

HI/STORIES OF GENDER IN/JUSTICE

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Abstract

Churches in South Africa have a history of gender injustice, that is, of not being accountable to women believers. This article presents stories of women testifying to the effects of unjust gender discourses on their lives. Two research populations speak out in this article, the one being 203 poor women who reported for counselling at a state hospital in Tshwane, and the other a group of 10 middle class women who were admitted to a psychiatric hospital after breaking down because of verbal abuse in their intimate relationships. This article works with the hypothesis that state laws cannot safeguard women in their intimate spaces where divine law rules. Church history in South Africa testifies to churches supporting patriarchal discourses that render women vulnerable to abuse in their intimate relationships. Recommendations are made to re-story women's stories of despair into church practices that will enable churches to invite gender justice into their midst, and empower them to become places of healing.

1 AIMS AND STORIES

1.1 Aims of the article

This article has two aims. The first is to reveal a history of injustice towards women in South African churches by listening to stories from two research populations, a group of poor women who reported physical abuse at a state hospital in Tshwane, and a group of middle class women who broke down after suffering verbal abuse in their intimate relationships. In all these cases, the abuse was supported by religious discourses. A history of churches not being accountable to women believers is thus implied - albeit not adequately described - in the stories of abused women.

The second aim of the article is to reflect, against the background of the history of South African women seeking religious healing, on ways in which the churches can embody gender justice in projects. Stories of projects successful in this regard, will be told to open up possibilities for churches to become places of healing - for both men and women.

1.2 Church history as stories

This article deals with church history not as a series of dates, but as a series of stories. Traditionally the business of church historiography in South Africa

focused not only exclusively on men, but also mainly on the dates of their achievements. However, this article sees church history as the stories of people, and specifically the stories of women.

2 BACKGROUND: CHURCH HISTORY AMIDST STATE LAWS

A typical joke in South Africa would be the following:

A woman walks down the road with a few pieces of corrugated iron (*sinkplate*) balanced on her head. Somebody asks her: "What are you doing with those things on your head?" The woman answers: "I got divorced this morning, and I got the house!"

Or

A woman walks down the road balancing a mattress on her head. Somebody asks her: "Where are you going with your furniture?" The woman answers: "This is not my furniture, it is my workshop!"

Or

The judge asks the accused whether he pleads guilty to raping a woman or not. "No, your honour," the man says, "I did not rape the woman, I paid her!" "How much did you pay her?" the judge asks. "One rand, Your Honour", the man replies. "But that is not enough! You should pay a woman much more than that!" the judge says. "Then I bow before your superior experience, My Lord," the accused says.

The jokes reflect the social and economic realities of many women in South Africa today, in spite of a liberal constitution that safeguards equal opportunities for everybody. But how has this discrepancy come about?

During the first wave of modern feminism in the 1970s, the political agenda for women's liberation was spelt out: gender justice would be achieved when there were equal political, economic and social opportunities for women. When women theologians joined the movement, equal ecclesiastical opportunities were added to the list of ideals for gender justice.

South Africa prides itself today that, through a woman-friendly constitution, all women have access to a fulfilling life, and that, through laws such as the Domestic Violence Act (no 116 of 1998) all women have a claim to safety – not only in public but also in their private lives.

However, although equal opportunity legislation might have liberated individual women in South Africa, it has failed to free communities, as is hinted at in the above jokes. State laws have secured political equality for everybody. State laws have introduced equal employment legislation. And yet, as will be indicated by the stories told in paragraph five of this article, women remain vulnerable in their intimate spaces. And they remain powerless in the

churches, the very places that support the patriarchal discourses that expose women to abuse by their intimate partners.

In short, then, state laws have changed the surface of society without changing the discourses in the deep structure. This leaves women unsafe in their intimate spaces where state law obviously cannot reach, but where divine law reigns. South Africa is one of the most religious countries in the world, with almost 80 percent of the population being Christians and a further five percent consisting of Muslims, Hindus, Jews and African traditionalists, according to the 2001 census. Also, South Africa has the highest occurrence of emerging churches in the world.

And yet, in spite of its high religiosity and its woman-friendly laws, South Africa could easily boast the highest rape rate, the highest incidence of domestic violence, and the fastest spread of HIV in the world. All of these are perpetrated against women in their intimate spaces, most of them by intimate partners.

