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SECURING SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE: GRANDMOTHERS AGAINST POVERTY
AND AIDS AS A MODEL FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CHANGE

by

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ABSTRACT

SECURING SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE: GRANDMOTHERS AGAINST POVERTY AND AIDS AS A MODEL FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CHANGE

Savannah Lynn Eck
Old Dominion University, 2012
Director: Dr. Jennifer N. Fish

Focusing on the role of elder women in South Africa as a lens to understand the central connections among HIV/AIDS, poverty and Human Security provides a distinct approach to analyze women's contributions to community development and social change. Drawing from the theories of Gender and Development and Human Security, this research aims to highlight HIV/AIDS as a social and political security issue, while underscoring the vitality of the inclusion of women in the processes of peacebuilding, reconciliation, education and social development. Furthermore, the influential role of elder women in South Africa will serve as a model in support of the central connections between gender and human security. From the analysis of original research collected among a group of grandmothers based in Khayelitsha, South Africa, the role of elder women will be situated within the larger structure of poverty and HIV/AIDS within the larger national context of ongoing socio-economic development processes. Focusing specifically on the grassroots civil society organization Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA), the social restructuring caused by HIV/AIDS and its impact on elder women will be illuminated as a critical consequence of the global pandemic. While grandmothers take on the dual leading roles of both caretakers and educators, their stories, prevention efforts and contributions to the larger picture of development often go unrecognized. From the original data collected over two field visits to South Africa, this

thesis integrates personal narratives of grandmother leaders with an organizational evaluation of the role of GAPA to highlight how elder women, who continually defy race, class and gender stereotypes, overcome both the social and economic obstacles within the context of the dual burden of poverty and HIV/AIDS in this post-apartheid context. Findings from this study demonstrate that elder women provide not only core foundational support systems and community social cohesion within Khayelitsha, but also central human security functions within the larger socio-economic context of South Africa's post-conflict transition. The original data in this study demonstrate how GAPA serves as a replicable model of change and encompasses a larger representation of the power of women's community activism roles in post-conflict social development and peacebuilding.

This thesis is dedicated to the women of Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA), whose lived experiences, determination and resilience inspire me everyday. The connections we have forged and the friendships made continue to resonate in my life. I will always think of you as family.

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To Eric Miller, your talent, photography and dedication to the grandmothers of GAPA is a continued inspiration. I am so honored to have been part of your work and to know you as a friend. Thank you for your support through this writing process.

To Conference, who enriched my experience at GAPA and whose life was taken too quickly from this world. Your love for learning was an insatiable. You will not be forgotten.

Finally, to my husband Sal, thank you for your unwavering support while I worked to share the message of GAPA and for always keeping me grounded. Our next journey together will be to Africa.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As many elder African women face continual socio-economic challenges, HIV/AIDS brings a new decimating force to communities and social relationships. In the wake of its aftermath, a generation is lost and children are left as the sole responsibility of elder women. Women continually pick up the pieces as the traditional family unit crumbles around them. As a direct result of HIV/AIDS, the most heavily hit populations are the very young and very old. The most productive members of society are disappearing. UNAIDS, the joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS, along with UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, informs us that more than 12.3 million, or 12% of African children, are orphans, while South Africa and Uganda reveal that 40% of orphaned children are living with a grandparent."¹ Gladys Mutangadura outlines the gendered and security impacts of the disease by stating that:

"The HIV/AIDS epidemic presents a disproportionate burden on women, as their roles as caregivers intensify while at the same they may lose access to land, labor, inputs, credit and support services. Women are expected to meet the food security needs of their households with less income and a higher labor burden. Thus HIV/AIDS epidemic thus compounds existing gender inequality."²

As generations falter and the disease takes hold, many African nations face an enormous care deficit, which has created a new layer of care expectations of women in marginalized communities. In the face of this care crisis, grandmothers serve as the vital

¹ Jackson, Hall and Mhambi in Fuller, Linda K. *African Women's Unique Vulnerabilities to Hiv/Aids: Communication Perspectives and Promises*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Print. P. 8

² Mutangadura, Gladys B. "Gender, Hiv/Aids and Rural Livelihoods in Southern Africa: Addressing Challenges." *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies*.7 (2005). Print. p.10.

base for extended families in a time when they should be winding down and enjoying their retirement. This study is particular because it focuses on age as a global phenomenon and allows a specific analysis of elder women as major contributors to development. By taking a close look at how grandmothers define themselves within the larger organizational structure in one particular community in South Africa, this research provides a focused analysis that illustrates how gender, development and security simultaneously interact on a much broader scale.

The examination of gender throughout this research is poised to underscore the role of women in the developing world while addressing their pivotal ability to become key agents for the promotion of social development within the larger HIV/AIDS crisis. Gender is understood by scholars to be the socially acquired notions of masculinity and femininity by which women and men are socialized.³ Feminist scholars have placed gender as a central analytic framework to problematize, “the way development policies change the balance of power between women and men.”⁴ Throughout this research, a gendered lens is similarly utilized to understand the particular role of elder women in South African social structures. Drawing from a gender perspective alone, however, is not a comprehensive tool to analyze development within a specific social and geographic

³ Johnson, Sonali and Cluadia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. *Global Health Challenges for Human Security*. Studies in Global Equity. Cambridge, Mass.: Global Equity Initiative; Asia Center Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003. Print. P .181 and Momsen, Janet Henshall. *Gender and Development*. 2 ed. New York Routledge Perspectives on Development, 2010. Print.p. 2.

⁴ Momsen, Janet Henshall. *Gender and Development*. 2 ed. New York Routledge Perspectives on Development, 2010. Print.p.2.

space. Rather, through the larger examination of how gender is central to both political and historical structure, a richer, more nuanced analysis is possible. This analytic framework is particularly relevant to the study of women's collective organization within the rapidly changing social, economic and political landscape of South Africa.

With this shifting social and economic terrain of South Africa's ongoing transition from apartheid to democracy, the field of Human Security provides a complimentary analytic framework for this study. As HIV/AIDS continues to decimate populations, a relative loss of labor provides evidence of increased economic crises, particularly within marginalized communities. With this disproportionate impact on already marginalized communities, economies and families in Sub-Saharan Africa, we also see a ripple effect taking hold throughout the world. The critical connection between HIV/AIDS and the watershed of economic, social and political complications creates trickle down complications that play a drastic role in inhibiting development on a larger scale. As Jeremy Youde explains, "There is an inexorable link between issues of health and political legitimacy and stability. In Africa, AIDS clearly demonstrates the reality of this connection."⁵ HIV/AIDS constitutes a threat to development and human security because the disease swells to incorporate families, communities and economies; nations are left grappling with how to cope with the magnitude of effects. From taking an in-depth approach to understanding HIV/AIDS as one of the largest human security issues of the twenty-first century, the larger concern, not only for elder women but also for the entire global citizenry, will be underscored as this research illuminates how the disease is

⁵ Youde, Jeremy in Ostergard, Robert L. ed. *Hiv/Aids, and the Threat to National and International Security*. Global Issues. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print. p. 197.

a demanding political and social issue with central implications for community and national development.

As the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic grows throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, we see women stepping in to pick up the pieces of devastation in families, communities and nations. Grandmothers, specifically, have become a stronghold force in the face of HIV/AIDS. Providing a supportive network and an outlet for sharing their common struggles, women serve as the remarkable face of support and security in the backdrop of the pandemic. In order to combat this disease and ensure the security and stability of Africa and the globalized world, a “broad approach in which the marginalization as well as their [women’s] lack of provisions for sustaining their health are seen as dual, but interrelated, requirements that must both be addressed for the effective participation of women in the struggle to arrest the spread.”⁶ Women, suffering at the hands of HIV/AIDS, serve as caretakers, support systems and economic breadwinners, thus creating a gender dynamic of the pandemic. Therefore, they are distinctly situated as vital agents of human security and social change. These issues ultimately created the groundwork for the organization Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA).

In post-apartheid South Africa, grandmothers have often been taking on the role of providing support to their families and their extended communities. With the escalating HIV/AIDS pandemic in the country, where the infection rate has swelled to encompass 30.2 percent of the population, such caretaking roles have grown even more

⁶ Ankrah in Fuller p. 15.

acute as grandmothers are the only viable adults left to handle caring for others.⁷ When their own children die from HIV/AIDS, it is grandmothers who assume the full time caregiving responsibilities. Acting as sole supporters of their households, they nurse their sick adult-children, who are afflicted by HIV/AIDS, and carry on the multiple tasks required to step in as parents to their grandchildren.

This thesis integrates the two fields of Human Security Studies and Gender Development in order to evaluate the role of elder women in South Africa within the larger context of the global HIV/AIDS pandemic. Examining both the domestic and international pressures to combat HIV/AIDS and the lacking ability of established development projects to reduce transmission and infection rates, the Human Security field sheds light on the dangerous consequences this disease holds across countries and future generations. Narrowing the findings down to a South African context, the watershed effects of HIV/AIDS will be directly paralleled with the subsequent increased caretaking role faced by elder women. This analysis will delve specifically into the social community of Khayelitsha, a township⁸ where, what I coined as “tragic bonds” centered on poverty and HIV/AIDS tie elder women together thus forming social networks that work to educate and provide support to grandmothers and families affected.

⁷ "South Africa Hiv & Aids Statistics". 2010. AVERTing HIV and AIDS: International HIV & AIDS charity. 13 Dec 2011 2011.
<<http://www.avert.org/south-africa-hiv-aids-statistics.htm>>.

⁸ A township is a central means of identifying geographic divides in South Africa. Created during the apartheid era as a means to segregate individuals of non-white descent, townships reflect the residue of severe socio-economic inequality. They are most often extremely over crowded and comprised of a combination of “shack,” modest homes and informal settlements. A larger proportion of the informal dwellings lack water, sanitation and electricity. Because of these overarching structural conditions, townships are wrought with high crime and violence.

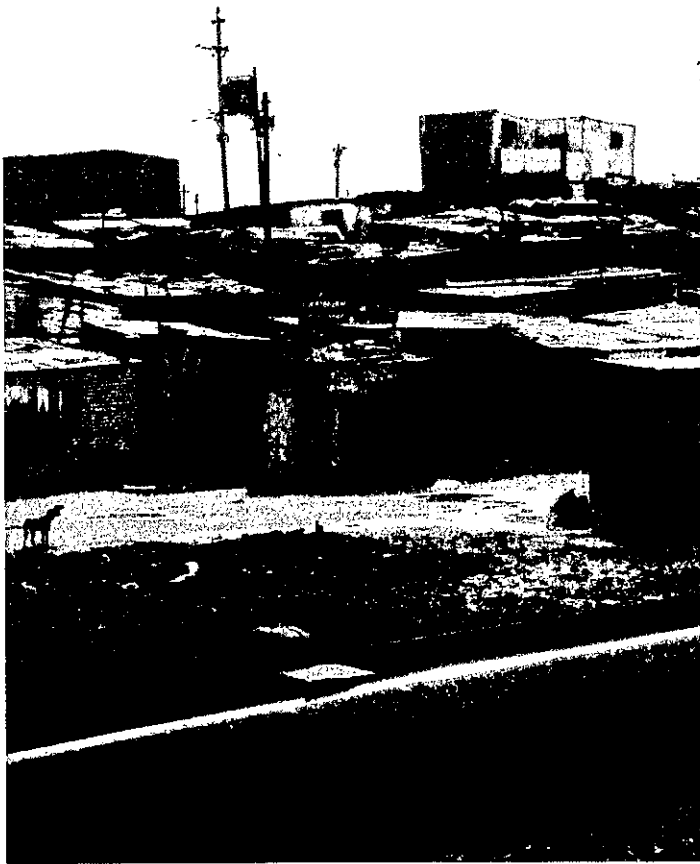


Figure 1.1: Homes in Khayelitsha township.

Overview of Study

This research builds upon two years of continued study regarding women's roles in the context of HIV/AIDS. Through the examination of HIV/AIDS as a central development and human security issue, this thesis will incorporate a gendered lens to connect both fields to the caretaking and community agent roles of elder women in South Africa. Participants, members of the organization Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA), continually highlighted the issues of security, HIV/AIDS, education and the importance of grassroots development as central factors in fighting the disease. They

also realized the state social protections allocated to elder women, who serve as caretakers to the sick and sole breadwinners of families affected by the disease, are insufficient in terms of the massive needs presented with the AIDS crisis. Framing this research within the realm of gender and development has allowed me to look specifically into GAPA as an advanced model for social development change.

Part of this research was aimed at understanding the overarching lives and social interactions of older women community leaders, while continually maintaining respect and appreciation for the circumstances that lead grandmothers to seek access to the organization as a means of supporting their daily survival. Using feminist, community-based research approach, I served as a volunteer for GAPA which allowed me to gain trust and communication with grandmothers and ‘give-back’ to the organization, while collecting data for this study. I chose this research topic as a means of sharing the stories of the amazing women who continue to inspire me every day, particularly as they face such devastating circumstances with a collective commitment to social change. After being part of daily work and life at GAPA, I have come to understand the social fabric that holds these grandmothers together and the “tragic bond” that drives their roles as caretakers and activists. I would never have understood this passion without witnessing first-hand the strength, resilience and support these “Supergrannies”⁹ give to both their community and to one another. They have become a beacon of hope in the midst of social chaos. While living in one of the worst townships in South Africa, elder women continue to defy all race, class and gender stereotypes that construct notions of ‘poor, vulnerable

⁹ Eck, Savannah "South African "Supergrannies" -A Photographic Exhibit." Kickstarter.com, 2010. <<http://www.kickstarter.com/projects/1993018479/south-african-super-grannies-a-photographic-exposi?ref=search>>.

elder women' to create a model organization equipped with all the trimmings to establish a social development framework.

Overview of Thesis

This thesis begins with a theoretical framework that situates the issue of HIV/AIDS through the lens of the literature on women in development and Human Security. The field of Human Security offers insight into how the work of elder women within the Khayelitsha community becomes applicable to the larger context of development and stability within this post-conflict nation. The subsection of this chapter focuses on relevant research on Gender and Development. Understanding how gender plays a role in terms of vulnerabilities and the allocation of available resources within the context of South Africa will be examined in this chapter. Following these chapters, discussions of the established work that informs this study, the proceeding chapters delve deeper into the historical, political and community conditions of South Africa, which continue to socially and economically marginalize elder women. This section provides evidence to support the idea that through empowerment and education elder women serve as a larger tool for the advancement of South Africa. In this section as well, an examination of personal narratives, household structures, the grandmothers' own viewpoints, and the larger social implications for elder woman in Khayelitsha Township will be discussed in the core data analysis chapters. By asking key questions aimed at understanding the grandmother participants' views of gender, empowerment, social development, and HIV/AIDS, an understanding of all dynamics at play within this research will emerge from a specific grassroots viewpoint.

Finally, focused attention on the organizational case study will underscore the objectives, advancements and possibilities of the grassroots model for change: Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA). The last chapter will consider the macro context of GAPA as a social model for replication while highlighting the importance elder women play within their own micro community. From this examination the fields of Gender and Development and Human Security encompass guiding theoretical structures for the organizational component of this research. Highlighting and critically analyzing how elder women in South Africa shape communities affected by HIV/AIDS through collective mobilization will elucidate the hypothesis that grandmothers serve as key catalysts of social change. This concluding chapter summarizes the research and points to future application of the findings from this research.

CHAPTER II

SETTING THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

This chapter provides a visual and methodological map to describe both the research design and the national context under which this study was conducted. The scholar-activist approach to this study holds a particularly relevant meaning in the national context of South Africa, where social justice movements remain central principles in the historical struggle to realize a democratic nation began in 1994. During the anti-apartheid movement, the collection of knowledge became a tool to advocate for social transformation and to document the struggle. In line with this historical movement for social justice, I employ a corresponding commitment to the production of knowledge as a tool for social change in the face of HIV/AIDS.

Methodology

The relationship I established with GAPA allowed me to develop a methodology based on Patricia Hill Collins' four tenets of black feminist epistemology. This approach provided a rationale for the gathering of narratives and interviews at GAPA. Hill Collins explains that firstly, epistemologies or learned knowledge are "built upon lived experience not upon an objectified position" and that the "use of dialog rather than adversarial debate is key."¹⁰ Ethics of caring and personal accountability for knowledge production are central to Hill Collin's ways of knowing because they interrogate researchers' use of data gathered from lived experiences. By utilizing these tenets in both

¹⁰ Collins, Patricia Hill. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2 ed: Routledge, 2000. Print. p.3.

the data collection and analysis phases, this research sought to incorporate a shared sense of learning between grandmothers and the researcher throughout this process. Per this epistemological perspective, open-ended questions and a dialogue framework were used and grandmothers were provided a caring and understanding environment within which to share their stories. Through the use of individual narratives and detailed interviews, grandmothers shared their own personal ideas regarding security, development and empowerment across a series of semi-structured interviews. Narratives show that by asking different questions, focusing specifically on women's experiences, a profoundly different understanding of security emerges.¹¹ Particularly in this feminist research methodological approach, linking the global and the local through voices and personal oral histories serves as a promising alternative to the data derived in ways that do not allow for the vital connection to implementation and action.¹² From data collected in this study, both the participants, who were able to disclose, and the researcher, who partially lived the experience through exchange dialogue and ethnographic immersion, benefited from the process and shared a longer- term partnerships as a result of this extensive field study.

The data in this study take three forms: original narrative interviews, ethnographic fieldnotes and organizational analysis. This collection of data span two consecutive research visits in 2010 and 2011, which totaled six weeks of contact immersion with the organization. During these fieldwork visits, I conducted a total of twenty-two semi-structured interviews that included utilizing key questions to understand how

¹¹ Wibben, Annick T. R. *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2011 Print. p. 67

¹² Momsen, p. 18.

grandmothers situated themselves within the larger social contexts of gender relations and Human Security (See Appendix). Three of the interviews utilized a translator or Xhosa language interpreter to insure that participants who could not speak English were not excluded from the research. Participants responded freely to questions on their own terms, in line with the ethics of qualitative research. All interviews were tape recorded, and similar questions were asked to each participant. The first year eleven interviews were collected specifically on grandmother facilitators who teach monthly workshops at GAPA. These interviews were utilized directly by the organization, as part of its own documentation project.¹³ The second set of eleven interviews, collected in 2011, focused on understanding how grandmothers see themselves in terms of security and social development. Through the facilitator interviews, I was able to gain a sense of how each grandmother sees herself contributing to educating others as a key piece in unlocking the instability and poverty that is directly linked to social development and human security. The second year's more personal questions enabled me to see how each individual woman related her membership in GAPA to her own empowerment, security and the larger concepts of community-wide development. My ability to gather more personal, in-depth interviews in the second year of field research stemmed directly from the relationships established and fortified in this second return visit, as well as a focused scholar-activist "Supergrannies" project that kept me engaged with GAPA during the year between my two field visits.

¹³ The Facilitator interviews were conducted as part of my scholar activism. GAPA used these interviews for their organizational research on leadership roles of grandmother members. These data become part of a larger study, funded by the Stephen Lewis Foundation.

Ethnographic and participant observations became another central component of my fieldwork, which provide a backdrop for the data collected. Earning the trust of grandmother participants was vital to gaining access into their social spaces. Many of my initial days at GAPA were spent talking and working among the grandmothers. Questions centered on my own life and experiences emerged from grandmothers and created a foundation for dialogue and friendship. I learned their routines, their lives and their stories from friendly interactions that gave me the trust needed to conduct a series of interviews. The grandmothers were aware of my research goals and they were open and willing to share their ideas in the hopes that their stories could be told to wider audiences.

Working with GAPA provided access to leaders of this organization, comprised of over nearly 300 grandmothers in the Khayelitsha township of South Africa. By gaining access to this organization, I was able to draw from the experiences of elder women in ways that would otherwise be extremely difficult in terms of establishing relationships, trust and access to private homes. The interviews were conducted in a small schoolhouse located behind the main GAPA building, which was utilized for the aftercare children's program. Because this physical space was accessible and was primarily vacant until after school hours, it provided a valuable resource to assure confidentiality, privacy and ease of communication within a larger community center. Although the one-room building was not equipped with heat and remained cold for each day of the interviews, the grandmothers never wavered in their willingness to take part in these conversations within this isolated space. Each grandmother would knit or sew in red plastic donated chairs, while I recorded a series of open-ended interviews. Following our conversations, the participants often asked me to replay my recording, so that they could hear their

voice. In some of the beginning interviews, grandmothers would giggle following my posed questions, almost as if they were unsure of how I wanted them to answer. My intention was to be objective; so I would sit silently until they composed their answer, often interjecting sub-questions following their responses. Word spread of my interviews and grandmothers would seek me out to ask me for a turn, wanting to participate in order to share the influential role GAPA has played in their lives. Although this snowball sampling and ‘word-of-mouth’ method does not assure a representative sample, it provided the most relevant, effective and mutually beneficial approach to gathering data within an organizational structure. Furthermore, because I was interested in interviewing women leaders of this organization, those who volunteered to be interviewed captured a particular perspective, which was at the center of my research inquiry.

Taking part in a series of day-to-day activities at GAPA allowed me to observe educational sessions, daily requests posed to the organization, community needs and the overarching organizational philosophy of GAPA in action. In particular, valuable fieldnote observations came from observations of social interactions among grandmothers and my ability to sit in on meetings, discussions and monthly workshops aimed at educating the wider public. In many instances, these observations provided rich content for my broader understanding of how grandmothers’ daily lives were shaped by the intersecting realities of socio-economic inequality, food insecurity, family caretaking burdens and the lack of state support for the role of elder women. GAPA’s physical space within a surrounding community of severe socio-economic inequality and violence became a symbol of the centrality of women’s social support systems through community organizations. Each morning, hot tea brought grandmothers from the cold into a shared

place of warmth and safety, and to their sisters who provided material, social and emotional support. The main building was always crowded, as grandmothers streamed into GAPA to take part in the morning routine in preparation for each day's production: feeding 125 children, preparing afterschool lessons. The smells of the grandmothers cooking in the kitchen overflowed the space each afternoon, and became a cornerstone in my field experience. Their daily interactions and the messages shared in workshops conveyed a larger understanding of the looming pandemic, while intimate conversations among the women shifted from family issues to the implication of AIDS that they faced on a daily basis. I have never been in a place where I have been so encompassed in every ethnographic detail in order to gain a greater understanding of the larger picture of social-development GAPA provides. This larger ethnographic and social activist methodology is incorporated as a main component of this research and its ongoing pursuits.

