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A gendered perspective of post-apartheid political killings: a case study of uMzimkhulu, Kwa-Zulu Natal

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A mini- dissertation presented in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Master of Political Studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Johannesburg, 2021

Declaration

I, Namhla Ngqwala, hereby declare that the thesis titled *"A gendered perspective of post-apartheid Political Killings: A Case Study of uMzimkhulu"* is my own work, and that the contents contained herein have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

This dissertation has not been submitted before towards any qualification at the University of Witwatersrand or any other university.

Signature……
Date…….

Abstract

This study uses a gendered perspective to explore political killings in post-apartheid South Africa. It uses the uMzimkhulu municipality area of Harry Gwala district in the province of Kwa Zulu Natal (KZN) as its case study. A gendered analysis of political violence, focused specifically on women in this case, is important to explore if we are to better understand how patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities contribute to political killings within local government. The gendered motive appears when perpetrators preserve hegemonic men's control of politics. Moreover, political violence can be gendered especially when men use coercion, intimidation, and ultimately violence to maintain the status quo of masculine hegemonic political dominance. Both men and women experience violence that is specifically designed to deter their involvement and participation in politics. However, women who participate in politics are confronted by an intersection of their cultural, political, and social environment that becomes unfavourable due to the violence of political killings. In this study, attention is drawn to the region's threat, intimidation, and killing of politicians and councillors. The study also focuses attention on enhancing theoretical specificity on how political violence is gendered and explores the perspective of political killing at the local level. This research uses exploratory qualitative research methods to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons for the political killings in uMzimkhulu.

Key words: Gendered violence; Hegemonic masculinity; Political killings, Power; uMzimkhulu.

Dedication

To all the selfless women who have died in the call of duty while pursuing the local politics to liberate society from the brunt of the inconsiderate patriarchs and their exclusionary self-serving political ideologies of gatekeeping.

To my special daughter, Onke Abenathi Ngqwala and wonderful son Lisakhanya Alakhe Ngqwala, my mom this is all for you, for your understanding and for being patient with me during all these years I have been studying and neglecting you.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence & Reconciliation
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
MK	uMkhonto we Sizwe
PR	Proportional Representation
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations

Chapter 1

1. Introduction and research question

1.1 Statement of introduction

This study traces the impact of political killings in post-apartheid South Africa and it uses uMzimkhulu town in Harry Gwala District of Kwa Zulu Natal (KZN) in South Africa as a case study. South Africa demarcates the scope of this study because of the manner in which post-apartheid killings in have generally been understood and written about by some scholars without a gendered perspective. This has led to a vast of literature and the general conceptualisation of political killings to be silent on how women are affected by post-apartheid political killings in South Africa. This study argues that although women are grossly affected by post-apartheid killings in South Africa they are generally not acknowledged even in some political studies. Thus, the study challenges the manner in which the Moerane Commission of Inquiry into political killings has also overlooked the impact of political killings on women by being silent in its findings on the gendered perspective of the killings.

1.2 Background

Following the gross political killings in KZN, the former Premier of KZN Province, Willies Mchunu, established the Moerane Commission of Inquiry on the 31st of October 2016. The main purpose of this Commission was to highlight the root causes of the killings of politicians affiliated to different political parties in the province. The Commission was established under section *127(2)(e)* of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, which states that "the Premier of a province is responsible for appointing Commissions of Inquiry" (KwaZulu-Natal Commissions' Act, Provincial Gazette, 1999). The key stakeholders in the establishment of the commission were members from the KwaZulu-Natal Executive Council accountable for cooperative governance and traditional affairs, the Independent Electoral Commission, as well as the Minister of the Police. These stakeholders appointed Advocate Marumo Moerane as the chairperson of the Commission of Inquiry. Solo Mdledle, served as Secretary to the Commission and Advocate Vasu Gounden and Cheryl Potgieter were additional Commissioners.

The KZN Office of the Premier allocated 15 million Rand to the Commission in 2016. The funding was used not only to fund the Commission, but to serve as the payment of the chairperson, other members of the commission and related expenses such as the hiring of venues for the hearings (KZN Provincial Government, 2018:6). Keevel Singh (2018) contends that the commission's final report outlined some policy shortcomings with the tender systems and electoral greed which results in competition over state resources. The corruption in the tender system is the result of some public officials, particularly in local government, exploiting the system for personal gain. This usually occurs according to (Naidoo, 2016:72) when a government official uses bid rigging to guarantee that tender contracts are awarded to a specific company from which they profit financially. Extortion and the assassination of competitors or whistle-blowers have been used to obtain these bids. Extortion and assassinations can be carried out by powerful public authorities to protect and safeguard tenders in which they have a stake in .

Similarly, to the tender system, electoral competition in local government elections instigate further violence, including the killings of political figures (Perliger, 2016:7). Patronage network plays a significant role in local government election in such a way that when candidates are elected, the strongest competition or competitor that poses as a threat or obstacle is normally eliminated in a form of violence or death. This makes the election of candidates unbearable especially for those candidates who are not corrupt as they are left vulnerable, This also questions the credibility of the electoral system in terms of corruption level which leads to the killings of candidates who run for local government elections.

To highlight the Moerane Commission of inquiry findings into political killings, report findings (2018:414) reveal that there are advantages that come with being elected as a councillor. Prof Paulos Zulu of the University of KwaZulu-Natal argued that one of the main drivers of political violence and killings in South Africa is the fact that anyone can be elected a councillor regardless of their qualifications. He also explained that a number of councillors are not qualified to do anything other than work as laborers or ordinary factory workers, while a councillor's salary is relatively estimated at R15 000.00 per month (Moerane Commission,2018:336). As a result, the manipulation is due to the severe struggle for the councillor post, which invites fierce competition.

In fact, the findings of the Commission of Inquiry presented evidence from some of the witnesses which confirmed that branch, regional, and provincial meetings of political parties are usually manipulated using a number of underhand tactics. These tactics are used to marginalise some of the members and that result into factions. The outcomes of those factional contestations often lead to violent and retaliatory attacks that have been the core of a number of political killings.

