

14 | We exist! Voices of male feminism

DEAN PEACOCK

Across the world, men are working creatively to end violence, prevent HIV/AIDS and foster gender equality. In Nicaragua, the Men's Group of Managua launched a national campaign making the connection between the devastation caused by Hurricane Mitch and male violence against women. To make clear that violence against women is not a natural disaster but very much man-made, they used the tagline: 'Violence against women: A disaster that men CAN do something about'. The Male Initiative of the Society for Women on AIDS in Kenya works in remote rural communities to encourage men to support their partner's full participation in prevention of mother-to-child transmission programmes. In Brazil, Instituto Promundo works with young men in the urban slums or *favelas* surrounding Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo to promote gender equitable values and practices. Similarly, in South Africa, EngenderHealth has worked together with a wide range of organizations and institutions to implement the Men as Partners Programme (MAP), which uses an explicitly human rights framework to promote gender equality and greater male activism through a combination of community education, grassroots organizing and advocacy for effective implementation of policies and legislation. Reflecting this groundswell of work with men across the world, one of the two themes for the 2004 United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was 'The Role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality'.

Many of the initiatives mentioned above draw upon three interconnected principles, each related to an understanding of the many negative ways in which the unequal balance of power between men and women plays itself out. Contemporary gender roles are seen as conferring on men the ability to influence and/or determine the reproductive health choices made by women – whether these choices are about utilization of health care services, family planning, condom usage or sexual abstinence. Second, contemporary gender roles are viewed as also compromising men's health by encouraging men to equate a range of risky behaviours – the use of violence, alcohol and substance use, the pursuit of multiple sexual partners, the domination of women – with being 'manly', while simultaneously encouraging men to view health-seeking behaviours as a sign of weakness. Such gender roles leave men especially vulnerable to HIV infection, decrease the likelihood

that they will seek HIV testing, and increase the likelihood of contributing to actions and situations that could spread the virus. Third, men are seen as having a personal investment in challenging the current gender order both because it is in their health interests to do so, and because they often care deeply about women placed at risk of violence and ill health by these gender roles.

The words of three young men currently involved in the MAP Network in South Africa make clear the ways in which these three principles inform their commitment to promoting gender justice. They also reflect the honesty and rigour with which they have examined their own roles and perceptions; they can well be an inspiration for feminist engagements by men, across gender, generations and geography. These words are deeply personal and may resonate with other men, across the world, who are making attempts to challenge themselves and the worlds around them, in similar ways.

Lee Buthelezi, a 25-year-old from the Johannesburg township of Thokozana, says:

I was socially brought up knowing that if you want to have sex with a girl and she doesn't want, you just *klap* [hit] her two or three times and she will give you what you want. I grew up doing those things, you know, beating women and forcing myself [on them] and all that. After being in contact with MAP a couple of years ago I realized that the way that I grew up was actually wrong; it wasn't supposed to be like that. If you want to have sex it should be a mutual feeling, both from your partner and you, and you agree on doing that. But when I was growing up I wouldn't wait for [an] agreement or consent of some sort. I'd just do exactly the way I wanted, you know ... We were brought up in a manner that women should be beaten in order to get what you want from them. But we're trying to change that stereotype ... and show [other men] that you should talk, discuss and reach a consensus together with your partner.

Lillo Phalandwa, a gender activist with the MAP programme for nearly two years, shares his experience:

Five of my family members are HIV positive, and my father was abusive to my mom. Before I went to the workshop, I thought it was normal because when I was three my father started abusing my mom. I was verbally abusive towards women. Now I treat them as equal to me.

Thami Nkosi, who is 22 years old, also describes his commitment to working with men on gender-related issues, in very personal terms:

My dad passed away from HIV last March and my uncle two months before, so the reason I'm here is to address issues surrounding HIV. After taking the workshop, I saw that the relationship between gender and HIV has a lot to do with promiscuity and violence. I didn't grow up with violence in my family, but it was all around me. A girl near where I live was raped at gunpoint just recently. They bribed her not to press charges. So that's the type of issues I'm faced with everyday. We've still got a lot of work that needs to be done; so for me, this is just a life-long fight.¹