Scholar Activism

My scholarship is inclusive of a core commitment to assuring the use of knowledge and recognition among populations "studied" for academic work. In this guiding perspective, during the year between my two field visits, I coordinated an internationally based photography exhibit centering on seventeen grandmother members of GAPA, who collectively illustrate how GAPA "is keeping us alive."¹⁴ This exhibition also builds upon the narratives of South African grandmothers in a way that highlights their resilience, collective struggle and force. South African Activist and Photographer Eric Miller visually captured the struggle and spirit of seventeen GAPA grandmothers in intimate portraits and vivid portrayals of their daily lives. These photographs were

¹⁴ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "A Day in the Life of Grandmother Alicia Mdaka, 68 " *Femina* 2009: 37. Print.

combined with excerpts from the grandmothers' life stories, documented by widely published South African journalist Jo-Anne Smetherham, to form a narrative-visual exhibition. I borrow from these data as supportive evidence for the claims I make throughout this thesis. As a student activist and profound supporter of GAPA, in efforts to build international support for this organization, I also took on the role of creating an internet-based donation site that raised seven thousand dollars in funds to cover the costs involved with printing, executing and supporting the installation of this exhibition in two sites: the Khayelitsha Community Centre and the District Six National Museum in Cape Town. This exhibit will carry over into the United States and will be displayed in Norfolk, Virginia and Washington D.C. as part of longer-term process of knowledge creation surrounding the topic of this thesis. This photography project reinforced my commitment to the grandmothers within my study by allowing them to see how much their stories meant to me, as well as a wider international community. While taking part in these two exhibits in South Africa, I continue to learn from the grandmothers and was able to give back some of the recognition and praise they are so often denied. My ongoing work to bring grandmother members to the United States for the consecutive exhibits, as well as the subsequent costs of the execution of "The Never Give Ups"¹⁵ openings will continue to be a rewarding project that expands this thesis beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁵ The Never Give Ups is the name of the travelling photography exhibit focused on seventeen grandmother members of GAPA.

Mapping the Geographic Context: South Africa

Understanding the social context at both the regional and national levels serves as vital pieces in mapping the importance of GAPA as a social development model. Grandmother members of GAPA continually face obstacles due to the political, economic and social structural barriers evident within both South Africa and Khayelitsha township. The geographic and historical context is central to this study because the former apartheid system of governance created a severely unequal social and economic environment conducive to the massive spread of HIV/AIDS. The World Health Organization (WHO) maintains that, “HIV infection thrives on poverty and marginalization. The epidemic is sustained by social disruptions; by historical inequalities of wealth, gender, and race; and by migrant labor practices.”¹⁶ Both the historical implications of apartheid and the absence of policy initiatives aimed at the eradication of HIV/AIDS continue to play major roles in the lives of elder women in South Africa-women who survived apartheid and who now face the debilitating effects of AIDS. According to Olive Shisana, “South Africa carries the largest burden of HIV/AIDS cases and is considered home to 12.5% (5 million out of 40 million) of all people living with HIV/AIDS in the world”¹⁷ and “In late 2004 the South African Department of Health estimated that there were 6.28 million infected South Africans, the largest national total anywhere.”¹⁸

¹⁶ Shisana, Olive, Nompumelelo Zungu-Dirwayi and William Shisana in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. Print. p.143.

¹⁷ Shisana, Olive, Nompumelelo Zungu-Dirwayi and William Shisana in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. Print. p.141.

¹⁸ Fourie, Pieter. *The Political Management of Hiv and Aids in South Africa: One Burden Too Many?* Basingstoke England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print.p.xvi.

The apartheid government, built in the name of segregation, structured South African society according to race, with gender inadequate healthcare, widespread poverty, divided communities, and severe accompanying gender and class inequalities. As a result, this former system of governance also created a breeding ground for the expansion of HIV/AIDS that continues to flourish, over fifteen years since the national transition. Since the democratic shift in the 1990s, policy response to the HIV/AIDS crisis at hand has been dismal.¹⁹ Founded in 1992 from a conference entitled, 'South Africa United against AIDS,' the National AIDS Co-ordinating Committee of South Africa (NACOSA) was formed in an attempt to create an agenda for AIDS policy action. This came at time when democratic elections had yet to take place and the scale of AIDS with South Africa was still somewhat unknown to the wider international community.²⁰ In October of 1994 the NACOSA plan was set into action through the establishment of the National AIDS Policy (NAP). This step served as a starting point for the Mandela administration that would assume national leadership in 1994, but as history shows, the massive debt remnants from apartheid, severe poverty, and a lack of social cohesion surpassed HIV/AIDS concerns on the national agenda. In retrospect, the idealism that swept the Mandela era did not live up to the goals of the National AIDS policy.²¹

During the Mandela administration, structural and political divides within the country left unclear communication and dissonance between local and national

¹⁹ Fourie, p.3.

²⁰ N. Nattrass. The Moral Economy of AIDS in South Africa in Fourie, p.100.

²¹ Fourie, p.100-101.

governments in terms of implementing HIV/AIDS policies.²² The lacking response also stemmed directly from pressing aims such as a new constitution and restructuring a society from apartheid to democracy.²³ When Thabo Mbeki became South Africa's second democratically elected president in 1999, the administration was completely overwhelmed with the stark reality of HIV/AIDS within the larger context of lingering social divides and ongoing governance challenges.²⁴ Mbeki continued to disillusion the public and derailed the policy agenda further by openly questioning the correlation between HIV and AIDS. Many argue the Mbeki did more harm than good in regards to HIV/AIDS in South Africa within his first five years as President. This larger context of macro-political leadership sheds light on the current issues South Africa faces, as well as the larger explanations for how the government structure and policy frameworks have failed the larger public. In 2001 Mbeki refused to declare HIV/AIDS as cause for a national emergency in South Africa citing that no other country has done such a thing.²⁵ Meanwhile he continually slowed down the access to Antiretroviral (ARV) treatment by "claiming that South Africans were being used as 'guinea pigs' and the provincial government's prescription of such dangerous medications could be compared to the biological warfare of the apartheid era."²⁶ One UNAIDS statistic claims that over 1,000 individuals in South Africa die every day from AIDS. The fact that the Mbeki administration slowed the introduction of ARVs only served to swell this growing figure,

²² H. Marais in Fourie, p.4.

²³ Crewe in Fourie, p.4.

²⁴ Fourie, p.139.

²⁵ *Washington Post* in Fourie, p.155.

²⁶ SAPA-Associated Press in Fourie, p.155.

while placing severe burdens on families impacted by the pandemic throughout South Africa.²⁷

The fact that Heads of State, from Mandela to Mbeki, in many respects ignored the implications of this disease in order to focus on other priorities of nation building has left a watershed of cumulative effects that continue to degrade the quality of life for the majority of South African citizens. Waal so eloquently explained the trickle down effects of lacking HIV/AIDS initiatives on the part of leadership in South Africa by stating that, “too often, this denial begins with the political leadership, whose attempts to cling to the past and to normalcy serve as a role model for denial by their citizens”²⁸ This governmental and citizen denial of the realities of pressing social needs created by the HIV/AIDS crisis, coupled with a void in policy and critical social prevention programs, led the “South African Department of Health in 2004 to estimate that there were 6.28 million infected South Africans, the larger national total anywhere.”²⁹

Much hope for the future rests in Jacob Zuma, who became South Africa’s third democratically elected president in 2009, and established a plan of action for confronting the AIDS crisis. While vowing to break the cycle of his predecessors, Zuma rallied the call to fight AIDS, announcing on World AIDS Day of the same year that he would broaden support and access to ARV medicines for HIV-positive women who become

²⁷ Fourie, p. 173.

²⁸ De Waal, Alex in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. *Global Health Challenges for Human Security*. p.129.

²⁹ Fourie, p.xvi.

pregnant.³⁰ This announcement came days after revamped guidelines from the World Health Organization, which highlighted South Africa as one of only four countries whose child mortality rates had increased since 1990.³¹ South Africa's showcased attention as a government history wrought with ineffective policy aims and community education placed a distinct pressure from the international community on this emergent democratic nation to expand access to treatment.³²

Zuma's presidency, like his formers', is not void of criticism. Just three years prior to the rally call to fight AIDS, Zuma, while on trial for rape, stated that he knowingly had had sex with a woman infected with HIV *without* using a condom, explaining, that he showered afterwards to minimize his risk of infection.³³ Zuma, who also openly practices polygamy as a traditional custom of his Zulu background, actively portrays a lifestyle conducive to multiple sexual partner interactions, a reality that is known to increase the chances of HIV/AIDS infection and transmission. Zuma, whose own past and lifestyle create criticism from around the world, adamantly states that South Africa "has no choice but to deploy every effort, mobilize every resource and utilize every skill our nation possesses," in relation to the AIDS crisis. At the same time, in public forums, Zuma continues to avoid topics on how to reduce the spread of this global

³⁰ Duggar, Celia W. "Breaking with Past, South Africa Issues Broad Aids Policy." *New York Times* 2009. Print.

³¹ Duggar, Celia W.

³² Duggar, Celia W.

³³ Duggar, Celia W.

pandemic.³⁴ It has become evident throughout Zuma's two plus years in office, that his political policy on AIDS is full of powerful rhetoric, yet void of the proportional response and scale needed to begin to redress this health crisis that escalates in the face of the nation's existing socioeconomic inequality. The reality is evident that the historical advancement of AIDS from apartheid to the present has amassed a population so large that government monetary, health and political support is grappling to counteract.

The reality of the political incapability to deal with the AIDS crisis from the apartheid era to present day Zuma, can be evidenced through statistics drawn from medical institutions throughout the country. In 2005 the South African Medical Research council announced that the mortality rates in adults had increased sixty percent between the years of 1997 and 2003.³⁵ The greatest cause for this increase was the underreporting of AIDS related deaths. In 2003 at the 15th International AIDS Conference in Bangkok, UNAIDS laid for the statistics that stated in December of 2003 the numbers for AIDS related deaths in South Africa had reached over 370,000 and 5.3 million South Africans were HIV positive.³⁶ These statistics reveal the reality that every three days for South Africa generates the equivalent of the deaths rendered from the September 11th attack in the United States but still no war on AIDS had been declared to correlate to the war on terror.³⁷

³⁴ Duggar, Celia W.

³⁵ South African Medical Research Council in Fourie p. 187.

³⁶ News24.com, 18 February 2005: Sunday Independent in Fourie, p. 187.

³⁷ UNAIDS, Report on the Global AIDS epidemic in Fourie, p. 139.

According to Ostergard, “For South Africa, the security impact of the epidemic is already showing. From the civil service to the economy, South Africa’s political and economic security has been compromised from the strain that the epidemic has placed on resources and manpower”³⁸ while “South Africa’s domestic economy present a distinct problem in combating HIV/AIDS: How to maintain economic growth which is needed to fight the epidemic while maintaining a healthy work force which will drive the economy?”³⁹ An ING Barings report on South Africa in April 2000 stated that “economically active population will be the worst affected. South Africa’s labor force will drastically decline, higher costs for investing companies, increased demand for health services, lower labor output, Gross domestic product will be 0.3-0.4 lower per year than the no HIV/AIDS trend, and South African savings will decrease leading to foreign investors will see the country as a lost cause.”⁴⁰ South Africa is already “witnessing the phenomenon of companies hiring two or even three skilled workers for every place they need to fill, in anticipation of AIDS mortality.”⁴¹

These figures serve as a reminder of the larger interconnected struggles to combat HIV/AIDS and the policy changes both domestically and internationally, that need implementation to stop the pandemic’s spread. President of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Sadako Ogata, so poignantly stated that “top-down

³⁸ Price-Smith, Andrew, Matthew Tubin and Ostergard, Robert L. *Hiv/Aids, and the Threat to National and International Security*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.p. 241

³⁹ Price-Smith, Andrew, Matthew Tubin and Ostergard, Robert L. p. 255.

⁴⁰ Fourie, p.2.

⁴¹ De Waal, Alex in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.125

protection can be thought of as ‘rule,’ and bottom-up empowerment can be thought of as ‘self-rule.’ Understanding that with both, ‘good governance’ emerges and empowerment, AIDS, human security and the reevaluation of gendered roles, all of which will play a drastic role in terms of livelihoods and South African development, will no longer be ideals but shifting dynamic changes to the social structure of the entire country.⁴²

The Regional Context of AIDS

From this larger national context, let us focus on the social and economic conditions that frame the components of this study’s geographic location with the Western Cape Province of South Africa. Acclaimed as South Africa’s fastest growing township, Khayelitsha’s demographic representation of a ninety percent black population sheds light on the geographical regions history and foundation.⁴³ Established in the mid 1980s as a reaction to the forced residential segregation policies of apartheid, Khayelitsha, located 25 miles outside of Cape Town, served as a relocation site for those designated as “African” in the former classification system. Meaning “new home” in traditional Xhosa language, Khayelitsha boasts a population of over 300,000 individuals according to the 2001 census report.⁴⁴ Many argue against this statistic claiming that the

⁴² Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. *Building Resilience: Human Security Approaches to Aids in Asia and Africa*. Tokyo; New York; Washington, D.C: Japan Center for International Exchange, Brookings Institution Press, 2008. Print.p.27.

⁴³ "Uthando, South Africa Khumbulani Centre". Khayelitsha demographics.Dec 13 2011
<<http://www.uthandosa.org/projects/1>>.

⁴⁴ "Baphumelele Caring for Community". Baphumelele Children's Home. January 4, 2011
<<http://www.baphumelele.org.za/information/>>. and
"A Population Profile of Khayelitsha: Socio- Economic Information from the 2001 Census. ".
2001. *Census in Brief*. 2001.
<http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/CityReports/Documents/Population%20Profiles/A_Population_Profile_of_Khayelitsha_1052006142120_359.pdf>.

magnitude of the informal settlement, along with overcrowding and a lack of clear housing definitions, do not allow for accurate calculations.⁴⁵ Some population estimates for the township reach over a million, while others suggest that the township has nearly doubled in size to two million residents in 2011. Difficulty in accurate census counts for the township stems from “South Africa’s diverse community settings. Also due to past legacies some communities have become inaccessible due to security concerns, political agenda and lack of service delivery making it difficult to access all households and enumerate them.”⁴⁶

Population increases since the 2001 census have been paralleled by increases in HIV/AIDS rates and unemployment. As of 2001, 50.8% of Khayelitsha population was unemployed and the majority of households (57.4%) lived in “shacks” in informal settlements, while 64.6% of the total population resided in informal dwellings.⁴⁷ The economic and housing situation in Khayelitsha, along with the lack of higher formal education, leads to an explosion of violence and crime. Like the disproportionate impact of HIV/AIDS on women, violence takes on a particularly gendered dimension. One statistic claims that in South Africa alone, a woman is raped every 26 seconds.⁴⁸ Janine Josias, a medical doctor working for the provincial Western Cape government in

⁴⁵ “A Population Profile of Khayelitsha: Socio- Economic Information from the 2001 Census. “. 2001. *Census in Brief*. 2001.
<http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/CityReports/Documents/Population%20Profiles/A_Population_Profile_of_Khayelitsha_1052006142120_359.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Census Undercount and strategies, Version 6. Statistics South Africa.
http://www.statssa.gov.za/census2011/documents/Census_2011_Undercount%20Strategies-version_6a.pdf.
p .14.

⁴⁷ “A Population Profile of Khayelitsha: Socio- Economic Information from the 2001 Census.”

⁴⁸ Janine Josias in Stuijt, Adriana. “One Female Every 26 Seconds Is Raped in South Africa.” *Digital Journal*, 2009. 21 Nov 2011. <<http://digitaljournal.com/article/268602>>.

Khayelitsha writes that rape is associated with criminal activity and domestic violence, as she sees in her daily work with survivors in Khayelitsha's main sexual trauma center. She states, "We have noticed that rape in societies has become normal, it has become normal to be raped."⁴⁹ The results of sexual violence, crime and unemployment have given rise to the estimated twenty to forty percent HIV infection rates for the population of Khayelitsha, although many argue this statistic is actually much larger.⁵⁰ The relational links between unemployment, crime and violence against women are poignant factors that shape the growing numbers of HIV infections. These issues of violence and crime will be discussed in detail, along with the dynamic roles of elder women within this society, in relation to GAPA grandmothers in the following sections.

Understanding the geographical location and regional tapestry that sparked GAPA's creation, as well as the regional construction of life for many elder South African women, makes an evaluation of Khayelitsha township crucial to this research. Moving from the industrialized mecca of Cape Town to the segregated outskirts, showcases a major geographical shift left from the remnants of apartheid. The mass informal settlements stretch the horizon and the all-encompassing poverty is clearly evident. Shacks made of corrugated metal and scrap create the landscape for the majority of Khayelitsha's residents, while local vendors sell wares on the street corner and children leave under-resourced schools in their required uniforms. The inadequate living conditions create a sense of the fragility of life that is hard to express in words, yet a visceral reminder of the lingering human struggle in this geographic location of political

⁴⁹ Janine Josias in Stuijt, Adriana. "One Female Every 26 Seconds Is Raped in South Africa."

⁵⁰ "Baphumelele Caring for Community". Baphumelele Children's Home. January 4, 2011
<http://www.baphumelele.org.za/information/>.

and social transitions. At the same time, hope for something better in the “New South Africa” often wavers as a result of the lack of available support structures and resources. My initial reaction to entering Khayelitsha in 2010 was unlike any I have ever felt. Moved beyond words, I immediately noticed that the entire community is constructed behind cinderblock walls, as an attempt to mask the atrocities of human existence to the wider public. The hidden lives of millions wait in the cyclical watershed of unemployment, poverty, crime and AIDS. In the midst of these looming structural shadows, the GAPA building displays the words “Together we are stronger,” making one safe haven in the midst of larger circumstances of poverty, crime, unemployment and violence that are so connected to life in Khayelitsha. It is this intersection of the continued hope and possibility for social transformation contained in the GAPA model and the lingering residue of severe socio-economic divides that motivates this study. The pressing contemporary dilemmas of HIV/AIDS and security form vital topics of analysis to explore this argument of structural power, social change and resistance through the lens of elder women activists and community leaders within Khayelitsha.

Contributions of the Study

From this research knowledge on gender, human security and development will be expanded in the following ways:

- The specific relationship of HIV/AIDS and its massive hold on South Africa plays a vital role in understanding how women’s livelihoods are affected, shaped and transformed. Using feminist methodology, an analysis of how women’s lives are directly linked to international security issues is highlighted. Also, the key implications for human security shed light on the issues for future

generations to decrease instability in terms of the continued spread of HIV/AIDS.

- The in-depth interviews of grandmother members provide new insight into how elder women view themselves within the contexts of gender and development and human security. By opening up about their lives through the HIV/AIDS pandemic, these interviews shed new light on the traditional understandings of elder 'black, poor, marginalized' women. This expanded knowledge can be used to improve grandmothers' lives, while further incorporating them in the development process.
- The feminist approach to understanding how, why and when grandmothers in Khayelitsha formed GAPA underscores the larger role that women play in the development process. The 'ground-up' approach showcases how the wider issues of HIV/AIDS as a security threat are being directly challenged by a women's NGO comprised of grandmothers. Through this connection, the evidence that GAPA serves as a replicable model for development and security is evident.

CHAPTER III

GENDER PERSPECTIVES ON HUMAN SECURITY

The wave for a revised means of securitization in the global arena stems from the idea that, “human beings and their complex social and economic relations are given primacy with or over states.”⁵¹ This reassessment of the security framework requires us “to consider humanity embedded not simply within discrete sovereign states, but within a global social structure, the capitalist work economy that has been developing since the sixteenth century.”⁵² Human Security ultimately aims to answer the following question: “What can we do to ensure that people around the world are able to secure themselves, their families, and their communities, from the various threats they face everyday?”⁵³ Previously, human security served as a sub field of the larger security studies focus, but in recent years it has become an appropriate measure for understanding the new world shift away from inter-state conflict. After all, security can mean nothing if it is built on others’ insecurity.⁵⁴

Security studies began as an independent field that was later absorbed as a sub-field of International Relations and served as a model for the bipolar structure of the Cold War framework.⁵⁵ Following the post-war era of 1945, the shift in security studies was

⁵¹ Thomas, Caroline. *Global Governance, Development and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality*. London; Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000. Print. P. 5.

⁵² Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p.7.

⁵³ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p. 15.

⁵⁴ Wibben, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Print. P.1

ignited and changed the field in one specific way: it took “security rather than defense or war as its key concept, a conceptual shift which opened up the study of a broader set of political issues, including the importance of societal cohesion and the relationship between military and non-military threats.”⁵⁶ This shift results both from the previous paradigms that lacked the ability to explain current phenomena and from the need to create a system that could place human security in the center of policy.⁵⁷ This shift paved the way for an analysis of non-state referent objects that play a determining role in both the securitization and development of the global and political economy. This shift would come to be known as Human Security. The human dynamic, or placing individuals at the center of security, is unique in its enterprise because it has the ability to examine global dynamics without the exclusion of the local and simultaneously incorporates a range of scales into the larger framework of a revolutionized field of security.⁵⁸

After the launch of the new security framework in 1994 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), various categories serve as the foundation for understanding Human Security: socio-economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, and personal security.⁵⁹ Examining the new threats that emerge with the HIV/AIDS crisis provides the opportunity to look at the intersections of these dimensions of human security. In this research the threats to personal, community, health

⁵⁶ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p.1.

⁵⁷ McRae, Robert Grant, and Don Hubert. *Human Security and the New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace*. . Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Print. P. 20.

⁵⁸ Lammers, Ellen. *Refugees, Gender and Human Security: A Theoretical Introduction and Annotated Bibliography*. Utrecht: International Books, 1999. Print. P. 62.