Consequently, the main recommendation by Moerane commission report delineated the need to strengthen internal structures in South African politics by calling for political parties to be held responsible for the violent struggle between their members for political positions and power (2018:417). On the misuse of the tendering system, it recommended that the state examine this matter as a matter of urgency and review its processes to ensure conformity with constitutional justice where appropriate (2018:418). Lastly, it was noted that weak leadership led to factionalism and animosity among the parties and within them. Bad political leadership in South Africa generate dysfunctional institutions in all spheres of government, particularly in local government were patronage, corruption, bad governance , electoral fraud and personalisation of power incite political violence and killings . Political parties are structures utilized by prominent political leaders to take advantage of the system, prey on the vulnerable, and plunder on national resources for personal gain .

It is noted that the tender system, elections during electoral votes in local government and weak leadership are the main factors that contribute to political violence but the Moreane Commission of Inquiry has turned a blind eye on how gendered power such as patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity can also be a contributing factor to the root causes of political killings in KZN. Even though women were included in giving testimonies to the commission , the study emphasizes that the commission has turned a blind eye when it comes to their experiences. The exclusion of women's experiences to political killings in the final findings of the commission's report after giving testimonies raises concerns of gender blindness and not recognising that women are the ones who are mostly affected by these political killings as wives, daughters, sisters and mothers of assassinated victims.

The commission overlooked gender concerns in its analytical frames, which created a gender gap on political structures or institutions designed to favour men

than women. Through the commissions testimonies I have observed that women who become or who are contesting against their male encounters for councillor positions are more likely not to be supported by their communities , political parties (in region and branch structures) and also experience intimidation, threats and violence.

Lack of understanding of the gender dynamics, ignoring the victim's needs in understanding the root causes of political killings and failing to recognise the need to address individual healing processes (such as offering counselling to the families of assassinated victims which in most cases were women) is still very much prevalent in contemporary politics. The Moreane Commission of inquiry into political killings in KZN should have noted with concern the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions insensitive gender approach in dealing with gender issues by adopting a more gender-sensitive approach. For instance, Ayumi Kusafuka (2009) suggests that gender - sensitive strategies include conducting a gender research and having a chapter on women on the final report. In that way it would have avoided the gender gap.

The omission of a gender chapter in the final report is an indication that the commission has been gender blind and therefore the study as it seeks to explore a gendered analysis of political violence is important to get an in-depth understanding of how patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities contribute to political killings.

1.3 Research problem

Reports and studies on political killings in post-apartheid South Africa do not adequately address the magnitude or impact of political killings on women. This non-gendered perspective has continuously erased women from the political killings discourse. The dominant discourse is presented as though women are not a part to the ravaging political killings in South Africa, directly or otherwise. This normalisation of a non-gendered perspective to post-apartheid political killings in South Africa is also evident in the manner the Moerane Commission findings are presented by not focusing on the needs of the victims and being gender-blind in the final findings and recommendations. Irrespective of the testimonies that were made by women ,this study recognizes that the Moreane Commission of Inquiries treatment of gender was constrained by its gender- blindness mandate, which ignored the different experiences and interests of men and women. The commission provides an important case of analysis on a gendered perspective of political killings hence it missed the opportunity

to reveal the gender nature of political violence and killings in Kwa-Zulu Natal and in South Africa. Therefore, critically assessing the commission and its report will assist in evaluating the importance of gender and to have an idea on the effects of overlooking the experiences of men and women , while also demonstrating the importance of studying men and women separate in the political violence discourse in future.

On the other hand, the study recognises from a few cases that women also contest for political positions at the provincial level, however encounter political threats for assassination and abduction which is a gendered dimension of the political contestations that the commission failed to highlight in its findings and also to recommend on how this can be avoided and resolved in future political arena and political discourse of post-apartheid political killings in South Africa. Hence, this erasure of women in the post-apartheid political killings discourse is a microcosm of the general problem of gender violence that has remained a scourge in South Africa today.

1.4 Aim of study

The aim of this study is informed by the political killings in uMzimkhulu and seeks to employ a gendered perspective framework in its analysis to arrive at a nuanced understanding of the problem.

1.5 Main research question

What is the impact of the absence of a gendered perspective in the political killings discourse in uMzimkhulu?

1.6 Objectives

The objective of the study is:

To use the case study of uMzikhulu to explore the nature and depth of the gendered perspective of political killings.

1.7 Research Methodology

The study falls in the exploratory qualitative research paradigm. It explores and attempts to understand the impact of the absence of a gendered perspective in the political killings with a specific focus on women's experiences. Methodologically, the study is explored using a content analysis approach. Case studies provide an interpretation of the whole situation and look at the incident in its broader context (De

Vaus, 2001: 234). On the other hand (Ibid) recommends that cases need to be carefully chosen, so that we are informed about the characteristics of a case before the proper analysis begins because case studies can encompass a number of different cases. Initially, the study uses secondary data analysis approach for desktop review. I have used literature around political killings in uMzimkhulu and reports of the proceedings of the Moreana Commission between 2016 and 2018.

The emphasis and benefit of this research methodology is that it has allowed me as a researcher to address my research question using testimonies of women at the Moreane Commission of Inquiry as a study population and also sampling secondary data according to themes such as political violence ,political killings, councillors killed, women councillors killed etc . Their experiences in the implications of political killings has provided in-depth insights to answer the research question through an exploratory research design.

1.7.1 Exploratory Research design

In order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the research question on the impact of the political killings through the experiences of women, I consulted various data sets for this study. The data sets presented general literature on political violence and killings in KZN. I selected specific literature on political killings that became prevalent between 2016 and 2018 in uMzikhulu. I explored this literature from various electronical databases, including relevant academic books, journal articles and newspaper articles. In this regard, the website of uMzimkhulu Local Municipality, KwaZulu-Natal gazette, and the Moerane Commission of Inquiry report were some of the key sources that I explored for empirical evidence for this study.