A significant body of literature exists that documents the work of various organizations doing work with men across Southern Africa. By and large, these chronicle accomplishments and describe lessons learned, and have been written by research- and evaluation-focused organizations. To date, the voices of those actually *doing* this work have not been captured to a great extent. The interview that is included in this chapter attempts to remedy this void. It was conducted in early February 2005 during a planning meeting held by the South African MAP Network in Johannesburg. Participants in the discussion were Boitshepo Lesetedi, the MAP Programme manager for the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa; Dean Peacock, EngenderHealth's South Africa programme manager; Dumisani Rebombo and Rodney Fortuin, MAP Programme Officers for EngenderHealth, Mbuyiselo Botha, secretary-general of the South African Men's Forum and Regis Mtutu from Padare-Enkudleni Men's Forum in Zimbabwe.

During a conversation that went late into the night, we shared our own process of becoming involved in these issues, and reflected on what had kept us involved in work that has at times led to ostracization and isolation. We also shared how much we have gained as men and as individuals through establishing, in some instances, far more rewarding relationships with our partners and children and, in other cases, with male friends and colleagues. Finally, we grappled with our understanding of our role as men in the broader struggle for women's rights and gender equality, and explore what we see as important challenges and 'next steps' for the still embryonic work to engage men in promoting gender equality.

Interview with Dean Peacock, Rodney Fortuin, Boitshepo Lesetedi, Dumisani Rebombo, Mbuyiselo Botha and Regis Mtutu²

Dean Peacock: What brought you to this work and what sustains you, particularly in relation to how we've promoted dialogue between men and women in ways that advance the agenda of gender equality?

Mbuyiselo Botha: I'm from the South African Men's Forum, an organization focusing on what men can do as a collective to change both the mind set

and the behavioural tendencies of men. What brought me into this work was seeing the link between the oppression of black people in this country, and the same oppression that women are faced with. It is actually our duty as men, in particular black men, to say that we cannot allow a situation where our own sisters are dragged into a situation similar to the past, before 1994. You can't separate one freedom and say it is actually more important and urgent than the other. In the oppression of men lies the oppression of women. And in the liberation of women lies the liberation of men.

Regis Mtutu: I'm Regis Mtutu from Padare-Enkudleni Men's Forum on Gender in Harare, Zimbabwe. For me, it was the view that it is possible for men to actively work towards gender equality and not see the responsibility only on women to work in issues of gender. For us, what was more critical was being part of a movement that is initiating the possibility of men actually being part of, as Mbuyiselo says, the liberation of not only men but also to complement the good work of women's movements, especially in Zimbabwe.

Dean Peacock: I am with EngenderHealth and the MAP Network. I came to the work as an anarchist activist. I had been involved in anti-apartheid struggles here in South Africa before I left in 1986, but in the US I had been part of a group of people involved in putting together an anarchist newspaper collective and very involved in anti-Gulf War activism leading up to the first Gulf War. As a white South African living in the US, I was really grappling with the question of what is appropriate social justice work for me to do. I remember my girlfriend at the time was working at a battered women's shelter. During her orientation there, she came back one day and said, 'You know I was at this training at the shelter provided by a man from Men Overcoming Violence.' I was quite taken aback that there was an organization dealing with issues related to domestic violence. It had never occurred to me previously that men actually do this. A light went off in my head, and I began to think about becoming involved in this kind of work. Once I began to volunteer at Men Overcoming Violence, I was invited to observe a men's group for men who had battered and there was something very different about that. It gave me an opportunity to engage in reflection around my own socialization. I think that's what kept me involved.

Rodney Fortuin: I was introduced to this work in 2002. I was quite curious with regards to the impact that gender had on the spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. At the first MAP Workshop, I started asking myself, 'What am I doing here?' You know the issues that are being raised here are issues

that I've never ever thought about, as a young coloured man growing up on the notorious Cape Flats in Cape Town.³ As we went along through the workshop, I started to realize that I can make a difference.

I was married for quite a number of years back then and I started to realize, 'Hang on, if I make these changes to my own personal life then that will be an immediate improvement with regards to my relationship with my wife, my relationship with my children, and also my relationship with other men and women.' I had never even thought about the issues surrounding gender-based violence. Growing up on the Cape Flats, I experienced a lot of violence with friends and families – seeing my friends running away from their homes, from their dads being violent or drunk.