⁵⁹ Ray, Richard Jolly and Deepayan Basu. *The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports: a Review of Experiences and Current Debates*. United Nations Development Programme: National Human Development Report Unit, 2006. Print. P. 5.

and political security will be examined through a focused analysis of the GAPA civil society organizational model of development. Barry Buzan writes that “human security is dedicated to the view that human beings should be the primary referent object of security, and therefore that International Security Studies should include issues of poverty, underdevelopment, hunger and other assaults on human integrity and potential; in other words, it is the quality of life lived, in addition to the abstract calculation of years, that is the focus of human security.”⁶⁰ By using this framework, human security rests on the foundation that all human beings have a right to live a free and productive life void of threats and harm. This guiding ideological perspective holds a distinct resonance for the study at hand because the watershed effects of HIV/AIDS in the community of Khayelitsha have forced GAPA grandmothers to live the realities of insecurity on a daily basis.

From the evolving dynamics of international relations since the end of the Cold War, the field of Security Studies has taken on a wider approach to the analysis and theoretical investigation of the elements of security and overall peacekeeping. The sometimes ambiguous field of Security Studies reaches deeper into the theories of international relations to address some of the major perspectives, such as realism, and the ongoing challenges it continues to face in light of a globalized, post-Cold War environment.

When the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union collapsed, the world was left vulnerable and looking towards the next great power for leadership. Positive peace

⁶⁰ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p.36.

research called into the question the state centered approach to security. This led to a development within the field referred to by Buzan and Hansen as “widening and deepening.”⁶¹ The aim of this shift was to expand the concept of security and underscored the idea that the narrowness of the military state-centric agenda was analytically, politically and normatively problematic. Security centers on the constructs of naming an object that needs to be secured and up until the post-Cold War era, “securing the state was seen instrumentally as the best way of protecting other referent objects.”⁶² Stemming from this framework was the idea that state-centered power, militarized gains and anarchy ultimately made up the inner workings of the international system. This mainstreamed ideology, although difficult to clearly define, made up the field of Security Studies, which would become linked to the larger field of International Relations. Buzan and Hansen argued that such things as the “peaceful ending of the Cold War, the growth in intra-state conflicts, Western societies’ fear of immigration, the decaying environment and the acceleration of HIV/AIDS epidemic demonstrated that traditionalism was unable to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War era.”⁶³

Security Studies within International Relations has become a recent evolution sparked from the resignation of the Cold War framework. With this evolution, a shifting paradigm entered the construct of International Relations and a realization that security encompasses other objects of study, contrary to state power, took stronghold. As Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen explain, “economic and environmental security became

⁶¹ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p. 187.

⁶² Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p. 11.

⁶³ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p. 187.

established, if controversial, parts of the agenda during the later years of the Cold War, and were joined during the 1990s by societal (or identity) security, human security, food security and others.”⁶⁴ The issues of human and societal security play a defining role in the concern stemming from the global HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The engagement of the international community towards a new trend of human rights initiatives is a powerful piece in the larger movement for the advocacy of women’s rights. The bottom up approach comes into play as the realization that individuals, specifically women, play a powerful role in all aspects of HIV/AIDS education, community prevention, policymaking and eradication. Although women leaders have been confronting HIV/AIDS on the ground since its inception, the presence of women in national structures of governance has not been a seamless transition, particularly in the larger context of post-conflict reconstruction. As Anderlini points out, “engaging with women’s peace organizations, ensuring their participation in peacebuilding, remains largely talk. The practice is at best ad hoc.”⁶⁵ The reasons behind this juxtaposition of policy and practice serve as the basis for Anderlini’s book, Women Building Peace, What They Do, Why It Matters, which focuses on addressing and understanding the roles of women within the structures of conflict and peace. Anderlini goes on to explain that equality is a term that is often eloquently displayed as a means of promotion, but it continues to remain faulty in practice. Her work specifically focuses on “the weakness of

⁶⁴ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p. 2.

⁶⁵ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*. . Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub, 2007. Print.P. 2.

the international system in terms of fulfilling its obligations to women.”⁶⁶ Anderlini draws attention to complications caused by a structure where a multitude of organizations within the United Nations work towards seemingly similar advocacy yet create “the illusion that much more is being done for women than is really the case.”⁶⁷ Anderlini argues that “development practice should already be a gender-sensitive enterprise” but she acknowledges that complications arise when conflicts seem too difficult to compound them with a gender lens.⁶⁸ Anderlini uncovered the fact that women who suffer directly in conflict and who are working on the grassroots levels to incite change are continually going unrecognized. This reality underscores the detriments to human security worldwide and points to the need to recognize the powerful contributions of the organization of grandmothers, who by assuring human security on a daily basis, survive the continued post-conflict violence caused by structural inequality and HIV/AIDS and serve as vital community leaders within Khayelitsha.

Gender and development scholars also point to issues of apathy, ad hoc practice and amnesia in terms of bureaucracies and their involvement in gender policies and programs. As Anderlini problematizes, apathy is underscored by the fact that gender programs are often considered an “optional extra,” if time and funds permit.⁶⁹ Rather than seeing women as central to national security concerns and the assurance of peaceful societies, gender initiatives often remain as ad hoc programs that take the form of small-scale pilot research and often do not fully reach the level of policy implementation. For

⁶⁶ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. p.193.

⁶⁷ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. p. 204.

⁶⁸ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. p. 207.

⁶⁹ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi. p. 214.

example, many policy initiatives promote a seemingly sound system of gender promotion at the national and international levels, yet in all reality, these same policies often lack large scale reform power and are used solely for the purpose of bolstering small scale efforts to include women at a rather surface promotional level. This is where grassroots organizations, like GAPA, come into play as the sole providers of community support, education and human security. To date, international bureaucracies have not captured the realities of how grassroots women's organizations function as both human security and development agents. These dual functions take on a particularly distinct role when we add the complexities of women serving on the front lines of the HIV/AIDS battle. These interconnected functions capture the core inquiry of this research.

Feminist Security Studies

In response to this widening consideration of the multiple layers of security studies, along with the increased attention to the core importance of human security in both international development and post-conflict peacebuilding, feminist scholars are contributing new research and theoretical insights that address the core questions of this study. As the field of International Security Studies (ISS) "has at times become a site for disciplinary politics with different actors perspectives arguing that their perspectives should be included, the larger struggle to define the field persists."⁷⁰ One movement to widen analyses within the field comes in the form of a feminist approach to security. Mabuq Haq, the author of the *Human Development Report*, which introduced human security at the United Nations level, stated that the broadening of the security field must

⁷⁰ Buzan, Barry, and Lene Hansen. p. 8.

move to include issues beyond the narrow construct of military and state security to include *people*.⁷¹ This recent shift marked the entrance of feminist security studies, which openly addresses the contributions of individuals, specifically women.

The doors of standard International Relations, though, have been slow to welcome a feminist approach. In fact, feminism is one of the newest guests at the political table of current state-dominated International Relations theorists. The first interaction between the fields of feminism and International Relations began at the 1988 conference on “Women and International Relations” at the London School of Economics. The outcome of this gathering took form as a feminist challenge to the existing standpoints of International Relations and Security Studies. The feminist standpoint highlighted the perspective that through feminist research, individual problems transcended to larger political problems, or as Dorothy Smith would say, “the personal is political.”⁷² Insights based on women’s lived experiences shed light on the larger social picture beyond the individual level.⁷³ This feminist perspective within International Relations widened the scope of analysis and challenged scholars to consider the vital connections between theory and practice. As Annick Wibben argues, “feminists have played an important role in proposing alternative conceptions of power and violence that go beyond the traditional military configurations of the discipline of IR, including ideas of common and cooperative security arrangements, and non-state-centric perspectives on security.”⁷⁴ This movement

⁷¹ Wibben, p. 82

⁷² Wibben, p.17.

⁷³ Wibben, p.14.

⁷⁴ Wibben, p.5.

complimented the shift to a human security framework, while widening the scale of empirical studies to include individuals, organizations and civil society more broadly.

Bringing the gender dimension of International Relations to the surface is the key focus of feminist security studies. From this perspective, gender inequality is central to the human security framework, no matter what definition is used.⁷⁵ Through understanding women's narratives and social locations, a larger gender structure within International Relations is evident. Feminist security studies scholars posit women's roles in societies as directly related to security dynamics, macro political situations and post-conflict peacebuilding.⁷⁶

Gender is broadly defined as "the array of societal beliefs, norms, customs, and practices that define masculine and feminine attributes and behaviors, often acts as a filter leading to patterns of inclusion or exclusion in access to basic needs and services, including those related to health."⁷⁷ According to feminist security studies scholars, consideration of gender is central to both development and security studies because of the asymmetric power relations between men and women across societies, which reinforce power relations, conflict, and unequal access to resources.⁷⁸ Creating a gender equitable society void of the inhibiting patriarchal structure that limits women's access to social, economic and political power is the main aim of the feminist agenda. Feminists focus on how power differences are central to world politics and contribute to the insecurity of

⁷⁵ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C. p.181.

⁷⁶ Wibben, p.17.

⁷⁷ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.181

⁷⁸ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.181

individuals, particularly marginalized and disempowered populations.⁷⁹ For these reasons, feminist security studies scholars have consistently argued that human security and post-conflict peace transitions cannot be achieved without the vital integration of attention to women and a wider gender perspective.

Gender and Development

The field of feminist security studies works well with the more established contributions of gender and development scholars, who have continually raised questions about how the social construction of gender plays out in measures of social development, nations' governance and political processes. This most relevant theoretical analysis of the role of elder women in post-conflict development within South Africa includes both feminist security studies and gender and development literature. This final literature overview highlights the central components of gender and development concepts in order to establish the guiding theoretical perspectives that frame this study.

The desire to enunciate and recognize the role of women both inside and outside serves as one of the main foundational principles of the field of Gender and Development (GAD).⁸⁰ The coined "Decade of Women," stemming from 1976 to 1985 did little to temper the gendered dimension of poverty, which continually expanded through the 1990s and on.⁸¹ As Janet Momsen states, "this decade saw very limited changes in

⁷⁹ Tickner, J. Ann. *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*. . New York: Columbia University Press 2001. Print.P.3.

⁸⁰ Momsen. p.16.

⁸¹ Momsen. p.10.

patriarchal attitudes, that is institutionalized male dominance, and few areas where modernization was associated with a reversal of the overwhelming subordination of women.⁸²

The earlier work of Women in Development shifted focus on Gender and Development as a result of a core conceptual emphasis on the importance of analyzing relations between men and women, rather than collapsing the field to a narrow focus on women. While sex distinguishes biological differences between men and women, gender is a critical dimension of socialization that defines what it means to be male and female and prescribes particular roles, which are reinforced from across societies from infancy to adulthood. Each society establishes distinct social constructions of gender that define acceptable masculine and feminine behavior. These norms shape the roles of women and men both in terms of access to social resources and personal development. Accordingly, gender is critically connected to national development and has emerged as a central indicator of social progress. Feminist development scholars use gender relations “to interrogate the way development policies change the balance of power between women and men.”⁸³ It becomes evident through this examination that sexual violence, economic violence and restrictive social and economic norms continue to marginalize women around the world in very distinct and interconnected ways.

While international development has examined measures of productivity, a more nuanced examination of gender indicates prevailing differences in the value according to particular forms of labor and social contributions. Gender plays a defining role in how

⁸² Momsen. p.10.

⁸³ Momsen, p. 2.

men and women work within and outside of households, gain access to material resources and assume roles within societies.⁸⁴ In order to understand gender production roles, we first need to investigate gender dynamics on a household level- where the origins of gender socialization are reinforced. The private sphere has been a site of continued analysis among feminist scholars because it provides a clear indication of how gender divides are rooted in societal structures, which in turn impacts social and economic development for women specifically.⁸⁵ Caroline Moser writes, “Reproductive and managing work, inside and outside of the home are both seen as ‘natural and non-productive and therefore are not valued. This has serious consequences for women. It means that the majority, if not all, of the work that they do is made invisible and fails to be recognized as work either by men in the community or by those planners whose responsibility is to assess different needs within low income communities. While the tendency is to see women’s and men’s needs as similar, the reality of women’s lives show a very different situation.”⁸⁶ This means that women are active and important producers within the larger process of social development.

Gender as a lens for viewing development is a central guiding framework that informs this research. In line with feminism, issues of gender are focal points that interconnect with an analysis of how race and class impact security for individuals. As we continue to look at women’s roles in relation to social and economic opportunities, it

⁸⁴ Mosse, Julia, and Oxfam. *Half the World Half a Chance: An Introduction to Gender and Development*. Oxford: Oxfam, 1993. Print. P.2

⁸⁵ Momsen, p.16.

⁸⁶ Moser, Caroline and Caren Levy. "A Theory and Methodology of Gender Planning: Meeting Women's Practical and Strategic Needs." University College of London, 1986. 32 of *Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning*. Print. p.1.

becomes clear that gender emerges as a central dimension of poverty.⁸⁷ This claim is backed by the evidential support that women comprise a substantial percentage of the poor, which has coined the 'feminization of poverty' perspective.⁸⁸ According to a UN statistic of the world's 1.3 billion poor people, it is estimated that nearly 70 per cent are women.⁸⁹ The 'feminization of poverty' underscores the need for women's empowerment and central inclusion in international development analyses and applied projects.

Development is not always equitable or equally available in terms of male and female.⁹⁰ Applying this gender differential provides a critical vantage point to understand that "the process of development is not primarily one of expanding the supply of goods and services but of enhancing the capacities of people."⁹¹ For most women around the world, household maintenance and social reproduction serve as the major societal contributions. These roles are also coupled with the "maintenance of kinship linkages and neighborhood networks along with carrying out religious, ceremonial and social obligations within the community."⁹² Reproduction and production tasks are often the tools that women use to survive and because of a positive social standing within these roles, a woman might be able to gain access to a more powerful leadership role within her

⁸⁷ Kabeer, Naila. "Targeting Women or Transforming Institutions? Policy Lessons from NGO Anti-Poverty Efforts." *JSTOR* 5.2 (1995): 108-16 Print.P.108.

⁸⁸ Kabeer, p. 108.

⁸⁹ "Women at a Glance". United Nations Department of Public Information, 1997. January 24, 2012. <<http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/women/women96.htm>>.

⁹⁰ Momsen, p.4.

⁹¹ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p.7.

⁹² Momsen, p.47.

community.⁹³ Development is not always a positive influence in terms of women's allocation of work. In some cases, the onset of development has increased women's burdens to include the reproductive, household and productive tasks.⁹⁴ Education of women is a focal point of the field of Gender and Development. The popularized development motto echoes that 'every year you educate a woman past primary level, the more likely she will wait longer to wed and have children, thus increasing her ability to provide for a healthier family, and in turn she will recognize the value of education for her own children.' The cycle of poverty and all its subdivisions are ultimately defeated through the education and empowerment of women.⁹⁵ Empowerment and education serve as a reoccurring narrative for the grandmothers of GAPA while encompassing the larger aim of socio-economic development and gender equality. Therefore, understanding how development policies and initiatives shape women's lives is a key piece in bridging the gender gap that evades so much of the world's societies.

Combining Gender and Development with Human Security provides a distinct and relevant approach to both analyzing the case in this study and comprehending the existing global conditions that necessitate a simultaneous lens on the possibilities for greater social equality, peacebuilding and the reduction of human suffering. The hope is that human security will allow policy "to capture the post-Cold War peace dividend and redirect those resources towards the development agenda."⁹⁶ When "situating meanings

⁹³ Momsen, p.47.

⁹⁴ Momsen, p.48.

⁹⁵ Momsen, p.50.

⁹⁶ L. Axworthy in Fourie p. 26.

of security in the context of intersecting oppressions, they explode the confines of traditional security accounts and attempt to fix meanings of security and anchor them to one form of identity.”⁹⁷ I assert that in the existing global context, the most relevant anchor of identity is women. Making up half the world’s population, while working to produce families, social structures and economies, women serve as a major development force.

Growth, human security and modernization are not gender-neutral enterprises. Although the United Nations women’s conferences in Mexico City, Copenhagen, Nairobi and Beijing over the past three decades incorporated gender into development, some governments and states are still hesitant to approach the divide.⁹⁸ Furthermore, in times of political conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding, women’s contributions often remain marginalized in ways that ignore these vital connections among gender, political stability and national development. These continued fissures lead to serious repercussions in terms of development and economic growth. Overall, the absence of gender equality equates to a loss of human potential in terms of development, with negative effects for both men and women.⁹⁹ Standing as one of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals, the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender equality has been lauded as a vital component of development in policy rhetoric. Sustainable development was outlined in the Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 as ‘transformed partnership

⁹⁷ Wibben, p.100.

⁹⁸ Momsen, p.5.

⁹⁹ Momsen, p.8.

based on equality between women and men.’¹⁰⁰ Without this partnership recognized on global and local levels, women will continue to face unequal policies and constricting gender roles that inhibit their own growth and development in tandem with the global structure. In practice, studies show that when these goals are not implemented within a state, parallel measures of increased poverty and an overall lower quality of life persist.¹⁰¹ All in all, the lack of gender equality serves as one of the major hindrances to world development.

The shift to understanding and recognizing women’s dual roles in both the home and the public sphere will serve the larger goal of gender equality by increasing awareness in regards to the roles of women and thus decreasing the current gender norms that inhibit development growth.¹⁰² Looking deeper into the state-centered model of security, it becomes clear that the welfare burden continually moves from the responsibility of the state to individuals, specifically women. This increased burden is linked to the neoliberal hegemonic structure in existence today.¹⁰³ In times of economic flux and recession, women carry the heaviest burden in terms of providing for their families and maintaining the household and other tasks required of them. This shift causes a human level experience of a larger social securitization problem. Throughout this transition shift, the grandmothers of GAPA have been forced to take on new roles as caretakers, providers and support systems in the years they had hoped to be retired.

¹⁰⁰ Momsen, p.11.

¹⁰¹ Momsen. p.9.

¹⁰² Momsen. p.234.

¹⁰³ Momsen. p.237.

Poverty is a social inhibitor of development. As poverty increases, feelings of powerlessness and insecurity arise, leading to complications and trouble within the construct of gender relations.¹⁰⁴ This specific phenomenon will be exemplified in the concurrent section on the dynamics of living as a woman in Khayelitsha Township in the midst of HIV/AIDS.

¹⁰⁴ Narayan in Momsen. p. 242.

CHAPTER IV

HIV/AIDS AND ELDER WOMEN

Gendered Dimensions of HIV/AIDS

It is important to consider how gender plays a defining role in terms of HIV/AIDS in larger security and development contexts. The gendered component of the HIV/AIDS health crisis is the key to breaking down stereotypes and situating the disease in the larger social structures.¹⁰⁵ Rape, patriarchal relationships, sexual myths regarding the cure for AIDS, access to resources, lack of education, physiology of women, gender roles and cultural traditions are all features impacting the lives of elder women affected by HIV/AIDS. Understanding that socially defined gendered roles restrict access and agency to protect against HIV/AIDS is linked to the fact that more women than men in Africa are infected. Physiological sex differences also play a major role in the transmission and treatment of HIV/AIDS.¹⁰⁶ As one scholar stated, “Evidence from some studies indicates that women may have higher biological vulnerability to HIV infection than men, since the odds of male-to-female transmission are significantly higher than those of female-to-male.”¹⁰⁷ According to one report, the rate of transmission from male-to-female can be two to five times higher than from female to male and with 71 percent of all HIV/AIDS

¹⁰⁵ Fourie. p.42.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.188.

¹⁰⁷ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.188.

infections occurring in Sub-Saharan Africa, over half of all HIV positive adults are women.¹⁰⁸

Women's marginalized social positions place a second level of vulnerability to infection. As Linda K. Fuller suggests, "African females are the worse hit by HIV/AIDS, vulnerable because of their lack of access to information about health care and treatment, because in general they are less educated, because they are expected to be married and have children and to be caretakers for their families and the aged and the ill, and because they have limited options for employment and so tend to be economically dependent on men- who all too often are unfaithful, migratory, violent, and/or dismissive."¹⁰⁹ All of these social factors uncovered by Fuller's explanation play a major connected role in the GAPA grandmothers' lives. These same issues were brought to light on a more personal level in my interviews with leaders of the organization. Gender also plays a defining role in the care received by a female infected with HIV/AIDS. Women living in the developing world are often subjected to patriarchal conditions both inside and outside of the home. Without the social agency to demand a partner establish safe sex practices, access appropriate health care facilities or gain adequate education in terms of HIV prevention, many women are left extremely vulnerable to infection. These stressors caused by socio-economic conditions only increase as family members contract the disease and women's roles dictate that they serve as providers and caretakers.¹¹⁰ As Sonali Johnson and Claudia Garcia-Moreno explain, "the overall level and quality of

¹⁰⁸ Momsen, p.86-87.

¹⁰⁹ Fuller. p. 2.

¹¹⁰ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu, p. 22.

care, treatment, and support received is gender oriented and consequently, HIV/AIDS is a critical issue of gender insecurity.”¹¹¹ This double burden of physical vulnerability to infection coupled with expected caretaking gender roles can be directly linked to the GAPA grandmothers and their ongoing efforts to combat poverty and socio-economic development in an attempt to stifle AIDS transmission in Khayelitsha.

Understanding HIV/AIDS in the larger contexts of security and gender results in a much larger number of affected women. Therefore, in terms of health, economic, social and emotional support resources women are often disenfranchised. The trickle down effects of the marginalization of women has led to the watershed of effects of HIV/AIDS infections that inhibit women from gaining the access, support and care they need to shoulder this burden and reverse the cycle. In African Women’s Unique Vulnerabilities to HIV/AIDS: Communication Perspectives and Promises, Linda Fuller highlights the specific connections between African females and HIV/AIDS by portraying the role women play within their social structures. These specific vulnerabilities, including economic, biomedical, sociocultural and educational, serve as important target points to analyzing the current status and historical trends of elder women within South Africa, as a result of the multiple ramifications of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. As Fuller points out, “a feminist approach to AIDS is long overdue. This should be articulated for women who are living with HIV, for women profoundly affected by AIDS and for all the women who are vulnerable to infection, and whose (sex) lives are affected by the epidemic.”¹¹² The knowledge obtained from Fuller’s research highlights my grounding thesis assumption

¹¹¹ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 188

¹¹² Fuller, p.105

that women are the key individuals affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic economically, socially and physically. Therefore, they serve as valuable assets for development change.

