2011: 14). This does not suggest that gender relations in pre-colonial Māori culture were free of conflict, but rather, as Simmonds (2011: 14) argued, power and hierarchy were more influential in aspects of whakapapa (genealogy) instead of gender.

In African societies, Segueda (2015: 5) states that many pre-colonial societies respected women and some even considered them gods, because of how women are able to give life during childbirth. In these pre-colonial times, women could inherit property, were in politically powerful positions (Queens, warriors & princesses) and children inherited their mother's lineage (Segueda, 2015: 5). According to Segueda (2015: 5), examples of African societies where matriarchy is respected are the Akon in Togo, Ghana and the Ivory Coast, the Chewa in Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi, and the Baïnouk in Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea. Much like the comments by Simmonds (2011: 14), Segueda (2015: 5) emphasises that these societies were not utopias in which women were untouchable. On the contrary, gender positions were not intended to be hierarchal (Segueda, 2015: 5).

The point of the above critical discussion is to highlight exactly how colonialism changed the social and political structure of some indigenous societies. With that being said, this research study too concurs with the above scholars: the respect shown to women did not mean absolute dominance. Furthermore, though there is not enough evidence to support this, to believe that no oppression or violence existed in pre-colonial Africa would be naïve, and accidentally biased (Dosekun, 2007: 43).

Colonialism's influence on patriarchy made it possible that the women with whom they might have had experienced resistance with, would thus become psychologically, and culturally inept. So much so, that their very existence and livelihood would solely be dependent on their men. So, in essence, in order to keep the "native" man under control and keep his resources, colonial rulers had to keep the "native" woman under constant submission. This was achieved by 'educating' men on the actual roles of women (Deer, 2004: 130; Schmidt, 1991: 735; Tamale, 2008: 52). Schmidt (1991: 735) explained that European colonisers viewed African women as slothful, lazy, frivolous, uncivilised and even immoral. These characteristics made it possible for African women to control their men, especially where decision making in social developments was concerned. As a result of such negative influences on the men and the rejection of colonial development plans by African women, European colonisers aimed to make the "native" man view the "native" women as they did (Schmidt, 1991: 736). Since they regarded the "native" man as more civilised than his female counterpart, and was more receptive of their colonial development plans, European colonisers involved the "native" man in their mission to 'civilise' African women; and Africans at large (Schmidt,

1991: 736; Tamale, 2008: 53). By using this strategy colonial rulers were then able to ensure the labour of the men. Little resistance was offered in this regard, because the chiefs/headmen of the villages were then able to safely secure their lineage by ensuring that women knew, and understood their place as wives, and home-keepers (Schmidt, 1991: 735; Tamale, 2008: 53).

Many of the teachings that colonialism reinforced in patriarchy included the idea that a woman's body and sexuality belonged to her husband. The rights that she had pertaining to her own body and sexuality were virtually non-existent (Tamale, 2008: 53). This unwritten law, as it were, was thus a measure in which to ensure a woman's fidelity. In most African countries (excluding South Africa, Mauritania and Cameroon), marital rape is not illegal. This abuse of power stands because in the eyes of customary law, marriage is an institution in which a husband has unlimited access to fulfil his sexual desires. This, without resistance, as it is culturally permissible and accepted (Obereke, 2006: 9; Phiri & Nadar, 2009: 12). In Nigerian law, the physical "correction" of a woman by her husband is permitted, however, it should not result in loss of hearing or sight, cause grievous bodily harm, or any other life-threatening trauma (Obereke, 2006: 9).

Now, what is being propagated here in this discussion about colonialism is this. While there are numerous facets to the violent history of colonialism, the one facet that was focused on in this section was how the need to retain absolute power over an individual that was considered inferior and uncivilised, reflects itself in the modern era. Even though this reflection may be in another form, it however, still manifests many of the attributes of its predecessor. Unfortunately, because of its influence this replication has been catalysed by years of reinforcement and non-opposition (Harris, 2004: 171; Kuokkanen, 2008: 218).

So, therefore, the argument then would be how to decolonise the minds of patriarchal leaders and the elder women who were inoculated with their system of beliefs. To reiterate, patriarchy has existed for centuries, but the violent influence of colonialism transformed it into another entity. The decolonisation of these societies is an ever ongoing debate that progresses one step forward and two steps back. Feminists and theorists such as Simmonds (2015: 14), Deer (2004: 130) and Andrews (1996: 918) argue that the victimisation of indigenous women in the 21st century is merely a

reflection of the influence that colonialism had on patriarchy. As was extensively and critically discussed in this sub-section, patriarchy, power and gender were instruments used by colonialists to subdue the “native” woman, by conquering the mind of the “native” man. By attempting to convince the “native” man to view women as sexual objects that needed to be disciplined, colonialists were able to continue with their plans of development and civilisation (Tamale, 2008: 53). In reference to Shiza’s (2013: 4) comments in chapter two (section 2.3.) the difficulty in decolonising the minds and attitudes of Africans, and their leaders lies in their education. Since many of them studied abroad, the acceptance and transference of Western knowledge systems, and beliefs to the African context was not difficult (Shiza, 2013: 4). Therefore, it seems that the reinstatement of indigenous knowledge in the 21st century in African societies, with emphasis on its importance, may be key to possibly reducing the victimisation and abuse of indigenous women today.

3.3.3. Economic risk factors

This form of abuse and victimisation has two elements associated with it. The first one that will be looked at will be how money is an indirect causal link to abuse and the second will be how this non-physical abuse can spill over, and become physically violent.

When one speaks of money being an indirect cause to violence against women, the meaning behind it is rather simple. Money can be used to control women. This control is maintained by the man and he has utter control of his wife’s finances. Some women literally end up begging their husbands/lovers for money in order to fulfil certain material desires (food, clothing and sanitation needs) (Fawole, 2008: 168). How the money is spent is determined solely by the man, and the woman may not interject in those decisions. It may happen that as such circumstances lengthen, the amount of money that she receives from her husband/lover lessens. It can also go as far as denying the woman access to education (Dutton, 1993: 1233). This unconstitutional restriction thus prevents many women from leaving their abusive relationships, because they do not have the right education nor the experience to find decent employment. Employment, which could benefit their much sought after independence (Fawole, 2008: 168). Therefore, the man uses money to dominate the woman and forcibly make her submit to him. Whatever he demands from her – be it sex, forced

labour and sometimes the bearing of more children – she must unwillingly do so (Dutton, 1993: 1233; Fawole, 2008: 168).

In the beginning of this section it was noted that using money to abuse women may, more often than not, become physically violent. This aggression stems mostly from poverty. In situations where there is a lack of monetary funds in the household and, therefore, even tighter restrictions are imposed, the man may lash out physically to make a point to the woman. This point being that, she has no rights to inquire of him the reasons behind their new lifestyle (Cripps & McGlade, 2008: 242; Fawole, 2008: 169). The psychological stress that inevitably brews as a result from this forced and maybe unforeseen new lifestyle, manifests itself through bouts of physical aggression. In Africa, where majority of societies face poverty on a daily basis, this type of abuse and victimisation is common (Cripps & McGlade, 2008: 242). In a qualitative study by Chuma and Chazovachii (2012: 6) thirty rural women were interviewed to explore the impact of the Domestic Violence Act (Chapter 5: 16) in Zimbabwe on their lived experiences. Majority of the women reported that they were dependent on their husbands for daily needs. One woman stated that when she reported here husband to the police, he denied her food and she became homeless as he chased her out of their home (Chuma & Chazovachii, 2012: 6).

The relevance of this sub-section to the topic of this research study, allows for a critical discussion on how indigenous women can be victimised by their more educated spouses. Emphasis is put on the empirical information that was discussed in chapter two (sub-section 2.2.1), highlighting how boys received preferential treatment in terms of education and girls did not (Zechenter, 1997: 331). This sub-section also places emphasis, once again, on the distinction between the indigenous diaspora living in urban areas and indigenous people living in rural areas. To reiterate, the focus of this research study is on those indigenous people who reside in rural areas.

3.3.4. Cultural relativism as a risk factor

Some theorists believe that one of the reasons women agree to forced intimacy with their husbands, is due to his seniority in their relationship. The question of culture and its role in the possible victimisation of these women, thus comes into play. In many cultures it is believed that women and those who are younger than their elders, should show them respect without question. In the case of women, seeing as their husbands

are older than they are, they should regard them as their elder in all respects (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132; Dosekun, 2007: 42; Dutton, 1993: 1237).

This natural assumption that any man older than his wife/lover must rule over her seems to have the unwavering support of the majority of communities in Algeria, Nigeria and Botswana (Allen and Devitt, 2012: 3518). Very few government laws or the societal norms that seem to dictate life, contradict those assumptions. This lack of conviction may theoretically stem from what is known as cultural relativism (Coomaraswamy, 2002: 489; Teson, 1985: 870). Cultural relativism can be defined as "…the position according to which local cultural traditions (including religious, political, and legal practices) properly determine the existence and scope of civil, and political rights enjoyed by individuals in a given society." (Teson, 1985: 870). In essence, what the definition is attempting to state is basically, that moral judgements are not universally valid for every culture, even though some moral judgements are locally valid (valid for some, but not all cultures). Hence, the need for this current discussion (Tilly, 2001: 5).

The main reason for addressing this debate about whether or not an indigenous woman's culture may be a potential hazard for her, are the continuing doubts that surround certain rituals, practices and beliefs in her particular culture (Maluleke, 2012: 2). Maluleke (2012: 3) argued that before colonialism and apartheid, the spirit of *Ubuntu* was a vital component in the customs, culture and traditions of African societies. *Ubuntu* in African culture means "I am what I am, because of who we all are." (Maluleke, 2012: 4). Thus, *Ubuntu* emphasises how vital consensus or agreement is, and the value of people in a community is collective, and not individualistic (Maluleke, 2012: 4). Furthermore, Maluleke (2012: 5) states that morality and ethics were principles that were upheld above all else in African culture. In essence, the argument here is that if traditions, practices and culture want to exist in the 21st century, then they may, but in accordance with human rights and *Ubuntu* (Maluleke, 2012: 18). Staying within the context of cultural relativism, many of these cultures continue to ignore the psychological and physical well-being of indigenous women, because they (the culture) cannot be judged without an understanding of its existence. One that has survived for centuries, and as stated earlier, cultures cannot be universally judged out of context (Tilly, 2001: 5). However, with that being said, no drastic changes have been made nor have they been witnessed by indigenous women

to garner support for their rights as human beings. Though many claim most of the practices have not been performed for many years, there is still evidential traces of their current existence (Coomaraswamy, 2002: 490; Rimonte, 1991: 1317; Zechenter, 1997: 328). Although some African countries such as Kenya, for example, have made efforts to reduce the prevalence of some traditional practices by banning them, others still permit them to be performed. The resurgence of some of the practices and how they are performed seems to speak more of how the communities feel, than the individual. Hence, the arguments by Maluleke (2012: 18) and Rautenbach et. al. (2003: 15) regarding a balance between Constitutional rights and that of culture, and to reiterate once again, locally valid judgements should be applied to the relative culture (Tilly, 2001: 5).

As mentioned earlier in sub-section 3.3.2, a woman's right to her sexuality in the context of culture is very limited, if not non-existent. In many cultures a woman's body belongs to her husband. If he wants more children then so be it and if he wants to perform coitus with her, then she must oblige. There have been countless debates about the emancipation of female sexuality in indigenous communities, but it seems to be an ongoing battle. One must keep in mind that, as previously mentioned in this chapter, colonialism's role in influencing these beliefs manipulated the mind-sets of the men in the community greatly (Tamale, 2008: 48). Colonialism introduced a system of new beliefs that would ensure them ownership of the lands that they wanted to conquer. When they were challenged by men and women, they had to alter the perception that men had of women. Their propaganda regarding development and civilisation was key in their endeavours (Deer, 2004: 130; Schmidt, 1991: 735; Tamale, 2008: 53). These new power structures to control women resulted in hierarchies that did not exist in some pre-colonial indigenous communities (Segueda, 2015: 5; Simmonds, 2011: 14). Therefore, with reference to the discussion in sub-section 3.3.2., women were considered to be valued and important figures in the community, and colonialism's system of subjugation changed that (Tamale, 2008: 52).

Returning to the argument of widowhood, its cause may also be based on the influence of culture. It was also mentioned that women tend to be the ones who end up victimising their younger and older peers. Kapuma (2012: 64) states that many of the older women who have gone through the process of widow cleansing believe that new widows should also endure the turmoil of such a cultural practice. They believe that

though the world may be advancing around them, this does not discount them from their duties towards upholding tradition. In India, where the practice is known as *sati*, a widow's in-laws simply do not want the burden of taking care of her upon her husband's death. They would rather find a legitimate way of ostracising her under the skilful guise of culture (Coomaraswamy, 2002: 493). According to ancient Hindu laws the devotion of a woman to her husband is known as *stridharma*. A woman's husband represents a god in these laws and any act of immorality disgraces her husband's spirit. Thus, the practice of *sati* was created and is a common ritual in India (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61). In 2006, in Madhya Pradesh, a widow aged 65 years committed *sati* and in 2008, at the age of 71 years, a widow committed *sati* in Chhattisgarh. For example, a town called Vrindavan, in Northern India, has become home to thousands of widows who have become destitute (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61). Kadoya and Yin's (2012: 63) study in six cities across India, with the aim of investigating whether or not widows are taken care of by their families, and how they are treated, found that 80% of mothers (non-widowed and widowed) were taken care of by their children (includes in-laws). Chennai's residents were reported to be harsher towards widows than in other cities. The study concluded that, accounting for city bias, discrimination against widows did not occur across the whole country. However, it was important to conduct research in smaller rural areas to investigate the actual scope of *sati* in India (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 68). Although there is currently not enough empirical evidence to support its existence on a national basis, sati in rural areas is still an issue (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 60).

The matter of health and cultural practices may also be another factor that may contribute to the victimisation of indigenous women. One of the cultural practices that were mentioned earlier in the paragraphs above, was female genital mutilation (FGM). Though the circumcision of genitals is a practice only meant for men, numerous amounts of young women in some cultures (mostly in Muslim African societies) have had to be at the mercy of others while this tradition is carried out. Much of this practice is upheld, because those in that culture believe that it is a rite of passage for young women before they become betrothed (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1; Rimonte, 1991: 1317; Sossou, 2002: 204; Zechenter, 1997: 328).

What is clear here is that culture and the theory of cultural relativism has predominately ascertained that upholding the respect of a specific culture, especially those of an

indigenous nature, cannot be reproached. To support this statement, Zechenter (1997: 328) stated that, “It overemphasises the rights of a group over the rights of individuals…all sorts of culturally sanctioned violations of individuals would be legitimised, and individuals would be left unprotected against rulers, governments, and others in power.” Also, cultural relativism also unavoidably offers a rational justification for these cultural practices (Zechenter, 1997: 328). In remembrance of section 2.3 in chapter two, the discussion about the theory of culture and its questionable side is evident in this chapter. Its favourable protection may be leading many women to their graves. If not that, then it has strictly divided them from their individuality as women and as human beings.

3.4. Subsequent effects of the risk factors on women

The impact of the above possible causes of the victimisation of indigenous women that were discussed and critically analysed will now be briefly addressed in this section.

3.4.1. Physical

It is important to note here that issues of health are more prominent within rural areas, as modern areas have readily available services. Though, there is no doubt that they also have their drawbacks, what is trying to be highlighted here is the disturbances of health practices towards women in rural/indigenous locales. One cannot discount the fact that many NGO’s have attempted tirelessly to engage with indigenous communities about the knowledge of important health practices. For example, in Nigeria, NGO’s struggle to assist women in maternal health cases, but due to religious, patriarchal and infrastructure challenges, many women do not receive the necessary health services during pregnancy (Yar’Zever & Said, 2013: 2). The problem, it seems, is that they continuously keep facing the patriarchal undertones that still rule the locales. Any negative impact on a woman’s health is bound to disrupt her daily activities either minimally or exponentially.

Many rural or indigenous areas are mostly ruled by orders of patriarchy and religion; thus some women find it problematic to gain access to adequate healthcare. As explained in the above paragraph even access to proper transport as a means to get to the nearest clinic is an issue for rural women (Yar’Zever & Said, 2013: 2). Some of these hurdles are due to the fact that the husband has full control over the finances of

the house. Should he feel that certain ailments are not worth wasting money on, for example seeing a doctor, then he will not allow the woman to get treated (Fawole, 2008: 169). To note once again, this research study is not referring to the modern indigenous diaspora, but to the educated men from traditional indigenous communities. In northern African Muslim countries, women and girls are known to receive less nutrition and education than their male counterparts (Zechenter, 1997: 331). Many young girls and women die, because of malnutrition and as a result of boys being favoured above them. Reasons for this include preferential treatment, gender, religion and culture (Cooray & Potrafte, 2010: 7). Even in rural Indian societies the birth of a boy is considered to be more of a blessing, than that of a girl. This constant control over women's access to adequate health in indigenous societies is a burden that, even in the world's current age, is not being lifted (Yar'Zever & Said, 2013: 2; Zechenter, 1997: 331).

Sexual health is another matter that seems to be a taboo subject in patriarchal communities. This is mostly due to the fact that in such societies a woman's body is considered to belong to her husband (Phiri & Nadar, 2009). As stated early on in this chapter, a woman in a patriarchal society cannot lay claim to her sexual independence as she is regarded to have none. In African countries, many women have contracted HIV as a result of their husband's infidelity. How is this related to a woman's sexual independence? Simply put, she may not deny her husband the pleasures of the flesh (Baloyi, 2010: 2; Maticka-Tyndale, 2012: 63). Doing so may be seen as a form of rebellion and disrespect towards her husband. Some husbands have been known to be reported as saying that, because they paid for their wives (*lobola*) they have a right to their wives' bodies (Dube et. al., 2017: 4). With this dominance in the household remaining unchallenged, more and more women are submitting themselves to patriarchal authority at the cost of their health (Phiri & Nadar, 2009). Thus, any semblance of sexual independence is diminished (Dube et. al., 2017: 4). In many traditional/rural locations, family planning is a debate that is still ongoing, as many patriarchal societies still believe that when a woman bears many children it is a blessing (Dodo, 2014: 194; Kyalo, 2012: 214). The idea that multiple child births could become dangerous for some women, as body types differ, seems to have no place in their world (patriarchy). Not all women are mentally and physically prepared to deal with the pressures of raising large families, but due to the pressure from female elders,

who have long since internalized their culture as a way of life, they submit (Tamale, 2008: 48).

Countless girls and women agonise over the physical repercussions of traditional sexual practices. In a few sub-Saharan African countries, the tradition known as “dry sex” is performed in order for the husband to have increased sexual pleasure. This process involves “…inserting drying agents into the vagina (herbs, a dry cloth or even chemicals) to produce the required tight, dry and “hot” vagina.” (Hilber et. al., 2012: 1319; Lees et. al., 2014: 165; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 3; Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). Unfortunately, for many women who go through this practice, the physical results are painful. The friction that is caused during intercourse may damage and tear the sensitive mucosal lining of the vagina (Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 3). Referring back to virginity testing, some young women take drastic measures in order to pass the test. Some have been known to insert a piece of fresh meat or toothpaste into the vagina to reflect a sense of tightness, and so are able to pass the test (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). The chemical composition of the vagina does not allow for foreign objects that could pose a health risk to it to be inserted into it. The modification of the environment and structure of the vagina is medically unsound, yet regardless of international protest these practices continue to be performed (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 127). The reconstruction of the vagina during FGMs creates a disturbing risk for young women who marry older men. The tightness that is created by sewing the vaginal opening smaller eventually tears and future complications may arise when it is time to give birth (Wadesango et. al., 2011: 122).

The physical consequences of traditional customs described above continue to persist regardless of intervention from some NGOs and health officials. It is an unfortunate reality that many women must still face, even when healthcare is provided. The psychological stresses that follow contribute to yet another painful hurdle that must be overcome to maintain a woman’s stature in her community.

3.4.2. Economic

In section 3.3.3. of this chapter, one of the causes for the victimisation and abuse of women was economical. In this section, the consequences of such abuse will be deliberated. One of many consequences of this type of abuse is poverty. Although it’s a causal factor it is also a repercussion. Poverty can be associated with a number of

stressors such as unemployment. Many women are not able to get an education as a result of this and what educational opportunities can be afforded are more often reserved for boys (Fawole, 2008: 172). Lack of finances in the household also limit women from receiving healthcare, as the health of the man and his sons are prioritised first. The manner in which finances are prioritised and for whom in the household, puts women at a perilous disadvantage. Their economic independence is jeopardised as they are not able to support their children (Fawole, 2008: 172; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 4).

The effect of economic poverty for many women is a lack of education and also a constant dependence on men. Ergo, many women fall into the trap of having to sell their bodies in order to create an income. Many men tend to use this vulnerability against them and they end up being trafficked for sexual means (Fawole, 2008: 172). The inheritance of land is also another consequence of this problem. If the land produces just enough to be kept afloat, its economic responsibilities would rather be bequeathed to a male heir as they are considered to be more educated on such matters (Fawole, 2008: 172; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 4). Finally, some African nations still practice polygamy, even when the domestic economic situation is not stable enough to support such relationships. As a result of this financial instability, sister wives as they are commonly referred to, compete amongst one another to ensure that they get what resources are available, and disagreements regarding maintaining a balance of equality, and responsibility end in violent situations (Fawole, 2008: 172; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 4). In turn, the dire consequences of such behaviour can only result in mental and physical health issues for them. These health issues include being vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases (marrying younger women who may have engaged in pre-marital sex), reproductive issues such as competing with sister wives for the number of children conceived for their husband, and being unsatisfied in the marriage. For example, senior wives may receive less attention than their junior counterparts (Bove & Valeggia, 2009: 23). It is unfortunate that, even if a woman decides to leave her abusive partner, she may not escape the abuse altogether. If she has children, attempting to sue for child maintenance may become a problem, as her former husband or lover may refuse payment. This problem may then escalate as she is not able to consult an attorney, which ultimately is the effect of not being able to pay

the legal fees and very few counsellors offer their services *pro bono* (Fawole, 2008: 172; Ramjee & Daniels, 2013: 4).

The problems above do not simply pertain to women who live in modern rural areas (areas that have modern housing and basic sanitation), but they can also be witnessed in indigenous societies where patriarchy is prominent. Many such societies do not even pay attention to matters of domestic affairs. Until indigenous women are openly offered economic freedom and given an opportunity to make some decisions in the household, many will continue to live lives of financial dependency.

3.4.3. Social

The social consequences that come as a result of the types of abuse that were discussed in the beginning of this chapter, are numerous and vary greatly from one society to the next. This is, because one must keep in mind that the effects of any act on people are experienced at varying degrees. The psychological, social and emotional responses to the effects of victimisation or abuse, rely on how members of the community react to a woman's plea for help. For example, the police's positive or negative reactions to women in domestic abuse cases, or rape, may affect the level of self-blame that women already feel (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011: 1935). Not all women will model the same effects. Ullman and Najdowski (2011: 1935) state that more weight may be given to reactions that are negative, as a result of pre-existing feelings of self-blame. Some may heal and become mentally, and emotionally strong after a short period of time. While others may have to endure years of counselling. The reasons for this variation lie in the type of social support that women encounter after they have been abused or victimised (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011: 1935). The support given to victims by social structures such as family and friends may build a better, and stronger sense of well-being, and self-worth. Strong social relationships influence the recovery time of victims, thus women who do not have structures such as family, friends, sympathetic law enforcement and community centres in place, may take longer to recover, or cope, from their experiences (Ullman & Najdowski, 2011: 1935).

3.4.3.1. Suicide

Suicide is a social consequence that affects many people from various social classes. According to Canetto (2008: 260) more males than females commit fatal suicides, however, with regards to non-fatal suicide attempts females take the lead statistically.

The reason why this social topic is brought up is, because it would seem to be a viable solution to many women who find their abusive relationships inescapable. Though this act is considered to be one of a selfish manner, many who find themselves in precariously violent situations would beg to differ. In the Peruvian Amazon, the Aguaruna believe that committing suicide is “stupid” and any man who does it, is as weak as a woman, because he cannot control emotions that overwhelm him (Canetto, 2008: 261). Rural women in China, Papua New Guinea and India perform this act as a means to escape their oppressed life. Referring back to Burnette and Cannon’s (2014: 4) study that was discussed in sub-section 3.2.1.1., one of the women stated that she was so tired from the abuse, that she contemplated committing suicide. Another woman reported that one of her family members attempted to commit suicide on two occasions by overdosing on medication, more specifically pills (Burnette & Cannon, 2014: 4). Thus, with no family members to come to their aid when they quarrel with their spouse and the likelihood that their in-laws may not intervene either, leaves many women feeling depressed (Canetto, 2008: 262; Dillon, Hussain, Loxton & Rahman, 2013: 7).

Depression may be caused from the isolation that these women have to endure, as their partners keep them locked up in their own homes (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289). Alternatively, any social contact with family and friends is severely limited. The relationship with their children may even suffer due to the onset of emotions that make them feel worthless, and possibly as unfit mothers. This due to feelings of the inability to provide a safe haven for them (Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289). In the cases of *sati* in much of rural India, widows are forced to take their own lives. The origins of *sati* were discussed and explained in sub-section 3.3.4., and it highlighted the spiritual relationship between a woman’s husband and herself (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61). The blame is put on the woman if her husband’s soul is disturbed by behaviour that her family members view to be immoral. Therefore, widows are forced to commit *sati* when their husbands die, as a result of the alleged shame that was caused by their actions (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61). It is unknown if this is because of the knowledge that they are now to become constant burdens to their in-laws. However, there are speculations that these acts are forced upon them. Hence, the blurred lines presented by culture as what may be considered an act of kindness/honour in one society, may not be so for the rest of the world (Canetto, 2008: 260).