Boitsepo Lesetedi: For me, this is more personal than political. I got involved in 1994 when I was still working for Young Christian Students as a general secretary. At that time, I never thought I would get married simply because I never liked how my dad treated my mom. We had a session on gender-based violence as part of our studies with Mmatshilo Motsei, who is a founder member of ADAPT, and from there I never looked back.⁴ I joined the board of ADAPT; and in 1997 I joined them as part of their staff. For me it has become my life's work. I've just realized now that I haven't always recognized the impact that my life and my work has actually had on a lot of people. Last week, I was invited to a show on Khaya FM (a local South African radio station). It was a show on my life – on being a good man, on where and how I started [my activism]. I think I came to acknowledge the fact that, even if I'm trying to be modest, things are making a difference. People, who I never thought would, called [in to the show] from Kagiso (where I'm from).

Dumisani Rebombo: I got into this work about six years ago. I was working for an NGO called Hope Worldwide. Our mandate was to work at an informal settlement with mainly unemployed single moms because the government thought that they might be a high-risk group in terms of HIV infection. For three years we did HIV prevention, educating women on condom use and negotiation skills. Because they were unemployed, we also started income-generating projects. When we checked the impact of our work, the findings were alarming. Although the women knew more about how to use a condom, and although they might now have some money, some reported that the men took the money, and others reported that their partners wouldn't utilize the condoms. So, while the women were becoming enlightened about HIV prevention, there weren't any tangible results, despite the three years we had been doing the work. It then became clear

that for the project to work we needed to engage the men. That's when as an organization we approached EngenderHealth and were trained in the MAP methodology.

Immediately after this, I realized that you can't do this work for others without starting with yourself. I needed to do my own introspection and look into how I personally was socialized and brought up as an African man in a small town. I carried my own attitudes around masculinities and I had to change a lot of things personally. The way I was brought up, when it came to sexual matters, my wife had to just comply with my sexual advances because, 'Hey, I mean as a man, this is what I do.' She was also socialized that whatever your husband wants from you, you go with it. As a man, you go to church, and whenever these issues were brought up, I was given the opportunity to say, 'It's not that bad – after all I'm the head of the family and she needs to be submissive to me.' So I had to change all of this before I could engage other men on these issues.

I've seen a lot of changes in my personal life. My relationship with my kids prior to this was more of, 'I provide and give you money – that's it! What more do you want?' Today, all of my kids are my friends. I respect my wife's decisions. At the same time there are other men that I can talk to. Sometimes I find myself doing those things that perhaps I shouldn't have been doing. But that support mechanism is there so that I can open up about what I am doing and other men can suggest: 'You could have done it this way.' Together there is more hope and a clear vision on where we're going. That keeps me going!

Mbuyiselo: I am interested in what Dumisani was saying. What we tend to do is to be more outward, and in so doing we forget to have sufficient focus on introspection. Not knowing my father has been a critical thing in my life. When I had my kids, I then decided that I would not become an 'ATM father' and only provide money. But I would want an experiential, emotional bond with my kids.

Regis: I agree with Dumisani. I have two daughters and I tend to see them as my friends. It's also sending a message that it's possible for them to actually have a much more fulfilled relationship with a man that is not based on hierarchies of power.

What strikes me is that when I was growing up, I had this relationship with my friends where we really supported each other, but in very negative ways – to act out negative stereotypes of being men. I feel like this work that I'm doing has given me the opportunity to be able to have relationships with my friends where they can say: 'No, in this matter I think you

are going astray,' and we discuss that in a very positive and supporting atmosphere without feeling defensive.

Dean Peacock: And it brings us back to the question we were engaging with, of what this work on men and gender equality is all about. What we are hearing here is a sense that certainly it includes this process of enriching our own lives. But I want to discuss what is difficult about that, because one of the questions that is often posed is: 'Aren't you being naive?' or 'Are men going to quickly give up their power, give up the patriarchal dividend?' I want us to explore how we engage with/share or negotiate power in a relationship. When it gets difficult, how do we grapple with that?

Mbuyiselo: I think on two levels it is extremely difficult and lonely. You are often expected to be manly – in your outlook, your perception and your perspectives. Now doing the work that we do, you are often challenged on your manhood: what does it mean in real terms? And you even doubt: 'Am I still masculine?' 'Am I still a real man?' It can be dangerous if one does not have a support system. The MAP network, as a collective, begins to provide a support system in the positive sense, as opposed to previously where one would walk alone and be encouraged to do things that were demeaning, degrading and/or dehumanizing to women.