Many would argue that HIV/AIDS is just health a problem rooted in sexual behaviors of specific individuals, when in fact this disease reflects human insecurity within regional communities and on a systemic level.¹¹³ Surin Pitsuwan, a Thai member of Parliament and former commissioner of the Commission on Human Security in Tokyo, explained this connection by stating that, “AIDS is essentially a social problem, which has economic implications, which has health implications, which has political implications, which has security implications.”¹¹⁴ Tying together these security implications to a regional health context through a gender lens provides a larger understanding of exactly how HIV/AIDS requires both a macro ‘top down’ response at the level of national and international governance and a micro grassroots approach to dealing with the pandemic in families and communities.

Over the last decade, HIV/AIDS coupled with Tuberculosis have become major health problems in the developing world.¹¹⁵ Heterosexual transmission now accounts for over 70 percent of new infections, according to UNAIDS figures in 2000, making AIDS both a cause of and a direct threat to gender equality. The disease further inhibits women’s access to resources and limits their overall capabilities in terms of carrying out productive, reproductive and community-based tasks.¹¹⁶ As HIV/AIDS shapes and

¹¹³ Fourie, p.35.

¹¹⁴ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu, p.9.

¹¹⁵ Momsen, p.87.

¹¹⁶ Momsen, p.88.

dictates women's roles within their households and communities, the relationship between HIV/AIDS, security and gender becomes clearly defined. One of the key contributions of this research is to illustrate the vital interconnections among all three variables within the larger international crisis. To date, this multilayered perspective has yet to be placed on the agendas of national governments and international institutions in terms of policy change. Women's work is famously unmeasured in formal indexes of economic activity, and for this reason the potentially unendurable burden of Africa's women remains largely unrecognized among policymakers."¹¹⁷ As the disease grows rapidly, the timeline for eradication is rapidly decreasing. This epidemic alone serves as one of the most poignant development concerns of our lifetime. Issues surrounding the future spread of AIDS and its relationship to political and social conflict, as well as the breakdown of entire social structures renders HIV/AIDS a detrimental force in terms of security, national development and the possibility for building peace.¹¹⁸

One of the fundamental contributions of gender and development is the awareness that different places and societies have different practices, which necessitates a need to be "cognizant of this heterogeneity within a certain global homogeneity of gender roles is key."¹¹⁹ Therefore, allowing women's voices to be heard across diverse geographic locations and lending support for women to become agents of change within their own communities is a vital tool in the fight to promote gender and development ideologies and fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Women's initiatives and grassroots projects mark the beginning of a shift in terms of providing the space and resources for women's voices to

¹¹⁷ De Waals, Alex in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 134

¹¹⁸ Fourie, p.28.

¹¹⁹ Momsen, p.3.

enhance social development and human security. Understanding that “the absence of the corresponding label of ‘men’s projects’ disguises the fact that is by far the largest proportion of development resources continues to be invested in schemes which directly benefit men.”¹²⁰ The lack of men’s projects is indicative of the gendered norms within international structures and domestic aid contributors, who see men as the sole beneficiaries of resources, often leaving women sidelined by their counterparts. Through the teachings of gender and development as a relative field of study, women need inclusion and voices in systems where their gender is recognized and understood as a tool for socio-economic development and empowerment. This is particularly crucial with the added dimension of HIV/AIDS. By highlighting the achievements of women, specifically the grassroots grandmother community leaders, and through the establishment of empirical research evidence, sound support for the theoretical conclusions is grounded in the lived experiences of women at the crossroads of facing the interlocking vectors of development, human security and HIV/AIDS. What we learn from this vantage point seems almost inconceivable in traditional scholarship. Yet, when grassroots women are forced into action by the larger social, economic and political circumstance, they can serve as more powerful agents of social change and peace than their own or any “first world” government. But the reality is – they do.

By using narratives and feminist methodologies to understand the finer substance of such macro issues as HIV/AIDS, security and gender inequality, a clearer picture emerges that centers on the individual aspects of these issues as they articulate larger

¹²⁰ Kabeer, p.109.

questions of inquiry. Understanding the root cause of human insecurity, through grounded research provides promise for the ability to achieve the core tenets of a secure human society. As Annick T.R. Wibben explains,

“Approaching security as narrative changes what one sees and what security means. A key component of the narrative approach- and the larger methodological choices advocated here- is that the differences among stories and story-tellers, which characterize personal narratives, are explicitly acknowledged, rather than ironed out as they are in traditional social science approaches. What is more, they are interrogated for what they can tell us about the story-tellers’ conflicts, the multiple strategies that might be employed to address them, and the multiplicity of perspectives that exist in the relations to them. Narratives are always contextual; securities are likewise.”¹²¹

Gathering a gendered perspective on the implications of HIV/AIDS for women in Africa specifically marks a new trend for feminist scholars whose goal is to promote the individual stories of women, and thereby create a clear contextual representation of human security. African women serve as vital knowledge bases in terms of understanding how the disease affects security on community and country levels. Narratives often represent a primary way in which we can understand the world around us.¹²² Creating applied connections between narratives and security issues can be represented by the idea that “narrative ordering makes individual events comprehensible by identifying the whole to which they contribute [...] thereby attributing significance to individual actions and the events according to their effect on the whole. Because traditional security narratives spout from the militarized, state-centric model, they therefore need to be directly challenged by the inclusion of feminist narratives, which enunciate the influence of

¹²¹ Wibben, p.86

¹²² Wibben, p.2.

gender.¹²³ Human security, in order to be a fruitful enterprise, needs to incorporate grassroots activism and state centered approaches. Through this joint cooperation, a larger understanding of how individuals operate in a securitized world will allow for a much richer understanding of what exactly human security means.¹²⁴ As is outlined in the data analysis to follow, gender and security play critical roles in terms of the position and status of women within community structures, as well as their overall advancement as vital contributors to family. As issues of gender and security have begun to take center stage, the reality becomes clear: state centered security must take a backseat to instabilities of HIV/AIDS. Through the evaluation of the GAPA model, narratives will show how asking different questions, focused specifically on women's experiences, renders a profoundly different understanding of security.¹²⁵

Elder Women in South Africa

As a result of political, economic and social constructs in post-apartheid South Africa, women continually bear additional burdens including supporting children orphaned by AIDS, caring for the sick, and maintaining households. Understanding the human security dynamic of HIV/AIDS is vital to addressing the correlation between the gender issues and the security concerns grandmothers face. Through the evaluation of the social, economic and political struggles in South Africa broadly, and Khayelitsha specifically, the need for a model structural assessment of the interconnections between HIV/AIDS, development and human security is in high demand. By simultaneously

¹²³ Wibben, p.44.

¹²⁴ Wibben, p.84.

¹²⁵ Wibben, p.87.

addressing community needs for education, the personal empowerment of elder women and the importance of social support networks, Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS provides this model of support within the micro community of Khayelitsha. While serving over 290 elder women grandmothers at each of these levels, this grassroots organization provides a replicable model for social sustainability that may be applied to a number of global contexts. By connecting the micro level of grandmothers' day-to-day experiences with a larger context of post-conflict reconciliation and national development, this research accentuates the distinct location of elder women who struggle to realize the promises of social development in democratic South Africa in the face of the escalating AIDS pandemic.

Coined as the so-called 'grandmothers' disease,' HIV/AIDS within South Africa has caused a shift in the gender caretaking role, specifically for elder women.¹²⁶ By 2020 the World Bank stated that the projected number of orphan children in Southern Africa is expected to reach about five million, leaving elder women as sole caregivers facing the struggles of providing for themselves, a dying generation of women in their prime, along with their grandchildren.¹²⁷ As HIV/AIDS makes headlines and serves as the focal point for global research, the plight of elder women within South Africa and the role of women as agents for development change are often sidelined within the shadow of the larger epidemic. In his work on HIV/AIDS as a threat to national and international security, Robert Ostergard encompasses this cyclical problem by explaining that, "poverty not

¹²⁶ Nampanya Serpell in Kanya, Hugo and Cynthia Cannon Poindexter. "Mama Jaja: The Stresses and Strengths of HIV-Affected Ugandan Grandmothers." *Social Work in Public Health* (2009): 4-21. Print. p.7.

¹²⁷ Moller, Valerie. "AIDS: The 'Grandmothers' Disease' in Southern Africa." *Ageing and Society* 17 (1997): 461-66. Print. p. 461.

only facilitates the spread of the pandemic, it also structures the outcome once an individual is sick with complications of HIV infection. A strong feature of HIV infection is that it clusters within families, often resulting in both parents being HIV-positive and in time falling sick and dying. Poor families have a reduced capacity to deal with the effects of morbidity and mortality as compared to families with adequate social and economic resources. The poor are already on the margins of survival, and are unable to deal with the costs associated with HIV/AIDS.¹²⁸

According to a UNAIDS estimate, 70 percent of HIV/AIDS caregivers in South Africa were female, with almost a quarter of them over the age of 60.¹²⁹ Gladys Mutangadura explains that many grandmothers are “more insecure than in the pre-AIDS period because during the course of their children’s illnesses, most of them disposed of their assets to pay medical bills and purchase foodstuffs for the sick. After the deaths of the adult children, who in most cases were the caregivers of the elderly parents, the elderly faced acute shortages of cash, food, and other household necessities. More than 25 percent have psychological problems, such as crying spells. Because AIDS intensifies the vulnerability of the elderly who are left without social and economic support, there is a need to innovate new strategies for care in areas of Africa affected by AIDS.”¹³⁰ The need for a strategy based on care and support for elder women within Khayelitsha, South Africa serves as the foundation for the establishment of Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS. Let us now turn to an overview of the organizational analysis of this case

¹²⁸ Nana K. Poku and Bjorg Sandkjaer in Ostergard, p. 139.

¹²⁹ UNAIDS in Mutangadura, Gladys B. p.6.

¹³⁰ Mutangadura, Gladys B., p. 6.

study to demonstrate how this particular women's civil society organization contributes to the massive needs for social development and increased human security within South Africa.

Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS

Working to eradicate poverty and AIDS in the Khayelitsha community, Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS serves as a model for the advancement of social, political and economic development on a micro level. The philosophy of the organization is based on the empowerment and education of elder women, whose families and lives have been affected by HIV/AIDS. Each member of GAPA gained access to the organization because HIV/AIDS has affected either themselves or their family. All the women are over the age of fifty and speak the Xhosa language. Xhosa serves as a dominant form of communication for grandmother members. GAPA functions as a self help model established by the women it serves. Run and executed by grandmother community leaders, GAPA works to enhance its community-wide services, which include educational workshops, support groups, income generation projects, and aftercare services for community children, in an attempt to combat the social and economic inequalities so present within the Khayelitsha community. These organizational projects, as well as the larger philosophies, are guided by a perspective that draws upon the social capital and status of elder women as central figures in the fight against AIDS, violence and poverty. Kathleen Broderick, founder of Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS, stated in a 2011 interview that GAPA was "building the capacity of older women

to cope with their life circumstances, achieving this through building self-esteem.”¹³¹ She went on to say that by making educational opportunities available in various language formats, contributing to household income through the skills development that builds upon the agency of grandmothers’ hands, providing opportunities for community leadership roles and the spread of knowledge, while advocating on behalf of older persons, GAPA serves as a community-based, grandmother-run support system where the flow of knowledge is expansive and inclusive.¹³² Grandmother members Olivia and Gladys explained GAPA as an organization that aims to help the elder generation in the wake of AIDS:

GAPA is trying to help the grannies and the grandchildren of the grannies who have lost their parents.

Gladys’ definition of GAPA reaches deep into the core foundational aspects of the organization. With aims to support, educate and empower grandmothers, GAPA works to provide security and stability for elder women and their grandchildren. Along with Olivia and Gladys, Florence, a staff member at GAPA, described the organization’s role in decreasing the burdens of death, AIDS and poverty for many grandmothers:

GAPA is telling people each and everything that is heavy and a bad thing, that is not the end of the world you can keep on going. Life is going and that problem will be solved. It will pass and you can keep on going with your life.

Doris gave her own definition of what GAPA does in her life and community, underscoring the role the organization plays for elder women:

¹³¹ Broderick, Katheleen. "Thesis Interview." Ed. Eck, Savannah 2011. 2. Print.

¹³² Broderick, Katheleen. "Thesis Interview." Ed. Eck, Savannah 2011. 2. Print.

GAPA first thing, like us to be happy and not to sit in the house thinking about everything. GAPA is here to give you a new life and a new thinking and you have something to do as old people.

The belief that elder women can overcome obstacles and serve as valuable assets to community development became a key piece in the organizational model, after small scale support groups had initially been created to ease grandmothers' suffering. In these ways, rather than reifying common associations about elder women as passive and likely unaware of the HIV/AIDS context, GAPA positions itself as an organization comprised of grandmother social change agents who actively confront the multiple dimensions of the poverty and the AIDS pandemic as a collective force.

Formed as a pilot project by University of Cape Town occupational therapy professor Kathleen Broderick, GAPA was initially an attempt to support grandmothers from townships in the Western Cape through social interaction and small- scale support groups. Running off of government support, small and large-scale donations from organizations like the Stephen Lewis Foundation, which was a program of the United Nations Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa, the organization became an official NGO in 2001. This came after grandmother members declared the need for a larger scale continual community-based project to fight the interlocking problems of security, development and HIV/AIDS.¹³³ The community formed through GAPA's model serves to make women like Tenjiwe stronger in her capacity to cope with the daily experiences of AIDS-affected community life:

¹³³ "GAPA Grandmothers against Poverty and AIDS". 2011. GAPA Organization Website. WordPress. Dec 13 2011. <<http://www.gapa.org.za/>>.

I get rest [here] and the stresses went off. It made [me into] something. I just talk to the other one [and get support]. Everyday I am longing to come here, it is happy everyday. I realized I am not the only one. AIDS is in all our houses. I am becoming stronger.

Because AIDS plays such an impactful role in all of the grandmother members' lives, GAPA strives to offer education, support and empowerment to help elder women cope in the face of the larger pandemic. Consisting of an administration staff, board of directions, management committee, and a staff of Aftercare teachers, in 2010 GAPA boasted 293 grandmother members making up 25 support groups, over 146 children enrolled in the Aftercare program. As of 2008, 65 local preschools and 115 children benefitted from the education and community services GAPA provided through preschool bursary funds.¹³⁴ The GAPA model includes both a community outreach program component and a large portion of the organization efforts are devoted to empowering the capacities of individual grandmothers to act as community leaders and change agents, in the face of severe poverty, unemployment, security instability and HIV/AIDS. In efforts to promote wellness for its members, GAPA grandmothers have a health club with over forty-five members that meet every Tuesday to exercise.¹³⁵ Workshops are continually conducted by trained grandmother members three days of every month and cover a wide variety of topics, including HIV/AIDS, parenting, business and gardening skills, human rights, sexual violence and bereavement. Their education sessions are open to the public in efforts to expand the impact of GAPA's educational component. Various elements of security, economic support and education play vital roles in the mission of GAPA.

¹³⁴ Budaza, Yolisa Vivienne. *Grandmothers against Poverty and AIDS Annual Report: Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS*, 2010. Print.

¹³⁵ "Gapa Grandmothers against Poverty and Aids". 2011. GAPA Organization Website. WordPress. Dec 13 2011. <<http://www.gapa.org.za/>>.

Starting from the regional implications of unemployment, violence, AIDS and a lack of education, GAPA strives to overcome the severe obstacles of economic, child and gender-based violence, and the cumulative community insecurity rendered from these from the cyclical effects of widespread unemployment and HIV/AIDS. This insecurity creates vulnerabilities specific to elder women, who suffer the dual burden of serving as both the provider and caregiver.

In the midst of struggles to provide for a younger generation, grandmothers are often targets for violence in the midst of an impoverished community. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) states that “Violence against women throughout the life cycle derives essentially from cultural patterns, in particular the harmful effects of certain traditions or customary practices and all acts of extremism linked to race, sex, language or religion that perpetuate the lower class accorded to women in family, the workplace, the community and the society. The low status of women can be both a cause and a consequence of violence against women.”¹³⁶ Through the subordination of women in the wider Khayelitsha community, the culture of a male-dominated society has emerged, leaving women at risk to violence and HIV/AIDS. The relationship between gender inequalities and cultural norms stems directly from poverty and its watershed of effects. An examination of the gendered socialization roles will be highlighted in detail in the subsection to follow in order to uncover the elder women’s relationship to poverty and various other insecurities.

¹³⁶ Krug in Momsen, p. 95.

Understanding how GAPA plays an active role in redressing violence against women and promoting gender equality can be seen in their monthly workshops focused on abuse and human rights. In a personal interview with Constance, a GAPA grandmother who conducts the monthly workshop on abuse, we see the role educational workshops play in confronting various forms of violence evident and easily visible in Khayelitsha:

In the workshop I am telling about the abuse about sexual abuse. I tell them that there are different kinds abuse. There is sexual abuse where somebody wants to take your body by force and you do not agree. This rape. I am talking about physical abuse where somebody has got marks. If somebody has beaten you maybe sometimes you come from work with your eyes right then the next day your eyes are blue and it shows that you had physical abuse, you have been beaten. The marks are showing. The marks show the abuse. I told about incest abuse where there is a man in the house and he gives the children pills. The children do not know what they are doing. When is in the house he wants to sleep with his niece or his sister. That is incest abuse because it is happening to the family. There is financial abuse where there is sometimes the husband is working and instead of coming to the house he comes to shop and waste the money and when he comes home there is nothing to be eaten and he beats the wife. That is financial abuse because that woman is being abused financially.

Through the education and experience Constance has acquired through GAPA and her own life, she is able to relay valuable insights regarding the various types of abuse at its prevention to a larger community audience. Showcasing sexual, physical and economic abuse as crimes against women, Constance is educating the wider community to see their own relationship to these issues and offering them insight into how to gain support from GAPA members and access larger legal realms for protection. This kind of education is needed to alter the view that female marginalization is a socially and acceptable norm. Constance went on to tell me about a man who attended her monthly workshop on abuse at GAPA:

Someday when I was doing the abuse thing there was a man. When I told him the man must ask permission to sleep with women they mustn't just take you for granted and the man was here and he took his things and march out and didn't come back saying 'that women was so silly saying how our wife must handle us.'

Her story illustrates the patriarchal attitudes so pervasive in the community. In an effort to combat these cultural constraints, Constance teaches about abuse, offers various outlets for women's empowerment and further debunks the myths surrounding the cultural subordination of the female population. In line with educating and empowering women, when asked what GAPA could do better, Mary stated that getting men involved in GAPA workshops was key:

The men will come here. All the old men come here and they too will get better. To the workshops and to join us to learn gardening and to cook.

Mary's idea is reflective of the development concept of gender mainstreaming, which creates a cooperative environment for equality of the sexes. This practice "tries to ensure that women's as well as men's concerns and experiences are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all projects so that gender inequality is not perpetuated. This would also help "to avoid male-backlash against women when women-only projects are successful."¹³⁷ In line with Mary, Doris sees the future of GAPA working alongside of men in the community as the means for creating an outlet for redressing gender divides and creating an environment conducive to community-based change:

If GAPA could go and educate people and men how to live a life of this way so that they could change their lives instead of doing something bad. Something for men and grandmothers to do that could be the big changes.

¹³⁷ Momsen, p .15.

The problem rests in the fact that too many gender-training programs are exclusive to women. This serves as a major roadblock to changing the gender roles within a social structure or society. It is apparent that in order for a structural and cultural change to occur, men must be included in these processes. GAPA strives to educate men in their workshops and none of their community- based awareness activities are gender exclusive. An analysis of women's experiences can "identify profound societal inequalities that not only affect women's and men's lives but also point to imbalances in economic and political power that require more systemic overhaul."¹³⁸ This process of capacity building put forth by GAPA addresses men who continually enforce the gender stereotypes, along with broader cultural norms, which ultimately allows them to become partners and understand the benefits of including women in development processes that promote gender equality.

Gender roles and the social marginalization of women are the root causes of the spread of inequality within township life. Understanding the various relationships between men and women and the views of inequality evident within Khayelitsha comprise a central goal of my research. I felt that seeing gender socialization roles through the eyes of grandmothers daily, lived experiences would shed light on the ramifications that these inequalities create within larger community spaces. Since women make up the majority of victims of sexual violence and physical abuse crimes in the region, this assessment was key to linking gender, development and socialized norms to the larger picture of GAPA's model.

¹³⁸ Anderlini, p. 43.

As the scholarship and applied analyses of persistent larger gender inequality patterns continually demonstrates, women “are subject to socially defined gender norms and, particularly, to the unequal balance of power between women and men.”¹³⁹ In the context of South Africa’s post-conflict transitions and its accompanying human security concerns, women are particularly vulnerable to violence and abuse. Throughout this study, it became evident within the micro community of Khayelitsha and throughout the GAPA project, that human security is a gendered phenomenon. GAPA, like “most projects dealing with HIV/AIDS, aims at some sort of behavior change, not through force or legislation but by convincing the target population that it is in their own best interest and within their power to change their own behavior in order to reduce their risk level.”¹⁴⁰ Through awareness and public action to reverse gender inequality, women take more control of their own lives and choices, leading to a decreased infection rate for both men and women. For example, “Changing the Rivers Flow” was used as a major slogan piece used by GAPA in 2010 to highlight the cultural gender norms that needed reevaluation within their own patriarchal community. This gender-mainstreaming project sought to highlight the harmful aspects of women’s subordination in Khayelitsha by providing knowledge and insights about the benefits of women’s empowerment, equality, and contributions to peacebuilding.

One of the guiding questions in this study posed a question to grandmothers about how they understood the socialized norms for men and women in Khayelitsha, in efforts to uncover the texture of the gender roles evident in daily life for elder women members

¹³⁹ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.181

¹⁴⁰ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p.24.

of GAPA. By asking participants, “What is the difference between men and women in Khayelitsha?” the narrative data revealed a wealth of guiding assumptions that operate in ways that continue to shape social life in the wider community. In her individual interview, Florence articulated the double reproductive and domestic burdens of women, stating:

Women have more work in Khayelitsha than men because women are the ones that are living with kids. Men go and seek another women. That is the thing that women carry a lot of work that makes life more difficult. Women stay with so many children without a father. She must look after the kids and go look for work and the father is outside looking for other women.

The dual burden women experience is heightened due to the onset of HIV/AIDS in the community. Women continually struggle to raise the children and support the family economically. Florence underscored the idea that men in the community are devoid of family responsibility and often seek multiple partners, putting women at risk of infection. Thelma links Florence’s statements about men and goes on to explain the gender difference in her own words:

Men are lazy. The people that are working are women. Women are always going to work but men stay at the house. Most of the women here are working.