Against this background of state laws being unable to secure women's safety in their intimate spaces, and churches being suspected of encouraging or condoning gender injustice that leaves women unsafe and unfulfilled, the research questions posed hereunder were formulated

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND A DEFINITION OF "DISCOURSE"

The research questions, then, that guide the research for this article, are twofold:

- How do harmful religious discourses contribute to women's vulnerability in their intimate spaces and keep them from leading fulfilling lives? This question guides the telling of women's stories of despair.
- How can churches become places of healing by deconstructing these discourses and by embodying healthy religious discourses in ecclesial projects that promote equality? This question, hopefully, will lead to the formulation of stories of hope.

These questions, of course, call for a definition of "discourse" which is used here in the Foucauldian sense of "a socially constructed grand narrative". A discourse may or may not be "true", but draws its power from a majority of a community believing in its truthfulness. Constructed by the community, a discourse is empowered to rule the lives of its believers. A religious discourse, for instance, would be something like "God has made man to rule over woman". Whether this is true or not, this discourse regulates the lives of millions of South Africans who still believe in it.

A traditional religious discourse, furthermore, consists of binary oppositions. It always places man against woman, good against evil, right against wrong. It is the challenge of this article to deconstruct the harmful binaries of religious discourses and explore the dialogical spaces between them in order to come to healthier outcomes for regulating women's intimate spaces.

4 RESEARCH POPULATIONS

In order to address the first research question on the effects of harmful religious discourses on the lives of women, two research populations were chosen

- The first research population consisted of 203 women who had reported for counselling at Kalafong Hospital in Atteridgeville, Tshwane, where primary health care is provided free of charge (see Landman 2007). A majority of these women (68%) were in their thirties and forties. Three-quarters (74%) were black, 18 percent were white and eight percent were Asian or coloured. Two things bound all these women together: The one was that they were all extremely poor. Only 35% of them were employed and, without exception, received less than the minimum salary of R1200.00 per month, an amount that is in anyway not enough with which to raise a family. The other thing shared by all these women, was that they were all church-going believers. A majority of them (55%) belonged to the so-called “born-again churches” (also called African Independent Churches, or *Bekeerkerke*), and 40 percent belonged to mainstream churches. A vast majority (96%) were Christians which is why this article deals exclusively with Christian religious discourses.
- A second research population consisted of 10 middle-class women (white and Coloured) who had been subjected to verbal abuse and were recovering in a mental hospital (Landman 2000). The reason for introducing this research population was to determine whether a lack of money is the only or main reason why women are vulnerable in their intimate spaces.

5 STORIES OF GENDER INJUSTICE

5.1 Women of faith and their stories of poverty and violence in intimate spaces

The first research population, then, were poor women who looked towards the church for healing.

After having worked for seven years at the Kalafong Hospital as a part-time voluntary counsellor, the author is tempted to summarise the main problems experienced by these women were loss, loneliness and a lack of money.

- *Loss*: The women suffered the loss of close family members to accidents, illnesses and diseases like Aids, and criminality. They also lost their relationships (through divorce or desertion) and their jobs, even if these were poorly paid.
- *Loneliness*: Loneliness, and the fear to be without a partner, rules the lives of women in the townships. Loneliness amongst women was made worse by a population ratio of approximately 100 women for every 70 men, as well as by penopausal, patriarchal and clandestine male behaviour that left women emotionally vulnerable.

- *Lack of money:* As was said before, the women of this research group were desperately poor and often dependent on the support of a male partner.

However, these problems were simply symptoms of underlying harmful discourses supported by the deep structure of societal experience where such discourses rule. The following stories will show that the problems experienced by these women are fed by harmful religious discourses that keep the women vulnerable in their intimate spaces. The women all sought refuge in churches, that is, in dialogue with the pastor, but instead of churches being places of healing, church discourses contributed to the women's vulnerability and pain.

The **first story** is that of a coloured woman in her thirties:

Financial problems force me to live with my daughter in a room far from my job. Every morning on my way to the station I am raped by a gang of men who will not let me pass without sex. My pastor says this is what a woman has to pay for having a child out of wedlock.