Rodney: I don't think it's easy to bring about personal change. I realized I have been in a position of power with my wife where I have made all the decisions, and that I have certain expectations of her as a woman. What makes it difficult is when I don't communicate with her why I am doing what I'm doing and asking how she feels about it.

One example of this is that my wife and I spend time together (go out or do things as a couple) every Monday night. Previously, I always decided for us, based on what I liked and what made me feel happy, but forgetting that she has needs and might want to do other things. As a man, I thought I needed to make all those decisions and that she just had to tag along with it, even if she was not happy about it. Eventually I was able to engage with her on this topic and tell her, 'This is what we've been doing, this is what I've been doing, let's do things that you would like to do.' For example, I love movies but she's not a movie fan; she only went because I wanted to go. She loves to go for coffee and talk. I do like that, but as a man you want to sort of protect and set certain boundaries that you only expose yourself so far.

Regis: For me it can be difficult not only in my personal life but also in

public. How do you relate to female colleagues? For example, if you were to go to a meeting and there is a discussion going on; immediately men want to jump in and start engaging, without necessarily giving space to the women in the meeting. Actually realizing this has been really useful; creating spaces even for junior male staff so that there isn't a hierarchy of masculinities and power in the organization.

Dean: It is interesting, this whole question of power and democratizing our relationships – whether it is with our intimate partner or our colleagues. I worked for a long time in collectively orientated workplaces. Tonight for instance, we were debriefing the workshop and were really struggling around one or two activities for tomorrow. There was a moment where I thought I could draw on the power I have as the manager of the programme and have it go my way – and sometimes it feels that that's almost what people want. But my political analysis leaves me with a deep distrust of power of any sort. One of the things that is so difficult about more hierarchical models of power within an organization is that it leaves me feeling very lonely in my workplace. The expectation is that I have the final say, that I can't talk to my colleagues about some of the more difficult staff issues, and so there is a sense of loneliness. I imagine it is the same for a father who inhabits the space as the patriarch: he makes the final decisions and the difficult disciplinary actions. It must leave a father in a position of some isolation within the family.

As a man doing this work, while I experience some of the isolation that you have described, Mbuyiselo, I think there is another interesting dynamic. I think I get more attention from women as a pro-feminist man than I would if I wasn't doing this kind of work. I feel that I really have to watch what I do with that. So when I run a workshop, I can see who's checking me out sometimes ... I think it is because there is this notion that 'This is one of the good men, he is not going to exploit, he is not going to be like my ex.'

Regis: For me the major difficulty is when women actually make very clear that they want to have a sexual relationship, and they see that as part of their independence; it's their choice, you know. When we are doing work, especially along sexual lines, it is again like, this power that men also have over sexuality – it is like us either initiating or, if a woman initiates, you even feel more powerful. How do you deal with this power?

Dean Peacock: This intersection of masculinities, sex and sexuality is an interesting phenomenon. When I have engaged in risky sex, I think it has

often been tied to my own notions of masculinity. For example, if I am not completely turned on, and I fear that if I stop to put on a condom, I might lose my erection. I think the notion I carry somewhere inside my own head is that, as a man, I can't acknowledge to my partner: 'No, I don't want to put on a condom, because I'm afraid I might lose my erection.' There is something that gets cross-wired between sexuality and masculinity.

Boitshupo: Doing this work, I sometimes get called names – 'sissy', 'soft', and so on. There has been a tendency for me to want to prove my manhood: that I'm straight, that there is nothing 'wrong' with me and I'm not all these negative terms. I find myself doing this by engaging in promiscuous behaviour that proves that I am straight and that I can actually charm any person and therefore 'be' with any girl.

Mbuyiselo: There is a lot of stress that is placed on men – about the 'triple P's': providing, protecting and procreating. If men work together with women, and understand that there are instances where men can't procreate, men can't provide, men can't protect, this reduces the pressure.

Dean: One of the main things we have to do in our analysis and discussions with other men is highlight the costs to men of contemporary male socialization. I have also been grappling with the question about how useful our personal stories/narratives are as a very deliberate strategy, because it seems to me there is a tremendous silence about men's privileges and about the costs to men of male socialization. There is also tremendous denial about men's behaviour in society. Maybe what's much more powerful, in fact, is personal reflection.