The advantages of content analyses is the unobtrusive data collection, I was able to analyse communication and social interaction without the direct involvement and also the study became highly flexible as content analysis allowed me to conduct the research at any time, in any location, and at low cost . However, I needed to access appropriate secondary sources.

After synthesizing the data I explored and analysed the manner in which literature on political killings was generally presented. I reviewed this literature and made interpretations through a qualitative analysis. Data analysis, like any other qualitative study technique, entails the review and interpretation of data in order to

elicit understanding, gain clarity, and establish empirical knowledge (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). To this effect, I jotted down notes which I used as research findings to answer the research question. I remained focused and mindful during the exploratory research process of my quest to explore the lived experiences of women in relation to the implications of the political killings in the case study. This approach was helpful particularly in view of the national lockdown regulations and protocols on the Covid-19 pandemic which did not permit contacts for in-depth interviews.

1.7.2 Overview and justification of uMzimkhulu as a research site

The case study uMzimkhulu, is a town located between Ixopo and Kokstad in KZN, under the administration of the Harry Gwala district governed by the African National Congress (ANC). According to uMzimkhulu Local Municipality website the case study area has a population of 18,0302 people and 20 wards of which 46% is under traditional administration. uMzimkhulu as a Local Municipality was previously part of the Eastern Cape Province until its incorporation into the KZN Province in March 2006 based on the new Demarcation Act of 2005 according to the municipality website.

Political killings in uMzimkhulu peaked between 2016 and 2018 although the KZN province is generally highlighted as the prime area for political killings in the country. This is due to the high numbers of political killings in the province compared to the rest of the country. Areas such as Richmond, Lower South and uMgungundlovu District are well-known for political killings in the province and they also recorded the highest numbers between 2016 and 2018 alongside uMzimkhulu. The case study however became suitable as a research site for this study because it has not previously been known for any notable political killings, thus it contributes new insights on political killings. Olifant (2017) reiterates that, compared to areas such as Richmond, Shobashobane and Nongoma, uMzimkhulu as a town has recently become the frontline of political killings with wave after wave of councillors killed. This presents the case study as suitable because it allowed the study to contribute new insights and dimensions to the question of political killings already explored in the mentioned areas of the province.

Justifying its suitability as a research site on political killings, de Haas (2020) mentions that three ANC councillors in the research site were shot and badly injured

in July, 2017 among them Sindiso Magaqa, who died in hospital a few months later. This overview locates this case study as relevant to explore the research question for this study to bring in new perspectives and insights to the political killings discourse in particular the women experiences that the study sought to explore.

Below is a map that highlights the location of the research site.



Figure 1: *A map showing where the research site uMzimkhulu is located within the Harry Gwala district (KZN Online, 2020).*

Having introduced the study and also provided an overview of the research site above, I now present an outline of how the rest of the chapters constituting this study are organised.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

This report has three chapters and the first chapter mainly introduces this study, presents the research problem, and articulates the research methodology and research design. It also presents an overview of the research site and briefly highlights the justification for its selection. Chapter two discusses the literature on structural systems and practices that marginalize women. The chapter also uses this evidence to build an argument relating to how the gendered perspective of political killings which

disregard women experiences is sustained in uMzimkhulu. In chapter three the study uses the case study to analyses and criticises how the existing scholarship on political killings has missed the opportunity to show that women's experiences contribute significantly to the political discourse.

Chapter Two

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present literature that generally speaks to the perpetual problem of hegemonic masculinities and their practices in KZN in general and uMzimkhulu in particular. I use this literature to sustain my argument that hegemonic masculinities and their traditional practices tend to stimulate political violence and killings in local government for example this can be evident in the manner in which women's experiences in their communities remain marginalized. Particular, in uMzimkhulu were the municipality is also characterised by the presence of Traditional Authorities that cover up 46% of rural areas (uMzimkhulu Local Municipality, 2020).

In this chapter I also demonstrate how the marginalization of women in society especially in uMzimkhulu can initiate negative impact in the political landscape by creating a hierarchal society that favours men more in the political arena meanwhile it subordinates women . Inequalities in the power distribution between men and women result in a condition of subordination and a threat throughout a woman's life. Women's subordination within society is also reflected in cultural practices such ukuthwala and ukuhlolwa kwe Ntombi (Virginity testing) which affects many young girls in uMzimkhulu and KZN.

Based on this aspect, the study seeks to explain the root causes of political violence and killings in uMzimkhulu focusing on hegemonic masculinity practices , the administration of uMzimkhulu local municipality and Gender-Based Violence . In doing so, attention will be drawn in secondary data analyses of women's experiences with traditional practises particularly in KZN.

2.2 Insights on hegemonic masculinities and their practices

Aspects of hegemonic masculinities and their practices in political violence against women have been recognized across the world as one of the major impediments to women's political involvement (Maharaj, 2004; Bardall, 2019 and Krook and Sanin, 2020). Furthermore, Women often experience harassment, threats and intimidations aimed to limit their political participation. Jac Brown (2012:331) further elaborates that the literature generally focuses on men as perpetrators of violence but ignores the

experience of women. This approach is hegemonic and it overlooks women's experience or stories in the political discourses. The literature on women's participation in violence has instead only focused on women playing a background or supportive role to men in the forefront. The literature does not fully privilege women's combatant roles.

The absent of academic interaction with women's participation as fighters demonstrates that conventional discourses remain gender-blind, denying women agency and political labour. It is important to analyse how men and women experience political violence differently due to their prescribed roles in society. While men are usually the primary actors in politics , women as wives and mothers suffer economic loss when the men in their households are killed. The forms of physical and psychological torture used against women also differ from those tactics used against men, therefore, targeting women's femininity and sexuality (Kasafuka,2009) in politics result in hegemonic masculinities that remain prevalent in the province over time.