The **second story** is that of a black South African woman also in her early thirties. Her story is one of many told by women who are charmed by non-South African men into marrying them:

My husband comes from another African country. He put pressure on me to take a loan and start a small computer business. Then the business was robbed and I lost everything. He has disappeared, and left me with a child. I think he was behind the robbery. My pastor says I must not report this but must find my husband and forgive him. The pastor says this in spite of the fact that I suspect that my husband has another wife in Nigeria.

The **third story** is that of a Black South African woman also in her early thirties. Many similar stories are told by the women of the research population who, on the death of her partner, found out that he was married to somebody else or has paid *lobola* for another woman. Also, women often reported that, when their husbands died, they discovered that they had divorced them and had married other women while still formally staying with them.

When the father of my children died, I found out that he was married to somebody else. His wife's family came and took everything, leaving only the walls of the house for me and my two children. I am left with nothing. My pastor says this is the Lord punishing me for not being married. Now I know why my boyfriend did not want to marry me. He was married already.

The **fourth story** is that of a middle-aged white woman:

I had to remarry for financial reasons, and now my new husband has raped my son. My pastor does not believe me. He thinks I need help.

The **fifth story**, too, is from a white woman in her fifties:

My husband lost all his pension money in a bad deal, but he does not want me to bake cookies for an income. He believes the man should be the breadwinner. My husband does not want me to come for counselling again. He says I must accept poverty because it is sent by God. He says I must stand by my man and not try to be the breadwinner, since this will make God angry.

The **sixth story** is that of a young black woman in her twenties who is functionally illiterate:

I gave my two children poison to convince my husband to give me money for food. It was not enough poison for them to die. It was the only way to get money from my husband. Now he has given me money for food for the children. The pastor reported me to the police. I do not want to go to prison. I will not do it again. And I am six months pregnant again.

The **seventh story**, too, is that of a young black woman in her twenties who was physically abused by her husband. It should be noted here that of the 203 women of this research population, 104 (that is 50%), had been beaten up badly by their intimate partners. Most of them suffered irreversible damage to their bodies, and even brain damage.

My husband has been beating me up badly. The police brought me here to the hospital. I have to go back home. I have nowhere else to stay. My pastor says that when a husband beats his wife, she must accept that God has made him so.

The **eighth story** is that of a black woman in her late forties:

My boyfriend and I live in a shack. I have found him having sex with a dog more than once. I cannot leave him. He gives me and my children food. I suppose God has made men that way. I must accept.

The **ninth story** is that of an attractive black woman in her late twenties:

After my boyfriend suddenly died, I found his HIV-positive certificate in the washing machine. We slept without a condom for me to get pregnant. I am now pregnant and HIV-positive. I went to his workplace to claim his money, but they told me a woman with a *lobola* letter had already claimed it. I also found out that he has a child with a woman in Mamelodi, and two children with a woman in Polokwane. My pastor says HIV is punishment from God and that I must leave the church because I give the church a bad name. This church claims that it is HIV-free, and that you will remain HIV-free if you join this church.

The **tenth story** is that of a black woman who has just turned sixty. This story testifies to the fact that women are not only abused by intimate sexual partners, but also by other close family members, such as a brother in this

case. It is also important to note that a large number of women reported physical abuse from their teenage sons. These sons, under pressure from peer groups to display expensive shoes and cell phones, or under pressure from drug addiction, start stealing from their mothers and selling household goods. Whenever mothers protest or try to hide things, they are beaten up. So large is this problem that a support group for mothers who have been assaulted by teenage sons is being set up at the hospital.

After I received my pension money, my brother dragged me through the streets with a rope around my neck until I gave him the money. He says all our money belongs to the family. My pastor agrees with him. He has given me nothing of the money. I have nothing to live from.

The stories of the first research population tell us, through the words of the pastors, of the history of churches and their extreme lack of sensitivity towards women's experiences of loss, loneliness and lack of money. The women all recount how they were given dogmatic and paternalistic discourses which, instead of healing them, contributed to their anxiety and despair.

5.2 Women of faith and their stories of middle-class violence

Not only did the women in the above stories remain unhealed, they developed identities of failure, that is, the discourses holding them captive convinced them that they were failing as intimate partners, wives, mothers and sisters. They saw themselves as failures because they could not live up to church supported patriarchal expectations of womanhood.

The second research population consisted of ten white and coloured middle-class women who had suffered nervous breakdowns after periods of intensive verbal abuse in their intimate relationships.