The ostracising of numerous women by their communities, because of the acts of abuse and subsequently talking about it, is evident in many patriarchal communities (Andrews, 1996: 918; Willis, 2011: 4). Many in the community would regard the onslaught to be the fault of the woman and thus this shame, and public humiliation contributes to thoughts of suicide. In a country like the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example, that has been plagued with violent civil wars, many women have been at the mercy of rape and sexual abuse. Ninety-one percent of the female victims incurred sever episodes of anxiety attacks, self-loathing, insomnia and even loss of memory. Many of these victims had their husbands abandon them, and were ostracised by their villages (Meger, 2010: 127). In a study by Vachher and Sharma (2010: 404) that was conducted between April 2005 and March 2006, in Raj Nagar-I, a town near Palam, Delhi, interviewed 350 households to investigate the prevalence of domestic violence. The findings showed that 12% of the women they studied reported entertaining suicidal thoughts in a one-month period, 22.3% stated that they thoughts of suicide had crossed their minds, and 3.4% said that they attempted to perform the act. In indigenous communities in Australia (Aborigines) and New Zealand (Māori) a lot of women refrain from speaking out about their abusive encounters. As was discussed in section 3.2.1.1., many of the reasons for this silence is due to fears of being ostracised by their community, further stigmatisation of their community by the international community and the lack of empathy from police officials (Andrews, 1996: 918; Willis, 2011: 4). Fear cripples them as the culture they were born into, inadvertently displaced their humanity and individuality (Willis, 2011: 4).

An example of such instances may be that of the practice of *lobola* and its implications. Sub-section 3.2.1.4.1. discussed the matter of the payment of *lobola* and its connection to the 'ownership' of a woman, and her sexuality. In the study by Dube et. al. (2017: 5) that was presented in sub-section 3.2.1.4.1, the women that were interviewed described their situations as inevitable. According to some of their responses, being the woman in the relationship automatically meant that she was obligated to bear children (Dube et. al., 2017: 5). Baloyi (2010: 2) adds to this by stating that in African culture, women were viewed as beings who are incessantly dependent on men, and who always required direction and protection from men. Therefore, it is in this sense that women inherently seem to have no identity with which to call their own (Baloyi, 2010: 2). The aforementioned example's link to suicide highlights how a

sense of identity seems to be strongly connected to one's community. However, such strong connections may inadvertently detach some women from their self-identification and force them to question not only their realities, but their sense of belonging as well. If one believes that they do not belong or that they will always be 'owned' by another, then such internalised beliefs may lead individuals to commit suicide, as was discussed earlier in this sub-section (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61; Willis, 2011: 4).

Furthermore, Canetto (2008: 263) in his cultural analysis of suicide amongst women, stated that there appeared to be assumptions surrounding women and suicide. One of them being that, if women in strong male-dominated institutions remained in their subordinate positions, they would be immune from thoughts of suicide. Yet, his research findings state that such conformity to patriarchal structures are risk factors for suicidal impulses (Canetto, 2008: 263). Arguments such as these appear to be supported by the empirical literature that was discussed thus far in this chapter; whereby power, gender and culture seem to be recurring elements that influence the decision to commit suicide.

The decision to take one's own life can be brought on by emotions that have witnessed the malicious and oppressive nature of another human being. Such a shock can cause internal emotional harm. For indigenous women these effects may never be adequately addressed if the patriarchal communities they live in continue to ignore them. It is not enough to just acknowledge their existence, but finding amicable and beneficial solutions to them may minimise the prevalence of suicide among indigenous women. With reference to Aboriginal indigenous women, Willis (2011: 7) pointed out that support services do not have enough indigenous staff members in their employment and there were not enough victim-support services that are indigenous specific. He suggested that improvements in these areas would come about if such services were designed in partnership with indigenous societies, and the incorporation of indigenous viewpoints. However, such projects need to be implemented by acknowledging the feasibility of adequate service provision in rural locations (Willis, 2011: 8). In Africa, there seems to be minimal research on indigenous people, traditional African religions and suicide (Lizardi & Gearing, 2010: 381). Lizardi and Gearing (2010: 381) suggest that clinicians should reassess the unique link between African religions and suicide, and how this relationship influences an individual

experiencing suicidality. Other related matters that can be stigmatised, such as HIV, need to be examined as well. Lastly, as such a subject is limited in research studies, they recommend that future research should concentrate on this area (Lizardi & Gearing, 2010: 281).

3.4.3.2. Intimate partner killings

A topic of concern that requires attention is the matter of women who kill their husbands/partners. This retaliation may be produced to escape their abusive lifestyle and feel a sense of security again. Many women have been known to succumb to killing their abusers and although some community members pity them, there are unfortunately grey areas when they enter the criminal justice system. Stubbs and Tolmie (2008: 138) opine that the lines that separate an abused woman being a victim and an offender become blurred. The criminal justice system may criminalise them and may possibly deny, or obscure their victimisation status. In Australia's indigenous Aborigine communities, many indigenous women face this problem. Not all community members pity these women and with the Aborigine's history being tainted with racism, and blood, the current criminal justice system still battles to sentence these women justly. In many of the homicides involving indigenous people, roughly 20% constituted of female perpetrators (Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 140). Kerr et. al. (2017: 145) and Stubbs and Tolmie (2008: 142) explain that pre-conceived assumptions regarding indigenous women bar police and the courts from assessing their situations adequately. The indigenous context in which the violence takes place is not properly investigated by law enforcement (Kerr et. al., 2017: 145; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 141). Stubbs and Tolmie (2008: 139) state that a few indigenous Aboriginal women in Australia choose to use terms such as family violence instead of domestic violence, as this reflects the broader contexts and relationships that violence takes place in indigenous societies. Historical factors related to the disturbance in the balance of indigenous family life, dispossession, and colonisation should be explored, as well as understood in terms of historical circumstances in order to justly assist, and assess indigenous women and their offenses (Kerr et. al., 2017: 146; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 141). Therefore, if such arguments, including race and ethnicity, are expertly weighed, the criminal justice system may limit judgements which are based on the blueprints of white, frequently used stereotypes of middle-class women's conduct. This means that

judgements which are passed, should not rely on memorandums of what is considered to be typical white women's behaviour (Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 142).

Once women have been released from prison, the reintegration process back into their communities may become an uphill battle. In urban areas, the challenge of returning to a normal life becomes difficult if they have no financial or familial support. This despondency may eventually lead them back onto the path of recidivism (Freudenberg, Daniels, Crum, Perkins & Richie, 2005: 1725). For indigenous women reintegration back into the community may prove to be an even bigger obstacle to overcome. One plausible explanation for this could be that their actions put a stain on the reputation and name of their in-laws (Canetto, 2008: 262). The community thus would view her in-laws as people who could not control her. This dishonourable stain also makes it difficult for a woman to socialise with her peers, as their family members may come to abhor the relationship, and so prohibit any social/public or private contact (Boy & Kulczycki, 2008: 64). With no one to turn to for help, and this may also possibly include family members who feel that she has disgraced them, an indigenous woman is left defenceless. What could intensify the severity of matters, could be that in some instances, her children may be removed from her care by either family elders or the law (Boy & Kulczycki, 2008: 64).

3.4.3.3. Alcohol and drug abuse

Other social consequences that should be considered are the issues of alcohol and drug abuse. Victims of abuse tend to look for alternative ways to escape their reality. Drinking large quantities of alcohol on regular occasions seems to be one of the outlets for these women. Inevitably, such hazardous drinking habits may lead to more abuse, as their husbands/lovers may feel that their behaviour is irresponsible. This reaction could be provoked by situations whereby women neglect to clean their homes and care for the children (Deer, 2004: 124; Dillon et. al., 2013: 9; WHO, 2012: 7). Some women take to using drugs in order to relieve the daily pressures of abuse. Though some drugs that are taken are not as toxic as cocaine or heroin, some domestic women become addicted to pain medication. This medication is taken to help with the effects of the physical abuse, but sometimes one pill becomes one too many. The constant numbing of this pain may lead to the development of learned helplessness

and so numerous women in these situations remain there (Deer, 2004: 124; Dillon et. al., 2013: 9; WHO, 2012: 7).

The discussion above surrounding alcohol and drug abuse by women who have, or experience violent victimisation is included, due to the explorative nature of this research study. Indeed, the empirical information in this sub-section is indicative of circumstances that pertain more to women from urban areas. However, its inclusion warrants exploring its presence in traditional indigenous locations. The reason being that the studies that have been presented in this chapter and in the previous two, have thus far provided evidence that research conducted on indigenous women needs to be more intersectional. It should also be more conscious of other factors that may contribute to the different responses that indigenous women exhibit towards abuse. Furthermore, how these responses further affect the lives of indigenous women. Kerr et. al. (2017: 146) reported that the consumption of alcohol in Aboriginal communities is higher than that of the average Australian. Such statistics are alarming, since the legal sale of alcohol is relatively unavailable in more secluded locales. The issue of 'takeaway' alcohol seems to be a major influence on women who experience abuse, as they may use it as a coping mechanism (Kerr et. al., 2017: 146). Referring once again to Burnette and Cannon's (2014: 4) study, it was reported that pain killers were one of the medications used in a suicide attempt by one of the participants. The presence of this medication in an indigenous household may indicate that the woman's husband is employed. This, however, is speculation as there is no evidence in the study to suggest otherwise. In the African context, research would have to be conducted amongst traditional indigenous communities to ascertain whether or not the presence of modern drugs and alcohol exists.

3.5. Legal

Without much repetition concerning women and their interaction with the law in terms of crimes of abuse, this section will only highlight the impact that a lack of legal intervention may have on their lives. In sub-section 1.2.3. of chapter one, secondary victimisation was discussed and what it entails. Needless to say, it does not take much to conclude as to what the effects of such interactions may be. It is therefore no secret that a lack of legal intervention results in a lack of faith in the legal system. Many

women do not feel confident in the helping hands of the criminal justice system anymore and so return to a life of abuse (Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 140).

In Australia, many Aboriginal women suffer at the hands of the law, because of their racial and ethnic status (Andrews, 1996: 918; Stubbs & Tolmie, 2008: 142; Kerr et. al., 2017: 145). For example, the key issue in Kerr et. al.'s (2017: 145) study was the 'one-size-fits-all' methodology of NT Australian police towards IPV situations. They noted that police inadvertently tended to concentrate more on the amount of less extreme events that outweighed the more serious complaints. IPV incidences in the NT are classified as 'Disturbance-Domestic' and the compulsory responses that all the cases receive are at a basic level. This is due to the lack of reliable and available resources that police need in order to adequately attend to the more severe cases (Kerr et. al., 2017: 145). Kerr et. al. (2017: 157) concluded that circumstances such as these should be the opportunity for NT law enforcement to design processes that will assess risks for future injury, as well as re-offending in low-risk cases compared to complaints that present possibilities of future high-harm (Kerr et. al., 2017: 157). This was mentioned earlier on in this chapter. In Africa, numerous countries, for example, Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Botswana, the Gambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo do not intervene in cultural matters, because of customary law and other legal red-tapes (Maleche & Day, 2011: 3; Okereke, 2006: 9; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2). This debate about how far the law is willing to tread to protect the interests of indigenous women was discussed in section 3.3.4. Cultural relativism was the main topic in this sub-section and the arguments related to it rested on the fact that unsanctioned practices, all in the name of culture, were being practiced. Not only could those traditional practices be considered to be unsanctioned, but criminal as they infringed on the rights of others (Maleche & Day, 2011: 2; Maluleke, 2012: 2; Rautenbach et. al., 2003: 15). For example, in South Africa, Maluleke (2012: 18) argued that the revival of certain traditional practices is not properly balanced within the legal and social dimensions of the Bill of Rights, and the South African Constitution. Human rights, the philosophy of equality and democracy need to be paramount in the eyes of African culture (Maluleke, 2012: 18). However, according to the laws that rule the governments of those countries, they cannot step in, due to the fact that those cultures existed centuries before Western/Eurocentric laws were institutionalised. In the case of FGM practices in the Gambia, as was mentioned in chapter one (sub-section 1.5.2.), the government

requested medical evidence that the practice was dangerous for young girls and women (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 2). Kaplan et. al.'s (2011: 2) medical study on the health consequences of FGM on young girls and women, was only conducted on request by Dr Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy, the former Vice-President and Minister of Women's Affairs in the Gambia.

Another example covers the subject of marital rape. Excluding South Africa, Cameroon and Mauritania, marital rape is not recognised in many African states such as Malawi, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda, amongst others (Okereke, 2006: 9; Randall & Venkatesh, 2015: 154). In Nigeria, for example, marital rape is not considered a criminal offense and its existence is influenced by customary law, patriarchy and religion (Ekhator, 2015: 285). Ekhator (2015: 288) explains that the Sharia Penal Code, which is in effect in 12 states in northern Nigeria, states that a woman's husband cannot be found guilty of raping her. Regardless of such stipulations, Ekhator (2015: 289) points out that certain provisions found under Sharia Codes are against the Constitution, and its various stipulations. Yet, even though that may be the case, the issue of religion is extremely politicised in Nigeria, which therefore, makes it ever so hard for women's rights to be promoted (Ekhator, 2015: 288). So what is actually trying to be said here? Well, it seems as if the law is not influential as it should be and culture, for now, seems to take precedent. It is a reality that many may still be reluctant to acknowledge and so many indigenous women remain in a claustrophobic environment (Kuokkanen, 2008: 219; Okereke, 2006: 4; Rimonte, 1991: 1312).

3.5.1. Safety and Security

When speaking of the safety and security of women, especially indigenous women, this section aims to bring to light an important subject. For any woman to feel a sense of security in her home and community, the availability of support services needs to be present. Not only that, but women need to be aware of the fact that they can access those services at any point in time, without feeling frightened about such decisions. Riel, Languedoc, Brown and Rodgers (2014: 480) explain that the safety and security of a woman who has either been victimised or abused, can be jeopardised if the presence of personal support systems such as friends and members of her family are lacking. Moreover, factors such as her living situation (remote rural communities, for

example), barriers that exist as a result of cultural embeddedness (patriarchy) and pressure from family members to make the relationship work, may also compromise her safety (Campbell, Dworkin & Cabral, 2009: 233; Riel et. al., 2014: 480). A study by Chaudhuri, Morash and Yingling (2014: 148) on 40 South Asian women from India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan who migrated to the United States of America, found that 59% (19 out of 32 women who described a history of abuse) were sponsored by their husbands to immigrate. The aim of the study was to explore and understand how patriarchy, and culture in arrangements made by family members influenced South Asian migrant women's abuse; as well as their coping strategies while in the United States of America (Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 142). Fifty-six percent of the women who had experiences of abuse reported that their husbands prevented them from sending their parents money, and 31% of the same group of abused women stated that their husbands would control their interactions with people outside of their home, and when they could leave their house (Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 151). Such accounts are consistent with the literature that was discussed in connection with the isolation and upkeep of family bonds. Many of the reasons behind their immigration and marriage decisions was linked to patriarchal bargaining. That is, they married in submission to the cultural expectations of their patriarchal communities and families (Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 149).

The purpose of this topic (safety and security) is to emphasise that in order to feel safe a human being may do whatever it takes to achieve that goal. If a woman is not able to feel safe in her own home, then where else can she go? Especially, if she resides in a society that is immovable on its opinions of patriarchy. For a woman to be driven to such an emotionally/psychologically degrading state that it results in her ending the life of the man she cares about, must somehow spark a sense of urgency in these patriarchal societies.

3.5.1.1. Access to support services

Campbell et. al. (2009: 233) state that female victims of abuse require elaborate post-assault support systems. In addition, they further state that should victims receive the necessary treatment through these services, it may assist the victims on their road to recovery. This, however, can only be achieved if these services showcase attributes of empathy and non-judgemental support (Campbell et. al., 2009: 234). A pilot study

by Turan et. al. (2013: 5) found that out of 134 women that were screened at an antenatal (ANC) clinic in Nyanza Province, Kenya, 53% agreed to referrals that could assist them in seeking support resources. Assistance was provided in order for the women to gain access to support services, such as village elders to mediate between the family and the husband (one woman out of 26 (53%) women who reported violence was in need of such mediation), and police services in nearby towns (Turan et. al., 2013: 5). The aim of the pilot study was to aid in the development of programs at an ANC clinic that would prevent, and mitigate the effects of gender-based violence (GBV) amongst women who were pregnant. The results of the study concluded that the development and implementation of such programs proved to be beneficial to the community. Moreover, it has the potential to assist in prevention methods of GBV (both primary and secondary) (Turan et. al., 2013: 8). In Israel 94% of GPs (general practitioners) and 73% of practitioners that deal specifically with families, reported that they had minimal or no communication with women who were abused. Furthermore, amongst various reasons for this lack of communication between the two parties included professional and cultural pressures to remove themselves from such matters, the inability to assist the victims and little knowledge of the problem (Boy & Kulczycki, 2008: 64).

What prevents a large number of women from seeking help is the fear of secondary victimisation. This topic was discussed in depth in chapters one and two, and will be addressed again later in this chapter. Another explanation as to why women do not have adequate access to the support services that they so desperately seek is, because many of their patriarchal communities forbid them to do so. In a study by Fanslow and Robinson (2010: 939) in New Zealand, 63.4% of the women said they believed the abuse to be a way of life, 6.4% reported fearing the repercussions of their actions and 14% were embarrassed or ashamed. In African patriarchal countries indigenous women also suffer the same fate as their international counterparts. Although these experiences differ due to systemic and environmental conditions, the end results do not differ much. An example of such circumstances can be found in Dube et. al.'s (2017: 5) study that was discussed in sub-section 3.2.1.3.1. To reiterate, as it is also connected to the previous statement, the study explained that a woman returning to her paternal home was not an option if she experienced altercations with her husband. It would be considered a disgrace and she would have to return to her

husband (Dube et. al., 2017: 5). Lastly, Tenkorang et. al. (2016: 5) analysed data from the Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey 2013 to investigate if the severity, and type of IPV influenced the help-seeking attitudes of women who had been abused. Examining a sample of 6 013 women, their results showed that 64.9% of women did not ask for assistance when they experienced IPV. Thirty-one point three percent of women sought informal assistance from support services, and a minimal amount of women sought formal assistance from support services (Tenkorang et. al., 2016: 10). Tenkorang et. al. (2016: 13) stated that the reasons women in Nigeria rarely seek help when they have endured violence is rooted in cultural beliefs, and therefore, it becomes problematic for them to bypass such barriers. These beliefs include submission to patriarchal authority, accepting that aggressive behaviour can be used to resolve quarrels in their relationship and that men are inherently superior to women (Tenkorang et. al., 2016: 13). Other reasons, which align with the literature in this sub-section (3.5.1.), also include familial beliefs that women should not advertise their domestic grievances to the public (Tenkorang et. al., 2016: 13).

3.5.2. Secondary victimisation

Secondary victimisation is another form of victimisation that, in its extremities, may be viewed as abuse. Most of this form of victimisation is felt by women who come into contact with the law (Hohl & Stanko, 2015: 5; Medie, 2013: 383). There have been countless legal battles in which women were re-victimised. Another form of secondary victimisation, other than that endured because of the law, is the notion of women victimising women. These two and possibly others, will be briefly discussed in this section.

It is common knowledge that many people around the world who come into contact with the criminal justice system have different experiences. Many of those who can attest to that are women. Over the course of numerous years, women have always had to go through incidences of being scrutinised when they appeared in court. In more modern environments, women who are seen wearing provocative clothing and are believed to have enticed the men with their body language, have difficult obstacles awaiting them. These obstacles amongst many others, would be that they were asking to be raped (Ampofo et. al., 2004: 693; Andrews, 1996: 926). In more indigenous milieus, what is strange about the abuse of Aboriginal women is that quite a substantial

amount of it is at the hands of law-enforcers, that is, the police. The very people who should be protecting them, have become part of the reasons that these indigenous women become emotionally unstable (Andrews, 1996: 926). It has been reported that in the last 20 years some policemen would corner female Aboriginal bar patrons and exploit them sexually to white men (Andrews, 1996: 926). Indigenous Aboriginal women do not have access to the legal agencies that could possibly assist them in stopping the abuse (Kerr et. al., 2017: 145; Willis, 2011: 7). Reasons behind this lack of access range from being unaware that support services exist in their area, to isolation and remoteness of their location, as well as the amount of time and costs that restrict Aboriginal women from not gaining access to the police (Kerr et. al., 2017: 145). In Inuit communities, Canada, countless women experience secondary victimisation in the criminal justice system and in the Indian country, just as in Australia, federal officers who are called to protect Native women, are actually offenders (Zellerer, 1999: 346). In some African countries, if a young girl or woman is raped the family immediately married off in order to safeguard the family's honour. The discussions in this paragraph are among many reasons as to why women feel that the legal system, in particular the police, are unsympathetic and indifferent to their plight (Ampofo et. al., 2004: 693; Medie, 2013: 383).

From the empirical literature in this sub-section, it may be apparent that many women are unhappy with the criminal justice system. According to a study by Hohl and Stanko (2015: 10) involving the analyses of 587 rape cases in England and Wales, 48% of victims withdrawing their cases influenced attrition in rape cases. The study reported that the likelihood of victims withdrawing their cases is the highest when police investigate the allegations. During this phase of the investigation by the police, 67% of victims withdrew their cases, and 39% of the outcome of a case was due to the police's decision not to take the case any further; thus, leading to attrition which stood at a rate of 67% (Hohl & Stanko, 2015: 10). To note, attrition is when cases are lost from the police investigation phase to the conviction phase (Jehle, 2012: 151). To conclude, the study's findings postulated that the prosecutor and police's perception of the allegation's credibility was a major influence in a case's progression to trial, despite the evidence (Hohl & Stanko, 2015: 16).

Though the discussion was rather brief, its point was to highlight a crucial problem regarding the abuse and victimisation of women. That, in essence, women, and in

particular indigenous women, continue to find it ridiculously difficult to get the undivided attention of the law. To be abused and victimised at one's home, and then still to go through it a second time, but in another form, can become tremendously taxing on the psyche of many women. The literature above coincides with the conceptualisation about this form of victimisation that was discussed in chapter one of this research study. In the conceptualisation of secondary victimisation, one of the characteristics of this type of victimisation was how the credibility of the victim was perceived by the police. In addition to this, how extra-evidential factors such as race, ethnicity and non-verbal cues appeared to influence the manner in which victims of violent behaviour were to be treated (Mulder & Winkel, 1996: 308; Correia et. al., 2001: 329). Further discussions about the legal implications of this problem will be debated later in this chapter.

Earlier on in this section, it was briefly mentioned that women are also able to victimise other women and there have been several accounts of it occurring. Although, there is a lack of research on this subject, there is evidence of it occurring in some cultures around the world. This subject's inclusion in this discussion is to understand and explore rare factors that may also contribute to the secondary victimisation of indigenous women. Returning to Chaudhuri et. al.'s (2014: 148) study on migrant South Asian women residing in the United States of America, one of the participants stated that her mother-in-law threatened to harm her with burns and starved her daily. She continued by stating that her in-laws supported the abuse by her husband, and encouraged it in order to keep control of her (Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 148). Similarly, in Rajan's (2018: 14) study in Tibet (see sub-section 3.2.1.1.), some women had reported that their mother-in-laws' emotionally abused them. This would be accomplished by complaining to their husband's about their alleged lack of work. Also, other women stated that their in-laws would emotionally harm them by reminding them of their deceased parents. Lastly, one of the participants reported that her mother-in-law had threatened to have her kicked out of their home, and belittled her (Rajan, 2018: 15). There is a disheartening reality that, although there is hardly any research/data on this phenomenon, women are actually capable of victimising other women. In some African states, there are many women who believe that receiving a beating from one's husband due to circumstances created by her faults, is appropriate and sometimes even necessary (Okereke, 2006: 15; Tenkorang et. al., 2016: 13). The

psychological abuse that elder women inflict on those younger than themselves culminates in young women feeling depressed. Sometimes it is not even by the hands of the elders, but from those in the same age group, who are adamant that it is the right thing to do to uphold tradition and culture (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008: 8).

An example of such behaviour is the tradition of preparing a woman for widowhood, which is still practiced in Zambia, Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Botswana and Uganda (Maleche & Day, 2011: 3; Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159). Some of the rituals include cutting off her hair and shaving her head bald, she has to sleep/sit for a certain period on the cold floor, she has to drink water that is taken from the bath in which the corpse lies, and she is expected to mourn/wail every morning (Kapuma, 2012: 64). She should also sleep in the same room with her dead husband for a certain amount of time and, as is done in the majority of patriarchal African societies, she is stripped of all the property that belong to her, and her husband (Kapuma, 2012: 64; Okereke, 2006: 15). In Malawi, for example, if a woman becomes a widow, in order to cleanse herself of the evil spirits that may have brought death into the house, a random man is chosen to cleanse her. He does this by having intercourse with her and it is a ritual that she has absolutely no say in (Kapuma, 2012: 64). The man that her in-laws choose is usually a man who is mentally inept or ostracised by society. He is also paid by the in-laws to carry out this ritual. Many elderly women strongly believe in this ritual and its supposed benefits, which involve preventing misfortune from befalling the community, and purification before being received back into the community (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159; Kapuma, 2012: 64). In India this practice (widow cleansing) is commonly known as *sati*. In Indian culture, especially in the rural areas, this tradition is supposedly performed – as is the argument by some – so that the woman's in-laws no longer have to care for her. They would have considered it a burden, since she lives with them (from the time of her marriage) (Coomaraswamy, 2002: 493). Many of these women are coerced into these rituals mainly because they are vulnerable. They have a weak physical and mental capacity, thus, making it easier for relatives to avoid a lecture about the importance of culture, and tradition. As was mentioned numerous times in this research study (chapters one to three), cultural embeddedness plays a role in the perception and beliefs of a woman (Davidov et. al., 2014: 268; Schwartz, 2013: 5). Kadoya and Yin (2012: 60) state that Hindu traditions such as *sati* have been

in existence for many years, therefore making it difficult for widows to oppose their families. Coomaraswamy (2003: 484) opines that the perception of a woman's identity is due to the collective experience of women as women residing in patriarchal societies. A woman's submission in such societies is in solidarity to her group identity (Coomaraswamy, 2003: 484). What separates *sati* from most African widowhood customs is the fact that some women are given the option of burning themselves along with their dead husbands (Kadoya & Yin, 2012: 61; Kapuma, 2012: 64; Mani, 1987: 124; Sossou, 2002: 204).