Thus, few scholars suggest that, although women in KZN for example have been politically active during the ANC and IFP battles for control of the province their involvement has not been fully recognised as much as they male encounters. This is due to hegemonic masculinity hierarchies which are entrenched in traditional and cultural norms and practices that subordinate women. General evidence suggests that the culture of violence and the prevalence of hegemonic masculinity hierarchies is rooted in the colonial and apartheid eras (Bruce, 2013:2).

Different political violence scholars provide a distinct analysis on the causes of political violence. Bruce (2013) maintains that, political violence in KZN is caused by political disputes within the ANC, Meanwhile, Taylor (2010) clarifies that the IFP and ANC tensions did not automatically end with the rise of the democratic state but created hegemonic structures. In support of Taylors argument it is notable that the end of apartheid presented new challenges which gender inequalities in societies became the key challenge in KZN politics..

Literature shows that the battle for dominance between IFP and ANC in KZN has contributed to the hegemonic masculinities that marginalized women in politics, Hence women's primary role was to look after the family while men were at the forefront of the struggle. Acknowledging the role played by women in the struggle and

within leadership positions both in the national and provincial structures such as The Speaker of the KwaZulu-Natal Nontembeko Boyce, Bongiwe Sithole-Moloi as the MEC for Agriculture and Rural Development, Hlengiwe Mavimbela as the MEC for Sports, Arts, and Culture, Nomagugu Simelane as the MEC of Health and Nonhlanhla Khoza as the MEC of Social Development. These women have played a critical role in the reconstruction of a new political landscape especially Zanele Magwaza-Msibi who has been influential in both the apartheid and post-apartheid political arena.

However, in the local government administration women in decision and leadership positions are few especially in regional executive committee (REC), for Harry Gwala the top five REC is Cde Zamo Nxumalo, Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Cde Phumzile Noncanda, Secretary Cde Sindi Msomi, Deputy Secretary Cde Zenzele Msomi, Treasurer Cde Mnyamezeli Stuta. Which compromises of one women who is also a secretary. This gap is caused by the tension between women's rights and cultural rights because women's involvements is determined by cultural and patriarchal practices which restricts their access (Yvette Terrell,2009:1) and political involvement. Traditional leadership in KZN remains an significant political organization that persists to implement authority, particularly by side-lining women in decision-making processes within their communities.

Thus, women still become silenced and marginalized by prolonged traditional practices of hegemonic masculinities that extend to women's professional life. This dimension has hardly been granted formal support and recognition by the constitution, but has tried to change the constitution. as it attempted to evolve over time by allowing women to participate in political structures such as local government administration and elections (Williams, 2004:113).

2.2.1. The administration of uMzimkhulu and instigation of hegemonic society

UMzimkhulu traditional areas comprise 46% of the region (Stats SA, 2011). The integrated development plan (2019-2020:179) note that traditional leaders are allowed to participate in municipal councils under Section 81 (1) of the Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998.Section 81 (1) of the Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998. Traditional leaders are important in the component of uMzimkhulu politics and local government. Michael William (2004:116) supports the view that Amakhosi or Izinduna

persist to be in control and gain the respect of everyone who live under while also using both formal and informal authority in their communities.

Traditional leadership power dynamics can be seen when the Abathembu King Buyelekhaya Dalindyebo who was sentenced twelve years imprisonment after he was accused of kidnapping a woman and her six children, setting their home on fire and beating up four youth one of whom died, because one of their relatives had failed to present himself before the Kings' traditional court (BBC News, 2015) , this is an example of how traditional leaders use informal authority to exercise their power. Also gender power dynamics has been brought to light by Modupe Adenike Akinola in her Master's thesis Women Rights and Land Reform focusing on KwaZulu- Natal province.

Women in KwaZulu-Natal are still faced with inequalities and oppression because of cultural practices and traditional leadership. Akinola (2020:64) contends that the law of the land is against gender discrimination in relation to property rights in KwaZulu-Natal Province, where rural women are mostly uninformed of their land rights and thus the prevalence of denials of women's access to land. They often rely on male household members for permission to use land and to gain access to the household resources required for agricultural production and investment.

The traditional system of authority, mainly chiefs, relies more upon informal powers that tend to be reflected in ideologies, regulations, and systems consisting of pre cultural norms and standards, also known as 'traditions.' Most local communities, for example, require the chieftaincy to keep stability, settle disputes, offer spiritual direction, and encourage the community's well-being William (2004:116) and also being 'representatives of communities identity", unity, continuity, and stability' (Logan, 2013: 355) . These expectations can include a set of societal hegemonic masculinity practises that perpetuate structures of a gender-biased hierarchal society that can also be reflected in politics. Moreover, the gender-biased and hegemonic masculinity traditional systems also define the formal administration of uMzimkhulu Local Municipality.

Mnisi (2019) view is that almost all traditional leaders in South Africa are male and traditional courts are made up of men, excluding women from participation other than as parties to cases or witnesses. Moreover, The succession through the male

blood-line within the institution of traditional leadership for the inherited positions of senior traditional leaders has been a practice over the years this is evident in the Nhlapho Commission of Inquiry into Traditional Dispute and claims were a women in the Bapedi culture customary succession is based on a system of male primogeniture, A female cannot succeed (Nhlapho Commission , 2016: 10).

Understanding the cultural factors that influence the gendered perspective of politics will assist in having a depth perception of how culture and customs can have a negative impact in the future of women in the country and province. Nuthan Maharaj and Brij Maharaj (2004:264) argue that local government is the level closest to the people, with the expectation of being more responded towards their basic needs. But, there is general women are underrepresented in local government, which reflects gender issues at the grassroots. In their selection of local candidates, most political parties are gender-blind, if not gender-biased. The prevalence of social norms that hold that a woman's position is in the domestic sphere rather than the public sphere has an impact on women(van Donk, 1998) sited in (Maharaj and Maharaj, 2004: 264).

Many cultures define women in terms of what they should be or do for men. Culturally it is expected that married woman’s major role is to develop her husband’s career goals by providing him with moral and emotional support. Women are culturally expected to take care of all the family responsibilities and chores while the husband is away either studying or working.