Verbal abuse is a powerful expression of harmful discourses. Verbal abuse against women (see Landman 2000) mainly targets four areas in which women – in spite of feminist influence on society – still want to exceed. These areas are a woman's ability to spend the household money well, her looks, her sexual performance, and, finally, her ability to raise the children well, that is, her performance as a fit or unfit mother.

The following three stories testify to the religious and patriarchal discourses on womanhood prevalent in verbal abuse exchanged in the intimate spaces of middle-class women.

The **first story** is that of a coloured woman in her thirties:

Living in South Africa on a budget that is becoming more and more tight, my husband decided that I was wasting the household money and that from then on he would buy the groceries. Now he does not buy me any shampoo; he buys only toilet paper for himself; he buys no fresh fruit and vegetables but only chips for the children because he knows I hate it. He says the Bible says the man is the breadwinner. Women are too stupid to work with money. I think he

only says that because he is ashamed that we cannot survive on his salary alone.

The **second story** is of a white woman in her late twenties:

First my husband said I was too fat, then I was too thin. When I suffered a nervous breakdown after severe and prolonged verbal abuse at home, my husband visited me in hospital. He forced me to sign two letters. The one stated that he would not pay for my expenses in the hospital, and the second that, because of the breakdown, I was an unfit mother and should sign the children over to him. He said that, as a mother and a wife, I am a disgrace in God's eyes.

The **third story** is that of a white woman in her early thirties, a brilliant woman who is one of only a few woman chemical engineers in the country:

I am a chemical engineer and run a plant at a factory. My husband is also a professional person. He criticises everything I do. I am tired. I cannot do this job and serve him and the children at home to the extent he expects from me. He says this is my God-given role and that I am a failure as a wife and a mother.

5.3 How do patriarchal religious discourses harm women in their intimate spaces?

After having listened to the above stories, we are ready to answer the first research question, that is, "How do harmful religious discourses contribute to women's vulnerability in their intimate spaces and keep them from leading fulfilling lives?" The answer lies in the *identities* given to women by patriarchal discourses:

- The first is an *identity of sin* in terms of which discourses convince women that, for example, they deserve to be raped because they have had a child out of wedlock or are not married, even when this was no choice of their own. Similarly, there is a belief that when a woman becomes infected with HIV, this is a sign that God is punishing her for some or other wrongdoing.
- The second is an *identity of acceptance* in terms of which patriarchal religious discourses force women to believe that "men are like that because God has made them so". Men assault women when they are angry; men have many sexual partners by nature; real men are breadwinners and women have to make them feel they are and not bake cookies to keep the household going. Men are beaters, rapists, adulterers and breadwinners because God has made them so and women must accept this as divine creation.
- The third is an *identity of forced belonging*. Patriarchal discourses cheat women into believing that their bodies and their money never belong to themselves. Everything they own always belongs to a man, even if it is a brother who steals pension money from his sister. And when a woman's partner dies, the joint estate belongs to his family.

- Finally, patriarchal religious discourses are fond of luring women into forming *identities of failure*. Even when women do conform to patriarchal notions of womanhood and motherhood, verbal abuse leave them feeling that they have failed in the eyes of men and God, and eventually in their own eyes.

6 CHURCH HISTORY OF HOPE AND HEALING

6.1 Do hurting women have a future with the church?

With the churches in South Africa having a history of contributing towards women's vulnerability in their intimate spaces and adding to their despair through patriarchal discourses, we have to ask whether women have a future with the churches as places of healing.

This, of course, brings us to our second research question: "Can the churches assist in the healing of women? And, if so, how?"

6.2 The state of churches in South Africa

Before answering this question, we have to look at the present state of churches in South Africa, and attempt to see whether the churches do testify to a history of the healing of women, albeit a fairly recent history. We have to ask, furthermore, that if such a history exists, whether this history of churches healing women speaks of a gender consciousness.

According to numbers released by the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa, the mainstream churches in South Africa - that is, the Anglican, Methodist and Reformed Churches, with the exclusion of the Roman Catholic Church - have lost more than 26 percent of their membership during the past five years.¹ Since Christianity in South Africa is growing in numbers, one may ask where have these people, who previously were members of a mainstream church, gone? It seems, according to the numbers, that they have joined the Roman Catholic Church, charismatic churches or "born-again churches".²

Why is there this shift? In my opinion and based on information given by patients during counselling, the shift is from mainstream churches to churches that offer some kind of *healing*.