The traditions and customs above may seem to have some type of detrimental effect on the overall well-being of many women in Africa, and around the world. Which brings this sub-section to its next point. Considering all that was discussed in this sub-section, it may be apparent that an intersectional approach may assist in the exploration and understanding of such topics. Moreover, it may be of great use to research studies such as this current one, since, as was highlighted on a number of occasions, more than one factor is at play with regards to the influences on the lived experiences of indigenous women. Although there is evidence of some of these cultural practices in the history of European countries such as France, England and tsarist Russia, for example, they are no longer practiced in the 21st century, albeit by migrants who are still embedded in their cultures (Maleche & Day, 2011: 8; Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 144; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1).

3.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that there seems to be a problem that needs to be readdressed by local African governments. International law makers and organisations such as the United Nations (UN) can only do so much in an effort to assist women who have been the victims of violence, due to cultural, religious and patriarchal systems. However, the successful implementation and delivery of policies, and programs can only be achieved if Africans allow themselves to be more open-minded to the individual identities of women. Focusing on indigenous women, more research is required in African rural areas to understand and explore the various factors that influence their lived experiences. To reiterate once more, an intersectional approach may be an advantageous tool, as it has the ability to investigate how different factors influence

one another in the lived experiences of women, who have either been abused or victimised.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this chapter all research questions of the study will be highlighted, and their rationales discussed. These questions are in lieu with the objectives set out in the first chapter. Without the guidance of these expectations, one cannot perform the practical part of this research study. In qualitative studies one of the main characteristics that separates it from quantitative research studies, is its capacity to gather rich data with the assistance of probing questions. These questions aid in the exploration and understanding of the social phenomena, and the vast dynamics of life itself that affects human interaction (Lune & Berg, 2017: 15). Hence, its main objective is to grasp and comprehend how individuals interpret, perceive and understand their worlds through the use of personal narratives. These narratives are thus the answers to the questions that have been asked by the researcher (Lune & Berg, 2017: 15). The use of hypotheses is regarded to be positivistic and more rigidly systemic, with pre-conceived notions of the phenomena's existence. Hypotheses test propositions and existing theories using statistics, thereby often excluding the nuanced personal dynamics specific to participants (Tewksbury, 2009: 41; Yilmaz, 2013: 311). Therefore, for the purposes of this research study, and in light of its sensitive nature, questions of an explorative nature need to be employed in order to adequately understand the lived experiences of indigenous women.

4.1. Research question 1: How do indigenous women defend their way of life?

In chapter one (sub-section 1.5.1.) the way of life of indigenous women was discussed. This discussion highlighted how cultural embeddedness was a major element in many facets of the daily lives of indigenous women, especially with regards to their positions in society. Cultural embeddedness rested on the premise that individuals who live in societies that are rooted in their traditions and daily livelihood, should show respect for their society's traditions, social order and obedience. Such embedded values and beliefs shape the ontology and epistemology of many individuals (Davidov et. al., 2014: 268; Schwartz, 2013: 5). For indigenous women, their relational ontology and epistemology could possibly be negatively affected by their society's deeply seated values, and beliefs. However, with that being said, in sub-section 3.3.4. (chapter three) Tilly (2001: 5) stated that universal judgements made by those foreign to communities that are culturally embedded in their way of life, are not locally valid judgements. This

means that certain communities may not view the continued existence of their values, beliefs and traditions as opposition to those values and beliefs held by other societies. Thereby, not accepting universal judgements as they are not locally valid. In essence, indigenous women's defense of their way of life could be attributed to their relational ontology. That is, how they view and understand particular parts of their lived experiences may not be perceived as detrimental events in their lives. Which means that indigenous women may feel a sense of content with their lives (Davidov et. al., 2014: 268).

4.1.1. Sub-question 1.1.: Do indigenous women claim that their cultural practices are the norm?

4.1.2. Sub-question 1.2.: Do indigenous women interpret any of their experiences as mistreatment?

4.1.3. Sub-question 1.3.: Do indigenous women exhibit any clear negative emotions or distress about their experiences?

As was discussed in chapter three, a possible explanation could be associated with the cycle of violence. Associated with this cycle was the learned attitudes of accepting violent circumstances in a woman's life. This acceptance could be due to a number of reasons such as culture or authority (Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 453). This inability to leave or escape one's abusive relationship may render many women numb. It is then this numbness that may likely fuel their despondency to dire levels of hopelessness (Dutton, 1993: 1197; Schneider, 1992: 522; Walker, 2006: 145). Pertaining to the rationalisation of the abusive and victimising behaviour of their spouses, in a study by Chaudhuri et. al. (2017: 149) (see sub-section 3.5.1.) which included a sample of 32 married women in a group designated for abused women, it was found that 41% of the women attributed their experiences of victimisation and abuse to the culture in which they find themselves in. According to majority of the women in Dube et. al.'s (2017: 4) study (see sub-section 3.2.1.3.1), these traditions and customs have formed part of their culture for generations, and therefore opposing them is futile. Furthermore, others do not view their husbands'/cultures' treatment of them as oppressive. Many continue to state that among many reasons such as culture, religion and women's subordinate position, self-blame is a major component and they

must have antagonised their partners to deserve physical punishment (Adefarakan, 2011: 46; Mookodi, 2004: 57).

4.2. Research question 2: How can an intersectional approach provide a more accurate understanding of the lived experiences of indigenous women than existing Western/Eurocentric feminist theories?

4.2.1. Sub-question 2.1.: Is gender an influencing factor in the roles indigenous women play in their communities?

4.2.2. Sub-question 2.2.: How does culture influence the perception of indigenous women's lived experiences?

4.2.3. Sub-question 2.3.: What contribution can the personal narratives of indigenous women's lived experiences make to the emancipation of African feminist theories from Western/Eurocentric ideologies?

In terms of the applicability of feminist, intersectionality, and gender and development theories, gender and culture are going to be vital factors to analyse. The reason for this is, because in terms of gender indigenous women seem to be less favoured in terms of receiving an education and exercising power with regards to their sexuality, and voicing their opinions (Baloyi, 2010: 2; Blau & Kahn, 2016: 10; Latchanah & Singh, 2016: 45). Any consideration with regards to their intellectual input and physical prowess, excluding that of childbearing capabilities, has limited the progression of women in the world of men (Adefarakan, 2011: 35). For example, in chapter one (section 1.4.), the subject of the 'glass ceiling' effect was broached and it dealt with women's inability to surpass men, not only on the level of their occupation, but also in terms of wages (Blau & Kahn, 2016: 10; Latchanah & Singh, 2016: 45). This, more so, in societies where patriarchy is the dominant form of hierarchal power.

With regards to culture, its embedded history in the lives of indigenous women is a topic that may have to be readdressed. Scholars such as Andima and Tjiramanga (2014: 80), opine that cultural embeddedness seems to have placed an invisible barrier where indigenous women appear to have normalised certain cultural practices (see chapter one, sub-section 1.5.1.). Those women, however, who do not seem to want certain practices or beliefs to be a part of their lives, have struggled to voice their concerns (Andima & Tjiramanga, 2014: 78; Davidov et. al., 2014: 268; Kapuma, 2012:

64). Referring to the discussions in chapter two (sub-sections 2.2.1. & 2.2.2.), certain elements of African culture are viewed as vital components in African communities. One such component is marriage and the other is children. These two elements are believed to be the gateways to the preservation of human existence, and any obstruction to ensuring that they continue to be an integral part of African society is deemed to be evil (Dodo, 2014: 194; Kyalo, 2012: 214). It is with such convictions, amongst others such as power and authority, that Western theories and feminist ideologies (radical feminism, for example) may not be able to influence African women, and their leaders in African rural communities to believe otherwise (Fontes & McCloskey, 2011: 159; Kapuma, 2012: 64).

Apart from that, the emancipation of African feminist theories from Eurocentric and Westernised perspectives needs to be addressed. The notion of the 'Other' woman in feminist theories has been heavily debated over recent years and the issue of the plights of indigenous women has been overshadowed, and misconstrued by European and Western ideology. Thus, instigating an attack by African feminist scholars and those who support their cause (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 119; Marchand & Parpart, 2014: 28; Mulinari, 2014: 47). The vision for many feminist scholars such as Simmonds (2011: 17), Henne (2017: 6) and Daly (2008: 10), for instance, is that indigenous women will be theoretically represented the way they're supposed to. From studies and theories that correctly dictate their lived experiences, with minimal invasion from European and Westernised inclinations. Furthermore, making it possible to decolonise previous African theoretical standpoints and employing more emancipated theories that may be established using internal means (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 2; Nash, 2008: 2; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008: 6).

The main reason for this, is simply because there is a collective opinion that Westernised/European theories presume that indigenous women are being victimised by their cultures. There is an assumption that, what may be viewed by the international community as criminal, may in fact not be so by traditional African standards. In the case of FGM, for example, the women who perform this practice believe that it is necessary in order to preserve a woman's or girl's innocence, and ensure her eligibility for marriage (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1). Hence, the need to explore and investigate this dynamic topic in all its intricacies (Adefarakan, 2011: 44).

4.3. Research question 3: Do the following institutional and structural factors influence the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women?

4.3.1. Power and authority given to men

4.3.2. Marriage customs

4.3.3. Prohibition of expressing sexual freedom

Traditional practices or customs that leave women vulnerable to victimisation in these societies have been undisputed for centuries. What makes this matter even more complex is the manner in which these institutions of patriarchy are still standing. According to the theory of cultural relativism, they rarely face international opposition, only because the needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few. The “many”, in this case being the men, and possibly also the elder women of such societies, who have had to endure such customs for years (Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1; Kapuma, 2012: 64; Wadesango et. al. 2011: 121). A woman’s place according to tradition or cultural norms, is essential in maintaining the structure of patriarchy. That may be why any inkling of a rebellion is stopped before it can escalate. Any friction within these patriarchal walls may lead to dire consequences for indigenous women (Ampofo, et. al., 2004: 689; Mookodi, 2004: 57). Lastly, sexuality is a vital issue that still plagues many indigenous women. The hold that patriarchy has on women’s sexuality has not dissipated much in the 21st century. Many women are still subjected to virginity tests, have their reproductive freedom limited, if not taken, and the freedom to express their sexuality is prohibited due to patriarchal guardianship. Recalling Dube et. al.’s (2017: 5) study once again, the participants reported that it was against African culture to challenge their husbands. Furthermore, once they got married they had no sexual rights, because upon marrying a man, a woman relinquishes her sexual freedom (Dube et. al., 2017: 5). Finally, in countries such as Malawi, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Nigeria marital rape is not recognised as a criminal act under religious, and customary law. The premise is mostly culturally and religiously based, as a husband cannot rape his wife since they are married (Ekhator, 2015: 288; Okereke, 2006: 9; Randall & Venkatesh, 2015: 154). Thus, the ongoing struggle for women to liberate themselves from these patriarchal holds has become a cumbersome battle (Phiri & Nadar, 2009: 12; Tamale, 2008: 48).

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1. Introduction

The effectiveness and success of any research study duly depends on the methodology that is chosen, and how it is applied. In light of the information that was discussed throughout chapters one to three, it can only be deduced that in order to ascertain the applicability of the proposed theories to the lived experiences of indigenous women, a reliable and feasible methodology needs to be utilised. It is not enough to simply rely on one dimensional thinking when it comes to a sensitive topic such as the possible victimisation of indigenous African women. It is for this reason that the methodology used in this research, should be able to assist in understanding and gaining better insight into any possible victimisation, and abuse. The selection of the qualitative approach for the purposes of this research study, was due to the under researched nature of the topic. It was important to gain first-hand knowledge of the lived experiences of indigenous women, using their personal narratives in order to understand the phenomena from their perspective.

That is why it was believed that due to the nature of this research study and the need to understand the problem from within their world, to approach this research study quantitatively would have been unjustified. Simply, because quantitative research methods aim to understand and explain social phenomena by utilising numerical data through statistical analysis; and therefore, does not allow for more nuanced information to be collected and analysed (Yilmaz, 2013: 311). Moreover, this method does not give participants the opportunity to elaborate and explain certain answers to clarify their position, and experience (Yilmaz, 2013: 313). It is for these reasons that the qualitative research method was adopted, because its associated methodology was more compatible with the objectives of this research study. These objectives included: to explore and understand the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women from an indigenous African community; to explore the causes that influenced the victimisation of indigenous women; and lastly, to explore whether or not an African emancipatory perspective could be used to explain the experiences (and associated meanings) attached to the roles of indigenous women in their communities.

Therefore, in this chapter an exposition of the methodology employed to conduct this research will be discussed, including the data analysis process.

5.2. Methodology

The qualitative methodology utilised in order to perform the practical part of this research study, comprised of a design that was phenomenological and exploratory in nature. This approach sufficed in that it allowed this study to avoid being presumptuous in its intentions to achieve its set out objectives. The phenomenological approach in a research study aims to coherently describe the meanings that a specific phenomenon has on the lived experiences of various individuals. In short, phenomenology aims to illustrate the similitude of these lived experiences (Hall, Chai & Albrecht, 2016: 137). Hall et. al. (2016: 137) explain that hermeneutical and transcendental phenomenology are the two core types of this research approach. In transcendental phenomenology, also known as descriptive phenomenology, the interconnection between the 'what' (noema of experience) and the 'how is the phenomenon experienced' (the noesis) is the focus of its ideology (Sloan & Bowe, 2014: 9). In other words, transcendental phenomenology concentrates on an individual's given narrative in order to produce an essence of their lived experience (Hall et. al., 2016: 137).

However, in contrast to the aforementioned, hermeneutical phenomenology, or interpretive phenomenology as it is also known, depends on the interpretations of the researcher regarding what a person's lived experiences mean. That is, the main focus of this approach is to understand the meaning of lived experiences by looking for themes and interpretively engaging with the collected data (Hall et. al., 2016: 137; Sloan & Bowe, 2014: 9). In addition, with this approach it is preferred that the analytical method not be rigid and formalised, as the context in which the phenomenon exists must determine how the data is analysed. It must be noted that focusing on the participants' experiences is the key focus of this approach (Sloan & Bowe, 2014: 9). Therefore, in light of the discussion on these two types of phenomenological approaches and what they entail, the latter approach was regarded to be more applicable to this study. The reason being that the objectives of this study require the researcher to go beyond simply describing the lived experiences of the participants and therefore to not only explore the phenomenon in its entirety, but to also interpret and comprehend the personal narratives of the participants' lived experiences through the revelation of emergent themes during data analysis.

By being open to exploring the lived experiences of indigenous women from their vantage point, the means in which the data was collected had to allow for instances of flexibility, and feasibility. Flexible in the sense that if one part of the research study did not go as planned, then a contingency plan would have to be put in place; and feasible in the sense that the means with which to execute the research study, were not unrealistic for the researcher or the participants. These elements were paramount in that qualitative research tends to permit room for error, as not all well planned interviews are executed successfully (Hart, 2002: 144; Tewksbury, 2009: 43). Errors such as the possibility that the participants may respond in an unexpected manner, are instances where the researcher needs to exercise flexibility in order to accommodate such situations. In addition, unforeseen circumstances could possibly result from one or more participants withdrawing from the study/interviews, interpreters becoming emotional while interpreting the questions and maybe even weather conditions that could shift an interview session to another day (Hart, 2002: 144; Tewksbury, 2009: 43). In the case of this research study, such errors could only be mitigated by conducting a pilot study to test if the proposed methodology would be suitable to achieve the aims set out in this research study. Therefore, with regards to this research study and its sensitive nature, the researcher had to be mindful that some participants would not be open to answer sensitive questions honestly. This will be further discussed as part of the ethical considerations.

5.3. Data collection

To be able to capture and analyse the realities of the participants, it was decided that a qualitative method of collecting data would be the most suitable to implement. As was mentioned earlier in section 5.2., qualitative methods are best suited for research studies of this nature, because they offer insight into the human interactions of participants (Tewksbury, 2009: 38). To gain a better and more coherent understanding of the true lived experiences of individuals in vulnerable situations, the tools associated with qualitative research methods enable the researcher to gather data from an internal “warehouse” (Hart, 2002: 141). By that, one means to compare this internal “warehouse” to the vast source of information that could be provided by the participants. This “warehouse” of information then greatly contributes to the quality of the study and also to the body of knowledge that pertains to the research topic (Hart, 2002: 141; Tewksbury, 2009: 38). The data was collected using focus group

interviews, as it was discovered that the initial plan of conducting one-on-one interviews would not be feasible (see the discussion in section 5.5.). This conclusion was reached as soon as the results of the pilot study was evident. Focus groups can offer the same amount of data, and sometimes, in less time. While one-on-one interviews involve just the interviewer and the interviewee, focus groups contain multiple participants (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2007: 742).

When utilising a focus group in a research study it is essential (as with any data collection method) to be aware of any potential challenges, or limitations that the approach may have. These challenges need to be taken into consideration when opting for this method of data collection. One such challenge that researchers may have to be cognisant of, is ensuring that the discussion does not go astray and a sense of focus on the topic at hand is maintained (Lune & Berg, 2017: 95). This is particularly challenging when involving participants who do not speak the same language as the researcher, and an interpreter is used. One way of mitigating this challenge would be to build rapport amongst the participants before the focus group and clearly identify the purpose of the study, as well as what the participants can expect from the process, allowing them to focus on the discussion at hand. Reassuring the participants of their ethical rights can also assist in making them more comfortable, whilst reminding them that they are not forced in any way to remain a part of the study should they feel uncomfortable (Lune & Berg, 2017: 97).

Another challenge that may present itself in a focus group is ensuring that the participants do not speak over one another. Researchers should make participants aware that each of them have a fair chance to give their view on the given topic that is being discussed (Lune & Berg, 2017: 95). With reference to this study, participants were made aware of their opportunity to voice their perspectives during the introductory information phase of the study. The researcher emphasised that each participant would have an equal opportunity to give their opinion and that their viewpoints were considered to be important and valuable.

The advantages of using focus groups to collect data, is that they allow the interactions within the group amongst the participants to produce information that is enriched. In this interview setting, the views of participants are explored and clarified, unlike in one-on-one settings. On the other hand, the use of focus groups also has its drawbacks.

They are quite costly in terms of resources and logistical problems are increased (Coenen, Stamm & Cieza, 2012: 360). Even so, with the knowledge of the disadvantages, the advantages outweighed them for the purposes of this research study. This mode of data collection provided an atmosphere for the participants to feel comfortable and safe to discuss the sensitive particulars of their lives. The camaraderie experienced during the group interview also showcased how important it is for participants who come from the same backgrounds, to have support in interview sessions with delicate topics. This was apparent from the pilot study, when the potential participants indicated that they were hesitant to have one-on-one interviews with the researcher. It was, therefore, for these reasons that this method was ideal for this research study.

An interview schedule with open-ended questions relating to the key discussion themes was used to guide the focus group discussions, as to allow the participants to speak freely about their experiences. The use of semi-structured questions also allows for nuances to appear in the discussions, that would usually not be able to. These questions are written in such a way that they allow the researcher to slightly deviate from the original set of questions, because an interesting piece of information from the participant's response may have triggered the researcher's curiosity. This, then, giving rise to rich information (Cassell & Symon, 2004: 37; Ryan et. al., 2007: 742).

5.3.1. The use of focus groups as a data collection instrument

The nature of this research study is sensitive and required an exploratory approach to understand the lived experiences of indigenous women. Due to the results of the pilot study (see section 5.5.), the most practical manner with which to gain insight into the phenomena of this research study was in the form of a focus group. The focus group interview was conducted in a safe space that more was conducive to the focus group, in the capital city of Namibia, as it offered an environment that was familiar to the participants. This environment offered less distractions, as the participants' place of work was constantly occupied with tourists, their source of income. The participants were notified by the researcher about the research study and its reasons for being conducted, through verbal communication with the assistance of a female interpreter. The interpreter is an undergraduate student studying education at the local university and she is fluent in the language of the Ovahimba. More details concerning the

interpreter will be discussed later in this chapter. The participants' ethical rights were made known to them on the first day of meeting the researcher and it was decided that they could take some time to decide if they wanted to participate in the study, or not. The participants were given another opportunity before the actual study to ask the researcher questions concerning the research study, and their ethical rights.

They were also told about the inclusion and exclusion criteria of the study. The inclusion criteria required that single and married women between the ages of 18, and 50 be interviewed, and the exclusion criteria required that no men (husbands, brothers, uncles, elders and friends) be involved in the study to avoid 'contamination'. This 'contamination' refers to the possible subjective influence that the men may have on the topic, and the lived experiences of the women. These criteria were also incorporated into this study to prevent the known presence of the men to influence the responses of the women, possibly due to fear. After one day, the participants were reminded that they were not forced in any way to involve themselves in this research study. After acknowledging to the researcher via an interpreter that they understood, the participants gave their verbal consent to participate in this research study. This consent was also recorded via an audio recorder, as proof before the focus group interview began. Permission was granted by the participants for the researcher to use the audio recorder during the focus group interview.

The focus group contained 15 participants and all the participants had an opportunity to answer the questions, whether they were married or not. There was no indication of dominance during the focus group, as those who chose not to answer merely nodded in agreement. This lack of dominance was evident in how some would voice their disagreement with certain views expressed by other participants. The data was collected using an audio recorder and an interpreter was asked to interpret the responses. This was due to the fact that the participants were not able to respond adequately in English. Even though they could speak a few sentences in English, it was not enough to engage in a complete dialogue with the researcher. Simple English was used by the researcher to explain the process of the interview. The interpreter then interpreted this information for the participants, and they either nodded their heads in acknowledgment or spoke to the interpreter confirming that they understood the information.

For research studies of this nature, it is important to understand the problem from the participants' perspective (Cassell & Symon, 2004: 37; Fusch & Ness, 2015: 1411). The interview schedule was designed in such a manner that it would accommodate the objectives of this research study (section 1.6.). It concentrated on exploring whether or not a group of indigenous women were vulnerable to victimisation; by gaining a more comprehensive narrative from the indigenous women about their lived experiences as women from an indigenous community. In addition to this, exploring and gaining an understanding of any possible causes of victimisation in an indigenous community. The questions were also grouped in a manner that would permit the interview to gradually increase in sensitivity. Bell et. al. (2016: 196) state that when the subject of an interview is sensitive it is vital for the researcher to respond to answers appropriately. This should be done to minimise the cost of harm to the participant, as no researcher is aware in advance of the psychological state of the participants; and which questions from the interview schedule may elicit an emotional response from the participants. Therefore, rapport and sensitivity should align themselves with flexibility, as being flexible is important in any research study (Bell et. al., 2016: 196).

The following factors were discussed using an interview schedule (see appendix 1) in order to not only achieve the goals of the study's objectives, but more importantly, to gain considerable insight into the lived experiences of indigenous women. These factors include biographic information, as well as factors related to the overarching research questions, namely womanhood, family, patriarchy, culture and theory application. Each of these factors will be further elaborated on below.

A. Biographic information

The questions related to this section covered the participants' age, marital status, number of family members and the structure of their daily lives. That is, what activities or chores they did during the day.

B. Womanhood

Questions (located in section two of the interview schedule) associated with this factor aimed to gather information about the participants' lived experiences as women in an indigenous community. Questions revolving around the participants' perceptions of beauty and self-esteem were asked in order to gain insight into how the participants subjectively viewed themselves. Section five of the interview schedule addressed

matters of reproduction and aspects of the participants' culture. Were they happy with their culture? What would they have liked to change about their culture? Although culture is a factor on its own in this study, it relates more to macro level factors and therefore the aforementioned questions were asked in order to understand the participants' experiences and perspectives on a micro level. That is, how did matters of reproduction and marriage within their culture affect them personally?

C. Family

The questions related to this factor gradually increased in sensitivity to be mindful of the nature of this research study. The questions ranged from enquiring about the type of relationship the women had with the members of their husband's family, especially their mother-in-law, to the exploration and understanding of the dynamics of their relationship with their husbands. The most sensitive questions in this section sought to explore the possibility of the existence of any violent victimisation on the part of their husbands.

D. Patriarchy

Eight questions in the fourth section of the interview schedule dealt with the nature of the interactions between the men and women in their community. The aim of these questions was to explore whether or not the women felt victimised by the men in their indigenous community. This included insight into what the stance of the chief was concerning such matters.

E. Culture

Lastly, section five of the interview schedule covered questions related to the indigenous women's culture. These questions explored the relationship between the women and their culture, and the dynamics that shaped that relationship. As there is no single accepted way of measuring culture, the most appropriate way of understanding its impact and influence, had to be achieved by conceptualising it within the context of this study. The issue of culture was discussed at great length in preceding chapters and it was decided that the concept of culture for the purposes of this research study, would be defined according to factors such as beliefs, values, meanings and symbolism (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). In essence, the definition states that cultures are learned from infancy and further development in a

person's behaviour would therefore be greatly influenced by the vast meanings, beliefs and symbols pertaining to that specific culture.

Factors surrounding the union of two people in matrimony, the complexities involved in being an indigenous African woman, procreation in order to bear heirs for the continuation of lineages, and the viewpoints on education were selected as appropriate factors to concentrate on as they were found to be highly influenced by cultural beliefs and practices. To note, the former three factors were also mentioned under the factor of womanhood, however, the difference here is that they were explored from a more macro perspective, so as to gain a more holistic view of the subject matter. This perspective was necessary as the four aforementioned factors play crucial roles in the lived experiences of the indigenous community at large. It was important to explore the fundamental beliefs that shaped the marriage customs within the Ovahimba community, as well as the importance of revering these beliefs, as the respect and honour of a family needs to be upheld. Being an indigenous African woman involves experiences that are unique to a specific indigenous community, as each community treats their women differently. A macro level perspective will explore and potentially highlight what the viewpoints of the members of the community are, and how their beliefs and values influence the women in their community.