Thus, scholars Isike and Uzodike (2011:226) also argue in line with this view that, there are still informal obstacles to women's effective participation despite the elimination of formal barriers. These informal barriers are largely social and rooted in a culture of hegemonic masculinity and also influence and shape the local politics. To qualify this, the White Paper on Local Government (1998) acknowledged that women were under-represented as local government councillors. As a way to remedy this, the White Paper proposed that political parties introduce a gender quota of 50% of women participation on their party’s proportional representation list. It also encouraged political parties to ensure that in the next three municipal elections, at least half of the candidates on the party list were women.

Meanwhile, Women and other marginalized groups were also required to be properly represented under the Municipal Structures Act (1998). It did not, however,

call for fair representation on ward and proportional lists. As a result, there were fewer women running for ward office and even elected to leadership roles (Maharaj and Maharaj, 2004: 264). Even though there are strategies to encourage women's involvement in politics, women who generally participate in local government elections continue to encounter male-dominated settings with challenges of not being able to be vocal, to disagree and to gain the support they need to be elected into decision-making committees. The Moerane commission into political killings in KZN report (2018:365) revealed that there are increasingly high numbers of threats directed against females within local government. Therefore, councillors and administrators in the municipalities are more vulnerable. This factor can be confirmed by considering the number of female councillors who have been threatened, injured or brutally killed during the period under investigation.

Bardall, et al. (2019:2) suggest that political violence can be gendered with motivations emerging when perpetrators use violence to maintain hegemonic political dominance. Political violence, for example, limits women's participation in politics and in governing roles. Studies of political violence most frequently examine the experiences of men with violence while problems facing women are not always recorded as abuse. In the case of the research site, the Integrated Development Plan of uMzimkhulu (2019/2020:161) states that a women's Council has been formed by the municipality. This framework examines women's interests within the municipality to ensure that all the requirements are taken into account in any municipal advancement. but there is no further information on how this women's council will fight the gendered perspective of violence or help women to participate in local politics.

As explained in the case of uMzimkhulu, the Integrated Development Plan (2019/2020:31) has disclosed that women in uMzimkhulu Local Municipality hold the majority of leadership and decision-making roles with four women as senior managers and 57% women in portfolio committees. This is an indication that women's representation in local government is often not a degree of equality but a reflection or a representation of political-administration. For example, the politicization of municipality's. Interference in administrative matters and strained relationships between key political and bureaucratic representatives in municipalities may have an effect on local government. Therefore, municipal council decisions are affected by

political factors as well as the ruling party's policy directives within the municipality (Boshoff, 2011:1).

However, for several municipalities, the political-administrative interface has become troublesome. Municipal executives, officials and Councillors, without a doubt, are failing to define key duties between themselves. Political parties' undue intervention exacerbates the issue. The improper arrangement among regional party structures and municipalities is becoming a source of increasing concern. Regional political parties have attempted to run municipalities from distance throughout Philani Frank Mncwabe (2020:51) .

To highlight the above, Shava and Chamisa (2018:2) explain that the ANC government in 1994 had introduced Cadre deployment a strategy that promotes for party loyalists to hold influential positions in the public sector, as well as the certainty that interference by cadre deployment would protect the new government from opposition sabotage. This involved the deployment of loyal party members in local government who could be trusted politically.

This study is of the view that, the political aspect of cadre deployment contributes to gender-blindness, disorder or chaos in local government. In most instances man get preferences than women as men are able to lobby and network more than women. The corporate world as it exists today is composed of values, traditions, structures, and behavioural norms linked to patriarchal society whilst much of what masculine promotes is by definition strange to the majority of women in our society. Cadre deployment is the silent and voiceless tool used by hegemonic masculinity structures to maintain a male dominant system that favours men. Moreover, used by the dominant male political-structure to subordinate or mute women in their decision making positions by controlling their accountable and limiting women’s power in the name of “being a trusted comrade” rather than making sound decision for service delivery .

Most often women continue to work under a number of obstacles in their respective workplace amongst the challenges which women are always faced with is to rise to the higher position in organisations and that continue to be a barrier to them, there are male stereotyping at work as organisational are patriarchal in nature as well as societal attitudes, organisational culture, organisational policies, political

influences. As a result, when women ascended the leadership ladder there are frequently facing cultural barriers in the form of their own internalised view of their roles and the expectations which others have of them.

To support the statement above, Tshishonga (2014:900) also contends that cadre deployment gives opportunity to the gender-based violence that is entrenched in power inequalities between women and men which also cascades to the local politics of uMzimkhulu. More importantly, the deployment of cadres on a party loyalty card entrenches the culture of entitlement and privilege. Literature reveals that the patriarchal and hegemonic masculinity within political-party structure often favours men than women. To highlight, in her testimony at the Commission Ms Nontsikelelo Mafa a Ward Councillor of ward 11 of uMzimkhulu Local Municipality outlined the dangers of being an independent candidate for elections and being a young woman.

Mafa stated that she was a victim of threats as she was running for councillor in uMzimkhulu, she detailed how unsafe it was for her to contest and run for the councillor position. In one instance she was threatened by a former councillor to leave the area and go to Johannesburg before the elections took place (Moerane Commission, 2008:45). Masculine values enforced in organizational culture has broad influence, which creates an environment in which favours men more than women in a work place. Moreover, male qualities tend to be valued more highly than female qualities. The silencing of women does not end in traditional practices, in the administration of uMzimkhulu, nor within political parties, but hegemonic masculinity practices extend to gender- based violence in uMzimkhulu.

2.2.2. Gender-Based Violence in uMzimkhulu as a Case study

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) (2016:4) defines Gender-based violence (GBV) according to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of violence against women as:

> any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life ... Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following: physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family [and in the community], including battery, sexual abuse of female children …, dowry related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation … sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in

> women and forced prostitution and violence perpetrated or condoned by the state.

Understanding gender-based violence from CSVR perspective helps to illuminate how political violence and political killings are framed in the research site.