In South Africa, as in Africa as a whole, three types of healing are prevalent (see Morekwa 2004). These are diaconal healing, faith healing and ritual healing. This corresponds as follows to the growth in churches that offer healing:

- The Roman Catholic Church, with an average growth of five percent over five years, is the fastest growing church in South Africa. The RCC offers *diaconal healing* through the distribution of food packages, the running of hospices for people dying of Aids and other diaconal services.

¹ Official numbers are for 2001 and 2006, but the trend continues.

² In Afrikaans these churches are called "Bekeerkerke". They are independent churches that are also referred to as African Independent Churches.

- The charismatic churches offer *faith healing*, that is, miraculous healing through believing in the healing power of the Holy Spirit.
- The “born-again churches” also rely on faith healing, but are known especially for embodying healing in rituals, thus making their focus that of *ritual healing*.³

6.3 Women’s quest for healing

With a shift in believers’ preferences to healing churches, one may ask whether there is a sensitivity amongst these churches to women’s special need for healing, that is, to be healed from being raped, assaulted at home, being vulnerable towards HIV infection, in short, for being in un-possession of their bodies. Are these churches sensitive towards the discourses that make women ill in the un-possession of their bodies?

Although there may be a recent history of healing amongst South African churches, the above stories point to a lack of gender consciousness in the churches in South Africa. They point to the reign of patriarchal discourses in the churches that leave women vulnerable – making the South African churches part of the problem of gender injustice, rather than part of the solution.

7 STORIES OF GENDER JUSTICE

Is it at all possible to embody gender justice in South African churches? And if so, how can it be done? What should be done by churches to improve gender justice and empower women in their intimate relationships to lead fulfilling lives?

Following now is an alternative history to the one(s) told above. It is a history of how some churches, that is, some congregations and individuals, who have started to embody gender justice in churches through projects that work towards the deconstruction of patriarchal religious discourses:

7.1 Healing women by addressing patriarchal discourses

In the light of the above, it is clear that the first, and most important, initiative for healing women should be the deconstruction of patriarchal discourses that keep gender injustice in place. But how can a church embody this ideal in practice?

The story of the Uniting Reformed Church of Pretoria in Eersterust can be taken as an example here. Here lay pastoral counsellors have been trained in social construction theory. This theory assumes that the lives of people are constructed by social (including religious) discourses. Social construction theory underlies a therapeutic approach called narrative therapy that was

³ This according to the SBL/Unisa statistics referred to in the above. This is confirmed by statistics from Statistics South Africa of church growth in Atteridgeville and Eersterust, two townships in Tshwane.

developed by David Epston and Michael White during the last part of the twentieth century. Narrative therapy has proved to be ideal for training lay counsellors in the healing of the religious community for at least three reasons. In the first place, narrative therapy aims at deconstructing religious and other social discourses that keep gender injustice in place, and rescoping them in terms of alternative stories of equality in relationships between men and women, that is, in stories of hope and healing. Furthermore, in narrative counselling, healing is retrieved from and based on the indigenous knowledge of the patient, making healing contextual and achievable. Thirdly, narrative counselling invites the healing practices of churches into the counselling process and is therefore not foreign to the heart of what the churches believe heals people.

This story opens up more stories of hope for the churches in South Africa. Churches and congregations can engage in the training of lay counsellors. Furthermore, counselling centres need to be established in communities, with donor or state money, to which poor people, and especially women, have access and where counselling is done in partnership with the healing practices of the local churches.

7.2 Theologising with women

This author is, at the invitation of women's groups, engaged in reading the Bible with women, and training pastors' wives as lay preachers. Thus theologies are negotiated with women, these negotiations having a twofold aim. The first is to introduce theologies to women through which patriarchal discourses that hold women captive and make them ill are deconstructed. In this regard, several African women's theologies are relevant, such as a theology based on cultural hermeneutics (Kanyoro 2002). American and British theologies, too, are contextualised to benefit the experience of local women. These include Body Theology (Isherwood & Stuart 1998) that explores women's bodies both as sites of resistance and sites of relationship, and Girlfriend Theology (Baker 2005) that empowers older women to engage in God-talk with younger ones.