With regards to procreation and the associated cultural practices, Kyalo (2012: 214) and Dodo (2014: 201) stated that marriage and the bearing of children is extremely important in many African cultures, as it heralds the beginning of a new bond between two families and is viewed as necessary for the continuation of a clan's lineage, and for life itself. However, this has been challenged by feminist scholars on the grounds that the women involved in these practices are not given a choice and that women should not be forced to have children if they choose not to (Wacjman, 2010: 146; Vukoičić, 2017: 35). Lastly, any opportunities for young indigenous women to receive an education, as well as the community's standpoint on the preferential treatment of boys concerning the same subject, was explored from a cultural perspective. This perspective would guide the study in understanding if community members perceived it necessary for a woman to be educated, as she has a home and family to care for.

The relevant items in the interview schedule were compiled by using the above factors as a guideline. Without making the participants uncomfortable, the questions

pertaining to each factor had to be formulated in such a way that there would be a gradual increase of sensitivity. For example, the issue of marriage was first introduced with questions related to the nature of the participants' relationship with their husband's family. This line of questioning ended with questions linked to possible experiences of abuse, and can be seen in section three of the interview schedule.

F. Applicability of existing theory

The theoretical components, that is, the key elements of the various theories that were discussed in chapters two and three, could only be measured by asking thematic questions. This means that the kind of questions included had to illicit the type of responses from the women that would either confirm, or rebut the theoretical standpoints discussed. The theoretical components from chapter two included the three types of feminist movements chosen for this research study, which were liberal, radical and critical feminism. Other theoretical components from chapter two also included indigeneity, intersectionality, gender and development theories and cultural relativism. Each of these components were conceptualised according to the objectives and focus of this research study, which incorporated various factors such as womanhood, class, race, sex, patriarchy, culture and theoretical biases such as Western, and Eurocentric ideologies about the universal victimisation and abuse of women.

In order to explore the foundations and arguments of these theories, the interview schedule contained a few questions that could possibly shed some light on the applicability of the key propositions of each of these theories. A few questions touched on the relationships that some of the participants had with their husband's family. Did they fair well with their mother-in-laws? Were they close to any of the female members of that family? Other questions included whether or not the participants believed that their roles as women placed them in a vulnerable position with the men in their village, and if their culture put them at any risk of victimisation.

In chapter three, the nature of the victimisation and abuse of indigenous women was discussed, including explanations linked to the cycle of violence, and what the consequences of psychological, emotional and sexual abuse were. Institutional and structural causes to assist in explaining the possible victimisation, and abuse of indigenous women were also highlighted and discussed. Factors associated with

experiences with patriarchy, colonialism, economic situations and cultural relativism were included to assist in achieving a deeper understanding of the topic. The consequences of these institutional and structural causes were included as a means to further explore if any repercussions were experienced due to any cases of victimisation and abuse. Finally, physical, economic, social and legal factors were addressed to emphasise the variety of ways that these repercussions could manifest in.

The literature in chapter three garnered questions of a more sensitive and personal nature. The participants were asked how they truly felt about issues of child marriages, how some of them felt about the manner in which their spouses 'corrected' them, and what would they do if they were able to voice their opinions on such matters. These and other questions of this nature can be viewed in sections three, and five of the interview schedule.

5.4. Sampling procedure

The participants were selected for this research study by using a purposive sampling method. This method of recruiting participants is purposeful in its endeavours. Sampling methods such as this are used, because the participants are believed to have either been exposed to, or are still exposed to, the social phenomenon. Their experience of it, also counts as criteria to use this method (Ryan et. al., 2007: 741). The aim of this sampling method is to study distinctive cases and certain groups of people, with the objective of producing detailed, and rich information that will assist in understanding people, cases, situations and programmes in an in-depth manner. An advantage of using this method is that, it is an inexpensive way of recruiting participants, and another is that a researcher is not required to have the population elements listed (Acharya, Prakash, Saxena & Nigam, 2013: 332). This method was also employed for the pilot study in order to select the participants that would later form part of the actual study. In order for the researcher to recruit the participants, rapport had to be established. This was achieved by speaking to the gatekeeper in a constructive manner that was not intimidating, or forceful. Once the gatekeeper had spoken to the women about the research study, they agreed to participate. Two of the participants who had declined to participate in the pilot study, later participated in the actual study. The women were made aware of their ethical rights and were reminded

that they could exercise those rights at any point before or during the research study. Bell et. al. (2016: 196) state that establishing a good rapport with participants is necessary as it can be an uncomfortably unfamiliar experience to be interviewed, especially in studies that are of a sensitive nature. A good rapport will allow the participant to be at ease during the interview and therefore lead to better data quality, more open and truthful answers, and it will assist the participant to accurately recall, and understand their narratives (Bell et. al., 2016: 196).

This method of finding and recruiting the participants was necessary, because of the sensitive nature of the study's topic. The objectives of the research study could only be achieved by including participants who have personal experience with the problem. Even though the participants are from a village in the northern parts of Namibia, due to practical limitations, it was believed that recruiting those who resided in the capital city, would suffice. This rationale was concluded on the basis that, although the participants lived in the city, they still had relevant knowledge of the culture, and also of the day to day experiences of their life in the village. The participants reported that they do return to their respective villages to visit. This fact, thus, also influenced and supported the decision to recruit those who resided in the city.

When it comes to adequate sample sizes for qualitative research studies, large sample numbers are usually not required. This is, because research studies that desire to explore and understand social phenomenon, do not aim to generalise their findings to larger population groups. Their aim is simply to view and gain more insight into the phenomenon from the individual's perspective (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2015: 2; Ryan et. al., 2007: 741). Another reason for small sample sizes in qualitative research has to do with the availability of resources and time. This may not seem like a justification for using small sample sizes in qualitative research studies, but the feasibility of these two elements is critical. Lune and Berg (2017: 95) argue that smaller sample sizes mean more control over the group and the interview, should some parts deviate from the interview schedule. Smaller sample sizes also decrease the possibility of dominance by one or two more vocal participants (Lune & Berg, 2017: 95).

Lastly, small samples are utilised in terms of specificity. How specific is the topic of the research study and will a small sample be adequate to provide enough information?

Malterud et. al. (2015: 3) opine that specificity is grounded in the knowledge, characteristics or experiences of participants in a sample. If the sample is deliberately chosen according to the particular aims of the study, then the sample need only be a small number. This justification stems from the fact that the participants have characteristics that are necessary for the research study. These participants are a part of the target group and although they reside in the city, their knowledge, and narratives were considered to be just as important, as they were still connected to their culture (Malterud et. al., 2015: 3). Henceforth, it is for such reasons that the option of a small sample size was taken, as the researcher believed that the number of participants would be enough for this research study. As was highlighted earlier in this chapter (5.3.1.) all the participants had an opportunity to answer the questions, regardless of their marital status. This opportunity was necessary as all input on the topics covered in the interview schedule could prove to be of value. Since the interviews were conducted in a focus group setting, the women freely engaged with one another, by supporting or confirming each other's responses.

5.5. Pilot study

For the purposes of strengthening this study, and safeguarding that one obtains the best results possible, a pilot study was conducted. The pilot study would thus aid in discovering any challenges, with regards to the implementation of the interview schedule and any unforeseen difficulties in terms of the dynamics between the researcher, the interpreter and the participants. Kinchin (2018: 2) states that sometimes this process is necessary for research, because it allows any critical feedback to help adjust, and refine the methodology that will be used in the actual study. For example, pilot studies explore the limiting factors of recruiting, such as being apathetic towards the interview process, or not gaining enough access to the respondents, because of cultural issues (Janghorban, Latifnejad & Taghipour, 2013: 4).

The initial approach to the research study required the researcher to create a good rapport with the participants. They were approached by the researcher at a tourist curios market in Windhoek, where they sell beads and were informed about the research study. There was initial reluctance until the gatekeeper was reached with the assistance of a temporary interpreter, as neither English nor Afrikaans was spoken

fluently by the gatekeeper. Due to initial scepticism regarding the research study, the researcher returned the following day to constructively engage further with the participants. The researcher explained once again to the participants the nature of the research study and their ethical rights. After clarifications were made, the gatekeeper and the participants agreed to participate in the research study. Two of the participants who had initially declined to participating, later returned and participated in the actual study. This occurred after the pilot study phase where a level of rapport was developed with the other women.

The pilot study was conducted in an informal manner at the participants' place of work at an agreed upon time during working hours. Their ability to gain an income was not disrupted as the number of customers arriving on the day the pilot study was being conducted, was minimal. Approximately six participants were present for the pilot study, and the format of the pilot study was discussed. There was a consensus to change the interviews from one-on-one to focus group interviews, as it was more suitable for the women (Tewksbury, 2009: 47). This was due to time constraints on their behalf. Therefore, it is in such events that researchers are required to be flexible (Bell, Fahmy & Gordon, 2016: 196; King, 2004: 17; Yilmaz, 2013: 317). The initial location for the interviews was not conducive for the actual study, as absolute privacy was lacking and did not allow for the required degree of constructive interaction between the researcher, and the women. Tewksbury (2009: 49) states that it is essential for qualitative studies to be conducted in environments that are neither toxic nor dangerous, to either the researcher or the participants. Therefore, bearing in mind the aforementioned circumstances, it was decided that a new venue had to be chosen in order to accommodate the criteria (non-toxic and comfortable environment) necessary to conduct a successful focus group. The new location that the researcher chose was easily accessible and did not restrict the women's movement in any way (non-claustrophobic atmosphere). This allowed an environment of comfortability and privacy to exist. These criteria of the new location allowed for the women to feel safe and comfortable to engage constructively with the researcher and one another.

It was concluded that the questions from the interview schedule were appropriate for the actual study, as the women comfortably opened up about some of their experiences to the researcher. In essence, observations such as group interaction amongst the women and the people in the adjacent stalls, were some of the reasons

why there were alterations for the actual study. Upon these conclusions, the participants were notified of the change of venue for the actual study. A total of 15 women were sampled for the actual study as it was considered to be a satisfactory number for the scope of this research study.

5.5.1. Importance of interpreters and cultural awareness

The use of interpreters is vital in qualitative research studies where language may become a potential barrier for the researcher and the participants. This point is being strongly emphasised, because even if a researcher is able to speak the vernacular fluently, the inclusion of an interpreter may strengthen the quality of the research study. As is the case with languages, dialects differ from region to region. Some dialects are stronger than others and require the assistance of an additional person to help interpret, and understand what the other has said (Temple & Edwards, 2002: 9; Lie, 2006: 96). In addition, the use of an interpreter may lower the possibilities of error in terms of communicating certain words and concepts, so as not to be lost in translation (Temple & Edwards, 2002: 9; Lie, 2006: 96). Due to the sensitive nature of this study, a female interpreter was used instead of a male interpreter. According to Lie (2006: 96), matching participants and the interpreter provides a comfortable environment for interviews to be conducted.

It is important for researchers to be prepared for all potential scenarios with regards to participants with an indigenous background. It is therefore imperative to be mindful of cultural differences in studies such as this current one. Rajan (2018: 9) states that researchers need to be flexible and accommodating of the participants' cultural differences, as being obstinate and disrespectful towards their beliefs, and values may hinder the progression of the research study. As a reminder, Tilly (2001: 5) stated that there is no one moral judgement that is universal. In essence, it is important that when conducting research studies on indigenous people, researchers should not approach interviews with cultural bias. Whether these be qualitative or quantitative research studies.

5.6. Sample description

The following table is a representation of the demographic information of the sample participants and a description of the sample will be discussed below the table.

Table 1

Chronological Age Distribution of Participants in the Sample

Name*	Age	Marital status
Faith	19	Married
Naomi	20	Single
River	21	Single
Miriam	23	Single
Ruth	24	Single
Hendrina	27	Single
Carol	27	Single
Agatha	28	Married
Silvia	28	Married
Charlotte	29	Single
Precious	30	Married

Note. *indicates pseudonym

The initial sample of participants consisted of 15 indigenous women from the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia. Four of the participants chose not to answer majority of the questions that were asked in the focus group interviews. These four participants were excluded from the sample total, thus making the total number of participants for the study 11. All the women fell into the age range required for this research study (between 18 and 60 years of age). Only four of the participants were married and the rest were single. Out of the four married participants, one was pregnant and the other three had children. Out of the single participants, only two had children. The number of these children was not disclosed in the focus group and no further probing concerning those details were made as it was not relevant to the aims of the study.

The age of the participants ranged between 20 to 30 years, with a mean age of 23.86. This information and other demographics including their village of origin, was captured by the researcher using a voice recorder. The women were able to greet and speak a

few sentences in English, however, to hold a full conversation was not possible. Therefore, the assistance of a female interpreter was required. As mentioned before, the interpreter is a student at a local tertiary institution and is fluent in the language of the Ovahimba. This relationship offered the women an environment in which they felt comfortable and safe. The women reside in Windhoek (capital city of Namibia), where they sell their bead work to tourists as a means of income.

5.7. Data analysis

The data was analysed using thematic analysis. This method of analysing data is concerned with identifying, describing, organising, analysing and reporting possible themes, and patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 57; Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017: 2; Ryan et. al., 2007: 742). Some scholars argue that thematic analysis should form the foundation in analysing data in qualitative research studies, because it promotes basic skills in order for other types of qualitative analysis to be conducted. Other researchers opine that since thematic analysis is an analytical process utilised by numerous qualitative methods, it cannot be regarded as a method on its own, but instead as an assistant tool that can be used by researchers during the data analysis phase (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 57). However, Nowell et. al. (2017: 2) state that thematic analysis should be acknowledged as a unique method of analysis, because it is possible to use it across a variety of research and epistemological questions.

The process of analysing one's data using this method is done in six steps, according to the framework developed by Braun and Clarke (2006: 77). In step one, researchers need to familiarise themselves with their data. This means that researchers are required to immerse themselves in their data, which is accomplished by meticulously perusing the textual data on more than one occasion. Examples of textual data include field notes, narratives, stories, documents and texts. Other ways to familiarise oneself with the data include watching and listening to video, and audio recordings. This phase of familiarisation will assist the researcher to identify possible themes and patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 60; Nowell et. al., 2017: 4). Step two is the process whereby initial codes are generated from the data. Coding enables researchers to focus on and simplify particular characteristics of their data. During this phase, researchers highlight critical parts of the text and label them in order to create an index of them, according to themes or matters within the data (Nowell et. al., 2017:

5). Codes need to have clear boundaries to ensure a lack of interchangeability and researchers can code texts into as many levels, and themes as they desire. However, too many of them is considered to be counterproductive in attempting to achieve clarity in interpreting and organising the data (Nowell et. al., 2017: 5).

Step three consists of sorting and organising all data that was coded, and that is considered to be relevant, into themes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3356; Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). Themes can be recognized by uniting fragments or elements of experiences, or ideas, which may often be meaningless when analysed alone. Themes are not usually reliant on measures that can be quantified, but instead whether or not they are able to capture vital information that is related to the topic of the research question (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3356; Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). Themes are usually produced inductively from raw data or deductively from previous research and theories. Themes that are produced inductively have a strong connection to the data, and usually do not bear overt relation to certain questions that the participants had to answer to. Data that is coded inductively is done so as not to forcefully assign it to a coding frame that already exists, or any analytical preconceptions on the part of the researcher. Therefore, themes are strictly generated from the data (Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). On the other hand, deductively generated themes stem from the researcher's analytical or theoretical interests. These themes may potentially provide a more comprehensive analysis of certain factors in the data, however, this method suffers from a lack of production of rich descriptions of the entire data. A researcher should distinguish whether or not a deductive or inductive thematic analysis is being conducted (Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). For this research study, the researcher used an inductive approach to identify the themes and analyse the data, as the core purpose of this study is to remain within an exploratory framework centred on the lived experiences of indigenous African women. This means that the themes that were identified have a strong link to the data, thus making the results of this approach data-driven and therefore, do not form part of any "analytic preconceptions" (Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). Thereafter, the identified themes were discussed in relation to the existing body of knowledge.

In step four of thematic analysis, the coded extracts of data of each theme is reviewed by the researcher to check if the information forms a logical pattern. This process is done so as to validate each theme, and to check if each theme accurately represents

the meanings that are present within a particular data set (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3358; Nowell et. al., 2017: 9). In essence, this review process seeks to investigate whether or not the themes are logical, are the themes supported by the data, are there any sub-themes present, can the themes be separated if they overlap and is there a possibility that more themes could be discovered? If any inconsistencies are found in the primary coding phase and in any of the themes, the process of analysis in step four will reveal those inconsistencies and the researcher can thus make the required necessary changes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3358; Nowell et. al., 2017: 9). The aforementioned statement can be witnessed in cases of deductive analytical approaches (Nowell et. al., 2017: 6). When this phase is completed a researcher should be able to clearly see the various themes, and how they are able to give a holistic representation of the information that was gathered (Nowell et. al., 2017: 10).

Step five of thematic analysis requires the researcher to define and name the different themes that were discovered. Each of these themes should be specific and unique, and the researcher needs to clearly point out what gives them such characteristics (Nowell et. al., 2017: 10). In order to achieve this, the crux of each theme should be able to be stated in one or more sentences. Identified themes usually have just one focus to avoid being too broad in meaning. There is no repetition amongst them, but some of them may be built on preceding themes; and the identified themes address the research question directly (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 66; Nowell et. al., 2017: 10). Lastly, step six of thematic analysis involves the researcher writing up a good report. This write-up should offer a logical, concise, coherent, interesting and non-repetitive detailing of the gathered data throughout all the themes. It is advisable for researchers to keep trustworthiness, audit trail and methodological notes to make the process less obstinate (Nowell et. al. 2017: 11). Essentially, with regards to the participants, including quotes from the interviews is a vital part of this write-up. The inclusion of these quotes, whether they be short or extensive, will assist in readers understanding particular sections of interpretation and it will also demonstrate how prevalent the themes are. A simple reporting of the analysis will result in a mundane and unjustified description of the data. This misrepresentation may then eventually harm the purity of the information (Nowell et. al. 2017: 11).

According to Maguire and Delahunt (2017: 3352) thematic analysis is not connected to specific theoretical or epistemological thoughts. Thus, this freedom provides the

researcher with a high sense of flexibility. This flexible characteristic can be altered to cater for the needs of various studies and it provides a detailed and rich, but also complex representation of the data (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017: 3352). Since thematic analysis does not need the comprehensive technological and theoretical knowledge that other qualitative approaches require, it is able to offer a much more accessible way of analysing data (Nowell et. al., 2017: 2). Another advantage of thematic analysis is that it offers researchers the chance to learn its procedures in a short amount of time, and it is not difficult to understand. Finally, this method of analysis examines the viewpoints of various participants in a research study. It then is able to highlight any differences and similarities, and may generate unexpected insights into the topic of the research study (Nowell et. al., 2017: 2).

Unfortunately, not all methods of analysis are without their limitations. When compared to other methods in qualitative research, what minimal literature that exists concerning thematic analysis, may cause inexperienced researchers to doubt its usefulness in terms of analysing data rigorously (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 58; Nowell et. al., 2017: 2). Thematic analysis, unfortunately, also restricts the researcher to discuss issues about the use of language, and lastly, the flexible nature of thematic analysis leaves room for inconsistency and incoherent developments of themes resulting from selected data (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 58; Nowell et. al., 2017: 2). In order to combat such dilemmas during the analytical stage of this research study, the identification and development of the themes was done with great discipline on the part of the researcher. Double-checking whether or not each theme developed from the data is a crucial step in inductive thematic analysis and for this research study, the data that was collected during the focus group interview was checked repeatedly to ensure that there were no inconsistencies with regards to the information that was provided.

The reason for adopting thematic analysis in this research study is, because it will aid in identifying themes and patterns in the answers that the women gave. This will be even more possible since thematic analysis allows for the inclusion of quotes from the focus group interviews. The inclusion of these quotes will be advantageous, as they can assist the researcher to clearly, and openly, debate the findings; whether they support the vast information that was discussed and argued in chapters two, and three or not. Hence, it is ideal for this study, and a proficient way to ascertain which of the

theories discussed in chapters two and three, may or may not be applicable to the African context.

5.8. Trustworthiness and credibility

Much like quantitative research studies, the trustworthiness, validity and reliability of a research study is just as important for qualitative research based studies. Ryan et. al. (2007: 742) opine that although the two research methods have that in common, the criteria for qualitative studies are broader. This only, because qualitative research studies aim to understand the lived experiences of human subjects, and from there, develop a better insight into the matter. One of the criteria for qualitative studies involves more stringent applications of ethical standards. This is done, because most qualitative research studies, are sensitive in nature and include possible trauma (Sanjari, et. al., 2014: 3). Although validity and reliability are adequate assessors of the quality of a research study, they will not be discussed in this section, as their purpose is more suited for the scope of quantitative research studies. Rather, the alternative measures to assess the quality of qualitative research studies will be discussed, as they are more applicable to this research study.

In Williams and Morrow's (2009: 577) view, the data's credibility, an equilibrium between subjectivity and reflexivity, as well as a coherent presentation of the results, are essential elements to establish the trustworthiness of a qualitative research study. It is important for any researcher to try and maintain the aforesaid balance. It is quite easy for any researcher conducting a qualitative study to become presumptuous in their expectations. This means that not only are researchers prone to believe in their subjective perspectives of a phenomenon, but sometimes that subjectivity becomes clouded due to premature judgement (Rajan, 2018: 9). This bias attitude towards a research study may pose some dangers to the study, as it may prevent the researcher from allowing the participant to divulge information that may either benefit the study substantially, or hinder its progression. It is for this reason that Aluwihare-Samaranayake (2012: 67) states that critical consciousness is vital, and necessary, for researchers to conduct their studies with minimal subjective interference. The adoption of critical consciousness may assist a researcher to change their viewpoints, so that they are neither narrow-minded nor obsolescent (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 67). Another reason to adopt this state of consciousness is so that the

researcher may be granted the chance to use an egalitarian and superior independent comprehension of the lived experiences of individuals. This may also include issues of power and representation (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 67).

In qualitative research there are a number of alternatives to validate a study. Those who question the concept of reliability, choose instead to use terms such as dependability. Other alternatives include credibility, transferability and confirmability (Ryan et. al., 2007: 743). A research study is dependable when it is possible to replicate the results of the study with participants who are in similar positions. This can only be possible if the researcher's methodology and accounts are clearly understood by other researchers, who may want to conduct a similar study. Credibility has to do with how well the participants' perspectives are interpreted and represented in the research study. The researcher needs to ensure that there is a consistency between the two elements. Credibility of a study may be encouraged if a researcher is able to showcase a high level of engagement, audit trails and observation (Cope, 2014: 89; Shenton, 2004: 64).

To ensure the credibility of this research study, observations were recorded during the actual study in audio diary form. This was to enable the researcher to take note of any misgivings on the part of the participants, or the researcher as well. The interpreter was present for the entire duration of the actual research study, and was notified that all dialogues would be audio recorded. During the actual study, ethical standards were upheld and the evidence was also recorded via audio. An example of this was during the focus group interview, at which point one of the participants declined to divulge her age. Although the rest of the participants told her that it was safe to do so, the researcher reminded, and reassured her that she was under no obligation to do so if she felt uncomfortable. During the focus group rapport was enhanced as the participants engaged openly with the researcher and answered all the questions. Moreover, if there were any misunderstandings concerning the questions or the answers, the researcher engaged with the interpreter to ensure that the participants were not lost in translation. Thus, minimising misinterpretations of their narratives. This was mitigated by either repeating a question or an answer slowly, and more audibly.

Transferability is a term that describes how the data of a specific research study is able to be applied outside of its context (Cope, 2014: 89). This means that the results

of the study can empathise with readers who may have experienced similar circumstances, and thus applicable in contexts other than the research study (Cope, 2014: 89). However, this alternative is not applicable to all qualitative research studies, as it relies on the objectives of the study and whether or not the results of the data will be used to generalise the phenomenon (Cope, 2014: 89; Ryan et. al., 2007: 743; Shenton, 2004: 69). It is for this reason that transferability will not be incorporated in validating the quality of this research study, because its intentions are not applicable to this study. The objective of this study is to simply explore and understand the lived experiences of a particular group of individuals.

Lastly, confirmability is defined as the ability of the researcher to prove how his/her interpretations and conclusions were made. Confirmability is grounded on the fact that the results of the research study are a consequence of the rich data (Shenton, 2004: 72). These interpretations and conclusions need to be free of the researcher's own personal perspectives, and prejudices. Thus, containing only the testimonies of the participants. This is possible if the researcher includes quotes of what each participant said, which therefore, may show emerging themes (Cope, 2014: 89; Ryan et. al., 2007: 743). With regards to this current research study, quotes have been provided in chapter six (discussion of results) as an assurance on the part of the researcher that any possible judgements were withheld. The themes were identified using thematic analysis as a method. Once the different themes were identified, sub-themes were then highlighted and analysed to explore the applicability of certain theories to the lived experiences of indigenous women. The responses of the women were categorised according to the research questions that were asked in chapter four, and thus used as a guide to either refute, or agree with the literature that was discussed in chapters two and three. Shenton (2004: 72) emphasises that a vital element of confirmability is the capacity of a researcher to acknowledge his or her susceptibilities. To further ensure confirmability for this research study, the researcher has noted and discussed all the decisions that were made during this research study. Some of these decisions include the selection of an appropriate research methodology and data analysis procedure. Explanations as to the altering of certain aspects of the actual study were also discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter (5.3., 5.5. and 5.7.) and any weaknesses relating to the research study will be pinpointed, and discussed in chapter

seven (section 7.3.). These alterations mainly involved the type of interview setting, from one-on-one interviews to the employment of a focus group.