Local politics demonstrate how hegemonic masculinity patterns are often linked to endemic male violence toward women. One of the hegemonic traditional practices beyond the general chiefs and Izinduna informal authorities already mentioned is traditional cultural practises such as ukuthwala. This practice also has an impact in the gender-based violence in uMzimkhulu by creating a hegemonic masculinity. According to the Commission for Gender Equality (2011:3) a basic definition of the manifestation of ukuthwala is the practice of kidnapping girls for the purposes of marriage. It emanates from a traditional cultural practice where a man and his friends or peers set out to force a girl and her family to accept his marital proposal advances. There have been instances where a man or a group of men approached a girl walking to school on foot and overpowered her and raping her. Following that, the girl's family is confronted and asked to support their daughter's marriage in exchange for a payment of damages.

This inequality and hegemonic practice has become a custom and norm in the research site so much women generally become silenced and threatened in local politics. Another form of violation of women's rights and dignity particularly in most rural areas of the research site is the subjection of girls to "ukuhlolwa ubuntombi" (Virginity testing). This is a method used by some cultures to identify virgins among women and children. The prevalent social justification for checking is that a virgin's moral nature and social value, such as marriage, are indicators of her moral character (McKeon Olson and García-Moreno, 2017: 2). In most cases, these are detrimental traditional practices are acts of violence perpetrated overwhelmingly against women and girls in KZN and uMzimkhulu for such a long time that perpetrators interpret or present them as part of accepted cultural culture.

For instance, apart from domestic violence and rape, there are several cases of women being killed in the uMzimkhulu area. Sonwabile Zondi killed his mother by strangling her on November 28, 2012, while she was sleeping. Fortunately, a 93-year-old grandmother was unharmed. He then fled the scene after setting the house on fire when his mother was still inside. Sonwabile (31) was found guilty and sentenced to 30

years in prison by the Ixopo Magistrate Court on January 27, 2015, for the murder of his 60-year-old mother at Dumisa in uMzimkhulu (South African Police Services, 2015). Also, the Sowetan (2020) reported that the body of a woman believed to be a traditional healer was found floating in the uMzimkhulu River and it was eventually the deceased was identified as 31-year-old Zanele Masikane.

In view of this diverse evidence of violence on women the study characterises the research site as a killing playground for women. This is because these incidents of gender based violence in the research site have escalated to being a serious problem. The problem is instigated among others by traditional practises such as “Ukuthwala” and “ukuhlolwa “ubuntombi”, which are primarily directed at girls and women. However, these traditional practises originate from deeply entrenched social, economic and political structures which are used to control the lives of women including their political lives. This limits their independence and future opportunities such as taking a political career because of the hegemonic masculinity structures that carry out violence.

2.2.3. The Moerane Commission of Inquiry findings into Political Killings focusing on uMzimkhulu

To this effect, the Moerane Commission of Inquiry into political killings in KZN report failed to distinguish the gendered nature of political killings and remained silent without any acknowledgement of women’s experiences even though their testimonies highlighted that they were affected by political killings. This demonstrates the gender-blind lenses of both the criminal justice system and the politics of the country. The Commission's mandate was to investigate and report on the underlying causes of political killings in KZN, taking into account the number, scope, and the unknown motive behind murder or attempted murder incidents involving politicians as victims and suspects in the province since 2011. Political killings had escalated rapidly during 2016. Although the Commission according to Moerane Commission (2018) it spells out its mandate the entire report is silent on women’s direct experiences in its recommendations of alleviating political killings.

The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) survey related to an inquiry on Damage to Property, Intimidation, Threats, Harm, and Killing of Councillors and Municipal Officials survey reported that:

> Three-quarters (73%) were of the view that 'Violence and threats prevent Councillors/ Ward Committee Members/ Senior Municipal Officials/ Municipal Managers from effectively carrying out their duties' and 61% felt that 'Violence and threats prevent Councillors from running for office again, while 73% agreed that Violence or threats impact negatively on my family. (SALGA, 2019: 64).

The omission of women's experiences Commission's final report on political violence demonstrates a gender-blind approach which is linked to the hegemonic masculinity social structure that normalises the marginalisation of women in almost of spheres of life including in the political arena. This study further discusses and analyses the gap left by the Commission in its findings and recommendations relating to the emerging political conditions that impact on women. It also reflects on the aftermath of the experience of wives, sisters and daughters of public officials killed in political related incidents.

The various hegemonic masculinities related practices create conditions that continue to discriminate against women by the party leaders, family members and community when they contest the elections. There is a dearth of knowledge about the difficulties faced by those that are already appointed as ward councillors in various municipalities (Majola, 2019:280). For example, Sindiso Magaqa had two female councillors who happened to be with him on the fateful day of his shooting, but media ignored their experience of political violence of this gravity. Nontsikelelo Mafa a female ward councillor at Adelaide Tambo branch, in ward 11 in uMzimkhulu, testified before the Moerane Commission of Inquiry she outlined the challenges women still face upon election as ward councillor and how patronage network between her and Sindiso Magaqa assisted her in winning the ward election. She emphasised that women still face discrimination in the local government elections (Moerane commission report, 2018:47).

Also, Jabulile Stella Msiya, ward 16 councillor at uMzimkhulu, also raises concerns that female councillors also face threats, intimidation and harassments. Msiya is a member of the executive committee and serves as a councillor for her third term. UMzimkhulu town and other places fall into her ward. She is a member of the ANC and she joined the Municipality in 2006 and was once the Chief Whip and Speaker of the Council. When she joined the Council in 2006, she was a Proportional Representation (PR) councillor. She also testified that someone informed her that a

taxi owner had threatened to kidnap her and no one would know her whereabouts. She explained that the threat was due to leadership transition and her coming into the position, the taxi owner used to obtain tenders from the Municipality and the Harry Gwala District Municipality (Moerane commission report, 2018:47). Although the two female councillors testified the Commission did not recommend anything to curb political killings and threats to female councillors.