The traditional social construction of male/female roles is evident even at a young age. Many young girls often work alongside of their mothers to maintain the household. Olivia and Gladys spoke to the issues of teaching youth in the community respect for women when I asked the question, “Do you think when you have a boy child you should teach him that he needs to help? Do you raise him to respect women and help a woman and do chores?”

You must. Yes, Yes, they cannot say I will not clean or cook because I am not a girl. Girl or no girl, because one day when you are not here what will he do? You

are not here forever one day he is going to be along what is he going to do if you don't learn him to do these things.

I went on to ask them, "Do you think a lot of people don't teach boys? Do you think that is the problem?" Their response was:

Some of them spoil the children. He must cook and clean and wash his own clothes and wash the dishes and ironing. He can do all things the girl is doing because he has got two hands and ten fingers. There is no excuse. There is no difference. He must do it himself.

Underscoring that girls and boys are equal, grandmothers are taking a major step in confronting traditional gendered norms. Combatting these norms to create a system rooted in equality would drastically change the relations between men and women in the community of Khayelitsha.

The second major area of concern for grandmother participants emerged in the repeated connection to the larger context of poverty and unemployment in Khayelitsha. Nompumelelo linked security, unemployment and gender inequality in her response to my questions about what makes Khayelitsha insecure. Her response listed poverty and the cyclical problems of unemployment as the major causes of violence. She touches on a pervasive fear of men that is so apparent for many of the grandmothers in Khayelitsha as a result of the high rates of physical and sexual violence:

I am still scared of men in Khayelitsha. I don't blame the men because if the men in Khayelitsha could get jobs. Its poverty that makes it, the women are busy doing things, looking after the kids. The men have nothing to do in our location. If you sit there doing nothing you cannot think straight. You just think evil. You are hungry. If I can just grab that white lady I can get the purse sometimes that white lady is just a student like you and has no money and then you go to jail for nothing. If you are hungry you don't think straight.

Nompumelelo's response represents her understanding of how gender roles, economic hardships and poverty mutually reinforce a prevailing threat of violence within her

community. She shifts the blame for violence away from men to the root cause: a jobless community. Similar to Florence's assessments of the underlying causes of violence, she asserts that women are kept busy by the confines of the double burdens of reproductive and productive labor, while men are left to their own evil thoughts in the midst of massive unemployment and food insecurity. This creates a hostile environment for women in Khayelitsha. Simelela Sexual Crisis Centre in Khayelitsha states that 80 percent of all clients are female, thus underscoring that women are often placed in a position of perpetual risk at the hands of their male counterparts.¹⁴¹ Doris's response also connects with these realities and ties in the additional responsibility of motherhood:

Yes, women are different because when you wake up in the morning you straighten your house no matter you working or not working. When you wake up in the morning you know what to do. The men goes out and you saw them sitting and talking or go to taverns and sit all day. Some of the men aren't working and do nothing in the house and when the woman comes home she has to start from scratch. That is very difficult for a mother.

Touching on this mothering expectation, Doris underscored the increasing responsibilities of care women face while living in poverty. Men, often times void of household and caretaking responsibilities, leave women as the sole breadwinners and caretakers for children. In her interview Georgina reflected upon the gendered expectations of mothering and explained the pride that comes from these defining roles:

Women are proud of being women. A home without a mother is nothing. So much is coming from the mother a mother is like a cheetah protecting her own babies.

The analogy of the mother cheetah expression can be directly paralleled with the reality of protecting children against the high rate of sexual violence in Khayelitsha. A hope for the next generation is a major reoccurring and passionate theme in my interviews of

¹⁴¹ Mosaic in Rice, Alexandra. Sexual Violence Research Initiative Forum 2011.
<http://www.mosaic.org.za/kfactsheet.pdf>.

GAPA grandmothers. As the statistics for sexual violence in Khayelitsha continue to rise, many grandmothers have taken a firm stand to protect children within the community through education and the implementation of an Aftercare program aimed at sexual crime prevention. Simelela, a sexual violence clinic located in Khayelitsha stated that in “the first six months of its inception, 442 rape survivors sought treatment from the Centre. This is more than the total number of rapes reported in Khayelitsha for the whole of all 2003 and 2004 combined. The youngest case so far was a one-year-old baby and the oldest, a 69-year-old grandmother. The vast majority of the survivors are female (93%) and the most are 18 years old or younger. Over one in three cases were girls aged 14 and younger.”¹⁴² Such prevailing gender-based violence situations may be connected to a belief that “males can avoid or cleanse themselves of AIDS by having intercourse with a child.”¹⁴³ Because of the rising statistics of child rape and sexual violence in the community and surrounding townships, the Aftercare program was created at GAPA to provide a place of safety for children after school. This new phenomenon of child security became evident after speaking with the grandmothers about their perception of security within the community. When questioned regarding GAPA’s role in providing security, Grandmother Thelma spoke to the severity of the child rape situation and correlated GAPA’s aftercare project as a vital means of protection:

Yes, Yes, because there is that thing that people say when you are HIV positive and are with a young child the HIV is gone. So it puts everybody in danger. The children in the Aftercare so they can be here for safety because outside there is rape. Now you cannot let your child play you have to see your child.

¹⁴² Thom, Anso. "Disturbing Picture of Sexual Violence in Khayelitsha." South Africa 2006. 21 Nov 2011 <<http://www.health-e.org.za/news/article.php?uid=20031396>>.

¹⁴³ Momsen, p. 82.

Thelma is not alone in her statement; four of the eleven grandmothers who were asked this specific question directly correlated the idea of security with the Aftercare project and many others mention child safety throughout their interviews highlighting the relationship between sexual violence, children and the securitization of the next generations. This evidence serves as a vital new finding in the context of security. The fact that grandmothers seek to secure a space where children can be protected from the crimes of violence marks a shift in the discourse of human security: Individuals taking on the role of securing the next generation. As a 2006 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) report states, “political stability, social solidification, and economic prosperity [in Africa] lie in harnessing the capacities of the youth.”¹⁴⁴ Grandmothers within GAPA seemed to see one of the primary roles of the organization as protecting the children from the larger context of violence, HIV/AIDS and security concerns within the larger Khayelitsha community. Olivia underscored the importance of raising children correctly and protecting them from outside violence:

To grow up children what must they do with a small child to keep them safe. What they must do and not do. You tell them that the mother must look after the children you mustn't leave your children with anybody. If you go you must know where is your child now. You cannot leave them outside for the whole day because there are many things. There is rape there is everything. People are cruel now. So you learn them you must do this do this to keep your children safe like me. I have got my grandchildren is not here at school but here afternoon they come here for the aftercare because I don't want him at the location. You see? You must sit here because this is a safety place. Tell them this is a safety place. Many of the children that are here many of them their parents are at work. So you see, they stay here until their parents are coming from work. So they are safe here. Not going up and down the streets. This is a place to keep your children safe and to learn everything.

¹⁴⁴ UNECA in Aboderin, Isabella, and Monica Ferreira. "Linking Ageing to Development Agendas in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges and Approaches." *Journal of Population Ageing* 1.1 (2008): 51-73. Print. p.59.

It becomes apparent through Olivia's statement that GAPA represented a larger place of safety that specifically serves children through the Aftercare program. This reference to participants' conceptual connections between the contributions of a civil society women's organization in the larger context of social and political insecurity reflects one of the most important findings in this research. The impact of GAPA as a place of security will be discussed at length in a following section. Florence, director and teacher of the income generation project at GAPA, also connected the importance of child welfare with security in Khayelitsha:

Yes, they do [provide security]. Like, if I am not outside the topic, there is also this aftercare center running. This aftercare is made because of the security for the children who are going home when there is no parent at home so that the children can be secured and protected from these rapists. So they can here at the aftercare until the parents come from work.

The contextual relationship between unemployment, crime and sexual violence is evident and supported through the statistics on child rape and economic turmoil within the Khayelitsha community. Grandmothers who see the need to protect the children set up, run and support the Aftercare program at GAPA, which currently serves over 100 children in the community. GAPA is taking charge of the future by empowering and protecting its youth- a major step in the transition to a more secure and stable generation.

The reality of caretaking in the midst of security issues, such as unemployment, a lack of education and HIV/AIDS, has many subsequent affects for elder women. The AIDS pandemic has subsequently altered the structure of motherhood because so many mothers are dying during the time that they would be investing in child rearing. This demographic reality has reshaped the role of GAPA grandmothers, who are often forced to assume caretaking roles at the time in their lives when they have expected to be cared

for.¹⁴⁵ While wider associations about African women's roles as "other mothers" in wider communities and families reflect core strengths and capabilities of elder women, they also reinforce a misperception about elder women's seemingly natural capacity to remain caretakers for the duration of the lifespan-without consideration for the larger structural burdens they experience as a result of the dual impact of the AIDS pandemic and massive security concerns in South Africa. May Chazan wrote about the seven assumptions often linked to grandmothers' new-found roles within South Africa. Delving deeper in the context of mothering, one grandmother in the Warwick Junction of Durban, who served as support for Chazan's argument, stated that, "many children have been left behind. It's us grandmothers who are taking care of them. This is nothing new, we have always done this. It is our duty. But the cause of death now is HIV/AIDS."¹⁴⁶ Monica Ferreira addresses this issue by stating, "The HIV/AIDS epidemics are thrusting many older women back into the role of primary child care provider to sick adult kin and vulnerable and orphaned grandchildren. Up to two-thirds of people living with AIDS are cared for by a parent in their sixties and seventies."¹⁴⁷ The burden of these caretaking roles is even heavier when we consider the efforts grandmothers make to serve as agents of security within the post-apartheid context.

In relation to this analysis of grandmothers' increased caretaking responsibilities in the face of AIDS, many of the GAPA grandmothers presented similar responses during my August 2011 field research. When asked about the reason for the changing role of

¹⁴⁵ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grannies Shoulder the Burden of AIDS." *The Big Issue* 2011. Print. p. 33.

¹⁴⁶ Chazan, May. "Seven 'Deadly' Assumptions: Unravelling the Implications of HIV/AIDS among Grandmothers in South Africa and Beyond." *Ageing & Society* 28.1 (2008): 935-58. Print. p. 945.

¹⁴⁷ Ferreira, Monica and Sebastiana Kalula. "Ageing, Women and Health: Emerging Caregiving Needs in Sub-Saharan African Countries." *BOLD* 2009: 2-12. Print.p.3.

grandmothers, nine of the eleven women connected the high rate of HIV/AIDS with increased parenting role expectations placed on elder women, which destabilizes the traditional family structure. Thelma related this increased burden to the economic situation structure by wide patterns of rural to urban migration in South Africa:

No, before when there was no HIV our grannies raised us. My mother was always working and my grannie raised me. I grew up in the Eastern Cape there were cows for children, milk, fields to flow but not everything has to be bought in the shop. So the grandmothers now have to have money.

Thelma's depiction of the economic and monetary burden many grandmothers feel marks brings to light another form of support GAPA offers to its members. In order to supplement inadequate government pension resources for elder women, income generation projects at GAPA have become a positive source of skills training and empowerment. According to Mary, through income generation, "GAPA helps to release the stress by working with others sewing and selling."¹⁴⁸ Olivia connects the income generation projects at GAPA as a means for elder women to acquire economic resources to support the next generation:

They show us how to do crochet, everything hand work, stuff like that. Then we get money and buy grandchildren things. That is the way GAPA helps the grannies and the grandchildren. So well sell that stuff. So poverty must go away.

The reoccurring idea of protecting the next generation underscores the passion elder women involved in GAPA feel for the future. By providing the best life for their grandchildren, these elder community leaders hope they can avoid a life of poverty, wrought with violence and struggle. Linking income generation with socio-economic

¹⁴⁸ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry "Narratives -Photography Exhibit Project." Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS, 2010 9. Print.

development is a core framework of the GAPA model. Through this enterprise, grandmothers are empowered to use their hands to create a form of income for themselves and their families. "Income generation projects have been used widely in development programs even before HIV/AIDS to address lack of access to food, primarily economic access and as a major poverty reduction strategy."¹⁴⁹ Florence works as a skills trainer for GAPA, teaching and educating grandmothers the art of mastering handicrafts for sale. GAPA's self-sustaining approach to income generation represents a model "of small-scale training programs where one individual is trained in, say, income generation and then continues to teach other members the same skills. From this relationship, a partnership of trainers as role models forms."¹⁵⁰ Florence uses her skills in the art of handicrafts and teaches grandmothers a vital tool for supplementing income by using their hands. Thelma explained to me the vital importance of the income generation project at GAPA in the lives of the grandmothers:

I am here for the income generation. I have that experience because when they make some items and we have visitors they buy, the women go out buy electricity, food, bread, butter for the children.

She went on to relate the role of income generation to poverty reduction. Through this project, women are empowered to use their hands to sell goods for monetary equivalents.

They [GAPA] take poverty from homes. They taught here the income generation. You can use your hands and put something on the table for the children.

Thelma relates the income generation and economic benefits from this project back to the idea of securing the subsequent generation. She underscores the role of grandmothers to

¹⁴⁹ Mutangadura, Gladys B. p.8.

¹⁵⁰ Leach, Fiona cited in *Development with Women*. Ed. Eade, Deborah p. 58.

provide food and nourishment for their grandchildren. This is a vital piece in understanding how the grandmothers in this study continually strive to make the next generation more stable and secure. Nompumelelo, who was sewing in the income generation container during our interview, made reference to the fact that GAPA has taught her skills that allow her to make an income selling to her community. She highlights Florence's roles as a teacher and the need to make sure products are in perfect condition for a sale:

When I came to GAPA I got more skills. Things I didn't know, I will manage to do them with my own hands. For example, I never knew I would do beading. I was not fond of the beads, these small beads I didn't like them before but when I came here slowly by slowly I get to know something now I can do beads and belts and I can sew a lot now. It's not like the same before. I have got no stress to go and talk to the neighbors. If I am in church I just take my sewing machine and maybe there are some people in my church ask me to do something and I ask what color and buy the color and make it and now to create something if this is broken I just make a flower or take a flower from another dress you just cut that flower nicely and you match the color as if you just make it beautiful without knowing that was broken. That Florence learned me lots of creativity but with her you must be patience but if you do it wrong you must always show her now and again but some people get fed up when she said undo it but that undo now means a lot you know ok- this is wrong- this is right, every handwork needs cleanliness. She told us, your sewing, it must sell itself.

Through Florence's supervision, involvement and examination of products, grandmothers are able to gain business, marketing and quality skills, thus giving them agency in their community. Through this process of teaching income generating skills, "women become self-sufficient and families are able to save resources for further income-generation or health needs. An income generation project serves as a means of giving women agency and allows them to become monetary contributors to the household."¹⁵¹ Through access

¹⁵¹ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p. 23.

to resources, grandmothers feel more secure in their abilities to provide for themselves and their grandchildren.

In line with becoming monetary contributors, GAPA teaches grandmothers and community members the art of establishing a productive business. Elizabeth and Mary conduct the workshop centered on business skills. In our interview together, I asked these participants if they gave instructions on how to gain monetary support for starting a business venture. As evident in this interview excerpt, Mary quickly answered and explained that an understanding of gaining profits was invaluable in establishing a productive business:

Yes, Yes, I tell them they have 50 rand because you can't start a business with a lot of money when you are like us. So can take 50 rand and take three packet of sweets or four five and then the next time you will buy six or seven. I tell them if they make a business they must know they will not be a millionaire. They are in this business because they want to buy electric, bread, or something for their children...

....If you can't sew you must learn. Then keep your money at the end of December and put something on the table for the kids. You must teach them if there is not profit there is not business. If you buy apple for 50 rand you can't sell them for 50 rand.

Interviewer: Because then you can't buy more apples?

Yes, Yes.

Through income generation and business training, elder women involved in GAPA are gaining valuable skills that are even more heavily needed as their caretaking roles shift and so often require that they assume head of household roles as primary breadwinners for entire families. It is vital to emphasize that black women in South Africa have always assumed responsibilities as grandmother caregivers, yet the texture and scope of this elder role has changed dramatically with the spread of HIV/AIDS and the resulting

unemployment that has left the parenting of younger generations to the elderly- a previous task that would have been shared by a grandmother's own children.

All grandmother participants in my interviews agreed that HIV/AIDS, while increasing their burden by impacting their ability to support and provide for their children and grandchildren, has not changed the social perception of grandmother caregivers that has long been part of communal and family living. Georgina explained the devastating effects on family structure caused by AIDS:

It's different than the old days because of HIV/AIDS because the leaving the children with us when they die and the responsibility with us. They depend on their parents and they are no longer working.

This caretaking responsibility has only increased as HIV/AIDS takes hold of families and leaves younger generations in the care of elder ones. One new insight that emerged in my interviews emphasized the relationship between respect for elders and the ongoing spread of HIV/AIDS. Nompumelelo explained that elder caretaking roles are more difficult now because of lack of respect children have for their grandmothers:

I think what makes it harder now for grandmothers is times. We grandmothers we were listening to our parents but now in our days there is this new system of thinking. The kids at early ages get pregnant and from that they think they are women. So they don't think that we are also coming from that stage. A child of 11 years at eight o'clock is not in the house she is outside and if you ask her why she is outside she will say she is chatting with friends. Sometimes it is a boyfriend. If I am not around her she will not listen to another grandmother. There is no respect.

Two other grandmothers also related the higher rate of HIV/AIDS in the community to the inability of younger generations to heed the warnings of grandmothers. Nancy reflected on her own daughter's resistance to her knowledge and the outcome it rendered:

My last born she was born in 1990 but if she gets sick I have to take care of her child. You see that is too much. The more they learn about HIV the more careless they are. Our children are getting pregnant too much. Pregnant means no condom and this means infected children. Really unsafe, children getting pregnant. My eldest daughter is sick and keeps having children. She doesn't want to learn. Now she's got three children I have got a fear one day she will fall ill and die, that is too much. The more she knows she is sick the more children. At the end of the day I will be a mother. That means she does not practice safe sex.

When asked if her grandchildren are HIV positive as a result the mother's behavior,

Nancy responded, "The children are safe, no HIV/AIDS. She is too much clever for that."

The reality that Nancy's daughter did and does not practice safe sex has led to her contraction of HIV. Interestingly, however, her own knowledge regarding protection for her unborn children saved them from the same diagnosis. This example further underscores the lack of respect younger generations in Khayelitsha have for their lives, which often hangs in a delicate balance. In the context of such massive increases in care responsibilities stemming from the AIDS crisis, this generational lack of respect makes the role of grandmothers much more difficult. Mary talked openly about this lack of respect as an apparent change in generational thinking:

Our children now don't want to listen carefully. If you tell them you musn't do that they say, "we have rights" but last time when we were the children we didn't have rights we know what we must do. If you tell the children now they say no that is my right. It is hard for us to grow our children. They have no respect. They go out and get HIV and then they want to talk and they talk and get HIV and then I don't know what she must do. That's why they died.

Nompumelelo's statement is in agreement with Mary. GAPA grannies are educated in HIV/AIDS protection, prevention and survival but, in the larger context of severe social inequalities, poverty and insecurity, the children often choose to disobey the teachings of their elders and engage in unsafe relationships. Some suggest that this may be a measure of a reduced value placed on life, as a result of the fragility of existence presented to

youth with the AIDS pandemic. Others also suggest that children disobey grandparents to engage in sex for economic gains in the midst of poverty's severe limitations on alternative financial opportunities:

I won't say it is because of HIV/AIDS because prevention is better than a cure. If a child can listen. We are the grannies now and we know about HIV/AIDS how you get infected. If you tell a child no you mustn't do this or that you must rather abstain. You can just know what you want in the future you will abstain, it is the only solution. Boyfriends are sleeping with older persons for money. We don't have the money. They want to wear the expensive shoes. This makes me mad when I think about it. Some grannies are very, very, very, very poor at home it is just this one who has this pension money. With this pension money the grannie has to buy food, soap, crème everything for them and some pocket money for school and you must share for the church and the burial society.

Olivia and Gladys also correlated the lack of respect to the children's denial of HIV/AIDS in their interview. This denial leads children to refuse the life saving ARV medications and once again leaves grandmothers assuming the caretaking roles as an entire generation dies off:

No, they refuse, they don't accept it. If they can accept it- it's the same as the other sick. Like me, I am high blood pressure and must take tablets for the rest of my life. What is the difference? I don't see a difference. They don't want to accept it. So that's why our children die. They make things difficult for everyone. It's getting worse because they do not want to accept it.

Grandmothers often complained to me about a lack of respect from younger generations. Many youth, in the midst of poverty and crime, resort to drugs and alcohol to escape. Florence talked to this issue in her interview and explained GAPA's role in assisting grandmother's facing these issues:

The drug abuse and alcohol because the grandchildren are getting these drugs and that is the burden for grandmothers. A grandmother is not easy to see this child is using drugs now. They don't know the symptoms, GAPA is empowering them. That lady came to tell the grandmothers the symptoms of the drug abuse and now they are aware.

Relating GAPA's inclusion of a drug abuse education showcases the organization's awareness in regards to grandmother's changing needs. This recent request for education, from grandmothers directly, allowed for a local drug and rehabilitation clinic to provide educational lessons and needed knowledge to combat the lack of respect and destructive behaviors of many grandchildren and community youth. Through this knowledge, grandmothers are now aware of the signs of substance abuse in their children and grandchildren.

The key finding from among key GAPA leaders sheds light on the lived experiences of elder women, who provide vital HIV/AIDS prevention knowledge, yet fail to receive the needed respect from younger generations. Furthermore, the spread contradicts a traditional support process, especially for the elderly who can no longer anticipate being supported by their children.¹⁵² Nompumelelo explained that the only way for the continued spread of HIV to be halted was for respect for grandmothers to be renewed:

If one child can take responsibility of herself and look straight for what my grannie is doing for me and then maybe some children will say no. She will be open and say no. I will do this on the right time and I will get the right person because my grannie is suffering. Our children, some of them, they are proud of what their grandmothers are doing for them – some of them don't care. They even steal their grandmother's money to give to the boyfriends. If they can respect there will be less HIV. We are not scared of HIV.