Boitshupo: I think that it is very powerful. In my initial comments, I acknowledged having seen my father being abusive to my mother. Ultimately I have also been abusive to a few partners that I have had. The acknowledgement of this has actually led to being demonized to a point where I doubted whether I could make a change. And the detriment of this is, sometimes you draw negative attention to yourself if you acknowledge some of your past. If it is an acknowledgement of one's personal experiences in a safe place, I think it is easier. However, I think in bigger platforms, one does not necessarily know how much sharing could still put one into trouble.

Regis: I like the notion of appealing to positive notions of masculinity. Typical masculinity defines men as 'risk-takers'. So in a sense, Boitshupo, going to Khaya FM is taking a risk, but taking the risk in a very calculated

positive manner that benefits us all. We need to advance this agenda and perhaps, strategically, this is the risk that we are taking to advance the agenda we need to see moving forward.

Dean: And it's also about reframing these issues, right? As men, there is something about masculinity that is associated with risk-taking, so we reframe this.

Dumisani: At the same time for me, it's about asking myself how honest I am. To me, gender inequality is an epidemic that has been around for years, even before HIV. It should be treated just like a state of emergency. Therefore, I think whatever is needed to redress this I'm willing to risk it – not because it is masculine, but because this is part of the remedying process.

Dean: We have talked about framing this work as being in our interest and having a stake in it. We haven't talked much about our relationship to women and women's organizations.

Mbuyiselo: The temptation often is to impose what *we* may think that women want. For me, that re-creates negative masculinities. 'Let us avoid the temptation to set the agenda.' This is a struggle that we are not going to lead; this is a struggle that we are going to be led in. And being led is also part of healing ourselves and listening to what the cries are all about.

Dean: I think this question of leadership is one where there is contention, and it isn't often articulated. Are women leading work that happens with men, or are men and women leading this together?

Boitshupo: I was groomed and capacitated around these issues in the women's movement. Sometimes not all women are willing and ready to accept men into this kind of work.

Dumisani: As men, we are not [often] victims of gender-based violence. I think women who lead many of the women's organizations have been victims of gender-based violence of some sort hence they are extreme in terms of their [articulation of] feminism. So the approach doesn't tend to be: 'Let's work with men.' I want to listen, and together then devise the strategies that can involve both men and women. I think that would work better than women rejecting men, or men continuing with negative masculinities consisting of wanting to lead and take charge.

Dean: It is true that sometimes when one engages with women's advocacy organizations, or with women who are feminists and activists, there is a certain kind of scepticism, a certain kind of defensiveness and anger that we are sometimes met with as men doing this kind of work. I don't think we should be surprised by it. As a white South African, I anticipate when I interact with black people, whether here or in the US, that I will be met with a certain level of distrust and a certain amount of anger. I feel like that is 'part and parcel' of coming to terms with the legacy of oppression; if you are part of the group that has been responsible for oppression, you better believe people are going to be angry with you, especially when they have experienced oppression at a very violent level. That doesn't mean it's easy and that it is not tempting to sometimes say, 'Hang on, I'm not one of those people.' But as a white person, I am one of those people at some level, and as a man, I certainly am. I continue to exercise privilege in both of those identities. I think it's important to help the men we work with anticipate that they are going to be dealing with a certain level of scepticism and that it comes with the territory.

We have talked mostly about gender and gender-based violence. We have talked a little bit about HIV and AIDS. Are there any other issues, or strategies that perhaps you think we need to consider in terms of gender equality?

Mbuyiselo: Religious groups are one terrain where women continue to face constraints. In South Africa, there is only one woman who is a bishop in the whole country. I also think the message that the religious community is sending to the girl-child, as they grow, is that it is okay to be subservient. As we move forward, it is important for us to have a particular focus on how we begin to work with faith-based organizations.

Regis: I think the women's movement has done tremendous work in focusing on the girl-child. But I always ask myself, what are the implications of this? Is the resocialization of the girl-child producing a clear-minded young girl, a young woman who is aware of her rights? And who do these young women have to deal with? They are dealing with young boys – young men who are still 'doing time', who are still in the prison of masculinity and patriarchy. We need to be able to redefine gender roles from an early age, so that when these two meet, when they start either falling in love, engaging, they are doing so on an equal level, because right now for me, this is what leads to gender violence. When that empowered young girl engages with this young man, he cannot engage, and all he can do is to resort to

violence, sexism and so forth. Let's really look at how we resocialize the young boy from that early age onwards.