5.9. Ethical Considerations

Ethical standards in both quantitative and qualitative research studies are imperative. The fundamentality of these principles cannot be over emphasised and researchers are always expected to uphold these standards. This, more so in qualitative studies, as there is a close interaction between the researcher and the participants (Sanjari et. al., 2014: 3). For this research study, the utmost care was taken to make sure that the participants' ethical rights were not violated. In Aluwihare-Samaranayake's (2012: 66) opinion the numerous nuances in participants' involvement in research studies, should be incorporated in ethics drawing from an evaluative awareness and praxis viewpoint. This, thus means that there should be a complete awareness by the researcher and the participants about the research study as a whole. That is, what it entails, its length, any plausible risks, possible outcomes and benefits (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 66). Some of the key principles of ethics constitute voluntary participation, scientific integrity, respect for the dignity of the participants, do no harm, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity (Bell et. al., 2016: 196; Sanjari et. al., 2014: 3). The principle of informed consent is vital in all aspects of research; whether it be quantitative or qualitative research. Potential participants must be told in advance what kind of data is necessary for the study, and how that data will be collected, and utilised (Sanjari, et. al., 2014: 3).

One cannot simply presume that these women will be openly willing to speak about delicate issues that pertain to their private lives, even with the provision of anonymity. For the purposes of this research study, the information that the women provide, will be treated as sensitive, as they may feel uncomfortable sharing it.

All aspects of the research study need to be clarified to the participants in language that will not confuse them. This language should also not be used in order to deceive the participants in order to ensure their participation (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 68; Sanjari, et. al., 2014: 3). Confidentiality and anonymity are crucial components of ethics in research studies. Researchers need to ensure that the identity of their participants is safeguarded, and reassuring potential participants that the information that they shared will be kept confidential is also important. It is the responsibility of all

researchers to undertake these ethical practices, as the first law of ethics would be to do no harm (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 65; Sanjari, et. al., 2014: 3).

Henceforth, with regards to the information above all the women were notified that they could voluntarily be a part of the study, and if they felt uncomfortable at any point during the interview session, they could leave without consequence. This consent was given verbally and it was clearly emphasised in their language of communication by the interpreter. Simple and coherent language was used to ensure that the participants understood what they were involved in. Their verbal consent was recorded using an audio voice recorder, therefore no consent forms were used in this research study.

The participants were made aware of the nature of the research study, its intentions, what it hopes to achieve and the reason for asking them to be involved. This is known as informed consent and it is a researcher's obligation to duly inform his/her participants about the details of their study. This informed consent was verbally given and recorded on audio (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012: 69; Sanjari et. al., 2014: 3). Confidentiality was explained to the participants, however, they offered for their real names to be used. In spite of this notion of trust, the names of the participants are withheld in the results chapter. In terms of the information that was imparted during the focus group interviews, the women were informed that it would be used for the benefit of the study's goals, and the academic world. They were also informed that the data would be destroyed after a sufficient amount of time had lapsed. This time would be a period equivalent to two years. This period may seem lengthy and unnecessary to some, however, should the results indicate the need for further research on the nature of this topic, the researcher opined that the data may be of use for future data comparison purposes.

As for the focus group and how it would be recorded, all the women were made aware of the presence of an audio recorder. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, a female interpreter was used for this research study, as the participants were unable to respond to the questions in English. The interpreter is from the Oshiherero tribe that originate from Namibia. Although the interpreter is a student from a different field of study (education), she qualified for the position for two main reasons. Firstly, her mother tongue is identical to that of the Ovahimba participants and thus communication with them was not an issue. Being a young female adult resonated

well with the participants, as they opened up comfortably during the focus group, and answered all the questions without withdrawing from the session. This level of comfortability made it possible for the participants to open up and answer sensitive questions, because the researcher and the interpreter assured the participants that they were in a safe environment. She, herself was informed about the delicate nature of the study, and about confidentiality.

Since this research study's topic is sensitive, and the emotional state of the women was unknown, and therefore unpredictable, the women were told that should they require to speak to a counsellor, one would be provided for them. Although none of the women requested the services of a counsellor after the interviews, they were made aware that they could contact the researcher for assistance should the need arise. The counsellor that was consulted, was briefed on the nature and sensitivity of the topic. Therefore, the counselling sessions would then be conducted anonymously should any of the participants feel shy. Earlier in this chapter (section 5.5.), the matter of the interview environment was highlighted. The women were interviewed in an environment that was conducive to their safety, and comfortability. All measures were ensured that no males were present.

5.10. Conclusion

In conclusion, the research design described and discussed in this chapter seemed to be the best suited design for this study. The implementation of a pilot study was indeed a necessary step in the process in order to determine if the interview schedule, and the research design needed refining.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter the results of the research study will be analysed and discussed, with reference to the research questions that were outlined in chapter four. Each of the research questions will be discussed in light of the data that was collected during the focus group interviews with the participants. The responses were analysed using the theories and perspectives outlined in chapters two and three in order to ascertain whether or not they were applicable to the context of this research study. For ethical purposes the names of the women are withheld and replaced with pseudonyms. The themes and their corresponding descriptions have been tabulated with an explanation of how they were identified below the table. As stated in chapter five, an inductive analytical approach was used to answer the three main research questions that were posed in chapter four. This means that the emergent themes and their associated factors were derived from the raw data, which was collected during the focus group (Nowell et. al., 2017: 8). The researcher's aim was to initially gain insight into the phenomena from the women themselves and then see if their responses aligned with the existing theory. The reason for this is, that the nature of this research study is about exploring and understanding this social phenomenon without any hindrances of theoretical pre-conceptions. This means that if an African emancipatory perspective is to be achieved, listening to what has been said by the participants is more important than judging the situation before one has a chance to understand it from the perspective of their lived experience.

6.2. Themes

To reiterate, the themes in this study were identified through inductive means and descriptions for each of the themes will be outlined below in Table 2. In addition, a discussion of the significance of the participants' responses in relation to the identification of the various themes will be presented.

Table 2

Themes and descriptions

Themes	Description
Intimate partner violence	Relates to the physical, sexual and psychological abuse that the indigenous women experienced in their lives. These experiences more specifically included physical beatings and sexual coercion. 'Corrective' punishment, the cycle of violence and trauma were identified as factors associated with experiences of intimate partner violence.
Culture	Premise is based on the influence that traditions and cultural practices have on indigenous women. A macro level perspective was taken in order to understand how certain aspects of an indigenous woman's culture affected her. Various topics such as marriage, the roles of women in the community and education, for example, are influenced by culture. This was a prominent theme in the discussions.
Universal inclusivity	The Western and European feminist ideology that homogenises women from different parts of the world, by asserting that all women are averse to the positions they hold in their respective communities. Factors such as the exclusion of an African indigenous narrative, an indigenous African

	perspective on the importance of matrimonial unions, gender and cultural relativism were identified as associated factors of this theme. Using a macro perspective, this was an important theme to address as current feminist arguments were not inclusive of indigenous African perspectives.
Womanhood	From a micro level perspective, this theme addressed the condescending labelling of women from 'developing' countries as the 'Other' woman by Western and Eurocentric feminism. This theme differs from universal inclusivity in that it discussed the complexities involved with the term 'woman' and the comparative perceptions of self-image, and acceptance from an indigenous woman's perspective. The factors associated with this theme were identified to be the self-perceived notions of beauty, as well as African womanhood.
Patriarchy	The hierarchal rule of men over women and the control, and submission that indigenous women experience due to its influence. Topics such as the effects of seniority on familial bonds were also discussed. Factors such as power and authority, education and marriage were

	highlighted to be associated factors of patriarchy.
Sexuality	The freedom of sexual expression and the lack of ownership of sexuality by indigenous women. Marital rape and sexual liberty were identified to be associated factors of sexuality.

The first of the identified six themes is intimate partner violence (IPV). During the focus group discussions, some of the participants mentioned that the experiences of IPV were attributed to a number of reasons. Some of those reasons included ‘discipline’ and the generational acceptance of how some women experienced this issue in their community. One of the participants highlighted how she experienced moments of IPV whenever she did not want to be intimate with her husband. ‘Corrective’ punishment and a cycle of violence were identified to be related factors of this theme. As is the case with the participants’ experiences of IPV, the matter of possible trauma emerged during the discussions and was identified as another related factor of IPV. The effects of IPV were discussed in order to explore the degree of pain that some women experienced, as one of the women highlighted that her experiences caused her to contemplate thoughts of suicide. This theme will be further discussed in sub-section 6.3.1.

As the term ‘culture’ has a broad definition, for the purposes of this study its definition pertaining to the values and systems of beliefs that can be witnessed through various traditions and cultural practices was used (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). For the purposes of this study, this theme was discussed from a macro level perspective as it encompassed an array of issues that pertained to the Ovahimba culture as a whole. Such issues included IPV and marriage, for example. The use of a macro level perspective was to illustrate how this theme is a prominent factor in the sustainability of the participants’ experiences. As was mentioned in the previous paragraph, the generational acceptance of any form of mistreatment was highlighted by the women to be one of the reasons for their experiences. This particular group of women stated that they were not pleased with certain aspects of their culture and would prefer it if

the beliefs supporting some practices would change. Hence, the theme of culture was identified during the focus group with the women, as it was evident that cultural practices influenced the lived experiences of these Ovahimba women. Using the quotes from the participants during the interview, this theme will be elaborately discussed in sub-section 6.3.2. to ascertain the nature of the influence that culture has on the lives of indigenous Ovahimba women.

The third and fourth themes identified in this research study are universal inclusivity and womanhood. The response to questions concerning the women's daily, lived experiences as Ovahimba women indicated how Western and Eurocentric ideations of inclusivity, and womanhood were in need of being readdressed. These two themes will be discussed from a macro and micro level respectively, as to showcase the differences between them. The majority of the women mentioned and described how their daily routines posed no hindrances for them. Contrary to the ideals of Western liberal and radical feminism, which argues that women should not be forced to stay at home as society's caretakers (Baxandall & Gordon, 2008: 420; Epure, 2014: 515; Nicholson, 2015: 4), this particular group of indigenous women emphasised that they enjoyed what they did. The Western and Eurocentric perspectives of what it means to be a woman were also challenged by the responses of the women. They stated that although thoughts of a modern life were appealing, they harboured no ill feelings towards their identity as Ovahimba women. They were proud to be associated as such and offered the researcher an opportunity to witness them in their full traditional attire. The issue of universal inclusivity is based on Western ideologies that homogenise women, and the theme of womanhood included an exploration into the topic of the 'Other' woman (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Marchand & Parpart, 2014: 28; Mulinari, 2014: 47). The applicability of the ideas that emerged from the literature to the indigenous African context, will be discussed in further detail in sub-sections 6.4.1. and 6.4.2.

Patriarchy is the fifth theme that was identified and its associated factors are power and authority, education and marriage customs (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010: 622; Dodo, 2014: 194; Mookodi, 2004: 57; Nicholson, 2014: 4). To note, despite the fact that patriarchy and culture have similar associated factors, what separates them in this study are the fundamental arguments that surround these factors. Culture addressed the influence of certain community specific belief systems and values in the lived

experiences of indigenous women, whereas the theme of patriarchy specifically addressed male influences in the form of superiority, respect and power.

One of the objectives of the questions that were asked in the focus group was to explore and understand the relationship dynamics between the women and their husbands. With specific reference to the broader issues of marriage, topics such as seniority and the strict roles that women play in their community were discussed in the focus group interviews. Moreover, if power and authority was an influential factor in how they were treated? The responses of the women indicated that any lack of respect towards their male elders resulted in dire emotional, and sometimes, physical consequences. The women mentioned how forms of defiance within marital unions was unacceptable in their community and their culture. With reference to the subject of education, this factor emerged as a by-product of the discussions in the focus group, as it was not a topic for discussion in the interview schedule. The women's responses concerning their desire to receive an education, was an indication that this particular group of indigenous African women did not want to be excluded from opportunities that could assist them in learning how to read and write. One of the women stated that knowing how to read and write was skill that she felt was needed in her life. In various rural and indigenous communities in Africa and around the world, young girls and women do not receive educational training, because patriarchal authorities do not consider such skills as necessary in the lives of women.

Lastly, marriage customs as an emergent factor were connected to patriarchy, in that many African societies value the sanctity and institution of marriage. Some of the reasons behind the reluctance of patriarchal communities to allow women the choice of marriage was discussed in the focus group. All the women agreed that they had no choice or a voice with regards to marriage. Such arrangements are made by their parents while they are still young. One of the women stated that she was married at the age of eight and another reported that Ovahimba girls as young as two years old could be engaged to their betrothed.

Finally, the sixth and last theme discussed in the focus group was sexuality. Its related factors of marital rape and sexual liberty were the most prominent subjects in the focus group, and they will be discussed and applied in sub-sections 6.5.2.1. and 6.5.2.2. respectively. The main premise of sexuality was grounded in the argument that

women, especially indigenous women, had no sexual agency of their own (Dube et. al., 2017: 5; Ekhator, 2015: 288; Randall & Venkatesh, 2015: 154). Some of the women in the group described how relationships could be formed between cousins and that sexual advances could not be refused. The success of such refusals was also not common in marital relationships, as a woman could not refuse her husband's advances. In instances where a woman did refuse her husband, he would rape her. Some of the women stated that such instances were not rare and young married girls were no exception. Factors such as patriarchy and sexuality share a fluid relationship, in that circumstances surrounding the freedom of a woman to express her sexuality are not bound by patriarchal supremacy. Although patriarchal systems define a woman's sexuality through control, this theme discusses how some indigenous women in this study challenged cultural norms. They agreed that women in their community do have extra-marital affairs, but only one of the women reported to be involved in such affairs.

6.3. Discussions pertaining to Research Question 1

The first research question asked if indigenous women would defend the way of life that they were born into. An expansion of questions pertaining to research question one aimed to explore if indigenous women would claim that their cultural practices were the norm; if indigenous women would interpret any of their experiences as mistreatment; and would they express any negative emotions, or distress with regards to their experiences. In order to gain this insight, a number of questions had to be asked in the focus group that would help to answer the above research question. These questions were grouped in such a way that would minimise the need to always go back in case of any uncertainties. That is, in essence, to avoid an irregular flow of conversation in the interview.

Questions related to the defence of their lived experiences were grouped together to allow the women to speak about the experiences in an open, yet comfortable manner. For example, questions were included that aimed to explore the dynamics of the women's relationships with members of their family, especially the female members, followed by more specific questions regarding the condition of their relationship with either their mother in-law or their husband. The reason for structuring the questions in this manner was to avoid solely focusing on issues of victimisation or abuse. By

exploring and gaining insight into the relationship dynamics that the women had with their family members, and husbands, one may be able to gain a better understanding of whether, or not these relationship factors played a role in the development of any abuse.

Other questions connected to this line of discussion also wanted to know how the participants felt about their experiences and what their view was on the matter. Allowing the participants to give their personal view of the situation was important to ensure that the main research question in this section would be answered in order to garner a holistic view. From some of the responses in the sub-sections below, much information was gathered to help shed some light on the situation.

6.3.1. Intimate partner violence (IPV)

A number of themes were identified from the responses to the questions in section three of the interview schedule. The main theme that emerged from the responses was intimate partner violence (IPV). During the focus group interviews, topics such as marital disagreements and physical violence in some of the participants' marriages were discussed. One of the women mentioned how her ordeal began when she was sexually mature enough to lay with her husband, and another participant described how her experiences were in the form of physical violence. Issues related to emotional and psychological trauma were also discussed in the focus groups, as they were linked to matters of IPV. The related factors that were highlighted from this main theme were 'corrective' punishment, the cycle of violence and trauma. These factors are related to the main theme due to their descriptive natures and applicability. They will be discussed in conjunction with the quotes from the focus group to illustrate how they were identified.

6.3.1.1. 'Corrective' punishment

In section three of the interview schedule, the women were asked about any mistreatment in their marital relationships, whether it be physical or verbal. Three of the married women said that they did experience such situations. The fourth woman, whose name will be Faith for purposes of anonymity, felt that she could not comment, because she did not spend much time at her husband's house before moving to the capital city. The inclusion of this seemingly small piece of information provided insight into whether or not a certain length of time influenced the onset of mistreatment during

marriage, and subsequently the experience of it. The first woman, Precious, said the following:

"I was married at eight years old. When I became older and my husband wanted to have sexual relations with me, I would refuse. Every time I said no, he would hit me."

Such sentiments are reminiscent of Rajan's (2018: 10) study that was highlighted in chapter three (sub-section 3.2.1.2.). In her study on Tibetan women, she reported that the majority of the interviewees agreed to the physical disciplining of wives. One of the interviewees stated that extreme beating of a man's wife is understandable if the punishment matched the severity of the offenses (Rajan, 2018: 10). Those interviewed in Rajan's (2018: 10) study agreed that it was needed in order to keep a woman disciplined, as supported by another interviewee who stated that she had asked her husband to beat her after she believed to be at fault (Rajan, 2018: 11). Similarly, Tenkorang et. al.'s (2016: 13) study also showed that one of the reasons why violent behaviour remained prevalent in relationships was due to women's belief that physical violence could resolve domestic quarrels.

Breiding et. al. (2017: 7) and WHO (2012: 2) described IPV as a public health issue that needed to be readdressed with more urgency, as it has numerous physical and psychological implications associated with it. For example, depression, chronic pains, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and broken bones (Breiding et. al., 2017: 7; WHO, 2012: 5). Moreover, IPV could manifest itself through physical, psychological (emotional), and sexual acts of aggressive behaviour (WHO, 2012: 1). This theme was discussed and explained in depth in chapter three and focused on how different elements of IPV such as physical, psychological and sexual abuse were used to control women (Breiding et. al., 2014: 7; Burnette & Cannon, 2014: 4; Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289; Olive, 2012: 1).

As can be recalled in sub-section 3.2.1.1., learned helplessness was used to explain why women stayed in abusive relationships. The literature outlined one of the reasons, which was that women internally accepted that there was no longer a way to escape their situation (Dutton, 1993: 1197; Walker, 2006: 145). Elements of learned helplessness include the perceived inability to leave an abusive relationship, self-blame and the inclusion of the cycle of violence (Dutton, 1993: 1197; Walker, 2006:

145). This cycle involves three phases, namely the tension building phase, the battering incident (violent physical contact such as beatings or kicking) and finally, the honeymoon phase in which the aggressor apologises with gifts and words (Allard, 1991: 192; Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 453). The inclusion of this theory in this sub-section is merely to illustrate the connection and subtle nuance between the factors of 'corrective' punishment and the cycle of violence; of which the latter will be discussed below as its own sub-theme.

6.3.1.2. Cycle of violence

The researcher asked the married women what type of relationship they had with their husbands. The aim was to explore and understand the dynamics of their relationship.

When asked by the researcher how their husbands provided for them, Agatha said,

> *"If my husband sees that I haven't eaten meat in a while, then he will slaughter a goat for me to eat. If he goes to Opuwo (a town near their village), then he will buy some things for me and bring it to the village. We get proper treatment on how our husbands can afford it."*

However, when asked whether or not their husbands would physically assault them, she had this to say,

> *"Sometimes he would hit me with his hands, or he would go outside and fetch a tree branch, and use that to hit me."*

When the researcher probed to find out how it made her feel, she replied,

> *"I would cry and he would leave me to calm down. After that he would say that he is sorry and then we move on."*

Precious spoke of her experience.

> *"I would run to my family's home, but I would just get sent back to my husband's house."*

Silvia and Agatha also concurred with experiences of this type of abuse. All three women agreed in their responses that no matter how much they complained to their family members, they would get sent back to their husbands. The researcher probed further and enquired if the chief of their village got involved in such domestic disputes.

All the women, both single and married, said that he doesn't as they are not considered to be grievous matters. However, upon further probing, only Precious' responses clarified how she ended up moving to the capital city. She said that there came a point in her marriage, where she realised that the situation became unbearable. After realising that, she left and came to the city. One must keep in mind that she was married off at the tender age of eight. The other two women were not so clear in their responses.

Walker (2006: 145) explained that women who experience constant physical violence from their partners get caught in a cycle of violence. This cycle would include a repetitive motion of small triggers, violent bouts of abuse and the honeymoon phase. It is within this last phase that most women are made to believe that everything will be fine. Other symptoms would most probably also be psychological and emotional distress, and self-blame for the problems (Savage, 2006: 762). From Agatha's response above, this honeymoon phase could help to explain why many of the women in the villages choose to stay in their marriages. This point may be further clarified by what Agatha had to say:

> *"Yes, we do fight and have conflicts. Sometimes we fight at night and then the next day we are fine. Typical marriage problems."*

The second woman in the group, who will be named Silvia, did not respond verbally, but nodded in agreement with Agatha.

One reason for this honeymoon phase's constant renewal, may be the fact that these women are dependent on their spouses for much of their basic needs. According to Walker (2006: 145) and Dutton (1993: 1233), one of the reasons that keep some women in abusive relationships is the inability to provide for themselves. Since they have no other means of maintaining their daily basic needs, they rely heavily on their spouses to do so. This then pushes and keeps them in a financially precarious position that they struggle to overcome (Dutton, 1993: 1233). The aforementioned points can be supported by Agatha's descriptive quote earlier in this sub-section, of how her husband supports her. Regardless of the fact that the women ended up leaving their homes, in hopes of finding a better life in the city, the existence of aggressive behaviour towards some women in indigenous communities is evident from the quotes.

As Precious pointed out earlier in this section, the ordeal of being forced to be with someone against her will, and not receiving help from her family, gave her the motivation to leave. Other women such as Agatha and Silvia were not clear on their exact reasons for leaving, but from Agatha's response, it may seem that the harmful treatment she received from her husband contributed to her departure. Whether or not all women in indigenous communities experience a cycle of violence in their relationships will require more research in the future. Especially, in order to determine the reasons that influenced their decisions to either remain in their relationship or to leave their community.

Hence, based on the responses from the participants, the explanations of learned helplessness could not be applied to this specific group of indigenous women. This point is argued, because even though only one of the women made it clear why she left her home, it is evident that some of these indigenous women do not consider themselves completely helpless, as they were all able to leave their village to live in the city. Some women also feel comfortable to return to visit, although this is not a sentiment shared by everyone. Therefore, this theory cannot be broadly applied to their situation. From the individual responses there is evidence to suggest that macro level perspectives such as cultural embeddedness, which refers to how deeply ingrained a specific culture is within an individual (Davidov et. al., 2014: 268), may be more appropriate to explain this finding. This is discussed in more detail in sub-section 6.3.2. It must be noted that although this explanation of learned helplessness does not provide a complete explanation of the findings in this study, there is no reason to discard the possibilities that it may be applicable to women in other indigenous communities, or those still living in a traditional environment. Further research may assist in this regard. In addition, although the participants eluded to broader macro level factors such as culture and patriarchy as reasons for the sustainability of their experiences, these factors will be discussed later as they could provide a more complete explanation for these women's lived experiences.

As has been reiterated throughout this research study, an African perspective may be the key to truly understand what it is these women go through. Only with further research can this be possible, as the voices of indigenous women need to be heard outside of the existing Western theoretical frameworks. Renzetti (2016: 45) and Flavin (2001: 274) argued that feminism, especially in criminology, needed to reposition itself

by putting emphasis on the participant's personal narrative. This narrative should be the guiding tool that will offer a better insight into the lived experiences of women, because 20th century criminological research focused more on the results of the study and less on the participant (Renzetti, 2016: 45; Flavin, 2001: 274). Additionally, Rajan (2018: 9) confronted this academic dilemma in her study, whereby she acknowledged harbouring her own preconceived ideas concerning the nature of her study. She elaborated that it was important that the perceptions of feminist researchers should not expect the perceptions of others to automatically align with theirs (Rajan, 2018: 20). The rationale that was discussed in this research study, pointed out that European and Western narratives should not be the sole voice that speaks for indigenous women. Specifically, African indigenous women. The sentiments made by Rajan (2018: 9), therefore align with the findings of this study and the rationale concerning the importance of an African narrative. More so, as some of the women in this study did not consider their situations hopeless.

6.3.1.3. Trauma

An example of symptoms of trauma would include anxiety, depression and even loneliness (Courtois, 2004: 413). This case in point was made clear by Precious, when asked if she would return to her husband's house.

"My in-laws want me to return, because they still see me as the wife.
If my father forces me to go back, I might go, but if I do, then I will
just commit suicide."

This bold declaration, however, was said with melancholy as she stated how much she missed her children.

None of the women made it clear whether or not they blamed themselves for what had happened to them. No probing was done with regards to this, as the researcher noticed that some participants became quiet and slightly distant. This may have been, because of Precious' response. Upon observation it was noticeable that Precious was caught in two places: the love for her children or her freedom. This observation was further made apparent when she had this to say, after being asked if she ever had thoughts of suicide.

"Yes, I have thought of killing myself, because of what was happening."

Although, self-blame was not part of the equation (cycle of violence) for this specific group of women in this research study, only one of the four women showed subtle signs of emotional and psychological distress. These subtle signs were noticeable in the way that Precious spoke about her children and how she could not take them with her to the city. As mentioned earlier, she stated that she missed them a lot, but the thought of returning to her husband was holding her back. This would then suggest that, within this specific group of indigenous women, subtlety, when discussing potentially challenging experiences, may be an indicator of a precarious situation.

This is explained by Flynn (2008: 219) where she states that individuals exposed to trauma, in whatever form it may take, tend to disconnect. This disconnection may come as a result of one's basic trust being violated, thus injuring what connections the individual may have with others in their family or social circle. In sub-section 6.3.1.2., trust was an underlying factor in Precious' case. She had mentioned how her family had sent her back to her husband every time she left. The reason for using this situation as an example to further explain disconnection is, because she was the only participant to go into deeper detail about the early stages of her marriage. These early stages began when she was eight years old. Children at such delicate ages are prone to trusting adults easily, as they always expect to be safe. However, when trust is broken at an early age, it may form trust issues within individuals as they approach adulthood (Flynn, 2008: 219). Another possible motivation for this disconnection, may be in the lack of involvement from the chief of the village. As was highlighted earlier, the women said that he didn't get involved in such matters.