Meanwhile, Mduduzi Tshibase who broke down in tears as she described events leading to her husband's death in her testimony during the Moerane Commission proceedings. Similarly, Phumza Diko told the Moerane Commission that her husband lived in fear after two ANC councillors were gunned down in the area. Diko's husband died on the 23rd of May 2017 after Mr Khaya Thobela had been killed in mid- April 2017. He was shot as he was entering his residence in his homestead in Gugwini village in the research site. He was a PR councillor at the time of his death, having served as a ward councillor for two terms (10 years) (Moerane Commission, 2008:68). Phumza Diko's testimony and description of how her husband died proves that women are faced with emotional and mental challenges when their partners are actively involved in politics and after the death of their loved ones.

Through this literature it has been shown that, Individuals are more hostile to women leaders than to male leaders, finding women being less likeable, educated, and capable while having similar profiles. This animosity derives mostly from idea that women are frequently perceived as miscreants in the male-dominated world of politics; these are just the repercussions of a strong legacy of suppression and exclusion of women's voices in the public domain .

2.3 Conclusion

The essence of this chapter is that it has demonstrated that political killings are deeply imbedded and rooted in hegemonic masculinities that define society. Women in the main are subjected to various traditional patriarchal hierarchies of power that subordinate them. These realities and practices are historical, traditional and yet also manifest into the political sphere where women continue to be subjected to violence of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities. The chapter has linked this entrenched societal hegemonic masculinities structure of power into the manner in which the Moerane Commission of Inquiry into political killings in KZN also failed to prioritize or take into account that women are grossly affected by political killings just like their

counterparts. Two cultural practices in the research of "ukuthwala kwe Ntombi" and "Ukuhlolwa ubuntombi" and the Izinduna and Amakhosi's systems of authority shape and influence the politics of uMzimkhulu in ways that subordinate women and make it possible for political threats and political killings to be organized against them. The ANC's cadre deployment is also imbedded within the hegemonic masculinity structure in the research site making it difficult for women and positioning them as vulnerable to political killings.

Chapter Three

3. Analysis and Critique

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and critiques the findings relating to the perceived causes of post-apartheid political killings in KZN from the case study of uMzimkhulu. I provide a critical perspective from my perspective as a researcher in this analysis. I do this in line with the research question concerning the impact of the non-recognition of women's experiences from various perspectives that influence and shape local politics in the research site. My analysis speaks to how aspects from the research site can also generalize with a broader scope like other challenges from beyond the research site in general.

One of the foundational arguments worthy noting from the onset is that political involvement of women in South African politics is not new. Britton (2006:145) contends that women have long been involved in political actions in South Africa and their efforts were invaluable in both the transition to democracy and in post-apartheid. However what could be seen as new in any activism or scholarship should bring women's experiences to the fore otherwise the continuation to locate women in the background compared to their male counterparts ignores the gendered perspective of violence.

On the contrary, current mainstream media continuously do not accord the same amount of coverage or publicity to women struggles in politics as compared to their male counterparts. This again is not a new practice as it has its footprint in the apartheid era and continues to raise its head in the current democratic era. To support this claim I use two cases in my discussion and analysis. In the literature review chapter I briefly cited the case of Sindiso Magaqa a male ANC councillor who was gunned down in uMzimkhulu and later died in hospital. Interestingly two female councillors, Nontsikelelo Mafa ward councillor at Adelaide Tambo branch, in ward 11 and Jabulile Stella Msiya, ward 16 councillor at uMzimkhulu then, were with him and survived the gun shooting. The two do not find the same publicity although of course they did not die. The idea that this is not a new phenomenon holds and the story of Phila Ndandwe, a member of ANC's military wing, uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) although it happened during the apartheid era is a worthwhile example that illuminates my argument. She was brutally killed by the South African security police and she was a

woman who fought against the apartheid regime but did not receive the same media attention as her male counterparts such Chris Hani, Nelson Mandela and others.

Hence, the experiences of Mafa and Msiya relating to the research question are very crucial. The implication of ignoring women experiences has a historical trace as Ndwandwe's case indicates. The absence of a political strategy to mitigate or to also bring to the struggles and experiences of women in politics to the fore is that women's voices continuously become silenced and in the process no tailor made solutions are crafted. The deeper cause and reason for this neglect of women experiences can be located in society's structures of hegemonic masculinities that perpetuate gender inequality.

On this basis I advance an argument that such a lack of a broader gendered focus in politics has a correlation with other forms of exclusion and its manifestation can be seen in local government politics and decision-making contexts. Even though the South African constitution, most importantly the Bills of right, gives all women the right to equality in section 9(Constitution of South Africa, 1996), women are still disregarded in the decision-making positions. In the context of the research site, evidence provides that the local political administration and decision making processes continue to side-line women particularly in decision making. This has a correlation with the prevalent traditional leadership authority of Amakhosi and Izinduna alongside some cultural practices such as ukuhlolwa kwe Ntombi and ukuthwala that have positioned women in uMzimkhulu to be voiceless and inclined.

Additionally, traditional authority and cultural practices subject women to their male counterparts. These practices are than prevalent in the political structures where political contestations is an uneven ground form men and women ground, favouring men. The tide is turned against women and both Mafa and Msiya's testimonies during the Moerane Commission of Inquiry confirm this argument. Although they both testified with deep and worrying narratives regarding their political lives in particular revelations that Msiya learnt of her kidnapping plot by a taxi owner who vowed he could make her disappear for ever remain as just narrations in the Commission's report. Ms Mafa was once also threatened and intimidated by former councillor (Moerane Commission, 2008:45).

3.2 The Gender-Blindness of the Moerane commission of inquiry

An aspect worthy reflection on the Commission's report is the very absence of strategies and recommendation with holistic gendered focused solutions. The thrust of the report related to tender systems and patronage networks yet it was lacking on the aspects on women and their experiences. This gap sustained society's hegemonic masculinity tendencies of seeing women as mere statistical data without a humanistic and feminist view to crafting solutions. There are deeper implications of this omission by the Commission that is failure to recognise and acknowledge that women in general and in the research site are faced with brutal political violence in different ways and that they are impacted the most by political killings than men because their struggles are intersectional in nature.