The second aim of theologising with women is to introduce them to the concept of partnership theologies, that is, theologies that will build bridges between the genders. Except for a redefinition of masculinities, nothing worldwide has been published on partnership theologies (except perhaps Landman 2001), but is sorely needed to stabilise intimate relationships.

Much more, of course, is needed in South Africa in terms of theologies that deconstruct harmful religious discourses and reconstruct healthy ones. The story of women in South Africa doing theology is a story of hope, but is only in its infancy.

7.3 Empowering women through skill training

The stories told above point to the need to deconstruct religious discourses that keep women vulnerable in their private spaces. They also testify to the women's economic powerlessness. The story of women of faith being trained

in economic skills is still largely a story of the future. It is, however, a story that needs to be placed on the agendas of churches as soon as possible.

A good example of the economic empowerment of people of faith within ecclesiastical substructures is the Faith and Earthkeeping Project of David Olivier from the Department of Systematic Theology and Ethics at the University of South Africa. Through this project, land is obtained in the townships and cultivated as vegetable gardens by people of faith.

However, more is needed. Women need to be empowered to apply for national and international funds for projects. Many women are, for instance, too illiterate to fill out the forms for national child grants. Moreover, when national funds are allocated for projects in the townships or rural areas, the city counsellor often holds a huge amount of the money back for himself or herself. Women, and specifically women of faith, should be trained through their church structures to apply not only for local funding, but for funding from overseas to take ownership of their economic future.

The story of women of faith being trained in skills should, however, also be taken beyond economic needs to social empowerment. The churches should be the breeding ground through which women are trained in Aids Management and Social Relief Management.

Recently universities, such as the University of Pretoria, have incorporated a compulsory module on community development in all their courses, from engineering to history and psychology. If churches accommodate these students, the community will benefit from massive skills training.

In short, future stories of hope growing from women's skills training are possible, but needs urgently to be placed on ecclesiastical agendas.

7.4 Sharing life-enhancing liturgies with women

Women of faith are to be assisted toward leading fulfilled lives through the deconstruction of harmful religious discourses, which can be accomplished through the training of lay pastoral counsellors and through theologising with women. Women of faith can furthermore be placed on the road towards fulfilling lives through skills training. This has been argued in the previous three subsections. Here the story of women's road to fulfilling lives through participation in liturgies will be told, or rather, hinted at in brief.

During counselling, women often refer to their participation in church liturgies, such as dancing and singing, as experiences of healing. The liturgies in which they participate are not, however, gender sensitive nor do they aim at the healing of gender injustices. What are also needed, are liturgies that address the experiences of women, such as liturgies for the birth of a still-born baby (see Ewan 2007).

The future story of the churches' commitment to gender justice should be embodied in new or adapted liturgies, that is, in dancing to express human dignity, in the ritual sharing of food as spiritual healing between men and

women, in verbally pointing out to one another the beauty of God which we as human beings share, in songs that heal the experiences of women in their intimate spaces, and in honouring the traditional wisdom of women.

7.5 Using public forums to remind the church of its accountability towards women

Finally, it is the opinion of this author that the churches should be held accountable to women in public. One reason for the fall of apartheid was that public theologians held not only the state but especially the churches accountable for what they had taught on and practised about race. David Bosch, for instance, was one such public theologian who, through teaching, travelling and publishing, constantly reminded the churches that, in terms of the Bible, they were responsible to people who suffered from inequality and discrimination.

South Africa has a scarcity of public women theologians. However, the future story of South African churches becoming agents for gender justice can start with churches being reminded in public by their women theologians firstly, to be accountable for what they teach believers about womanhood, about being a man, and about healthy relationships. Secondly, churches should commit themselves to contributing to sustainable economic development in their local communities, with a focus on women. Thirdly, churches should not only be held accountable for shifting the patriarchal discourses that hold women captive and for practicing economic empowerment, but also for accommodating liturgies that celebrate and heal women's experiences.

8 CONCLUSION

This article has used histories to argue that the healing of churches and their women believers is possible through the shifting of harmful discourses, economic empowerment and life-enhancing liturgies.

The author's hope and dream is for

- churches to invite gender justice
- churches to be places of healing
- churches to be agents for community-based development

so that South Africa, which is presently torn by violence against women in their intimate spaces, can be healed.

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