Rodney: I think we should develop strategies to reach men and women in the workplace.

Dean: I think, in our work, we need to recognize that most workplaces are gendered institutions, not simply because of who sits in the positions of power, but because of the gendered arrangements that make it difficult for women to compete with men: when they are not allowed to take maternity leave, when women's roles as mothers become an impediments to gaining access to positions of power in organizations.

Dumisani: To add to that, we need to create an enabling environment. Let me give a scenario: if I am abusive at home to my little girl and she goes out onto the streets, and the boys who are out of school abuse her on her way to school, and when she gets to the classroom, the teachers do the same, even if she has some knowledge about her rights, the environment is not such that she can exercise those rights. So if we target everyone and mobilize the community around these issues, the environment that this work is being taken forward in, is conducive to us reaching the desired goal.

Dean: We've talked a lot about men and masculinities and gender. We haven't talked about homosexualities; we haven't talked about how we work to address the needs of men who have sex with men and gay men. We haven't talked about homophobia and its relationship to the work that we do.

Boitshepo: We have a heterosexual bias in terms of gender-based violence. We still think men are the ones are perpetuating violence against women. This is true, but we are not thinking about men who are violent to other men. It is an area where, unintentionally, we might still feel uncomfortable. There is very little knowledge and very little literature that we have access to about this topic. But we could empower ourselves by partnering with organizations who work around issues of sexualities to bring those issues into our work.

Mbuyiselo: We cannot separate the struggles. The struggle [against homophobia and heterosexism] is the same as the struggle about how we relate to the disabled. You raise the issue of homosexuality as a minority issue, but the disabled in this country are also a minority. The difficulty is the

so-called 'normal' people – their frame of reference is systemized on their normality and is predicated on the notion that all others are not important; this is where you find abuse. This is where people believe or you tend to think in a very parochial, in a very small-minded manner. I am returning to what I said earlier, that the struggle for equality affects and impacts all of us!

Regis: In our culture as black African men or women, it is a very difficult subject to look into. Sometimes I feel that when you talk about 'leaving no one behind', is that not somehow trying to cover up, not to confront the issue of gay relationships directly? When, Boitshepo, you say we don't have enough knowledge, have we not created the knowledge that informs our work? The whole question of gay relationships, to me, also goes to the core of patriarchy, of redefining manhood. In our work, among ourselves, we are very quick to hug ourselves. I think we have to make a very conscious decision to address this issue. You see, if we had to raise the question of disability, there's nothing controversial about that. But as you raise the question of gay relationships, people think, 'Ah, Mbuyiselo, but I thought you were a real man.'

Dumisani: I also think that it is not because people are afraid of what people 'out there' would say about them or about us, but I think we, ourselves, carry a certain bias that we don't want to confront immediately. For instance, I accept gay people, but I think that when I analyse that acceptance it is in a particular way. I accept them, I'm fine with it, but in a particular way.

Mbuyiselo: Are you not then being condescending, patronizing? Like under apartheid, whites would say, 'Among my best friends are black people', and you immediately knew that what they meant was, 'Actually, I'm okay with black people so long as they are not in my back yard.' I'm just wondering when you say 'in a particular way', what this means?

Dumisani: What it means is that I could interact, but I won't always make the initiative. I wouldn't take the first step to initiate something: friendship, for instance. That's particular, whereas if it's Mbuyiselo, I can initiate that first step.

Dean: I think what you did, Dumisani, is what I'm hoping we can all do: acknowledge the struggles and the limitations of where we've gone, and where we still need to go. And part of where we still need to go is home. It's late.

Notes

- 1 Quotes from unpublished MAP Mural case study written by Kristy Siegfried.
- 2 The interview was conducted by Dean Peacock on 7 February 2005 in Johannesburg, South Africa.
- 3 The Cape Flats is located on the outskirts of Cape Town and is where non-white **people were relocated to during the apartheid era, under the terms of the infamous Group Areas Act.**
- 4 ADAPT is a South African based NGO that works towards preventing domestic violence.