Susan Porte explains the shift in caretaking by stating that, "familial networks of 'aunts' and 'uncles', historically the first line of defense against vulnerability, are being eroded

¹⁵² Kristoffersson, Ulf. "HIV/AIDS as a Human Security Issue: A Gender Perspective." Ed. HIV/AIDS, Joint United Nations Programme. Namibia2000. Print.
<<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/hivaids/kristoffersson.htm>>.

and new categories of care providers are replacing those considered appropriate in patrilineal ideology. The roles of women and children are “shifting from ‘supported to ‘supporters’ as they embark on strategies that contradict prevailing cultural norms, in an attempt to cope with the widening care challenges.”¹⁵³ As director of GAPA, Vivienne Budaza explains:

HIV has taken away their children. They raised them with the hope that once they have obtained their degree they will immediately access employment. Yes, there has been a shift since the intro of ARVs but still unemployment remains and issue. It isn't helping the grandmothers and their biggest concern now is that I am burying my children who will bury me?

In this chapter, the gendered dimensions of HIV/AIDS, including child security, unemployment and access to economic resources, have been directly linked to the specific experiences of elder women in the community of Khayelitsha. Through this narrative approach, the redefined caretaking roles of elder women have been explained by grandmother community leaders, whose lived realities create the context for a micro level day-to-day evaluation. As a direct result of severe unemployment, rising physical and sexual violence, along with the pandemic of HIV/AIDS, Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS offers a means to provide knowledge, support and education aimed at redressing the gender divides within the context of the Khayelitsha community. The GAPA project works to offer elder women meaningful support in the form of skills training on issues such as income generation, violence prevention and child security, all of which play central contributing roles in the social and economic development of the Khayelitsha community. Linking the dynamics of gender insecurity, severe poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS with the increased caretaking burden placed on elder

¹⁵³ De la Porte, Susan. "Redefining Childcare in the Context of AIDS: The Extended Family Revisited." *Agenda: A Journal about Women and Gender* 75 (2007): 129-40. Print. p. 135.

women specifically, it becomes evident that GAPA serves as a secure place of safety and knowledge, equipping grandmothers with the skills needed to become active community leaders who continually strive to 'Change the River's Flow.'

CHAPTER V

HIV/AIDS: UNRAVELLING A SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

The nature of the AIDS disease foregrounds a projected path for devastation that will only increase as individuals who suffer from HIV continue to survive an estimated nine years before death to full blown AIDS. As HIV/AIDS continues to spread globally, claiming approximately 3.5 million new infections in the year 2001 alone,¹⁵⁴ the United Nations adamantly recognizes the security issues surrounding the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan stated, "By overwhelming the continent's health and social services, by creating millions of orphans, and by decimating health workers and teachers, AIDS is causing social and economic crises which in turn threaten political stability."¹⁵⁵ The lag time between infection and death has created a sense that the worst is yet to come. As generations of middle-aged adults become infected, these larger social implications will continue for their projected lifespans and reach a culminating point once this significant subsection of the population dies. With the realization of the epidemic at hand, human security has recently included health issues in an attempt to shed light and bring about response to this rampant spread. Compromising population growth rates, economic output and social cohesion, HIV/AIDS creates a "dramatic and disturbing example of the capacity of a previously unknown pathogen to rapidly spread throughout the world, establish endemicity, and cause social and economic

¹⁵⁴ Shisana, Olive, Nompumelelo Zungu-Dirwayi and William Shisana in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 142.

¹⁵⁵ "AIDS Becoming Africa's Top Human Security Issue".

upheaval on a scale that threatens to destabilize a large geographical area.”¹⁵⁶ This destabilization will come in various forms: economic, social and political.

Studies on the long term effects and security implications of HIV/AIDS in highly affected nations predict a decline of foreign investment, due to an unstable workforce and the need for higher health benefits packages, a lower standard of health care as resources are depleted, and an overall loss of skilled labor as prime-aged generations die from the pandemic.¹⁵⁷ As Catherine Boone and Jake Batsell points out, “In 1999, the World Bank redefined AIDS as the “foremost threat to development in the region. AIDS has an unprecedented impact on the economy and society because it kills so many adults in the prime of their working and parenting lives, it decimates the workforce, impoverishes families, and shreds communities.”¹⁵⁸ The effects of the infection touch almost every plausible aspect of social, economic and political life within a country and therefore affect larger models of domestic and international development and economic retribution. From this realization, “more, not less, state failure and insecurity is projected, and this is expected to translate into new forms of transnational security threats,” which have forced their way onto many national security agendas.¹⁵⁹

The destructive effects of AIDS have been linked in a conjoined role with poverty and conflict. As the latter increases, so do the infection rates and the realization that this

¹⁵⁶ Haymann, David L. in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.108.

¹⁵⁷ Haymann, David L. in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.108.

¹⁵⁸ Boone, Catherine and Jake Batsell in Ostergard, Robert L. p.19.

¹⁵⁹ Haymann, David L. in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p.105 and 109

cycle is in drastic need of focused attention. This relationship has been coined 'negative synergy.'¹⁶⁰ This 'negative synergy' has created shifting dynamics within the family and related social structures in Africa, leading to a ripple effect that is sure to eventually shake the entire foundation of human security. As we continue to operate in a globalized world wrought with the effects of a transnational market, the trickle down effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic will play central roles in the human capital and labor markets that shape the flow of commerce. As we watch idly from afar, Africa struggles to cope with disease amidst reductions in foreign aid, educational funding and a sharp decrease in services to communities most in need. As UNAID reports, "despite the magnitude of the emergency, resources remain scarce," and many are still blind to the realization that HIV/AIDS constitutes the newest security concern of the twenty-first century. The resources available to address HIV/AIDS are entirely disproportionate to the size of the problem,"¹⁶¹ warned Dr Piot.

Grandmothers' responses to security and HIV/AIDS

Evidence of these larger trends surfaced throughout my research on the interconnected dimensions of the AIDS crisis, human security and development in South Africa. At GAPA, Constance, who now facilitates the organization's workshop on Human Rights, spoke to the lack of government resources and support for elder women, which leaves nongovernmental organizations with the task of caring for these pressing interconnected concerns. She told me her story of coming to GAPA and how her own

¹⁶⁰ Kristoffersson, Ulf.

¹⁶¹ "AIDS Becoming Africa's Top Human Security Issue".

experiences as an NGO leader have shaped her into a peer educator and allowed her to confront these interlocking crises:

The government does not care about these grannies. We say that is not fair so she [Kathleen Broderick] said these grannies must be cared for. She came to Khayelitsha to do social work and one day I heard about them that there was a person and I was so upset when I told my daughter. She was the breadwinner and I was so angry I didn't talk to anyone. There was a lady who knew my situation and she came to my house and she told me there is going to be a grannies workshop. So when I came here and I started the grannies workshops. There were about 10 grannies, 9 grannies and I was the 10th one. And at the end they asked us if somebody wants to speak out because she knew we were keeping something in your hearts and she wanted us to tell everyone what it was like to lose a child. So for these grannies I listened and listened and listened. "In 1998 I had a daughter that passed away and another that passed away and then in 2000 another daughter passed away" She had four children but they were all gone so I listened. All of them, when I listened others had lost their children and so I said to my heart this is so unfair because I thought it was so unfair because I thought it was only me. I was unfair to god. I told god it was unfair that he took my child. I lost one child but these grannies lost four. That is when I lost the anger and I thought God didn't hate me. That is when I accepted. When we do those workshops and when we finished they told us that you are ready now to do this workshop. So I just wanted to go to the others grannies and tell them this is not the end of the world HIV, so I wanted to go to the community all over Khayelitsha and tell them they must come here and help this workshop. When we have groups in our houses about 10 or over. I used to be there but the grannies still have the groups. Once I month we ask the grannies to come here something like indaba.¹⁶² They must tell their stories. That's why you see when we have indaba this house is full and everyone is alright now.

Through an understanding of the ramifications of the continued spread of AIDS, the GAPA workshop centered on the foundations of HIV/AIDS provided vital information to grandmothers, families and surrounding community members in an attempt to further knowledge and halt the spread of AIDS devastation. I was able to witness one of these workshops and was amazed at the teaching methods grandmothers incorporated. Open dialogue and question and answer sessions allowed for attendees to participate actively,

¹⁶² Indaba is an important conference/workshop conducted at GAPA once a month on various topics relating to HIV/AIDS, security, human rights, parenting, and training skills.

while games focused on HIV/AIDS trivia provided participants with the opportunity to test their own knowledge regarding the disease. As my field observations continually revealed, GAPA grandmothers take on the role of working to fight AIDS in the classroom and actively in their surrounding communities. Rita explained that by handing out condoms, grandmothers hope to reinforce the devastating effects of AIDS:

We thought that maybe when they saw us, the grannies, handing out condoms, they would realize that something terrible is happening¹⁶³

Handing out condoms on the streets serves as an outreach goal, while attracting the attention of individuals from the community who see the grandmothers as a source of knowledge on the disease.



Figure 1.2: Grandmothers of GAPA handing out condoms in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Eric Miller.

¹⁶³ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grandmothers Are Filling Gaping Holes in the Social Fabric Left by AIDS." *Cape Times* March 31, 2009 Print.

Nancy talked about how her acquired HIV/AIDS knowledge from GAPA allowed her to coin a term “condomize,” which is now spoken daily and serves as a reminder to her children to practice safe sex:

If you talk about HIV/AIDS we can make a difference. Still have people hiding children and not talking. You see your daughter is about to go out you say I have a surprise for you and you give her a condom. The last word I tell them is to ‘condomize.’ Are you going out, yes? Please condomize. I wish my eldest daughter could be like my younger daughters. She is ignorant. Sometimes they come here like in a shell and then they open like a rose. I am not going to say anything about life but when you are seeing and hearing the stories of the other you say “No why must I be like this?” You free yourself. The more you talk about it the more you feel free.

Freeing yourself through education is a valuable lesson that both Memory and Noxolo affirm. Facilitating the HIV/AIDS workshop at GAPA, Memory and Noxolo outlined some of the main features and knowledge components of their class:

The grandmothers didn’t know about ARV. So when you go to the groups you educate the grandmothers about the HIV and I tell about the symptoms about HIV and then I educate the grandmothers if you child disclose with your mother you do not go outside and disclose to any other. He only tell his mother about HIV. I tell that mother you must keep in your heart do not tell anyone until that child is ready for disclose but if your child is not ready to disclose do not tell another. You must leave in your heart that case and then I tell about the stages. Stage 1, 2 and 3, stage 4 is HIV. If you are on stage 1 you have no use ARV your immune system is ok everything and then your immune system is high. If you are on stage 3 your immune system is better again. If you have gotten the flu it is not bad but if you go to stage 3 if you look at stage 3 the protocol you start ARV you count is low now. Then I educate the grandmothers when she go to the clinic to start ARV she go to the counselors to visit that sections and the one day she go to the clinic the counselors tell that grandmother about the side effects of ARV. So if you are the caregiver you know when she start ARV and when she start ARV she is not right but you must look how many times she take it and after that you must go to the clinic and report to the counselor or the doctor about what you see with your child. So every time she make a new thing you must write down because when you go to the doctor you must say I see this after she has started the ARV. You must educate her because she give up when she start because it makes her sick. You must tell your child the ARV when you must start ARVs you start back again. I go to the groups and educate the grandmothers about the stages, I write down the stages and teach them about site infect. I write down and educate them. I educate the grandmothers in Xhosa because the grandmothers are not educated

in English like me. The ARVs here have two lines, if she default with ARV she will go to line two and that line two and when the line two is not working for them no line or pill or doctor will help. The second line is only the last pill for ARV. Later, if you take it at eight o'clock you might take it at eight o'clock at night and in the morning. You must take after food because they have side effects. If you take food before the person is living healthy. If you must go to the hospital you must wait for your die date because there are no pills for keeping your immune system ok because you defaulted because you started ARVS and defaulted so that pill is not working that lady or man.

Underscoring the realities of the AIDS virus in a classroom setting allows Memory and Noxolo to teach community members about the necessary steps for eating and surviving the disease, a vital component in increasing lifespans and community wide development. Without a proper understanding of the constructs of the disease and the requirements for staying healthy and continuing ARV treatment for life, many individuals default on the pills resulting in increased health problems and subsequent death.

They went on to explain, "HIV is not a killer, HIV needs a treatment. If you use the treatment you will stay a long time, like me. I am here 10 years. If I educate them about my status it is easy for anyone to disclose because that is good information to back and tell about the information and disclose." Memory stated that, "you use your own story in the workshop so you can show grandmothers that you can live with HIV and be well healthy.

Through their own understanding and experiences with HIV/AIDS, these grandmothers represent a vital knowledge base in a community grappling for resources. Nompumelelo made a profound statement during her interview. Relating her own status and education through GAPA, she claimed that *no other child within her home will contract the disease*. Through education GAPA has providing, Nompumelelo believes her entire family has benefited, underscoring the trickle down effects of empowerment and development:

If a child said I am HIV positive, you say ok it's not the end of the world you must do this and this and that but first you must go to the clinic. HIV/AIDS is not a problem it's a program. I am also HIV positive I am on ARVS I started in 2006,

in my house I don't think I will have another HIV child nobody will die in my house of HIV because I know what to deal with HIV now.

The education that GAPA has provided regarding the medication, support and health required for HIV-positive individuals to continue to survive has enabled grandmothers and families to remain healthy and strong even in the wake of the pandemic. This ability furthers economic development and social cohesion by allowing for more individuals to be of working quality thus increasing the household income and the share of the economic burden. With increased education about how to stay healthy even when HIV-positive, more individuals will be healthy enough to contribute to the household thus decreasing the economic burden placed on elder women. This process also contributes to a larger, healthier workforce of individuals that in turn provide contributions to community development in Khayelitsha.

The death and bereavement workshop at GAPA serves as one of the most vital pieces to the psychosocial support dynamic of the project. Group support for elder women who are coping with the loss of a family member or members allows for social healing and peer education. Many grandmothers meet regularly at one another's homes and at the GAPA facility to talk through their struggles and cope with the reality of death within their households and community. Gladys, who teaches the will writing and bereavement workshop, explained to me how her own experience with death allows her to help others heal:

I am telling them that all of us are going to die and nobody can run away from death. And I am telling them about the stages when death comes and how you feel when death comes and how you are in the position of death or if someone if you are a friend or in the family die. How do you feel and how do you encourage the people when they are in the age of death and how to encourage the people and how to talk with and how to support someone in the age of death. I know about

death because I was losing my last daughter she was HIV there years back, she was sick for two years and after that two years she died and she lost baby son he was 4 years old so I have experience of death, how you feel and how you encourage the people when death comes and what you must suspect, you must know they feel when they loose someone in the family. The workshops is nice, even us, you learn more, learn more from them about the stories because every grannie has her own story. We have different stories, you hear another grannie tell their story and you think I am not the only one. You see?

As this narrative suggests, one of the distinct features that makes GAPA so successful is that it is built upon a common connection to HIV/AIDS. As a result, even in the face of such devastation, members share a sense of solidarity as they face daily life, with the support of the larger group of grandmothers. Given this common ground, the educational component of GAPA's function is designed around topics central to women's shared experiences of coping with HIV/AIDS, community security and economic livelihood. Workshops are constructed so that participants can feel free to ask questions or share stories. This, according to Gladys, creates an environment where similar stories of death and coping mechanisms can be shared:

They ask questions and some of them have death already and they know how they feel and they give questions to you "if death come" "if one of my family gets sick" and so and so what must I do? Like someone who has got someone in the family has HIV some of them don't know how to handle that person and they don't know how to see that person. Going through this myself I can tell you about those feelings.

From this communal sharing tactic, GAPA grandmothers have gained recognition in the community as vital outlets for HIV/AIDS information. Gladys went on explain this phenomenon and its relationship to GAPA's expansion and recognition throughout the community:

Like all over wherever we go GAPA grannies number one! Yes, Yes, very clever grannies. Many experiences. These grannies are very clever. I am a facilitator of death and she is a facilitator of Wills. You see how experienced? So it shows that I am strong I have more experience and I can tell other people about death and help them cope. The grandmothers of GAPA all over Khayelitsha. They respect us all over.

The respect that has come with non-gender exclusive workshops, grandmother education and empowerment has rendered the organization a vital element in combatting poverty and AIDS community wide.

In line with bereavement workshops, will writing is an important component of protecting family members and insuring women's livelihoods following family deaths. Many of the grandmothers are initially unaware of the process of writing a will, or the need for composing a will. Through GAPA's educational process, many of the women write wills for themselves and instruct members of their families to do the same. Protection through legal support is vital to insuring security of property while drastically reducing subsequent violence within an impoverished household. Olivia explained to me in our interview her role in the will writing workshop at GAPA:

I tell them I made a will when I was working in a company for many years and when I was finished working I made the will. I ask the people in the workshops if they know about a will they ask why it is important. It is important when you die you must have a will because sometimes you leave things to your children and you avoid the fighting over what you leave to them; the house the car or whatever you got. They agree it is a good thing to do because there is not fighting. You can't just say I leave something for this one and someone thing for this one and don't write it down cause they fight.

When asked if a lot of participants go home and write wills, Gladys responded:

Yes, they see that it is important. They kill one another over that money They must go to the magistrate and if you want to change [the will] after 10 years and give something to you baby you can change it but you must go to the court—to the magistrate—to change it. Yes, to make it official. If you children has died you must go there and scratch them from the will no more.

As this narrative suggests, legal documentation is particularly important in a larger social context where the lifespan is reduced because of the threat of AIDS. This legal training component of GAPA's function therefore serves as a vital dimension of the contribution of this particular NGO in the lives of elder women. Florence also addressed topics related to the importance of the discussion of death in relation to the cultural struggles surrounding the subject. Her response allowed me to gain insight into dynamics of how GAPA empowers women to speak openly about death:

In the community, GAPA is trying to show the people, to give the people the support on HIV and AIDS and they giving the workshops to the community so that they can be aware of this disease and death because in our culture it is not easy to talk about death. GAPA is telling the people at the workshops that they must get used to talking about death and bereavement. They must also make the wills because if you don't make a will their will be a problem after death- the parents death- the children will have problems because of fighting on things their parents' house, furniture and all those things-belongings. So that is why people must make the will.

Through business skills, income generation, bereavement and will writing, along with HIV/AIDS education, elder women involved in GAPA are equipped with the skills to teach their own families and others in their communities the necessary prevention, protection, coping and survival tools, thus serving as a vital bottom-up approach to tackling the larger hold of the pandemic. Through the spread and larger reach of GAPA's effective social model of empowerment, HIV/AIDS education and overall socio-economic development will only see an increase.¹⁶⁴ Based upon these contributions, GAPA is also making a contribution to extending the lifespan of community members affected by HIV/AIDS. Through educational awareness regarding HIV/AIDS,

¹⁶⁴ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu.p. 54.

community members are receiving knowledge that allows them to promote their health and increased longevity, even when HIV-positive.

According to the grandmothers in this study, economic deprivation, poverty and the social constraints of unemployment represent the largest threats in the community. These development barriers can be traced directly to the historical conditions of apartheid, which required that women migrate to seek employment in racially designated sectors. Historical migration from the Eastern Cape, in the hopes of finding employment, serves as a reoccurring narrative for many of the grandmothers living in Khayelitsha, as well as their family members. This lingering apartheid structure leads to the stark reality of unemployment in Khayelitsha and remains a large social inhibitor to growth with direct connections to the existing security problems within the community. In her interview with journalist Jo-Anne Smetherham, Grandmother Alicia openly stated that, "poverty is what brought me to GAPA."¹⁶⁵ With over twenty to forty percent of the population without a stable form of income, the region is wrought with high crime and violence, which continues to perpetuate the ongoing spread of HIV. Leaving the Eastern Cape in the hopes of finding employment in Khayelitsha represents a migratory pattern for many families, which leaves them in a more vulnerable position amidst the crime, insecurity and severe unemployment of township life. The effects of unemployment and the watershed of consequences, including poverty, disease and crime, are all evident in the daily life struggles of the grandmother members of GAPA.

¹⁶⁵ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grandmothers Are Filling Gaping Holes in the Social Fabric Left by AIDS." *Cape Times* March 31, 2009 Print.

A multifaceted dynamic of security for grandmothers in Khayelitsha serves to underscore the vital role GAPA is playing in their lives. In an attempt to understand the social construction behind security for elder women, I posed several questions in my interview sessions aimed at understanding how GAPA functioned as a provider of security in the midst of AIDS. Security from GAPA comes in various forms, including educational, emotion and physical. One key component of security evident throughout the interviews was the idea that through education, women can be more secure later in life. Education later in life serves many at GAPA but Director of GAPA Vivienne Budaza underscored the promises of metric education, the equivalent of high school, as the key to evading poverty and a life of unemployment in Khayelitsha. When asked if HIV/AIDS makes Khayelitsha more insecure, Vivienne stated:

Not at all, it is unemployment, not HIV that does that. Unemployment because many people believe that obtaining that first certificate which is your metric is your ticket to the outside world of your employment liberation etc. Because of high unemployment rates parents cannot afford to send their children to school and those that have the certificate cannot access jobs, which leads to more frustration and depression, which leads to many negative behaviors.

Underscoring the relationship between unemployment and so-called “negative behaviors” is a powerful example of the run-off effects created by poverty and economic instability. Vivienne later connects high unemployment in Khayelitsha to crime and then links the South African national metric exam as the educational foundation needed to break this cycle of poverty. Vivienne’s union of education and security underscores a main component of women’s education in the field of gender and development. In a doctoral study conducted by Sabela George Petros, “10 case studies of grandmothers in Western Cape revealed that each had an average of four grandchildren living with them. All were

primary care-givers and none had an education level above Grade 8.”¹⁶⁶ Educational advancement and its connection with stability serve as vital components and a reoccurring theme through many of the grandmothers spoken words.