6.3.2. Culture

Both the single and married women in the focus group, agreed that since they were born into their culture, and witnessed their mothers' experience, they accepted it as a way of life. From the responses, the majority of the women in their village share their beliefs regarding various matters that may come up in a marriage. Agatha had this to say on the matter,

"Because our mothers went through it as well, we accepted it as how things must be. Our mothers stayed in the relationship and that was our example."

In the earlier sub-sections, the issue of culture's influence in the lived experiences of indigenous women was discussed from a more micro perspective in order to understand their plights on an intimate level. However, in this sub-section, culture as its own theme will be discussed from a broader macro perspective, as various elements of its influence involve the beliefs and value systems of the community that these women come from. In chapter one, this theme was defined as a concept and in chapters two, and three it was further discussed as a plausible reason for the victimisation of indigenous women in Africa. In chapters two and three, it was argued that the constant existence of certain cultures was becoming a threat to the livelihoods of indigenous women. Certain traditional practices that are still ongoing in modern times, may be a contributing factor for the victimisation of indigenous women. The definition of culture that was conceptualised in chapter one (sub-section 1.2.3.), postulated that culture is a system of beliefs and values that is emulated through traditions, and various practices (Guest, 2014: 35; Sewell, 2005: 39). It was suggested in the rationale (sub-question 4.1.1.) that culture could be used as an element to justify why indigenous women continue living their lives under traditional practices that others would consider harmful.

River, one of the single women said,

"There is nothing we can do about it. We found the culture like that, so we accept it."

Agatha further commented by saying,

"If you run away from your husband's house to your parent's house, they send you back. It is not their problem, because you are married now."

From the responses, one may deduce that the elders of their village do not interfere with customs and practices that have been a part of their lives for generations. The fact that the women get sent back to their husband's house, may be the elders' ways of showing their daughters that this is a life that they must accept. The aforementioned

circumstances were also described in Dube et. al.'s (2017: 5) study of condom usage in customary marriages. The women in their study stated that it was dishonourable if they returned to their family's home. Their aunts would send them back and tell them that being a married woman meant prevailing against difficult situations. Furthermore, in African culture a woman does not challenge her husband (Dube et. al., 2017: 5).

To briefly reiterate what Agatha said earlier in this sub-section, the women accept such forms of abuse, because it is a way of life that their mothers and grandmothers have known. This matter is further discussed in sub-sections 6.3.1.2. and 6.3.1.3, where the women explain that such issues are typical of any marriage.

Both the single and married women in the focus group were asked what their opinion was on their culture, and if they wanted anything to change. The majority of them were adamant that they loved their culture and who they were, but were also happy at the little changes the government made. For example, River and Agatha said that they were glad with how the government provided for them medically, and that the men in their village were not completely opposed to it.

"We are happy that we can go to the hospital and get injections for diseases. We are also ok with the fact that we must go to the hospital to give birth." – River

Even with that having been said, there were certain aspects of such developments that they did not like. Carol mentioned how they did not like what happened to the children after they would get vaccinations. Apparently, the area around the injection wound would swell up, and the children would develop a fever. This experience with Western medicine could then possibly explain why some governments are reluctant to assist indigenous communities. It was highlighted that health officials did not properly attend to indigenous people, due to prejudices such as viewing them as uncivilised people (van Rooy et. al., 2012: 765; Wodon et. al., 2010: 2). Therefore, some indigenous people would rather use traditional medicines such as herbs to help them recover from their ailments (Wodon et. al., 2010: 2). It is clear that there is some support regarding Western medicine and the benefits of being exposed to it. However, it is unclear whether or not certain negative aspects of its use has prevented some Ovahimba from using it, as the women did not clarify on such information. The issue of the government's actual view of the interaction between Western medicine and the

Ovahimba is a subject that requires extensive research in the future. Although they have made provisions for them, the overall success of medicinal policy applications in the Ovahimba culture also requires an in depth study in the future.

From the discussions concerning the first research question, the theme of intimate partner violence was identified. Much of what was discussed seems to pertain to this theme and is evident from the different responses in sub-sections 6.3.1.2. and 6.3.1.3. Even though this term was not specifically used as such by the women, the notion of trauma could possibly be linked with it. This connection may exist due to the responses that the women gave. Precious' experience caused her to consider if suicide was an option to end her suffering, and the other married women in the group had to endure being sent back to their husband's house after they fled to their paternal homes. Referring back to what Flynn (2008: 219) and Courtois (2004: 413) spoke about regarding trauma and psychological distress respectively, the factor of culture may have an impact on the way indigenous women perceive and understand their world. This factor will be further discussed in sub-section 6.5.1.3. as it has links to the topic of marriage. Referring to the theme of culture, despite the symptoms of trauma that is evident from the discussions in this section, the indigenous women in this study stated that they were proud to be Ovahimba. Although there was not much that they could do about their circumstances, that however, did not deter them from being content as women of the Ovahimba and being content with their culture. With that being said, it is also clear that the generational systems of belief regarding marital violence is sustained due to culture. Particularly, in the culture of these indigenous women.

6.4. Discussions pertaining to Research Question 2

In exploring the applicability of certain theories that were highlighted and discussed in chapter two, the second research question wanted to know whether or not the use of an intersectional approach would provide a more accurate understanding of the lived experiences of indigenous African women; instead of using existing Western/Eurocentric feminist theories. The sub-questions that could assist in answering the second research question aimed to explore if gender was an influential factor in the roles of indigenous women in their communities. In addition, it also questioned if culture influenced the perception of indigenous women's lived experiences, and if the personal narratives of indigenous women's lived experiences

could contribute to the emancipation of African feminist theories from Western/Eurocentric ideologies?

Questions that pertained to gender roles and womanhood were asked. That is, how do they view themselves in comparison with the women in their village? In essence, it was important to explore and understand what this particular group of indigenous women's perspectives were regarding perceptions of their own physical appearance, and whether or not their roles as women in their community influenced their lived experiences as indigenous Ovahimba women (see sections one and two of the interview schedule). The two themes that emerged from the data were universal inclusivity and womanhood. These two themes were illuminated during the focus group in instances where the responses of the women lacked any shame, or abhorrence for their positions as women in their community. On the contrary, showcasing their cultural pride as Ovahimba women is important to them, as certain facets of their culture and roles in the community were a testament that not all their experiences as indigenous women constituted a need to rebel. As some of the women pointed out in the discussions, not being beautiful and modern does not make them less a part of the female gender, nor do they feel the need to reject their identities as indigenous Ovahimba women.

The factors associated with universal inclusivity include the narratives of indigenous African women, cultural relativism, gender and the importance of marriage in African culture. Whereas the associated factors of womanhood are self-perceptions of femininity and the notion of African womanhood. The two themes will be discussed below and quotes from the focus group discussion relevant to the themes will be presented and discussed, in relation to existing perspectives.

6.4.1. Universal inclusivity

The participants said that in the village, it is the women who build the huts and that the men rarely assist them, unless it is absolutely necessary. The women are responsible for making the food, cleaning, fetching the water from a local water source, and they are also the caretakers of the children. The men are solely responsible for taking care of the livestock and for ensuring that there is food to eat. This division of labour and specified gender roles does not seem to have any opposition to it. Agatha explained,

on behalf of the women in the focus group, how they felt about such specified roles by saying that,

"We enjoy what we do. There is nothing we don't like. It is like driving a car. After some time, you get used to it, when doing it over and over."

The theme of universal inclusivity was identified from the discussions and factors such as gender and culture were highlighted as subjects of interest. These discussions were linked to two of the research questions that were mentioned earlier in this section. The criticisms that were presented and discussed in chapter two highlighted that feminist theories universally included all women in their agenda for liberation (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 7; Nicholson, 2015: 4; Simmonds, 2011: 17). Feminist theories have often concluded that women worldwide seek to be on equal footing with their male counterparts. However, this automatic camaraderie amongst women was harshly criticised for only including the white woman's perspective and beliefs (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Maddison & Partridge, 2014: 28). Therefore, the discussions in this sub-section will be from a macro perspective, as the nature of this theme includes an array of arguments that pertain to broader feminist issues. Below is a brief summary of the major arguments of Western and Eurocentric liberal, and radical feminist movements. It is included in this sub-section to give insight into this theme in terms of why Western and Eurocentric ideations of feminism may not be applicable in an indigenous African context.

Firstly, liberal feminist movements existed, because the women who believed in them protested to ensure that all women received the same access to resources and opportunities as men (Epure, 2015: 515). Whether these resources and opportunities were in social, political and legal domains, liberal feminists marched to surpass the barriers that prevented women from being passive caretakers of their homes (Epure, 2015: 515). Furthermore, emphasis in this movement was on gender equality and men, and women had to share the responsibilities in a relationship. Other points on their agenda was the sexual and reproductive ownership of women's bodies by women, including proper access to education (Baxandall & Gordon, 2008: 420; Chilisa & Nsteane, 2010: 622; Coomaraswamy, 2003: 487). The agenda of radical feminism on the other hand, aimed to completely segregate women from the patriarchal

supremacy that they find themselves in (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Wacjman, 2010: 146). Whether this supremacy was in the form of marriage, militarianism, politics or even medicine, women had to be radically liberated from their disarmed positions; for example, sexual, medical and economic positions. To summarise, radical feminists believed that women did not need men in order to become successful, nor did women have to conform to the social, and patriarchal position of housewife (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Thompson, 2001: 4).

After analysing the responses and the literature, it is doubtful for feminist theories to include the opinions of women from other walks of life, without adequately exploring how their lived experiences affect them. This more so, with regards to indigenous women. Although the focus group was a small representation of the larger group, their sentiments lead one to critically note that they don't feel the so-called burden of certain female responsibilities. On the contrary, they embrace it. Therefore, in light of the discussion under this theme, the findings do not support the liberal and radical agendas of liberation. As was discussed in the rationale for this question, Western perceptions of gender roles presumed that women from various backgrounds all felt the need to be liberated from the socially constructed image of the ideal housewife (Epure, 2015: 515). However, due to the responses from the women, it is clear that feminist theories and movements are too quick to involve indigenous women in their equation.

This observation can then be further linked to the critique that feminism did not acknowledge that women from different races faced hardships in various ways (Henne, 2017: 6). Another critique pointed out that feminism judged the successes of women against that of men too harshly. Moreover, many women around the world are not threatened by the idea of marriage and the experience of motherhood is welcomed (Nicholson, 2015: 4). Lastly, it is evident that the word feminism is liberally associated with all women and confirms some of the limitations of Western feminist perspectives that critics pointed out (Simmonds, 2011: 18).

With regards to cultural relativism, the literature stated that even though a few moral judgements are valid for every culture, one moral judgement could not be universally valid (Tilly, 2001: 5). This means that, certain moral judgements cannot be universally applied to all cultures, as those judgements may not be viewed by those cultures to

be sound. Therefore, with regards to cultural practices, judgements need to be made and understood within the context of that specific culture (Tilly, 2001: 3).

The rationale for this second question argued that Western and Eurocentric ideologies of cultural harm on individuals should be addressed with concern, as certain cultures victimised people. Moreover, the protection of cultures promoted the continued existence of certain harmful cultural practices, and the lack of interventions on the part of the law required reassessment (Maluleke, 2012: 2; Rautenbach et. al., 2003: 15; Zechenter, 1997: 328). In essence, it is acknowledged that certain traditional practices are harmful to the individuals that experience them and therefore, there needs to be interventions put in place to assist where possible. However, it is also important to include an understanding of the context as mentioned by Tilly (2001: 3) when he says that those who are foreign to a certain culture and its practices should not impose their judgements, as they have no context and comprehension of that specific culture, and its traditions. Rautenbach et. al. (2003: 15) stated that it is a challenge for government to maintain an equilibrium between an individual's constitutional rights and the rights of the collective. Therefore, a culture's position under the law should be readdressed as some practices infringe on the rights of others (Maluleke, 2012: 18; Kaganas & Murray, 1994: 17). However, in light of the findings pertaining to this subject, the responses from the women indicate that such arguments regarding the universal application of morals cannot be supported. The statements made by Tilly (2001: 5) align with the responses given, as the women did not perceive certain aspects of their cultural norms to be of a victimising nature.

The women were asked if they wanted some areas of their culture to change. Precious and Carol had this to say,

"We like the modern life, but we still like our tradition." – Precious

"It is only the marriage part that I wish was different." – Carol

With regards to any harmful cultural practices such as virginity testing in the Ovahimba culture, the women replied that they did not practice it.

The women had mentioned on more than one occasion during the focus group that they would like to learn how to read and write better in English. However, they didn't appear to be bothered by certain parts of their lives, that Western feminist theories

assumed they would be. These parts would include motherhood, their daily responsibilities in the village and living their lives with a man as the head of their household. For this particular group of indigenous women, the judgements that cultural relativism was referring to (universally valid versus locally valid) do not apply to them. The idea of locally valid moral judgements may be valid for a few cultures, however, they cannot apply to all cultures. This means that, one culture's judgements of right or wrong, cannot be universally applied to all cultures (Tilly, 2001: 5). Subsequently, locally valid moral judgements are not considered to be wrong according to that specific culture (Tilly, 2001: 5). Furthermore, the data collected from the focus group details how some women in this world do not consider it a burden to be a housewife. The women in this research study have made it clear on a number of occasions that they are proud of their culture, and happy to be a part of it. They do not consider their daily chores a nuisance and for those who are mothers, have had no regrets.

Be that as it may, nuances that exist in this group of Ovahimba women cause one to explore the dynamics of their relationship with their culture. At certain points there is evidence of victimisation and abuse, which seemed to have caused some of the women emotional distress, however, on the other hand, the modernised world is not tempting enough for them to leave their culture and traditions. Indeed, even though there have been in depth discussions about the problems that some of these women faced in their marriages, it would seem unwarranted for them to be automatically included in an unknown feminist movement. Therefore, this theme may not be applicable due to the scope of this study. Future research including larger and more diverse samples will have to be conducted in order to explore the applicability of universal inclusivity to an African indigenous context. Concerning the influence that gender may have on the roles of indigenous women, the women in this study openly expressed that they are content with their roles in their indigenous community and harbour no feelings of burden towards those roles. As Agatha pointed out earlier in this theme, doing chores is not an obstacle for them, because they have become accustomed to the routines involved and they enjoy them.

6.4.2. Womanhood

The fourth theme that was identified was that of womanhood. This theme emerged from the participants' responses and its main premise rests on the notion that the

perception of being a woman cannot be confined to just one ideology. Part of anyone's lived experience has to do with their internal state of mind. That is, how they perceive, and accept themselves. The researcher asked all the women in the focus group how they viewed themselves, in terms of self-image. Below are some of the responses from the women:

"I like to wear my traditional clothes. The full outfit. I like to wear them, because I feel good in them. I love myself, even though I wish I could have lived a better life than this one. But I still love myself." – Precious

"I love my body and when I wear my traditional clothes." – Carol

"I like my face." – River

"We feel beautiful when we go back to the village, because we are coming from the city." – Agatha

"I like being modern (wearing Western clothing), but I miss my traditional outfit. I like it a lot, but I just don't have enough money to buy the full outfit. When I do get money, I will buy it, because I love it." – Naomi

"I would like to become modern." – Ruth

However, there was a change in perception when they were asked how they felt, when they compared themselves to other women in their village.

"Yes, we do compare ourselves. God made us in a bad way. We know we have flaws, but there is nothing we can do about it, because God gave us these looks." – Agatha

"My hair is shorter than others and I don't like that. Yes, I have an ugly foot. I have an ugly foot, but it was given to me by the Lord. So, I accept it." – River

"I don't like that I have a big stomach. It's big." – Carol

Although the terms beautiful and happy are indicative of subjective Western terms, they were included in the interview schedule, because they are terms that are heard

in different languages by all women; albeit their complex associations with Western standards (Yan & Bissell, 2014: 195). Women around the world have had to live up to the standards of white beauty that was set by Western media, resulting in some women disregarding their culture and traditions to 'fit in' (Yan & Bissell, 2014: 194). Marchand and Parpart (2003: 7) criticise Western feminism as portraying Western and European women as the perfect idols of feminism. In doing so, their actions have inadvertently condescended the 'Other' woman by making her seem poor, passive and in need of charity. Hence, the development goals that were fiercely lobbied by Western and Eurocentric feminists presumed that the 'Other' woman from developing countries around the world, should also be saved and developed (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 7; Wood, 2001: 430). According to Wood (2001: 430) these development goals were based on the idea that one woman's needs are a reflection of every other woman's. Finally, Simmonds (2011: 17) emphasises on these points by stating that the imported framework of Western/*Pākeha* feminism is biased and does not take into account the emotional and spiritual challenges that affect the lived experiences of indigenous women.

Unlike the previous theme in this section, the crux of womanhood is to explore and understand the lived experiences of indigenous women from a micro level perspective, by gaining insight into the intimate thoughts that shape their identity as indigenous Ovahimba women in comparison to other women. Fundamentally, this theme debates the need to question the authenticity of being a woman according to the standards of Western and Eurocentric ideologies. There are a variety of different perceptions amongst certain groups of women, yet they should not be the reason that cause women from different cultures or backgrounds to condescend one another (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 7; Marchand & Parpart, 2014: 28). By that, one means to say that whatever challenges emerge in a woman's life, it should not be the place of another to decide if such matters take precedence or not.

Many of the ideologies of Western/Eurocentric feminist theories have come under severe scrutiny (Daly, 2008: 10; Henne, 2017: 1). These ideologies include the term 'Other' woman and its association with women from developing countries. In addition, how feminist theories have homogeneously grouped women, forgetting the complexities of sameness (Marchand & Parpart, 2003: 6; Kinnaird & Momsen, 2002: 4). These criticisms come as a result of a misrepresentation of the African woman,

and especially the indigenous African woman. A false belief, and interpretation by international scholars according to many African feminist scholars such as Adefarakan (2011: 44) and Bakare-Yusuf (2003: 119), is that some African women consider themselves to be victims and helpless. They argue that it is not the case and that a deeper investigation into the lives of indigenous women has to be conducted (Adefarakan, 2011: 44).

On that account, regarding the arguments of such criticisms and the narratives of the indigenous women in this research study, it can be concluded that, thus far, in accordance with the results of the study, there is a need to emancipate the lived experiences of indigenous women from Western/Eurocentric feminist ideations. Indeed, women in this research study did state that they were happy to receive medical treatment and services for diseases, and childbirth (sub-section 6.3.1.1.). However, the majority of them showed content with their culture, notwithstanding one or two issues, for example, marriage. Nonetheless, this research study must recognise Ruth's quote in this sub-section, where she stated that she would like to become modern. This recognition is necessary as it may be a basis for further research on the opinions of indigenous women regarding modernity. Once again, the reason being that this small group of women cannot be used as a generalised representation of the entire Ovahimba tribe.

6.5. Discussions pertaining to Research Question 3

Finally, research question three wanted to explore if institutional and structural factors influenced the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women. These structural and institutional factors were highlighted to be power and authority that is given to men, marriage customs and the prohibition of expressing sexual freedom.

One of the first questions in this category aimed to explore what type of relationship some of the women had with their husbands (see section three of the interview schedule). Other questions wanted to know what the women's daily interactions were like with the men in their village. Were they aggressively coerced by some men in their village in any way? How did they feel about such events when they took place? The questions related to the social relationship between the women and the men in their village were asked in order to explore what dynamics influenced, and possibly affected their perception of the men. Moreover, did their chief get himself involved in any way

if complaints of aggressive behaviour were brought before him (see section four of the interview schedule). Questions such as the aforementioned were asked to explore and understand whether or not, the chief's patriarchal influence negatively affected the lived experiences of the women.

The two main themes that emerged from the data were patriarchy and sexuality. The factors associated with these two main themes were identified to be power and authority, education, and marriage; as well as marital rape and sexual liberty, respectively. These themes and their associated factors will be presented below.

6.5.1. Patriarchy

Patriarchy has historically been a constant dominant force in African societies. During the focus group, factors related to patriarchal systems of belief emerged in the discussions. These beliefs included elements of seniority, superiority and submission. The women in the group concurred that the senior role that their fathers played in their lived experiences, was quite influential concerning matters related to marital unions. Their submissive positions as women were particularly evident in the discussions pertaining to marriage, wherein no confrontations or resistance is made on their part. As one of the women's responses highlighted, the emotional connection to their elders is imperative to them, ergo keeping cultural traditions alive.

According to the empirical literature that was discussed in chapter three (sub-section 3.3.1.), the matter of patriarchy has made it quite challenging for women to own their independence. In countries around the world such as India, Nigeria, Iraq, Algeria, Malawi and Namibia, patriarchy has maintained its dominance; regardless of many lobbied protests by feminists (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3516; Dube et. al., 2017: 5; Landinfo, 2018: 10). Although patriarchy is not an institution, it was identified as a main theme due to the constant resurgence of specific patriarchal elements, such as the ones mentioned above, in the responses. These structural and social institutions will be discussed below as identified factors in order to answer the research question in chapter four.

6.5.1.1. Power and authority

In the interview schedule, the women were asked what the nature of the relationship with their husbands was like. Two of the women responded by saying:

Agatha stated that they had a typical marital relationship.

"One day it would be good and the other it would be bad."

Silvia had this to say about her marriage:

"I have no problems with my husband. We get along well."

Faith, the youngest of the four married women, did not have much to say as she had been at her husband's house only once, before running away. It was not made known for how long Faith lived with her husband, and she declined to elaborate further on the matter. With regards to their daily duties and where men fit into the activities of the day (section one, question 1.4.), Precious and Agatha replied,

"In the morning when the sun rises, we prepare food for the boys before they go out and herd the goats, or cattle. If it is the rainy season, we go do the gardening work, and if it is any other season, then we will stay inside and work on our traditional clothes, our hair, or anything that has to do with home chores." – Precious

"We go fetch the water in the morning and in the evening. During the day, just like the Owambos, we grind mahangu. We also go fetch wood and grind it, so that we can make a specific kind of powder. If the men are not busy with the cattle, then they will be at home sitting, doing nothing or waiting for food to eat." – Agatha

Power and authority as a related factor of patriarchy was discussed in chapters one, two and three. The main argument surrounding this social factor of patriarchy is how it is used to subdue women (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Mookodi, 2004: 57). This is not only enforced through physical violence, but women can also be psychologically abused through coercion. Radical feminists have protested since the 1970's to remove women from their subjugated sexual and social oppression by patriarchy (Nicholson, 2015: 4; Mohr Carney & Barner, 2012: 289). In Africa, power and authority are viewed to be elements of patriarchy. They are most prominent in the relationship of married women, and familial politics. That is, women are under the submission of their fathers, and when they get married this submission is transferred to her marriage, therefore keeping her constantly under control (Ambunda & de Klerk, 2008: 48; Bakare-Yusuf,

2003: 132; Mookodi, 2004: 57). Referring to Allen and Devitt's (2012: 3518) study in Liberia, religion and culture were amongst the reasons why men are believed to be more powerful than women.

To shed some more light onto the politics of power and authority in familial environments, Precious mentioned a piece of miscellaneous information that could assist in this regard.

> *"Our husbands are chosen for us while we are babies. We are given beaded necklaces by our fathers. If we don't get married to the person that our fathers have chosen for us, or if we do not do some things that he wants us to do, then we cannot go to his funeral. We are forbidden from going there. So we get married, because we want to be at our father's funeral. Because I was the one who broke off my marriage, my father said I must take off my necklace. It was my uncles who convinced him to let me wear it again." – Precious*

During the focus group, Precious spoke about her father. The beaded necklace spoken of in the quote represents her father's love for her, and that she was his favourite. However, since she ran away from her husband's house, she was expected to return the necklace. This small piece of information may be considered significant, in the sense that it depicts an honest familial bond between a father and his daughter. The above quote will also be presented under the factor of marriage (sub-section 6.5.1.3.), however, its presence in this sub-section was merely to illustrate how authority and power influence the decision making responsibilities in indigenous communities.

Bakare-Yusuf (2003: 132) argues that power and authority cannot be solely linked to seniority. Gender also plays a vital role, therefore, the complexities of power, gender and seniority need to be reassessed more intricately. Focusing on the nature of the relationship that the women have with their husbands, it seems apparent that the nuances which exist make it difficult to conclude exactly how any of the married women actually feel towards their husbands. More especially, when considering the discussions in the previous sections of this chapter.

From the above discussions, it is clear that power and authority do have an effect on the lived experiences of these indigenous women. For example, Precious' love and

respect for her father, and how his authority, and that of the community, influenced her to make decisions that she would seemingly choose not to make. Moreover, from the observations and how she spoke about him, this may be indicative of her profound respect for him and not fear of him. From her quote, it is apparent that the women love their fathers immensely and it would seem as if they are willing to sacrifice their happiness in order for them to be permitted to attend their funeral. This choice will be further discussed under the sub-theme of marriage (sub-section 6.5.1.3.).

Lastly, to support this argument of power and authority, Chaudhuri et. al., (2014: 143) speak of patriarchal bargaining, whereby women manage within the constraints of patriarchal conditions using strategies which include bargaining. In their study (see sub-section 3.5.1.) 41% of the women with histories of abuse, reported that the pressure to marry was due to patriarchal bargaining. This difficult settlement between a woman's need for unrestrained independence and yielding to the restrictions on her independence, can be defined as a result of scripts and rules that regulate the dynamics of gender (Chaudhuri et. al., 2014: 143).

6.5.1.2. Education

During the focus group, the topic of education was broached. The question concerning education was not part of the interview schedule, but due to the nature of semi-structured interviews, it was addressed. When asked about their education, Naomi said that she went up to grade ten. Other than Naomi, only one other participant said that she went to school.