Grandmothers, who without a solid educational foundation in their younger years, find themselves needing to support families in the wake of AIDS. The reality that young girls in Khayelitsha face is that they are more often the first pulled from school in order to work or the most likely to be restricted from access to further education, which is a direct result of poverty. Adding to this point, Mutangadura points out that, “the loss of adult labour has forces families to withdraw children especially young girls from school to be caretakers for younger siblings. The lower level of education thus attained, of course, perpetuates the cycle of poverty across generations and reduces the prospects for decent work opportunities. HIV/AIDS is threatening recent positive gains in basic education and disproportionately affecting girls’ primary school enrollments.”¹⁶⁷

Paulina reflected on the cultural perception of girls as prime candidates for marriage in a statement concerning her lack of education:

My parents were very strict. I was educated until Std. 3. They said it was enough. A Xhosa girl mustn’t get too much education because she must get married. My father decided no to permit me to be a teacher but to get married to man I did not love.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Petros, George in Smetherham, Jo-Anne. . "Grannies Shoulder the Burden of AIDS." *The Big Issue* 2011. Print.

¹⁶⁷ Mutangadura, Gladys B. p.5.

¹⁶⁸ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry.

Sylvia also reflected on her childhood and served as another example of the educational restrictions placed on female children in impoverished communities like Khayelitsha:

When I was young, I thought I would be someone educated. My Father choose who would be educated. He chose three children to be educated. But as a girl I was not allowed to go to town [on my own] in case I would have a child before I was married. So I remained at home, my mother said “maybe you won’t respect me’ [if you go to training].¹⁶⁹

Thelma again spoke to the reality that poverty presents in terms of lacking monetary resources needed to further her education as a child:

I came from a poor family. My mother was a single parent, but every second year she’s having a baby. We were ten all together. But three died at an early stage. My vision was to be educated but I passed Std 7 in 1963. There was no money to go further.¹⁷⁰

Paulina, Thelma and Sylvia’s reflections encompass the large number of women in the developing world who have restricted access to education because of the expectations of particular gender roles. Later in their lives, the ramifications of a lacking education leave these elder women struggling in the midst of high unemployment, poverty and the restructured caretaking roles instigated by AIDS. Their narratives serve as lived experiences that connect grandmothers’ inability to attain proper education with their continued struggles and hardships in the face of continued socio-economic divides, HIV/AIDS and security crises.

In interviews with seven grandmother members of GAPA conducted by Althea Barry and Eric Miller, each woman mentioned her lack of education as a barrier to the ability to attain stability and realize her economic dreams. Each participant also openly

¹⁶⁹ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry.

¹⁷⁰ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry.

expressed a desire as a child to attend school and inabilities later in life to realize this dream as a result of incomplete education. Rita expressed her desire to become a nurse and connected her lack of education to her inability to live a life void of suffering and hardships:

I was dreaming to become a nurse. My parents didn't show interest in me going to school. This made me angry. I have been suffering for the rest of my life.¹⁷¹

Education serves as a major concern for grandmothers, who see this as the only means of escape for their own grandchildren, once again reinforcing the idea of securing the next generation.

Rita represents many of the grandmothers of GAPA, who now serve as the sole breadwinners for their families through supplemental income from handicrafts and the South African government's old age pension. Under these conditions that shape her life as a result of former education and opportunity structure limitations, Rita carries the additional burden of providing for the next two generations. One major support the grandmothers receive from the government is the old age pension, of around R 1,016 month (about 142 USD). This pension provides a major source of economic aid at a time when many women had hoped to be retiring.¹⁷² Monica Ferreira highlights the communal sharing in relation to the social old age pension in South Africa. She states, "in countries that provide a social pension, female beneficiaries commonly share the income with household members."¹⁷³ This representation is no different in Khayelitsha, where

¹⁷¹ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry.

¹⁷² Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grannies Shoulder the Burden of AIDS."

¹⁷³ Ferreira, Monica and Sebastiana Kalula.p. 6.

grandmothers often suffer abuse for access to the financial pension they receive each month.

Although helpful, aid constitutes a larger social problem that can leave elder women in a vulnerable position within their community and sometimes their own families.¹⁷⁴ Economic abuse is a common occurrence for many grandmother members of GAPA. The organization continually works to empower elder women to access judicial protections and fight against family members who steal or resort to abuse in order to gain their monthly pension. In light of the high crime rate in Khayelitsha, GAPA works to empower grandmothers to access their rights through the court systems, sometimes even pressing charges against family members who steal or cause violence in the home. GAPA helped grandmother Mavilo who said, “My brother was taking money to buy dagga [marijuana]. I got a protection order.”¹⁷⁵ Alicia, “who cares for 10 people in her four-generation household, survives on her state pension of R860, the equivalent of about 128 USD a month, and is fed up. “Its granny abuse, and I’ve had enough, really, really,” she says.”¹⁷⁶ Through the aid pension, elder women constitute one source of continual monthly income in a community where rampant unemployment is widespread. The reality of pension money creates an environment that often makes elder women targets for aggression, violence and abuse. The violence against elder women is just another example in the larger context of gender subordination in the community of Khayelitsha.

¹⁷⁴ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grannies Shoulder the Burden of AIDS."

¹⁷⁵ Miller, Eric and Althea Barry.

¹⁷⁶ Smetherham, Jo-Anne. "Grandmothers Are Filling Gaping Holes in the Social Fabric Left by Aids."

In light of the relational crime and violence, one grandmother, Nompumelelo, spoke of the willingness of GAPA to provide unpaid work to community members in an attempt to keep them off the streets and away from perpetuating violence:

GAPA has a garden and we have our director, Viv. She is willing to get more gardens for the men who just sit outside doing nothing. To give them something to do, there are no jobs at GAPA but to just be busy and from that garden you get something. You don't go buy veggies you will get the spinach potatoes or whatever.

Without the ability to pay all workers, GAPA is working to provide a reward for time spent in the garden. With men often times unemployed in Khayelitsha, GAPA plays an unofficial role in engaging these individuals in work in order to avert and prevent possible paths to crime or violence.

Food security in the township represents another gendered social issue with stark ramifications. With the rampant spread of HIV/AIDS, individuals taking ARV medications are required to supplement their diet with healthy produce and vegetables, most of which are out of the monetary reach HIV-positive populations in Khayelitsha. The garden at GAPA, which sells organic produce for half the price of local groceries, is open and available to all grandmothers, their families and the surrounding community for purchase. As a result, the garden has become a symbolic community space that widened access to GAPA to the larger community. One example of this communal living surrounding food was revealed in my interview with the GAPA gardener, Moloaritoa Mosiea. He explained food security on a personal level, which made me understand the nourishing support GAPA provides to all individuals in situations of need:

Grandmothers ask maybe they need spinach today or turnip to eat, not to buy. If somebody here at GAPA and doesn't have a garden and wants a little bit of

spinach I must give it, not buy. He's got nothing. I must help him. He says I want it so much and I give it to him because he has nothing. I must help.

Allowing local men, who otherwise would have nothing to do, a chance to use their hands and gain a reward, in the form of food, constitutes a major shift in the ability to empower others to stop the spread of violence on the community level. The garden at GAPA is one of the most amazing pieces of art I have ever seen in my life. Grandmothers teach community members how to plant small-scale farms in their own backyards in order to combat the impoverished situations, which often inhibit the purchase of vitamin rich vegetables needed when taking ARV medications. GAPA also serves food to grandmothers, aftercare children and the wider community in need, with a hot meal each day or access to necessary vegetables in the garden. With food security as another major social issue in Khayelitsha, the promise of low cost, fresh, organic vegetables or a free hot meal creates a healthier population and an environment void of one of the root causes of crime and hostility: hunger.

The link between development, security and HIV/AIDS

Khayelitsha is representative of a micro community suffering from a multitude of economic insecurities that stem from the onslaught of HIV/AIDS, unemployment and a lack of education. Even though many of the social conditions are particular to this township location in the Western Province of South Africa, each may be connected to larger subsequent international conditions. In 1996, the United States Department of Defense claimed AIDS “as both a “national security threat and foreign policy challenge,” which opened a multifaceted dialogue on the issue of HIV/AIDS as a potential national

and international security threat.¹⁷⁷ Again in 2000, the Central Intelligence Agency's National Intelligence Council made claims about this vital connection by citing and documenting future AIDS "consequences in the form of diminished gross domestic product, reduction of life expectancy, weakened military capacity, social fragmentation, and political destabilization."¹⁷⁸ A further acknowledgement "that microbial 'foes' could threaten international peace and security came in 2000 when the UN Security Council, in its first consideration of a health issues, concluded that the AIDS pandemic had moved beyond a health crisis to become a threat to global security, the viability of states, and economic development."¹⁷⁹

As HIV/AIDS becomes a demanding human security issue, the realization that a response is needed in order to underscore the severe complications that will result from HIV/AIDS policy and implementation inaction is becoming increasingly evident at the state and international levels. The rising economic, political and social costs attributed to the AIDS pandemic have rendered a large-scale, multi-dimensional security phenomena that has yet to be fully understood. As we stand in the midst of a global epidemic, funding and efforts to assure its long-term eradication have proven to be minute and often times futile in comparison to its large-scale hold. As Sub-Saharan Africa hosts largest number of HIV infections in the world, the entire continent totters on the brink of massive social restructuring and the direct effects from the disease are becoming even more apparent. As Ulf Kristoffersson explains, "the HIV epidemic has a great capacity to

¹⁷⁷ Heymann, David in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 111.

¹⁷⁸ Heymann, David in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 111.

¹⁷⁹ Heymann, David in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 111.

magnify all the social problems of the environment in which it occurs.”¹⁸⁰ This magnification is evident in the Khayelitsha community as high unemployment, insecurity, and severe poverty create an increased burden that GAPA works to decrease through education and empowerment projects. As we continue to watch in horror with no cure and lacking preventive education initiatives, HIV/AIDS progresses its devastating tirade, which and has already earned the title of the largest human and security issue of our generation.

AIDS in 2005, as Boone and Bastell highlight, “killed 2.4 million people in Africa, making the disease considerably more lethal than wars, which are responsible for roughly 300,000 deaths a year worldwide.”¹⁸¹ This realization has sparked the interest of the United Nations Security Council, which in the “January 2000 meeting on AIDS marked the first time in the institution’s history that it addressed a health issue. In his speech to the Security Council, Al Gore called for a “new, more expansive definition” of security that includes emerging and re-emerging infectious diseases.”¹⁸² As this movement towards the reality of AIDS awareness and action increases, the disease continues its rampage, with immeasurable cumulative impacts that fall disproportionately on women, as we see in the experiences of GAPA grandmothers.

The issue of why and how AIDS has continued unchallenged by political policies both country wide and internationally has many people asking the question, “what constitutes a security threat globally and how can we watch as the continent of Africa

¹⁸⁰ Kristoffersson, Ulf.

¹⁸¹ Boone, Catherine and Jake Bastell in Ostergard, Robert L. p.3.

¹⁸² Susan Peterson in Ostergard, Robert L. p. 36.

struggles to address these issues amidst development stagnation and economic decline?”

The field of security studies has taken notice and attempts have been made to evolve the existing framework to include human issues of massive security portions. Yet, continued progress is vital.

Attempting to challenge this issue head on, the United Nations implemented a series of resolutions aimed at uncovering root problems of HIV/AIDS and providing the needed healthcare and educational initiatives to define the disease as a prevalent and important security issue. As Kristoffersson analyzes this issue, he comments on the United Nations’ initial step, Resolution 1308, and the goals put in place to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The outcome was the first realization that a more stable and sound global environment can be concretely related to the eradication of HIV/AIDS. Further, instability issues stemming directly from the pandemic have researchers at UNAIDS focused on understanding the interconnected trickle down effects. Commenting that, “about half of HIV infections occur before the age of 25, and these young men and women typically die of AIDS before 35, UNAIDS realized that the disease is killing people in their most productive years and destabilizing all walks of African life: health, education, industry, agriculture, transport. This dual devastation of debilitating disease and early death is turning back decades of development and reversing economic growth across the continent.”¹⁸³ This epidemic is not just an African issue. With the degradation of one population comes a ripple effect for others. This ripple effect grips the existing struggles of grandmothers, who strive to secure the next generation through their

¹⁸³ “AIDS Becoming Africa’s Top Human Security Issue”.

grandchildren while coping with the challenges of living as elder women in severely under-resourced communities.

AIDS is often times associated with Africa because of the sharp demographic differentials between the “continent’s housing of less than 11 percent of the world’s total global population, yet claiming 70 percent of all HIV/AIDS-related cases.”¹⁸⁴ Many governments argue that international involvement is futile and a waste of time and expenditures. With these claims comes the realization that African countries cannot hope to combat this disease solely from their own pockets. In her article, “Human Security, National Security, and Epidemic Disease,” Susan Peterson writes that “many sub-Saharan states that are resource-poor and institutionally weak face such threats unless other states, international institutions or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provide significant financial, medical, and administrative assistance.”¹⁸⁵ Viewing the world as a social unit demonstrates that the security issues surrounding HIV/AIDS are all-encompassing. As Ostergard writes, “in human security, the level of analysis shifts from states and the international system to individuals. However, these three levels are not divorced.”¹⁸⁶ If we apply this concept to HIV/AIDS, although it is an issue faced in larger portions in Africa, the global community awareness of the individual narrative cuts across all borders to motivate a collective movement towards its eradication. As this thesis demonstrates, the regional implementation of development projects aimed at eradicating security

¹⁸⁴ Poku, Nana K. and Bjorg Sandkjaer in Ostergard, Robert L. p.127.

¹⁸⁵ Susan Peterson in Ostergard, Robert L. p.47.

¹⁸⁶ Ostergard, Robert L. p.69.

complications, increasing education and arresting the spread of HIV/AIDS comprises one of the most promising avenues to realizing the end of this global health crisis.

Development, security and HIV/AIDS are simultaneously linked phenomena present in the daily, lived experiences of GAPA grandmothers. Through the observations and interviews in this study, HIV/AIDS plays a drastic role in terms of the affected population and its overall economic activity. Security is therefore reduced through the onset of crime, violence and a sense of hopelessness as individuals plagued by the disease are unable to find work and support themselves and their families. The cycle of declining health, employment and security inhibits the onset of socio-economic development on a much larger scale. This development is a critical piece in reducing the further spread of the pandemic through education and awareness. As such, we see a dialectic relationship between development and security through the direct relationship of both to the AIDS crisis. As Gwinyayi Dzinesa states in relation to this cycle's operation in Africa, "basic human security elements that HIV/AIDS impacts negatively include survival, safety, opportunity, dignity, agency, and autonomy. The high incidence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has undermined the potential of Southern Africa to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015."¹⁸⁷ Development goals serve as markers of the expansion of human security and the increased quality of life, both of which are overshadowed by a decimating global infection: HIV/AIDS.

The Center for Conflict Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town conducted a meeting in 2005 focused on human security and HIV/AIDS in Africa. Rendering research conclusive

¹⁸⁷ Dzinesa, Gwinyayi. "HIV/AIDS and Human Insecurity". allAfrica.com, 2011. 28 December 2011 2011. <<http://allafrica.com/stories/201112080758.html>>.

to the findings that GAPA grandmothers articulated, the relationship between HIV/AIDS, development and security is one that is often missed on the larger international health agendas for combatting the disease.¹⁸⁸ Decreased security leads to increased HIV infections and in turn decreases overall development. Therefore, HIV lessens the economic output and results in a further decline of development and ultimately, security. The CCR divulged the following statement that supports the inter-relational connection between development, security and HIV/AIDS.

The scourge of HIV/AIDS in Africa is a symptom of deeper socio-economic and development problems. While the disease is devastating economies, a lack of comprehensive initiatives aimed at addressing the relationship between poverty, gender inequality and HIV are hampering responses to the epidemic. Policies should therefore seek to respond comprehensively to the pandemic through initiatives that go beyond the public health sector.¹⁸⁹

Dzinesa speaks to this same relationship by stating that, “Halting the spread of HIV/AIDS is intricately linked with the seven other MDGs that impact human security: eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality and empowering women; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating other diseases such as tuberculosis; ensuring environmental sustainability; and developing a global partnership for development.”¹⁹⁰ Mainstreaming social education and awareness, along with support-based projects centered on HIV/AIDS, will ultimately play a defining role for future socio-economic development

¹⁸⁸ *HIV/AIDS and Human Security: An Agenda for Africa. Policy Advisory Meeting*: The Centre for Conflict Resolution 2005. Print.

¹⁸⁹ *HIV/AIDS and Human Security: An Agenda for Africa. Policy Advisory Meeting*: The Centre for Conflict Resolution 2005. Print.

¹⁹⁰ Dzinesa, Gwinyayi. "HIV/AIDS and Human Insecurity".

and human security. From this perspective, it becomes evident that GAPA represents a model of effectiveness that needs a larger-scale replication in order to provide a possible halt to the spread of this global pandemic.

The politics, structure and goals of eradicating this disease have yet to be fully prioritized on a global agenda. While millions have already died, communities in and around the developing world are seeing the drastic impacts of a lost generation, as well as cumulative outgrowths of living within affected communities. HIV/AIDS constitutes a domestic and international security issue that demands a more concentrated agenda in order to being to overcome its scale of destruction. The collective issue of human security requires a collective effort among states to enact change. The stark reality summed up by Ostergard is that “Investment, productivity, and production seem to have fallen across the board. The World Bank notes that in the coming years, labor productivity is likely to drop, the benefits of education will be lost, and resources that would have been used for investment will be used for health care, orphan care and funerals.”¹⁹¹ Continued neglect in terms of enacting HIV/AIDS policy changes will likely result in countries seeing specific impacts of social fragmentation and political polarization within the developing world. Specifically for South Africa, severe social and economic effects will trigger a race for resources and political power, which will in turn hamper social and democratic development as a whole, sending the country into a backward spiral.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Boone, Catherine and Jake Batsell in Ostergard, Robert L. p.20.

¹⁹² Fourie, p.47.

Gendered Implications

This trajectory would result in a disproportionately negative impact on women. Just as Kofi Annan stated, “if we want to save Africa from two catastrophes, HIV/AIDS and famine, we would do well to focus on saving Africa’s women.”¹⁹³ Women serve as vital units to the expansion of families and communities, while often shouldering the larger burden of HIV/AIDS. As Mutangadura states, “they tend to take care of more, but younger orphans, and thus have four times less family members in the economically active age category compared to male-headed households with orphans. Thus female-headed households, and especially those fostering orphans, constitute one of the most vulnerable groups to poverty.”¹⁹⁴ Stephen Lewis, founder of a UN action against AIDS underscored the lacking attention to women affected by AIDS. He stated, “I know only that this world is off its rocker when it comes to women. I must admit that I live in such a state of perpetual rage at what I see happening to women in the pandemic, that I would like to throttle those responsible, those who’ve waited so unendurably long to act, those who can find infinite resources for war but never sufficient resources to ameliorate the human condition.”¹⁹⁵ Due to this increased burden and the economic political and gendered constrictions in Khayelitsha, many grandmothers have come to know GAPA as a place of safety in this midst of interloping insecurities.

Understanding GAPA as a secure and safe space for grandmothers, community members and children is a vital piece in the larger social tapestry of development.

¹⁹³ Annan, Kofi in Mutangadura, Gladys B. p.1.

¹⁹⁴ Mutangadura, Gladys B. p.5.

¹⁹⁵ Lewis, Stephen cited in Anderlini, p.191.

Terming GAPA as the social “Ubuntu”¹⁹⁶ community, or safe realm of Khayelitsha, makes the understanding of the organization on a larger relationship scale clear. Through the assessment of gender security, touching on the aspects of HIV/AIDS, rape, sexual and domestic violence, GAPA is seen by grandmother members as a place of safety. In the midst of poverty and crime, members turn to the sisterly support, education and empowerment provided through GAPA as a means of enhancing development and promoting their own security in the process. When questioned about the security GAPA provides, director Vivienne Budaza highlighted the social dynamic of emotional healing and support as a major part of the GAPA mode:

Yes it does, emotional security. Very much because the members or people who come to GAPA are people that are emotionally burdened and have no one to talk to and this is one space that affords them that kinds of opportunity. It is secured in the way that people who have accessed our services and have been to their churches ministers pastors or immediate family members but have never really been given this kind of space that does and they know that this as a safe space to come to. They often mention that they were carrying burdens that they were sure they would go to the grave with but somehow GAPA affords them that space and they find themselves sharing their inner most heartaches and emotions things that they were so convinced they would go to the grave with. So yes it does.

Through emotional psychosocial support groups, educational workshops and community-based projects for empowerment, GAPA serves as a vital tool for the development of security on the social, emotional and physical fronts. Olivia and Gladys spoke for themselves and the other grannies in saying that through the education GAPA provides, they feel safer:

We feel safer because GAPA has taught us a lot of things that we didn't know before. Like the people that come here for the gardening this is their first stop. They know nothing. They don't know about GAPA from the day they are going

¹⁹⁶ Ubuntu is an African philosophy focused on the interconnectedness of human beings. It is often used to correlate an idea that I am because you are.

to learn for what is GAPA and what is GAPA doing for the grannies and the community. We are going to tell them as grandmothers for what is GAPA because we know now and we have more experience and we are teachers now. We teach them.

Nompumelelo directed her answer about the extent of GAPA's security function to the social support and the safety space of GAPA provides:

GAPA's got blue t-shirts now everybody is asking what is this GAPA. Maybe these young ones, I saw these T-shirts in town or wherever, grannie can you tell me about this t-shirt. Very interested now about GAPA even lots of NGOs. I don't know what's going on with GAPA they prefer to come to GAPA. Lots of people and people come from other NGOs because they feel safer. People have got lots of problem but this kind of sharing the stories at GAPA makes people free because we are not laughing. I tell a lady my problems and when she tells her problem to me I understand that oh my God that my problem is not as bad as her and that motivates me she tells her story to another lady and she is motivated. We motivate each other.

Sue's own answer to security correlates with Nompumelelo's sense of security through safety. Sue explains:

I have a sense of security since a member of GAPA. The entire community has this sense of security. At homes sometimes something things happen, raped, many things happen when you are alone. At GAPA you have security of love and happiness and belonging.

According to Kabeer, "A considerable body of research has found that where women are members of associations beyond the household, and where these associations are based on solidarity and mutual self-help, they are likely to exercise greater bargaining power within the household, as well as to participate more actively in community life."¹⁹⁷ A widow in 2000, Nancy exemplified the empowered grandmother in her response to gendered roles:

¹⁹⁷ Kabeer, p.42.

I know how to do things and support my children. Even if my children get sick I can support them 100%. Through GAPA she is able to handle any situation and any kind of weather that comes in front of you. Even if my daughter gets married and the husband rejects her –I say aw calm down what for? Just because when my husband rejects me and have a lot of girlfriends I almost fall apart and I say he does not own me. I am the owner of my own body.

When asked how does being a woman in Khayelitsha differ from being a man? Nancy underscored the importance of independence and equality regardless of gender, a key empowerment tool taught in the GAPA workshops:

No! no, there is no difference. Not at all because nobody owns me. I am the owner of myself.

Mary corroborated Nancy's ideas of women's agency independent of men. She said:

It's better being a woman in Khayelitsha. Men now are not stronger women are stronger. If the man has died in the house the woman can do everything. But if the woman has died the man didn't know what he must do, he felt so sorry all the time. But the woman is getting stronger all the time.

Director of GAPA, Vivienne, commented in her interview on the role of empowerment in regards to the shifting roles of men and women. Saying that empowerment has been the catalyst for the changing gender dynamics, Vivienne stated:

The difference is women have become so empowered that men feel that women have become independent and are assertive and so empowered in different ways as in now they have become more aware of their rights and access them and it is disempowering them as men. Women, as much as I am saying the high unemployment rate, they have different ways of accessing employment. They can approach an affluent woman in their community and do housework for something whereas men and their egos take them away. Women are in more powerful positions they know how to fend for themselves.

Vivienne's response and her articulation of empowered women represent the role of grandmothers in the larger social change process. Nancy and Mary represent the empowered grandmother, who equipped with knowledge, support and resources through GAPA, has realized her own potential and ability to impact her life and community.

When asked what the word “empowered” meant to her, Mary explained to me how GAPA makes her different:

It means I am special. I don’t know how to say it. I am special. It makes me very happy to GAPA. It makes me special.

Through an attempt to reverse the confining gender constraints, grandmothers address the issues of caretaking, abuse, youth education and gender roles to ultimately “change the river’s flow.” GAPA, in response to these security issues, has implemented many projects and educational outreach initiatives to teach women and the community of Khayelitsha the important development role elder women play. The feminization of poverty had best make way for the new face of elder women involved in GAPA: empowerment.

Individual and collective agency is a vital tool in the empowerment structure of GAPA’s model. Working with grandmothers to establish a place of safety, socio-economic support, and education allows for a system that enables women to act as peacebuilders. This is particularly important in a community like Khayelitsha, with such pressing larger security issues lingering as a result of the apartheid era. Understanding the rhetoric behind the word empowerment plays a contributing role in how elder women involved in GAPA see themselves within the larger structure of socio-economic development and peacebuilding. Empowerment is a term that evokes so many different emotions and definitions. In a true feminist sense, the manifestation of empowerment must first be internalized through oppression.¹⁹⁸ From that perspective, many of the grandmothers in this study saw themselves as empowered because GAPA had offered them with knowledge, education and skills to provide a better life for themselves and

¹⁹⁸ Rowlands, Jo in *Development with Women*. Ed. Eade, Deborah.

their own families therefore underscoring the possibility of realizing important forms of mobility, as grandmothers overcome some of the dire circumstances of abject poverty that had formerly constricted them. I was interested to hear the grandmothers' own interpretation of the word "empowerment."

From their lived experiences and work with GAPA, each grandmother gave a different definition of the word, allowing me to see how empowerment has played a role in their diverse lives. Florence's definition related her own role as the teacher of the income generation project. She explained that empowerment allows someone to gain the encouragement needed to do something:

I think is to make that person to be able to do something, encourage. If I am right? To encourage that person.

Empowering women can be manifest in many forms. One of those forms resides in education and encouragement, like that provided through GAPA's model, including skills training and knowledge acquisition that allows women to better care for themselves and their families.¹⁹⁹ Moller underscores the argument that "programmes led by older women can help to reduce the impact of HIV/AIDS on the country and do empower women in their daily lives."²⁰⁰ Findings from this study repeatedly confirmed that particular dynamics of elder women in NGO leadership roles is of central importance in the GAPA model.

Empowerment of elder women through the introduction of GAPA in their lives has shaped other aspects of development within the organization. According to Saskia E.

¹⁹⁹ Hubbard, Susan, Tomoko Suzuki, and Senta Nihon Kokusai Koryu. p.23.

²⁰⁰ Moller, Valerie. p.462.

Wieringa, women's empowerment initiatives need the following tools to insure successful outcomes: social resources, such as health care, forms of training (management, accounting, leadership skills, gender training) and physical resources such as access to office space and legal instruments, including the potential to make use of them."²⁰¹ Florence explains the relationship between empowerment and the ability to assert yourself for rights in your own home:

Yes, it [GAPA] is empowering because there are also visitors that are coming from our court, Khayelitsha court, the magistrate were here one day and they told them [grandmothers] what to do when they are getting troubles with the neighbors. They mustn't just say, they must go to the law. Their granddaughters, they can go to the court and chase the granddaughter out of the house. They mustn't stay uncomfortable in their own house.

When asked how GAPA has empowered them, Olivia and Gladys directly related empowerment with the HIV-awareness and knowledge GAPA has provided. Through this education, these two women are able to actively educate others in their communities and strive to build social awareness around the disease:

They learn us to have more experience. You know when we come here many of our families have died because of HIV because we haven't experience and haven't know what to do. But now we have got experience we know what to do and how to help each other. If they are sick or if my neighbor she got a HIV I know how to help him now. So GAPA give us more experience how to help our families when they are sick. Make us stronger and stronger and stronger.

Mary correlated the role of women as development agents with the inclusion in GAPA. Through GAPA's initiatives and education, empowered women can serve as valuable assets for community based change. Women shape the dynamic of peacebuilding by

²⁰¹ Wieringa, Saskia E. cited in Truong, Thanh-Dam, Saskia Wieringa, and Amrita Chhachhi. *Engendering Human Security: Feminist Perspectives*. London; New York: Zed Books, 2007. Print. p. 219.

offering supportive systems, empowered ideas and agency in terms of enacting change within a specified community or region:

Yes they can because women are so strong. If they can come to GAPA they can get greater. If they come to GAPA they can get stronger and better. They stay inside and put her hand on her cheek not knowing what to do, if they come to GAPA they will know.

When questioned regarding the concept of women as peacebuilders, GAPA members and staff were adamant that women in Khayelitsha are the key to unlocking the instability, insecurity and conflict. Director Vivienne Budaza underscored the majority of women involved in development in the community compared to men:

Oh yes! Of course because there is a saying that statistically we are in the majority. Women are very easy going begins we share just about anything about ourselves unlike men. We can reach out to one another we love our children so much – that wherever you find women together they are forever sharing their problems and how one have overcome that particular situation when she was hit by it- while men tend to be withdrawal. If they share their problems their manhood is taken away from them. Women think the opposite- talk about it- talk loud about it. Talk more about it – it eases the burden 1 2 it helps you cope better and 3 you find tips from others – how are they managing. Women are go getters- they are so effective. They are no longer dwelling on self-pity. Yes, when you are still in your depressive state but the minute that has been addressed the women find their feet and move on, they are activists. South Africa is fortunate because we are strong believers of Christ. Women together will always draw form the Bible. Yes it is hurting but it will be ok. Once they see the benefits of that they share with others and say yes it is hurting but I was there and this is what helped me.

(3)

From this reflection we can see that the GAPA grandmothers, as women, are situating themselves in the majority in terms of empowerment. The gender roles of women allow for open communication and social healing in the face of AIDS. Religion also serves the grandmothers as they cope with the loss of family and community. From these dynamics of social, individual, and community healing provided by GAPA, grandmothers are empowered to become peacebuilders within Khayelitsha. Georgina, in her interview,

related peacebuilding to women specifically. Along with Vivienne, she commented that women are more active in development within Khayelitsha:

If you go to our workshop the invitation is extended but it is only women that are empowered you will only find few men. In terms of empowerment we are beating them and we are still the heads of the families.

Focusing specifically on the larger roles of individuals within the contemporary context of violence, Sanam Naraghi Anderlini necessitates and promotes the idea of women as the agents for the promotion of peace. One of the main components of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted on October 31, 2000, is to “reaffirm the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, while stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.”²⁰² Within Resolution 1325, no requirement is set for compliance nor does it force any repercussions on member states that are unwilling to cooperate. Even though this resolution is set out to protect women as a significant recognition of the connections between gender and security, lack of enforcement renders the entire enterprise ineffective.

Expanding on the issues of women’s inclusion in the peace process, GAPA represents a larger social model that works to educate both men and women on the power of women’s projects and contributions within the community. Since the shift from the bipolar Cold War structure towards an era defined by internal conflict and civil wars,

²⁰² “Resolution 1325.” United Nations United Nations Security Council, 2000. Print.

women have become increasingly more active as the interconnectedness drives home the circumstances and reality at hand. Women are the ones who suffer. Sexual violence, economic violence, restrictive social and economic norms, marginalization and many more issues continue to affect women around the world.

As we see the swell of the AIDS pandemic grows many national and international enterprises are lacking in policy implementation as a means to hinder the continued spread of this global human crisis. With the sound rhetoric of Resolution 1325, women's voices in development, security and peacebuilding are evident in the larger international instruments. Yet, in practice, the resources and support to realize such development goals are drastically lacking. The women of GAPA have chosen to utilize the NGO's educational and support system as a means to empower themselves by forming a cohesive unit of grandmothers who work to eradicate HIV/AIDS and its severe ramifications within their own community. This research with grandmother leaders of GAPA repeatedly illustrates that rather than waiting for international instruments or state policies to take hold, grandmothers are taking AIDS into their own hands.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the role of elder women in post-conflict development and peacebuilding in South Africa's ongoing transition showcases how civil society organizations promote community cohesion, social education and a core support system that effectively combine the tenets of human security and gender and development within the wider HIV/AIDS pandemic. Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA) represents a grassroots project that aims to advance larger tangible development goals for a wider community audience in relation to combatting poverty and AIDS. As I reflect on the Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS and the perseverance of its elder members, I am constantly reminded of the strength of women and the roles they play in the lives of their communities and future generations. In the case of South Africa, this harnessed collection of women's strength has proven to be one of the most effective tools in confronting the AIDS crisis.

This thesis sought to articulate the vitality of the GAPA model and argue for its larger replication and inclusion in development agendas throughout Africa and the world. As a bottom up approach to confronting the swell of AIDS, this civil society organization model fills a care, security and community development gap that existing government policies and international aid initiatives have been unable to realize. As grandmothers are bound together through the unfortunate tragedy of HIV/AIDS and the upheavals of the social transition to democracy in South Africa, GAPA provides elder women with the tools for advancement and development by allowing for an enhanced quality of life, a

core testament to the importance of human security. The organization represents an effective model of gender empowerment while serving to enhance human security for both elder women and the youth they support.

Transitioning from the single Khayelitsha model to a larger expansion of GAPA is the next goal for the organization. Already, partnerships with grandmothers in other African countries have emerged, including pairing grandmother pen pals as a tool for support. The hope for replication rests on a needed contribution in terms of monetary and social support for expanding the model to other regions. The larger applicability of GAPA can be found in the case example of Uganda, where grandmothers suffer from identical human security implications as a result of poverty and AIDS. Not unlike the grandmothers of Khayelitsha before GAPA, Uganda lacks the social structure and organization needed to give grandmothers economic, social and community based agency. As Cynthia Hughes and Gloria Caliandro explain from their case research with grandmothers in Uganda, the need lies in “women’s groups to enable empowerment. They found that groups can be a source of information for women who share a common problem and place where they may ventilate feelings, develop a more realistic sense of their own strengths and identify resources they may use.”²⁰³ Hugo Kanya and Cynthia Cannon Poindexter also relate the needs of grandmothers in Uganda for a lack of resources available. According to their assessment, grandmothers, “need adequate health care for everyone in the family, including medications to fight HIV and opportunistic infections. These families need legal services to help them make wills so that the orphans

²⁰³ Hughes, Cynthia B. and Gloria Caliandro. "Empowerment: A Case Study of a Grandmother Caring for Her HIV-Positive Grandchild." *Journal of the Associate of Nurses in AIDS Care* 11 (2000): 29-38. Print. p. 37.

do not lose housing when the grandmothers die. They are giving grandmothers needed practical support to negotiate the physical challenges of parenting in later life, such as respite care, child care, parenting support, support groups, and skills development and recreational opportunities for the grandchildren. Many of them could benefit from bereavement counseling for themselves and the children.”²⁰⁴ The realization that elder women across Africa suffer from the social burdens of caring for extended families in the wake of AIDS makes the spread of the GAPA model an effective solution to empowering women and providing them a safe space in which to cope with the ripple effects of living within an affected community. This specific example focused on the needs of Ugandan grandmothers, yet it serves to underscore the cross-continental priorities of elder women in Africa while connecting these needs to the model that GAPA provides to grandmother members in Khayelitsha. All of the stated needs in Uganda are effectively in practice in Khayelitsha, insuring that grandmothers can support, educate and secure themselves and their families. Ugandan grandmothers’ needs can be met and facilitated through GAPA’s model to allow them to receive all of the support, bereavement, education, resource access and legal help to fight the struggles that elder caregiving renders. Mary articulated her hope for GAPA’s future and shared with me her vision, which I hope to see fulfilled:

GAPA will be a great, great, great NGO and GAPA is very strong for us because we learn a lot of skills from GAPA and how to talk to our children and we learn how to share problems and listening to others.

²⁰⁴ Kanya, Hugo and Cynthia Cannon Poindexter. P. 17.

Eunice's own experience with GAPA and the benefits it has given elder women in the Khayelitsha community make it a valuable grassroots implementation model that insures development and peacebuilding.

Through this research it became apparent that civil society organizations, such as GAPA, are continually carrying the burden of South Africa's ongoing transition process. With organizations like Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS, the government is relieved of responsibilities and duties to provide services and resources. The failures of democratization have forced these organizations to carry a heavy burden while the state reproduces this over-reliance on the existence and function of NGOs as a means of filling the gaps in their own policy implementation. Ideally, government cooperation and monetary support for civil society organizations would provide the best outcome by connecting a top down and bottom up approach.

The study of GAPA consistently demonstrates that, in the face of the AIDS crisis, grandmothers are taking matters into their own hands and working to change their own communities through collective mobilization. Yet, such a grassroots, "bottom-up" approach has not yet been fully embraced as an effective tool in the AIDS war within the international community. As Anderlini posits, "those in national or international institutions who readily embrace the rhetoric of women's participation are not always ready to support the potentially seismic shifts needed in the substance, process, and structure of the government."²⁰⁵ Through the examination of policy structures, current frameworks and the large scale need centered on HIV/AIDS treatment, care and

²⁰⁵ Anderlini, p. 148-49.

education within South Africa specifically, it becomes apparent that grassroots activism is a major and crucial systemic approach to support and maintain life amidst the turmoil caused by poverty, insecurity and the rampant infection rate of AIDS. The need for replication becomes even more apparent as the rate of infection spreads and the cycle of poverty takes hold amidst unemployment and crime. Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS provides much needed socio-economic, emotional and community-based support needed to empower grandmothers and subsequent generations to fight poverty and AIDS.²⁰⁶

Through the educational tools and security forms GAPA provides, grandmothers can provide for their families and teach younger generations the importance of awareness, advocacy and education in their own lives; thereby and ultimately decreasing the HIV/AIDS infection rate in their community. This cycle not only benefits grandmothers who continually struggle to support generations on government pensions, it also allows for the advancement and trickle down of knowledge to larger family units. Reaching from the bottom-up is the only way to directly challenge the deeply rooted gender inequalities that are so pervasive within the developing world.²⁰⁷ Olivia and Gladys explained the relationship of GAPA and the bottom-up development goals:

Praise GAPA because we see the difference after we are here at GAPA. GAPA can change other people's lives also not only us.

²⁰⁶ Ferreira, Monica. "Ageing Policies in Africa." *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs*. 2008: 63-83. Print. P. 76.

²⁰⁷ Mosse, Julia, and Oxfam. *Half the World Half a Chance: An Introduction to Gender and Development*. Oxford: Oxfam, 1993. Print. P. 183.

The grandmothers see themselves in the larger development picture. They understand that through the empowerment, training and education provided by GAPA, they have become individual and collective agents positioned to change the situation of poverty and HIV/AIDS for their families and communities. When asked if the inclusion of all grandmothers in the community into GAPA would result in more peaceful safe and security community, Olivia Matabata and Gladys Nowyoumelelo Mayaba responded:

Yes, yes, some other grannies they don't come to us. If we could have everyone come to GAPA I think Khayelitsha would be great.

When questioned about why all grandmothers don't join the organization, they referenced a story of one grandmother they met while handing out condoms in the community:

Some of them have children who say they don't accept. They got a sick children. I remember one time when we were busy giving condoms, there was a lady who called me and said, "hey, hey, what are you doing?" She's got children with AIDS. I said, "you are supposed to be here with me." She said "no, no, no" and she's got AIDS at home. I think if all the grannies could talk with one voice and stand together. We want everybody to come. We are here because our children died of AIDS. She lost her daughter. My son died of AIDS. That is why we are all here.

Sharing the knowledge of HIV/AIDS and through community outreach, the grandmothers continually work to attract new members to the organization in the hopes that through a larger membership, they will be able to reach more families, individuals and the larger community of Khayelitsha.

The relationship between gender insecurity, gendered norms and the overall education and development of women plays a central role in the pervasive spread of HIV/AIDS. "Therefore, it is critical that the norms and values that shape masculinity and femininity, and in particular gender inequality, be addressed by policies and programs

aimed to control HIV/AIDS.”²⁰⁸ GAPA represents such a model. By offering social support, education, awareness and providing elder women with agency and empowerment, the replication of this grassroots model of peacebuilding would serve many women, families, and communities if broadly replicated. As Anderlini states, it comes down to “a recognition of the existing work that women do is also a critical step. With assistance and support, their capacity building initiatives could be scaled up to have a broader impact and become more sustainable.”²⁰⁹

The key to changing the progress of development is to “rethink attitudes towards older women. This is especially needed so that elder women may become integrated into economic, political and social decision-making and achieve gender equality in policies and programmes.” Many elder women are often times excluded from the development process as a whole, due to many variables including the persisting assumption that families continue to care for elders adequately or a shifting focus on other priorities for “development” spending.”²¹⁰ As the Madrid International Plan of Action for Ageing states, “rather than viewed as homogeneously as vulnerable, dependent and passive recipients of resources, older persons should be mainstreamed into societal and developmental processes as continuing agents of change and contributors to and beneficiaries of development.”²¹¹ The grandmothers of GAPA have proven themselves as

²⁰⁸ Johnson, Sonali and Claudia Garcia-Moreno in Chen, Lincoln C., et al. p. 191.

²⁰⁹ Anderlini, p. 220.

²¹⁰ United Nations, in Aboderin, Isabella, and Monica Ferreira. "Linking Ageing to Development Agendas in Sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges and Approaches." p. 57.

²¹¹ Ferreira, Monica. "Training in Africa Towards Forging Implementation and Monitoring of the Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing." p. 2.

vital agents equipped to build sustainable development. Founder Kathleen Broderick sees grandmothers spreading “the GAPA model of intervention to all the townships of Cape Town and throughout South Africa. This would involve setting up teams of grandmothers who would then tour the townships spreading the word that grandmothers are perfectly able to care for their families. Ongoing support and monitoring, ongoing education of grandmothers could be conducted by these dynamic women.”²¹² Through the self-help programs combined with income generation, education, economic stability, empowerment and a larger social support system, GAPA is equipped to provide elder women with a productive, stable and applicable model for socio-economic development. As Sanam Anderlini states, “They are committed because it is their own lives: the political is deeply personal. They have no exit strategy. Time and again, women prove the invaluable contributions they can make, and their willingness to work for peace.”²¹³

²¹² Broderick, Kathleen. "Thesis Interview." Ed. Eck, Savannah 2011. 2. Print.

²¹³ Anderlini, p. 232.



Figure 1.3: GAPA grandmothers celebrating the ten-year anniversary in Khayelitsha. Photograph by Eric Miller

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APPENDIX

A. Interview Question Set

1. What happens in the workshops you facilitate? Who comes and what do you talk about?
2. What kind of things do you talk about in the workshops?
3. How do people in the community find out about the workshops?
4. Do you let the women ask questions or do you talk and comfort them?
5. How many women usually come to the workshop?
6. Have there been any really positive stories about a grandmother that have come to your workshop and then gone on to utilized what she has learned?
7. How do you decide what subjects to talk about in the workshops? Do you let people ask questions?
8. What do you think GAPA is trying to achieve or do?
9. How do they achieve this? How do they help the community, grannies and grandchildren?
10. What else could GAPA do? What other things could they do? Do you have any new ideas?
11. What does the word empowerment mean to you? Does GAPA empower you? How?
12. Does GAPA provide a sense of security?
13. How does being a woman impact your life in Khayelitsha? How is being a woman different from being a man?
14. Do you think when you have a boy child you should teach him that he needs to help and contribute? Do you raise him to respect and help a woman and do chores?
15. Grandmothers have always helped to raise children. Why is it different now? What is it harder now? Why do grandmothers have a heavier burden?
16. Do you see HIV/AIDS as a security issue?
17. Do you feel worried that HIV/AIDS will make things more dangerous in Khayelitsha?

18. Do you think women are tools for change?
19. How does the community see the grannies of GAPA?
20. Why don't all grannies come to GAPA?
21. Do you think if all grannies in Khayelitsha were in GAPA the community would be more peaceful, stable and secure? Why?

VITA

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Savannah L. Eck is a graduate of Old Dominion University, where she received her BA in International Studies with a minor in Geography in 2009. She continued her studies at Old Dominion and earned her MA in International Studies in 2012 with a concentration in Conflict and Cooperation and a Graduate Certificate in Women's Studies. She has worked in the field of women's development in both Rwanda and South Africa and has served as an intern for the United Nations Association and the Norfolk branch of the World Affairs Council. In March of 2012 she was served as one of twenty women selected to attend the Commission on the Status of Women Meetings at the United Nations, an event sponsored by the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. She is an avid supporter of women's rights and worked for two consecutive summers at Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS (GAPA) on a community-based research project that informs her thesis on gender and human security. Her motivation lies in continued advocacy for women and human rights advocacy. The Grandmothers Against Poverty and AIDS model has inspired her personal commitment to continue to support the larger development goals central to the tangible work of this organization.

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The word processor for this thesis was Savannah Eck.