"I went up until grade four." – Ruth

Many patriarchal societies believe that since women are meant to be at home and raise children, there is no need to stretch financial resources by educating them.

"I want to know how to write. Even now, I cannot write "How are you?" I would like to know how to write it properly." – Carol

The women revealed that a number of young women are insisting on receiving an education, and becoming modern. According to Carol, the elderly women in their villages do not oppose such a decision, and some young women have gone to school. Still, not many have become successful in receiving the best education possible and have no choice, but to return to the village or stay in the city trying to make ends meet.

The responses above show how the women feel with regards to education. Some went as far as high school, but were not able to complete their education. Apart from Naomi and Ruth, the other women did not attend school.

The discussions regarding the education opportunities of young girls and women, highlighted how they do not have access to education as a result of patriarchal, and cultural preferences towards boys and men (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010: 622; Coomaraswamy, 2003: 487). In reference to the study by McCloskey et. al. (2005: 128) that was conducted in Tanzania, some of the reasons for the abuse were attributed to a lack of education. Similarly, Reece et. al. (2010: 272) reported that adult women (12%) who practiced condom usage, attributed it to their education; of which many had bachelor degrees.

When the researcher asked them what their relationship with the other women in their village was like with regards to the topic of their city life, Precious and Carol had this to say,

> *"In the village the people there don't know what we know. We wear these cloths to cover ourselves, because we are in the city. We also do not sleep on the ground anymore, because we now know that it is dirt. So when we go back to the village we know better. We know that we cannot sleep on the ground, because it is dirt. We are wiser now." – Precious*

> *"Other women in our village get jealous. They are jealous, because we were able to come to the city. So when they get jealous, they use juju (witchcraft) to hurt us. Many women have died, because of the juju." – Carol*

The above quote by Carol concerning the use of witchcraft on indigenous Ovahimba women who return to the village, elicits a need to explore the phenomena with future research. It would seem that being educated has its negative effects. The issue of women on women victimisation confirms the literature in chapter three (sub-section 3.5.2.). It argued that in some instances, those inflicting the abuse are women (Okereke, 2006: 15; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008: 8). Kapuma (2012: 64) explained that the elder women are embedded in their cultural ways and so do not consider

certain aspects of culture to be wrong. Such acts of women victimising one another were discussed in chapter three.

From the responses related to this factor, the women have a desire to be educated. As was stated by Precious, they know better with regards to certain aspects of life that they did not know before. For example, that sleeping on the ground was dirty. Although they were aware of their financial status, it did not dampen their hopes. The literature in chapter three argues that young girls and women should not be considered last when education is the topic of discussion (Chilisa & Ntseane, 2010: 622). If this important element is missing in an individual's life, it may possibly prevent them from learning how to properly take care of themselves. Thus, allowing others to possibly take advantage of them (Fawole, 2008: 168). During the focus group, the women stated that staying in the city was in order to send money to their families in the village, but according to Precious and Carol, many married women were in the city. This mainly due to the abuse that they faced whilst in the village. Those who are not married ran away, because they wanted to avoid getting married.

There was no explicit mention of the circumstances surrounding the education of boys. The clearest mention of it was by Precious,

"Because our people started going to school, it has become acceptable for the young ones to also go to school."

Such a statement can neither confirm or deny what the exact circumstances are regarding indigenous Ovahimba boys and the level of access to education. Whether they receive preferential treatment is inconclusive, as the quotes demonstrate. With such uncertainties, it thus constitutes a requirement for future research studies to explore. Nonetheless, what can be concluded for this research study is that, for this particular group of indigenous Ovahimba women, being permitted access to education is not frowned upon. The only obstacle is proper financial assistance.

6.5.1.3. Marriage customs

In the Ovahimba culture, child marriages are not unheard of. All four of the married women in the focus group were betrothed at a very early age. According to the women, a child as young as two years old is eligible for marriage. Although, they are not ready for sexual relations, young girls go to their marital homes and live there until they are.

When asked how these arrangements come about and whom has the final say, Carol, who is single, said that such engagements are done by the parents. Furthermore, they have no say in the matter, therefore, no love connections are made before they are married.

"It is not up to us to decide when we want to get married. If my father feels it is time for me to get married, then he will call me and tell me. If it does not happen, then it does not happen." – Carol

The women revealed that in their culture, marriages between cousins was not at all uncommon. It is a custom that is also practiced even in the city, amongst the Herero people. None of the women interviewed, though, mentioned that they were married to their cousins. Regardless of such information, the fact that there may be women in their village getting married to their cousins, raises possible concerns about genetic defects. The women did, however, confirm that no virginity testing occurs within their culture. Although culture and its relation to this factor is mentioned, the discussions in this sub-section focus on a micro level perspective, as the personal perspectives of the participants will aid in understanding the emotional effects that marriage customs may have on an individual, and personal level. To reiterate, the information that was discussed under the theme of culture was from a macro standpoint, as the narratives pertained to the whole community.

In relation to this factor, the researcher asked the women how many members were in their family. Agatha was the only participant to describe an approximate amount, as the other women were not sure.

"We are an extended family. Approximately thirty-four people. We are six wives." – Agatha

The researcher asked all the women in the group how they felt about such practices. They all agreed that they would prefer a love match, instead of being told whom to marry.

"The one thing we do not like about our culture is the marriage part. It would be nice to marry someone that I chose and love. Not an older man or someone that I do not want. I would like to date

someone for two or three years, and then get married. But since my parents will not allow me to, it will never happen." – Carol

"That is one of the reasons that some girls come to the city, because they want to avoid the whole marriage thing." – Precious

Patriarchy has undoubtedly been a major point of discussion in this research study. It has contributed to many of the discussions throughout the previous chapters in this study. From the responses in the focus group, there seems to be a resounding support of information regarding its influence in the lived experiences of indigenous African women. As highlighted above, this influence can be strongly seen in matters of marriage, which according to the responses of the participants, made them unhappy. As was mentioned earlier in this section, the women have no say as to whom they prefer to marry. All these decisions are made by their parents, and such decisions are made when they are young.

"Our husbands are chosen for us while we are babies. We are given beaded necklaces by our fathers. If we don't get married to the person that our fathers have chosen for us, or if we do not do some things that he wants us to do, then we cannot go to his funeral. We are forbidden from going there. So we get married, because we want to be at our father's funeral. Because I was the one who broke off my marriage, my father said I must take off my necklace. It was my uncles who convinced him to let me wear it again." – Precious

"A husband can be chosen for us even when we are two years old." – Agatha

Trauma as a factor of intimate partner violence was highlighted and discussed earlier in this chapter. It is mentioned again in this sub-section, due to its connection with early childhood development and how such development impacts grown women (Courtois, 2004: 412). According to Courtois (2004: 412) emotional and psychological trauma at a young age can be brought on by a lack of assurance in safety, and protection. This lack of assurance stemming from the child's family. Another matter of trauma referred to here, is connected to what Flynn (2008: 218) called disconnection. As can be recalled from the discussion in sub-section 6.3.1.3., disconnection is

associated with the lack of trust. Since young girls in indigenous communities are married off at extremely young ages, their ability to trust others outside of that community may be hampered. This statement may be supported by what Precious said about how she would always get sent back to her husband. Although she is loved greatly by her father (see the discussion in sub-section 6.5.1.1.), the lack of emotional support from her family could also help to explain why she desired to commit suicide. The main argument here is that families are supposedly meant to be the first support structures that children, and even adults, can rely on (Courtois, 2004: 412; Flynn, 2008: 218). From the women's responses in the focus group, it may seem as if they do not have much faith and trust in their families' ability to support their desire for love matches. Much less to protect them from their husbands. This is a matter that these women have come to accept as a reality, regardless of their feelings.

These customs it seems, have little interference from the government. Thus, supporting the literature regarding the involvement of the government in cultural practices (Maluleke, 2012: 2; Rautenbach et. al., 2003: 15). The crux of the matter suggested that governments do not involve themselves in cultural practices, as there is a need to respect their existence. This respect stems from years of colonial interference and influence in the preservation of cultural practices (Maluleke, 2012: 2).

The issue of child marriages was mentioned in chapter one and reference is made to Algeria's Family Code (2005). Child marriages still occur regardless of the amendments that were made to it in 2005. The amended Code states that girls and boys should be legally married at 19 years, however, due to the recognition of traditional marriages, many rural areas perform child marriages without the inconvenience of authorities (Landinfo, 2018: 26). Focusing on Namibia, it seems that the only possible explanation for the current existence of child marriages, is in connection with the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000), that was discussed in chapter one. The act permits Traditional Authorities to exercise power in cultural affairs and customary law (Bauer, 2004: 480; Becker, 2006: 32; Werner, 2008: 14). Although the Constitution coherently states that no law beneath it, however powerful, can supersede it. Therefore, the discussion in this sub-section calls into question how effective the implementation and monitoring of these laws are. Further research may aid in this regard.

Finally, in terms of theory, it can be concluded that the discussions in chapters two and three affirm the narratives of the women in this study. The critiques in chapter two validate how difficult it is for liberal and radical feminism to implement their beliefs in an indigenous community such as the Ovahimba. The aforementioned point is merely to re-emphasise the arguments that African scholars posed concerning Western and Eurocentric feminist ideologies. As can be recalled in sub-section 6.4.1., universal inclusivity questioned why liberal and radical feminist movements homogenised women by assuming that all women did not want to live the life of the stereotypical housewife. As Dodo (2014: 201) and Kyalo (2012: 214) explained, marriage in African culture is a crucial component in African communities. It signifies the union of two families, the continued lineage of a clan and can even resolve conflicts (Dodo, 2014: 201; Kyalo, 2012: 214). For this particular group of women, the topic of marriage does not frighten them. On the contrary, it is a moment in their lives that would make them happy.

6.5.2. Sexuality

The final theme that was identified is sexuality. During the discussions, the various responses from the women were indicative of patriarchal control over their ability to make decisions regarding sexual intimacy, especially within the context of marriage. According to their responses, more often than not, their opinions would be negated by the sexual superiority of their husbands. As the women stated in the focus group, there is not much that can be done when it comes to such marital dilemmas; however, despite such circumstances, some women demonstrated a sense of ‘rebellion’ by revealing that extra-marital affairs were not uncommon. Therefore, in light of such details, the most notable factors that are associated with this theme are marital rape and sexual liberty, as they were discussed at length in the focus group. Therefore, these two factors will be discussed below on a micro level, as the personal narratives of the participants will be crucial in gaining an in-depth understanding of sexuality and its issues from their perspectives.

The subject of sexuality was discussed in chapters two and three. The theoretical literature in chapter two, argued by liberal and radical feminists, stated that a woman should own her sexual and reproductive agency, because she is sexually oppressed and enslaved by patriarchy (Baxandall & Gordon, 2008: 420; Wacjman, 2010: 146;

Vukoičić, 2017: 35). As was mentioned in the previous section, power and authority in the realms of patriarchy is a factor that is used to control women (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132). In chapter three such sentiments, amongst others, were supported by theorists and researchers such as Baloyi (2010: 2), Dube et. al. (2017: 6), and Ramjee and Daniels (2013: 3). They argue that patriarchal societies suppress women's sexual agency, while simultaneously oppressing her. This can be achieved through sexual abuse and control of her sexual liberties (Mookodi, 2004: 58; Olive, 2012: 1). Furthermore, seniority in a sexual relationship makes it difficult for women to resist their husbands, as it is perceived to be disrespectful towards him (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132; Dube et. al., 2017: 6).

6.5.2.1. Marital rape

The situation regarding sexual freedom among the Ovahimba is a rather complicated one, in that both men and women exhibit such liberties. Why it's viewed as complicated is, because when rape occurs in the villages, it's not seen as rape. When asked about their interactions with the men in their village (see section four of the interview schedule), Precious and Agatha stated,

> *"When a woman goes into the field alone and a man, or even her cousin, rapes them, it is not seen as rape. Because it is within the family." – Precious*

Agatha also confirmed what Precious had to say about rape within the family.

> *"Because we can marry or have sexual relations with our cousins, and they rape us, it is not called rape. If we report it to our parents, then we get beaten, because it is family."*

However, if the rape was committed by someone outside of the family, then it is addressed.

> *"It is ok if the husband does it, but not if the boyfriend does it, because there is no covenant between us." – Carol*

For the modern world, rape is rape. Whether it was committed by a family member, a friend or a stranger, to force oneself onto another is a punishable offence. However, for indigenous communities such as the Ovahimba, it is not the case. It is not that the

issue of rape itself cannot be addressed when it happens. The issue is that if it was the woman's husband or cousin who committed the act, it is not seen as such, as she is his wife. Excluding South Africa, Cameroon and Mauritania, marital rape is still prevalent in many African countries such as Nigeria, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Namibia (Ekhator, 2015: 288; Okereke, 2006: 9; Randall & Venkatesh, 2015: 154). Once again, the matter of the chief's involvement in matters such as this is non-existent, as domestic disturbances are not considered to be extreme enough to warrant intervention. This is supported by the fact that the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) gives Traditional Authorities and chiefs the power over customary law and traditional practices (Werner, 2008: 14). Further complications regarding this matter involves The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which was adopted in 1981. According to the Convention, Namibia is obliged to implement laws that will protect women from gender inequality and discrimination (Visser & Ruppel-Schlingting, 2008: 152). Be that as it may, such legal debates in the context of research studies such as this current one, will require further investigation in future research studies.

On that account, it can be deduced from the above discussions that the issue of marital rape exists. Although in their culture it is not viewed as such, due to family, cultural and patriarchal dynamics, the evidence suggests that martial rape exists within the Ovahimba culture.

6.5.2.2. Sexual liberty

However, with that having been said, one interesting response from one of the women, sheds some light on how some Ovahimba women feel about their sexuality and promiscuity.

"Since my husband is in the village and I am here in the city, I do have fun with other men (giggles)." – Agatha

Silvia, on the other hand, did not share the same sentiments as her friend.

"Oh no. I cannot do that. I will wait to go back to my husband."

Although, this is a somewhat complex matter, one point could possibly be confirmed here. That is that the women in the Ovahimba tribe do not have the right to refuse any sexual advancements from men, much less family men. On the one end of the

spectrum they are coerced to sleep with men they do not want, yet on the other end, they themselves make the personal decision to sleep with whomever they choose. From the quotes, it seems to be a personal choice for the women. In this regard, the women of the village are expected to obey their husbands and cannot lay a complaint when sexual relations are forced. However, even though they are aware of this, the women said that if they liked someone other than their husband, they would sleep with them.

"If we like someone in the village, then we sleep with them, but if we get caught, then we are in trouble." – Agatha

During the focus group, it was observed that the majority of the participants found the topic of their sexual freedom rather amusing. There was a sense of sexual ownership, without the presence of their husbands, regarding their bodies. As was discussed earlier, sexual freedom seems to be a contradicting term, because some women do enjoy moments of sexual liberty. However, at the same time their sexuality is exploited at any given time and it is not a crime. Whether their husbands are aware of their sexual liberties is unclear. It is almost as if there is a false danger to their safety. Ergo the lack of intervention from their families and the chief. Correia et. al. (2001: 328) explains that victims of crime encounter secondary victimisation, because it is believed in some contexts that they brought such misfortune onto themselves. Those who expose victims to secondary victimisation do so, because they are of the opinion that some victims should not receive sympathy, because of their perceived active role in their own victimisation.

Grubb and Turner (2012: 8) state that certain factors seem to influence the level of blame that perceivers put on victims. Some of these factors include the beliefs of the perceiver, circumstantial aspects of the event and the characteristics of the victim. The influence of these factors in every situation tends to fluctuate unpredictably. For example, prosecutors dealing with rape cases are reluctant to proceed if a victim reveals that she was inebriated before the incident, flirted with the offender before the incident or allowed the offender to escort them home (Grubb & Turner, 2012: 12). Indeed, to many people, the last point seems to be an extremely controversial argument as escorting a woman to her place of residence should not be grounds for rape to occur. However, in cases of victim blaming, such circumstances are heavily

weighed (Grubb & Turner, 2012: 12). In the case of the Ovahimba women, it may be possible that their sexual liberty could be perceived as an act of defiance towards their husbands. This may explain why many women are rather shunned and reprimanded than protected.

The empirical literature discussion in chapter three argued that due to the sexual liberties practiced by women, the enactment of certain cultural practices was justified. For example, in the cases of FGM and virginity testing to preserve their virtue, and innocence for marriage; and to prevent shame from befalling the family (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Kaplan et. al., 2011: 1). With that being said, one refers back to sub-section 6.5.1.3, where it was noted that no virginity testing occurred in their community. This information thus suggests a need for further exploration, with future research, to understand how their virtue is monitored by their patriarchal community. This would assist in further understandings of the complexities that govern sexual liberty amongst the Ovahimba women.

With regards to the literature, one aspect of sexuality and patriarchy can be confirmed, and it is evident in the rape cases that the women spoke about. The fact that their bodies can be exploited at any time without reprimand, seems to govern an environment that is hostile towards the establishment of legal, and familial intervention to help these women. Much like patriarchy, sexuality has also been another pivotal element in the previous chapters' discussions. As was earlier explained, the theme of sexuality is a complex one with regards to the information above, because of its duality. There is a need to address it in cases of rape within the family, yet on the other hand there is not, as is evident from Agatha's response above. Therefore, this contradiction then makes it rather difficult to conclude the level of restraint that patriarchs have on these women, regarding their sexuality.

6.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter detailed much of the responses that the women gave during the focus group. A comparable analysis between the literature from previous chapters and the data from the interview was made, with the objective of attempting to rebut or confirm some theoretical arguments. Quotes from the interview were included in this chapter to illuminate the debate and to emphasise certain points of the discussion.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1. Introduction

In the final chapter, recommendations for future research will be made, as well as conclusions pertaining to the main findings of this study. The recommendations in this chapter are derived from the discussions in chapter six, which highlighted areas in the existing body of knowledge that could benefit from future research. Recommendations that pertain to criminological feminism will be made with the aim of influencing the emancipation of an African perspective concerning the narratives of indigenous African women. Furthermore, with reference to fields such as victimology, indigeneity and socio-legal spheres, recommendations will also be made as these fields may benefit from future research studies.

7.2. Conclusions pertaining to the aims of the study

After critically analysing the collected data, the following conclusions can be made in relation to the set out aims that were presented in chapter one (section 1.6.). Addressing these aims is imperative for the over-all objective of this study, and for future research on this subject.

7.2.1. Conclusions pertaining to the exploration of the victimisation vulnerability of a group of women in an indigenous community

The first aim of this research was to explore the victimisation vulnerability of a group of indigenous women. In order to understand this phenomena, it was important to explore what forms of victimisation the women experienced. To aid in this exploration, research questions two and three, including their respective and relevant sub-questions were posed in chapter four. These questions were specifically formulated to explore whether or not indigenous women would defend their way of life, and rationalise the different influential factors that either contributed to or sustained their experiences of victimisation. That is, the aforementioned research questions aimed to explore and identify what factors made indigenous women vulnerable to victimisation. In addition, the research questions were also formulated to explore any experiences of mistreatment and whether or not there would be signs of emotional and psychological distress. The questions in the interview schedule were designed to

gradually increase in sensitivity, because the researcher had to remain mindful of the sensitive nature of the research topic.

The findings indicated that various factors either sustained or influenced the victimisation vulnerability of the participants. One of the key findings indicated that intimate partner violence was sustained and influenced by culture. This factor was analysed from a macro level perspective as it provided insight into the broader contextual factors that govern the lived experiences of the participants; and they include belief systems, practices and values. The women stated that the abuse they experienced was at times related to their cultural beliefs and practices, and therefore attempting to prevent it would be of no use as their mothers endured, so must they. As a result of such existential beliefs, the question of the existence of mistreatment was made clear by the findings, as some of the women corroborated that emotions of distress and psychological turmoil were experienced occasionally. These findings are in line with the empirical literature that was discussed in chapter three, whereby the arguments stated that the resultant effects of intimate partner violence would be psychological and emotional harm. This harm could thus culminate in depression, loneliness and thoughts of suicide (Breiding et. al., 2014: 7; Canetto, 2008: 260; Harper et. al., 2005: 1649). These thoughts of suicide were confirmed in the focus group, thereby supporting the literature (Allard, 1991: 192; Dancig-Rosenberg & Pugach, 2012: 454).

Another key finding that illuminated the presence of vulnerability to victimisation, was the women's level of education. The women stated that moving to the city taught them about life outside of their village and how many elements of modernity can benefit them. Knowing how to read and write was one of their most desired dreams. Although there is no opposition from their elders concerning education, many women do not receive one because of a lack of financial support. This finding is important for this aim, because it highlights how a lack of education in the lives of indigenous women renders them constantly reliant on their husbands to provide for them. The literature in chapter three aligns with these findings, as it was stated that not being educated made women susceptible to victimisation and abuse. As a result of a lack of knowledge, men take advantage by reminding women of their constant need for their support and without it they would not be able to afford their most basic needs (Fawole, 2008: 172; McCloskey et. al., 2005: 128).

The broader contextual influences that patriarchy has on the lived experiences of indigenous women was found to include factors such as seniority, power and authority. From a macro perspective, the broader issues of the aforementioned factors involve mainly the fathers of indigenous women. Concerning subjects such as marriage, for example, the women stated that their fathers are responsible for such decisions and they do not need to be consulted. Other influential factors also included the delineated roles of men and women in the community, where the women are the caretakers and the men are the providers. According to the literature in chapter three, the factors mentioned here are examples of patriarchy's role in perpetuating the subjugation of women (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3518). By honouring the seniority of their fathers, other elder males in their community and their husbands, indigenous women shift from one state of submission to another; and therefore such patriarchal dominance is maintained generationally (Maleche & Day, 2011: 13; Mookodi, 2004: 57). Therefore, women who are raised in societies that do not allow them to challenge men are prone to victimisation vulnerability, as they must respect the authority of their fathers and husbands (Allen & Devitt, 2012: 3516; Dube et. al., 2017: 5). This sentiment was echoed in the findings of this study, as the women stated that their mothers did not challenge the seniority and authority of their husbands; a point that was made earlier under this aim.

A final key finding that pertains to this aim revealed that certain laws have inadvertently placed indigenous women in positions of vulnerability. As the women indicated in the previous chapter, the chief of the village does not intervene in domestic disturbances, as they are considered to be familial matters. The Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) that was discussed in chapter one has created a barrier between indigenous women and specific laws in Namibia. Chiefs are permitted to exercise their power and authority in their regions with minimal interference from the government, as the Act protects customary law and the preservation of a culture's affairs (Bauer, 2004: 480; Becker, 2006: 32; Werner, 2008: 14). Therefore, it is evident from the findings and the supporting literature that specific Acts that promote the unbridled protection and preservation of a particular culture, regardless of the nature and effect of its practices, increases the presence of circumstances that could permit opportunities of victimisation to occur. These circumstances thus leave marginalised sub-groups such as indigenous women vulnerable to abuse and victimisation. It can therefore be stated

that this aim was addressed as the exploration into the victimisation vulnerability of these indigenous women highlighted the existence of this problematic situation.

7.2.2. Conclusions pertaining to gaining a better understanding of the causes of the victimisation of women in indigenous communities

The purpose of the second aim in this study was to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the causes of the victimisation of indigenous women in their communities. As with the first aim, research questions were developed in order to explore the nature of these causes and what the effects are on indigenous women. The literature in chapters two and three offered possible theoretical and empirical explanations for the causes of the victimisation of indigenous women. The aim of the third research question was to explore how the sustaining macro level factors (patriarchy and culture) that were discussed under the first aim could influence and affect indigenous women on a micro level. These specific influences and effects are associated with factors such as the dynamics of marriage and the control that men have over women through sexual dominance by means of power and authority. These factors were explored from a micro level perspective in order to understand how they affect indigenous women psychologically and emotionally; however, most importantly, this perspective was key in understanding the causal elements associated with individual experiences of victimisation. Therefore, the findings revealed that these associated factors played a pivotal role in the intimate lived experiences of the women in this study.

Marriage, power and authority highlighted complexities in the relationship between this particular group of indigenous women and their patriarchal figureheads (fathers), and husbands. It was found that the married women in the group were married upon the behest of their fathers and further findings revealed that ultimatums are given to the women in the community if they refuse to get married. The manipulation of emotions by the elders in the community leave some indigenous women feeling helpless, as the relationships with their fathers are important to them. It was mentioned in the focus group that being denied the opportunity to attend one's father's funeral (as a consequence of not abiding by cultural practices) was not only disheartening, but emotionally painful as well. Although culture's influence is on a macro level, the interpersonal interactions between the women's lived experiences of marriage and

patriarchal authority is on a micro level. The evidence from the findings show that the women in this particular group are not happy with the current politics that govern their marriage customs. One such aspect is the issue of not having the freedom to choose whom they can marry, as this leaves them feeling disheartened at the prospect that they may never enter into a marriage based on love. This non-love based matchmaking may be the reason why some marriages have unpleasant beginnings.

Due to its influence on marriage customs, patriarchy's micro level impacts are evident in factors such marital rape and sexuality. These two factors were complex to understand, however, the findings indicate that other patriarchal factors such as power and authority, as well as seniority play a role in marital rape and sexuality. The women stated that being raped by their husbands was not considered to be immoral (or illegal), as there is a covenant between them. Sexual ownership by men in a marriage can be used to suppress a woman's sexual autonomy (Mookodi, 2004: 58; Olive, 2012: 1). Furthermore, power and authority, including seniority are factors that enable men to keep their sexual dominance in a marriage, as rejection by a woman is synonymous with rebellion and disrespect (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 132; Dube et. al., 2017: 6). This was no more evident than in the focus group discussions, where it was stated that refusing one's husband sexual intimacy lead to physical abuse in the form of beatings, even as a young girl. Being reminded of one's position and duty as a wife in this manner is indicative of the control and dominance that was highlighted in the literature in chapter three.

Thoughts of suicide and negative emotions were common resultant effects that these women experienced, due to the treatment that they faced in their marriages. Therefore, the findings suggest that whilst institutional and structural factors such as patriarchy and culture contribute towards an environment that increases the victimisation vulnerability of indigenous women, it is the acceptance and implementation of these practices that contributes more directly to the emotional and psychological trauma that some of these women experienced.

It must be noted that for the purposes of this aim, trauma is highlighted as a key finding here because of its micro level experiences and each lived experience is unique to these women despite sharing similar circumstances. Therefore, due to the evidence presented by the findings, the literature corroborates it. Child marriages affects early

childhood development and such effects can impact the emotional intelligence and psychological well-being of adult women (Courtois, 2004: 412). Moreover, being disconnected from one's family also culminates in a lack of trust between the women and their elders (Flynn, 2008: 218). This mistrust and doubt in safety was evident in situations where they looked for refuge from abuse at their paternal homes as young girls, but did not find any. Although there were claims of desired reconciliation between them and the families, such desires did not compel the need to return to the village as the emotional and psychological scarring had already been experienced. Hence, the reasons for some of these women leaving their villages in a bid to avoid a pre-determined marriage.

The findings in chapter six shed some light on the sexual agency of the indigenous women in this study, however, marital rape in Namibia requires further exploration, because of its clear link to dominant patriarchal factors such as power and authority. Therefore, the findings show that these factors influence elements of sexuality greatly in an indigenous context. Hence, in light of understanding the causes of the victimisation of indigenous women, this aim was duly addressed.

7.2.3. Conclusions pertaining to the exploration, from an African emancipatory perspective, the experience and meanings attached to the role of women in indigenous communities

The final aim in this study was to explore from an African emancipatory perspective, if Western and Eurocentric feminist theories were applicable to the lived experiences of indigenous women. The second research question probed into this matter by exploring if gender and culture would be influencing factors in the roles of indigenous women, and in the perception of their lived experiences. In addition to this, whether or not the inclusion of the personal narratives of indigenous women would aid in the emancipation of African feminist theories from Western/Eurocentric ideologies. That is, can an African narrative more adequately illustrate and explain the differences in the lived experiences of African indigenous women?

Throughout chapters one and two, the theoretical debate was not to create a separatist mind-set in which there would be absolutely no communication at all between the theories of Western and indigenous contexts. Rather, the aim was to showcase that Eurocentric and Western ideologies of feminism erred in placing women from different

backgrounds under one umbrella. Universal inclusivity is the premise that all women across races and cultures experience the same hardships (Choudhury, 2009: 157; Maddison & Partridge, 2014: 28; Simmonds, 2011: 4). Some of these theories had valid points including the need for women to reassess their positions under patriarchal dominance, by taking ownership of their sexuality and fighting for equal opportunities and access to available resources. In addition, how indigenous women were being treated in the criminal justice system required a reassessment on the part of policy makers. Indeed, there are certain facets from Western and Eurocentric perspectives that were found to have some merit of applicability to this group of indigenous women, however, the more prominent findings in this study indicate that some perspectives lack greatly in terms of relevance.

The findings show that northern hemisphere feminist theories do not adequately account for the vast differences in culture, race, gender and class. The discussions under the theme of universal inclusivity showcased the differences between the beliefs of a particular group of African indigenous women, and Western/Eurocentric ideologies. Western feminism (liberal and radical) protests against women being seen as slaves to their husbands and culture, however, the African context rebuts such sentiments as is evident from the women's responses. Although certain challenges such as being vulnerable to victimisation exist in this particular group of women, the effects of such hardships on their lived experiences differ greatly when compared to that of Western/Eurocentric experiences. It was found that cultural embeddedness plays a role in shaping the lived experiences of this group of women. It is known that in their culture women have specific roles, however, their culture's belief systems regarding this does not hamper their daily lives. As the women pointed out, they love doing what they do and their responsibilities do not make them feel burdened.

This micro level perspective provides insight into the dynamics of some of the roles that the women share with their culture. These sentiments align with the literature that was discussed in chapter two, whereby the concept of the ideal housewife was harshly criticised by feminists (liberal and radical) as a means to keep women pacified and constrained, but not all women concur with those views (Epure, 2015: 515; Nicholson, 2015: 4). The foreign judgements of Western and Eurocentric perspectives concerning the experiences of indigenous women cannot be universally valid, as no one moral judgement about a particular culture is universally accepted (Tilly, 2001: 5). The

viewpoints of this group of indigenous women highlighted how such judgements do not influence their perspectives. As the current study only included a small number of indigenous African women from a specific cultural background, future research with larger and more diverse participant groups, may be able to establish whether or not women from other indigenous communities concur with the sentiments of Western and European liberal, and radical feminists.

Using an emancipatory standpoint, the meanings attached to the role of being a woman in indigenous communities are profound. In light of the findings, it is evident that there is a deep-seated connection between the women and their culture. Their lived experiences elucidate a myriad of issues, however, the appreciation and acceptance for who they are draws attention to the micro level experiences of the interpersonal dynamics between them and their culture. Although some women from the Western world have strongly supported feminism, from what these women have stated, it is clear that there is a sense of immense pride in being associated with the Ovahimba. Yes, it would seem that the thoughts of modernisation tempts them greatly, but this is where liberal, radical and gender and developmental thoughts fall short again (Simmonds, 2011: 18). For example, radical feminists presume to postulate that all women desire to live separatist lives (Nicholson, 2015: 4), yet the evidence from the findings states otherwise. Though the women that were interviewed did not approve of the politics that surrounds the marriage customs in their culture, they do not dismiss the idea of finding love and sharing their lives with someone. Further research with a larger group, perhaps from another indigenous community in Namibia or southern Africa, may possibly determine whether or not universal inclusivity has merit.

By incorporating the intimate narratives of the participants' personal perspectives, factors such as beauty, womanhood and culture were explored in order to better understand how such issues affect indigenous women. The findings point to the need for new perspectives that can explain the lived experiences of African indigenous women. To reiterate, this research study places emphasis on the indigenous communities that have little to no interference from foreign law and whose cultures have not been influenced by certain aspects of modernity. The women in this research study mentioned on more than one occasion that although they enjoyed certain aspects of modernity, they are in fact at peace with being Ovahimba women. These

feelings of cultural pride are supported by Simmonds (2011: 17), stating that Western feminism should consider the spiritual and emotional aspects that govern the lives of indigenous women.

It is critical to explore and to understand exactly how, and why it is possible for indigenous women to accept the lives that they currently lead. For them, there is no issue with being a mother and a wife. In addition, the intricacies of being an indigenous woman form part of their identity and the daily chores, and responsibilities that are associated with such titles do not bother them in the least, because it is a part of who they are. Therefore, as a result of the findings and the accompanied literature, the idea of African womanhood seems to exist (Adefarakan, 2011: 44; Bakare-Yusuf, 2003: 119; Marchand & Parpart, 2014: 28). Moreover, African scholars have an opportunity to develop an indigenous perspective that can stand apart from current Western and Eurocentric perspectives, by not equating indigenous African ideologies with those from Western and Eurocentric theoretical spheres. In conclusion, the third and final research aim was realised.

7.3. Limitations of the study

The limitations of this research study will be discussed and explained in this section. The first limitation was the sample size. In terms of methodology, this small sample cannot be used to represent an entire Ovahimba community with regards to certain lived experiences, for example, in cases of rape. Much of what was discussed in the focus group were personal narratives, and although a few references to their culture are applicable, the overall conclusions that have been made in this research study cannot be applied to an entire Ovahimba community. The main reasons being that the aims of this study were exploratory in nature and the perspectives of one group of women may not be shared by another from the same community. As was stated throughout this study, the lived experiences of the women are unique and so are their narratives.

In terms of dearth of research, it was a challenge to source for similar studies in southern Africa, and Africa at large, for the purposes of literature application. More specifically, research on traditional indigenous communities, excluding the diaspora. That is, those indigenous people who moved away from their communities and became modernised. Research studies that did discuss indigenous people were more

anthropological in nature and some studies were more focused on the indigenous diaspora, and their experiences within modern societies. For the scope and purpose of this research study, such literature would not have been beneficial for the exploration of the set out aims.

7.4. Recommendations for future research

The recommendations for future research studies will be presented and discussed below. Due to the findings and some of the limitations of this study, the recommendations in this section may assist future research endeavours by highlighting important areas that require further understanding.

7.4.1. Socio-legal research studies

In brief, the first recommendation for future research studies includes further exploring of the issues of child marriages and marital rape within the scope of the law. Referring to the discussions in chapter six concerning the Namibian Constitution, the Traditional Authorities Act (25 of 2000) and CEDAW, it may be beneficial to further explore any underlying reasons for the continued prevalence of such practices, and acts in Namibian indigenous communities, and perhaps others in southern Africa. One other recommendation would be to explore the dynamics of sexual liberty amongst Ovahimba women, as there is a complexity that surrounds the relationship between culture, sexuality, power and authority.

7.4.2. Psycho-social research

Further research on the educational stance in the Ovahimba tribe may be of use to determine whether or not boys receive preferential treatment in indigenous African communities. The women in this study stated that there was no opposition to them receiving an education, but financial restrictions did not allow them. It may be beneficial for the current body of knowledge if future research studies can explore and establish whether or not financial restrictions discriminate against young girls and women.

In sub-section 6.4.2., the matter of one of the participant's quotes was addressed, in which she stated that she would like to become modernised. While other participants in the group reported that they still appreciated their culture, regardless of enjoying some aspects of modernity, there may be a possibility that not all indigenous

Ovahimba women feel the same way. Therefore, the use of larger groups in future research studies may aid in determining if the aforementioned thoughts can be generalised to other indigenous communities. Hence, future research may assist in understanding the complex relationship and the balance of emotions that indigenous women have with their culture.

With regards to negative emotions and distress about experiences of violence amongst indigenous women, it is recommended that future research endeavours may shed some light on the severity of the symptoms of abuse. One such symptom would be the different types of trauma that manifest after young girls are married in societies that still practice child marriages. These types of studies may also establish how trauma affects the adult lives of indigenous women after spending much of their developmental years as a married person. To re-emphasise, future research studies should take heed of the seriousness of such a sensitive subject, as cultural barriers may restrict indigenous women from opening up.

The lack of intervention from family members, and the chief when problems of rape are brought forward, can only be an indicator of the type of influence that patriarchy has in their community. Further research relating to this might address the question if some women in the village mistrust their chief's leadership. There may be various reasons for indigenous women to mistrust the leadership of their chief, because of how their experiences of abuse and victimisation affects them emotionally and psychologically. The exploration of some of these reasons may determine if they can be attributed to a lack of concern for the women's well-being, or the maintenance and continued control of their sexuality. Therefore, it is recommended that future research studies consider the use of larger groups of women to explore the reasons in a more in-depth and generalised manner.

In light of this information, it becomes evident that it may be beneficial for research studies on this phenomenon to be conducted in a multi-disciplinary manner and include perspectives from various related disciplines. As previously mentioned, the field of anthropology has provided beneficial information on indigenous groups, however, more literature and studies are needed from a marginalised feminist perspective that are cognisant of the socio-psychological variables experienced by indigenous communities. This perspective may aid in further understanding how

culture and its elements affect individuals, as well as experienced of crime and victimisation in indigenous societies. Such future research projects may bolster the attention that women in indigenous groups receive globally and may further benefit the importance of highlighting their plights.

7.4.3. Importance of African narratives

Finally, one important recommendation would be that, if more research studies of this nature are executed in the future, then emphasis must be made on the lived experiences of indigenous women. For this is an important feature in developing an emancipatory African theory. Researchers need to be aware of the realities of such research studies, as the personal narratives of indigenous women are paramount if their lived experiences are to be understood outside of existing Western constructs. The importance of building on research of this nature may prove to be some day beneficial to the development of emancipated African feminist perspectives, that need not rely on international perspectives to explain phenomena in Africa. Rajan (2018: 20) critically states that feminist theorists in the global north need to refocus their objectives from Western settings of what constitutes as abuse, and understand the phenomena from the viewpoint of those under study.

With regards to the criminal justice system, the decolonisation and emancipation of African criminological feminist theories may only be achieved if African feminist scholars acknowledge the ever widening gap, between indigenous African women and Western criminological and victimological theory application. The issue of the treatment of indigenous women in the criminal justice system was discussed in chapter two, and emphasis was put on the need for government and policy makers in the criminal justice system to adequately align service delivery with the special needs of indigenous women (Bartels, 2012: 10; Henne, 2017: 8). However, even though such points require consideration, within the African context one should question the need, applicability and suitability of Western/Eurocentric criminal processes in indigenous cases. The circumstances that surround indigenous people's lived experiences require processes that are appropriate and applicable to their unique situations. Decolonising the African criminal justice system and developing suitable measures that will properly, and justly assist indigenous people may lessen the burden on indigenous communities to solve matters that necessitate intervention from higher

authorities. Therefore, with such points in mind, it is recommended that the development and implementation of better policies associated with criminal justice in Africa and their relationship with indigenous people be considered for future research endeavours. Further research needs to be conducted with regards to policy reform and implementation stratagems that may assist in adequately and effectively addressing the problems that indigenous people face within the criminal justice system. Should this link be successfully established, even in its smallest measurement, it may be possible to make the criminal justice system and its procedures more transparent and accessible for indigenous people. Thus, this in turn may make encounters with the system less tumultuous and disheartening for many who are unfortunate to find themselves experiencing it.

7.5. Closing remarks

In closing, the importance of this research study has been dealt with and emphasised repeatedly. From the evidence provided, one is of the viewpoint that research studies such as this one, are important to the development, advancement and emancipation of African feminist theories. A closer look is required to comprehend the various experiences of indigenous women, because not all indigenous women experience problems the same way. In addition, as was stated in this study the term ‘feminism’ and the movement that swept across the world should not be universally applied, especially to indigenous women. These are terms that are too reminiscent of Western and Eurocentric ideations that cater to the specifications, and lived experiences of Western women. In a world where African indigenous women reside, the applicability of such terms to their lived experiences has little bearing, as their circumstances are unique to them; similarly, in how African cultures differ from Western cultures. The decolonisation and emancipation of African criminological feminist theories can only occur if Western and European feminism recognises, and accepts that indigenous African problems require unique African perspectives that will assist in the phenomena’s elucidation. Lastly, it cannot be more emphasised how the personal narratives of indigenous women are vital for African perspectives, and for understanding social phenomena such as this current one, from their point of view.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview schedule

The following is a series of questions that will be asked during each scheduled interview session that will be held with the research study participants. Each participant will be made aware of their ethical rights and should they choose to stop the session, briefly or altogether, then they may. Each interview will be no longer than 20 minutes as not to interrupt the daily lives of the women.

1. The first part of the interview will deal with general every day information:

1.1. How old are you?
1.2. Are you married? If so, for how long?
1.3. How many people are in your family?
1.4. Can you please tell me what your day is like from morning to night?
1.5. Which part of it do you like the most and why?
1.6. Which part of it do you not like and why?

2. The second part would like to know how women in the village view themselves:

2.1. What do you love the most about yourself?
2.2. Do the women in your village consider themselves to be beautiful?
2.3. Have you ever felt like you're not beautiful?
2.4. If that happens, what do you do to make yourself feel happy?
2.5. Does it work?

3. The third part will now involve questions of a more sensitive manner:

3.1. Are you close to anyone in your family?
3.2. Are you close to any female members in your family?
3.3. What is this relationship like?
3.4. What is your relationship like with your husband?
3.5. And what is your relationship like with your husband's family?
3.6. Can you please tell what your relationship is like with your husband's mother?
3.7. Can you please tell me why do many girls marry at a young age in your village?
3.8. Have you ever been bothered by that?
3.9. Please tell me how your husband provides for you.

3.10. Can you please tell me if there was a point in your marriage where your husband mistreated you?

3.11. How did he do it?

3.12. And how do you feel about that?

4. The fourth part of the interview wants to explore the daily interactions between the men and women of the village:

4.1. Overall in general, how do you think the men in your village view women?

4.2. Do you feel in any way as if the men in your village take advantage of you because of your role as a woman?

4.3. Please tell me more.

4.4. Has there ever been a situation where other men have taken advantage of you?

4.5. If yes, how would they do this?

4.6. Can you please tell me what do you do when such things happen in your village?

4.7. Does the chief ever get involved?

4.8. If so, how does he handle the situation?

5. This last part of the interview would like find out and understand from an indigenous woman's view, if they feel that their culture affects them negatively in any way:

5.1. If you wanted some things to change about your culture and traditions in connection to the roles of women, what would that be?

5.2. Do you believe that the men of your village would take these changes seriously?

5.3. Can you explain?

5.4. Do thoughts of that bother you in any way?

5.5. Do you believe that the women in your village are vulnerable? If yes or no, please explain.

5.6. If you could speak up about any possible abuse, what do you believe could assist in addressing this?

5.7. Finally, is there any question you would like to ask me?

APPENDIX 2

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA

UFS·UV
THE HUMANITIES
GEESTESWETENSKAPPE

Faculty of the Humanities

15-Jun-2018

Dear **Ms Matjila**

Ethics Clearance: **An emancipatory African victimological assessment with specific reference to the Ovahimba tribe in Namibia**

Principal Investigator: **Ms Mariska Matjila**

Department: **Criminology (Bloemfontein Campus)**

APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION APPROVED

With reference to your application for extension for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities, I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Research Ethics Committee of the faculty that you have been granted extension from **15-Jun-2018 to 15-Jun-2019** with the assumption that there are no major changes with regards to the study.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: **UFS-HSD2016/1226**

Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension again.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting the application for extension. We wish you every success with your research.

Yours Sincerely

Dr. Asta Rau

Chair: Research Ethics Committee

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APPENDIX 3

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant

A research study involving indigenous women from your tribe will be conducted in order to explore any problems that indigenous women face. I am a Master's student from the Department of Criminology, at the University of the Free State in South Africa. I am conducting my research study under the guidance of my supervisor Professor R. Peacock (Head of the Department). My home language is English and I can also speak Afrikaans. Below is simply just a short explanation about the aims of the research study and what you as the participant can expect.

Title of research study: An emancipatory African victimological assessment with specific reference to the Ovahimba tribe of Namibia.

In essence, this study is about the world of the traditional woman and her rights. The victimisation of indigenous women has not been extensively researched and, if indeed, usually from a Western-centric perspective. Particularly in the African context there is little evidence whether or not many of their issues have been properly addressed by governments, and/or by other stakeholders such as community leaders. To achieve the overall objective of the study, the following aims were formulated:

- To explore whether or not women in indigenous communities are vulnerable to victimisation.
- To gain a better understanding of the institutional, structural and interpersonal causes of the victimisation risk factors of women in indigenous communities.
- To explore from an African emancipatory perspective, the experience and meanings attached to the role of women in indigenous communities.

The researcher kindly requests your permission to participate in this study. A focus group that will include 20 women from your tribe (Ovahimba) will be held and all the women will be above 18 years old (only adults). The main reason for using only females is because the study aims to understand the problem from a woman's point of view. The focus group will be done with the researcher present and a female interpreter will be available. The interpreter is in case some of the women do not speak

or understand English well. The researcher requests your permission to use an audio recorder so that the focus group may be recorded for data analysis. These voice recordings will not be made public in order to protect your identities and will be kept safe until the study is finished. The information that you provide in this research study will be treated with care and respect. This means that no one other than the researcher and the interpreter will know what was said and who said it. Despite that, be aware that you as the participant have the right to anonymity and your name will not be used in any form during, and after this research study. This is also to ensure the safety of the participants. After the study, the audio recordings will be kept in a safe area close to the researcher to be used for future research.

The focus group will not be longer than one hour so that your daily routines are not disrupted. For your own convenience, the focus group will be done in a private place where you feel comfortable. No physical and emotional harm will come to you as the participant and below are the contact details of a social worker if you want any emotional help. If you feel uncomfortable during the focus group, you have the right to stop the session and no longer participate. You will not be forced to continue or to return to the focus group. It is important for you to know and understand that you are not forced in any way to sign the consent form, and that participation is completely of your own will. As there is a possibility that not all the women in the focus group may be able to read or write, should you and the other participants decide to take part in this study, you may give your consent verbally and it will be recorded on an audio tape for ethical reasons. This means that you can tell the researcher that you willingly take part without signing. Each participant in the focus group will be given a meal to say thank you for being involved in this research study. Please let it be noted that this is not a form of bribery.

The results of this study could benefit women in other communities and possibly help to change the situations in those communities. Those who took part in the research study will personally not benefit from this study other than making a contribution that could help women like them in the future. This research study wants to get the attention of those in the academic world and policy makers as well. If the results show that the information collected may benefit those that were involved in the research study in any way, then the relevant information will be given to them. It is hoped that this study will

cause other researchers to do more research and further theory development on the victimisation vulnerabilities of indigenous women.

The researcher and the Department of Criminology thank you for your time, and consideration.

Yours sincerely

Mariska N. Matjila

Please note that this research study has the support of the University of the Free State's Department of Criminology and formal ethical clearance from the Faculty of Humanities Ethics Committee (Clearance number **UFS-HSD2016/1226** dated **15-Jun-2018 to 15-Jun-2019**).

If you would like to know more about this research study, please feel free to contact:

- The researcher: Mariska N. Matjila (061) 263587 (h) and 085 658 4735 (cell) (email: msbeanie214@yahoo.com)
- The research supervisor: Professor R. Peacock +27 51 401 7980 (email: peacockr@ufs.ac.za)
- Referring counsellor/social worker: Tania Verwey (cell) 081 124 1151
- Ms Charne Vercueil (Research Co-ordinator): Office of the Dean/Research Ethics Committee +27 51 401 7083

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Signature of participant

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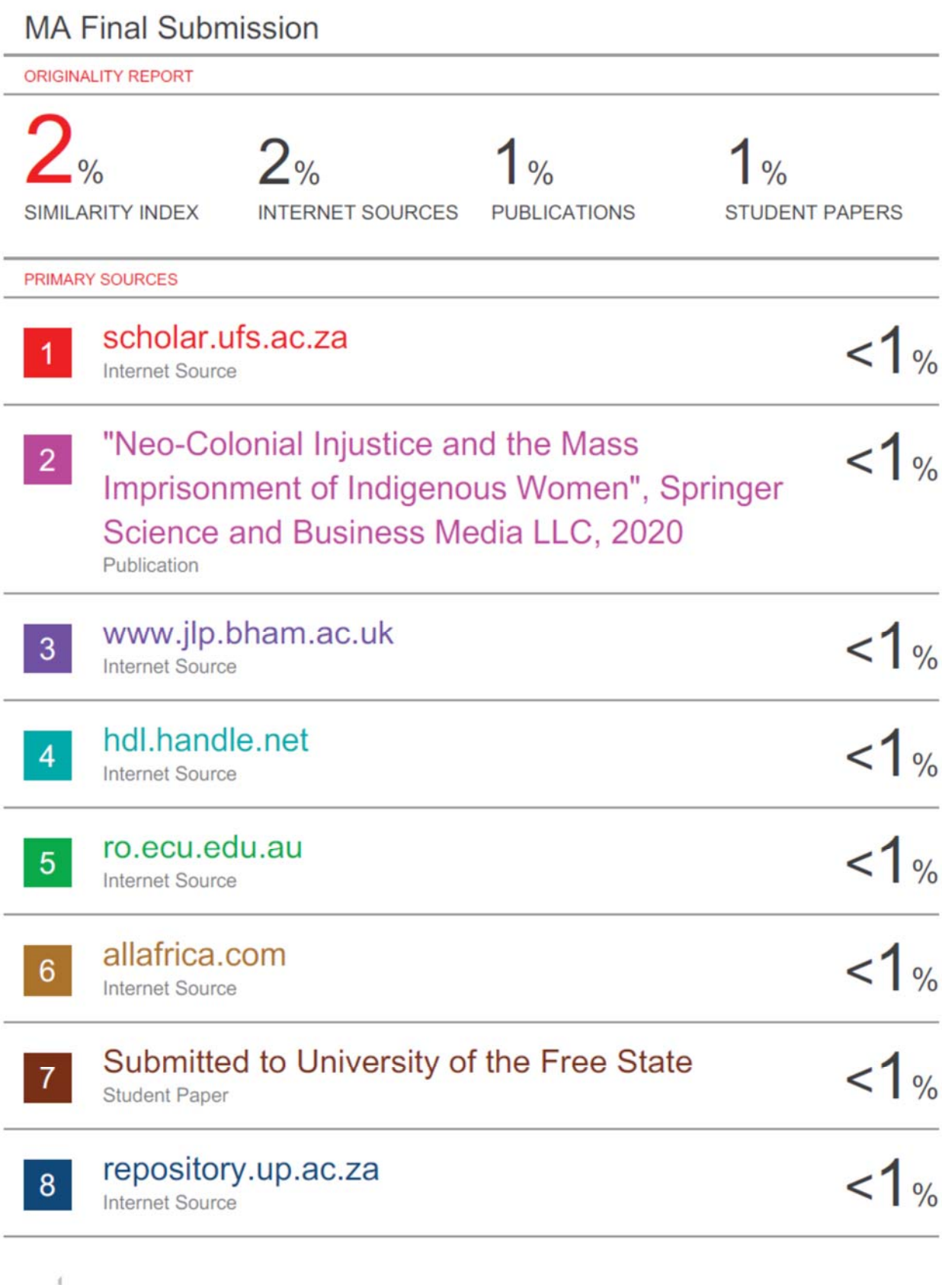
Date

APPENDIX 4



MA Final Submission

ORIGINALITY REPORT

2%	2%	1%	1%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	scholar.ufs.ac.za Internet Source	<1%
2	"Neo-Colonial Injustice and the Mass Imprisonment of Indigenous Women", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2020 Publication	<1%
3	www.jlp.bham.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
4	hdl.handle.net Internet Source	<1%
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