The intersectionality of the struggles and experiences of women in political killings is that they can also be indirectly affected (as wives, sisters, daughters) and directly affected as (women councillors, women ward committees members, women public officials). Our understanding of political killings must take a deeper and intersectional approach so that issues relating to how the scope of political killings have become a menace particularly in women's lives goes beyond them as just ordinary candidates side-lined or threatened in the political race.

The study argues that the Moerane Commission report instead only focused on political offences and ignored the fundamental, moral and systemic background of gender relations especially political structural oppressions that women experience in South Africa. Women testimonies exposed the detailed gendered nature of the grief women had experienced directly and indirectly when faced with political violence. Msiya's testimony to the commission exposed the inequalities, challenges and intolerances of women who participate as candidate in local government politics Moerane Commission (2008:37). Noluthando Primrose Thobela another woman also testified on behalf of her late husband Khayalethu. Her testimony revealed the emotional and mental pain of losing a loved one through political killings that women undergo below the surface.

During the Commission's proceedings women spoke about their own experiences relating to harassment, threats, humiliation and threats for political killings as well as how the political system or structure restrict them from fully participating in

politics. It must be noted that women presented testimonies at not only as witnesses but also as victims of political killings. Their testimonies showed how women had been subjected to mental torture and Msiya's testimony regarding her being threatened with kidnapping as already mentioned speaks to this mental torture that women undergo in politics.

There is a possibility that women's experiences of mental torture due to politically motivated threats can destroy families and family systems in the long run. This is because a closer look to women's testimonies outlines how they are confronted with emotional, financial and psychological pain of losing their loved ones. As such the argument still sustains that the Commission had a narrow prism that favoured men's experiences and pushed such deeper psychosocial related struggles of women to the periphery. In the bigger context of things, scholars Isike and Uzodike (2011: 226) contend that despite the elimination of formal obstacles to women's involvement in politics in South Africa, successful participation remains a challenge that is overshadowing the advantages of an improved political representation. Still using the Moerane Commission report as a basis to develop my argument in relation to the argument advanced by scholars I use Ms Mafa's testimony to the Commission. She detailed her experience during the 2016 Local government elections. Her submission that for her to win the elections it was because of Mr Sindiso Magaqa assistance (Moerane Commission, 2008:45).

This explains how she became a victim of a social orders and disorders relating to the hegemonic masculinity structures that temper with the local political system. Without the help of the deceased Magaqa she was non-existent and this is the influence and implication of society's hegemonic masculinity structure which according to Sultana (2010) considers males as superior and also gives them more access to the resources and decision-making positions. Thus, women are more collectively separated from power, influence and wealth than men are (Walby, 1990:5).The manner in women such as Msiya and Mafa were discriminated within the research site is also echoed in other areas in the province.

Khetiwe Phakathi the daughter of Mrs Thokozile Alice Phakathi who was murdered in Kwa-Ndengezi while she was the Chairperson of Women's League, whose mother had reservations for nomination as a councillor because she was

aware that councillors were previously killed in Kwa-Ndangezi (Moerane Commission,2008:33). She was also discriminated and murdered in the same way Mafa and Msiya remained in fear of their own lives as female councillors. This such experiences of women in politics echo what the United Nations (2002:7) laments that, Gender differences are manifested in a variety of forms that are difficult to quantify and alter, including economic inequalities.

Although the UN (2002:3) further contends that women and men may experience problems differently which suggests that, situations must be examined on their own merits. This gendered focused approach could accommodate women experiences in politics such as a consideration of economic shifts that are gender-specific by the Commission because gender plays a significant role in determining access to resources and duties for instance those wives who have lost their husbands through political killings. One of the observations of the Commission's oversight is in its insinuation that all women or all men go through the same challenges in the subject of its enquiry, which was political violence and killings. The UN refutes such and understanding and argues that, women and men are not homogenous groups (UN, 2003:3). It is crucial never to make generalisations across different populations, but to think about each one individual based on gender factors.

3.3 Women as perpetrators of violence and killings

The study is however not oblivious to the fact that women can also perpetuate violence neither does it suggest it solely present them as victims of political killings. For example a women was arrested for murdering her mother-in-Law by Intsikeni police in uMzimkhulu (News 24, 2020). In fact, to draw from the world of fiction, the study is also aware of the works of acclaimed crime writers such as Jassy Mackenzie, Angela Makholwa and Mike Nicol who have written about female serial killers as protagonists. The Black Widow Society is a covert group dedicated to helping women escape emotionally and physically abusive marriages by assisting them in removing their abusive spouses that scholars Mackenzie, Makholwa and Nicol profile in their works is such a good example that women can also perpetuate violence in search of their liberations. Although their works do not identify any specific cases in the research case study, it indicates that women are not victims of violence all the time.

The link between the fiction stories and reality is the recent cases have been sensationalized. In 2011, Mulalo Sivhidzho famously known as the “black widow” parallel to Angela Makholwa “Black widow society” was sentenced to a life sentence plus eight years for hiring hitmen to kill her husband. Netshisaulu was kidnapped, robbed and burnt alive while locked inside the boot of his car (Sunday Times, 2011). Sivhidzho used her chartered accountant husband for his material positions (money and property). In the same way, Najwa Petersen was convicted of masterminding the murder of her husband famous musician husband Taliep and sentenced to 28 years in prison. Petersen story is different because during the trial she showed no remorse in killing her husband. As explained by the Centre of the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2008) Najwa's motives seem to be fear of rejection or an attempt to secure her own financial position. There may be two sides to the killings by women: first, the woman who kills after being abused by her spouse, partner, or boyfriend for a long time or on a regular basis (Flowers,1987:5), or, second, because of economic factors such as gaining property and to secure financial positions.

Women’s participation in violent acts can be attested by the Department of Correctional Services annual report (2019/2020:45) which states that there are 2 534 sentenced and 1 448 unsentenced cases of female offenders for the year 2019/2020. Although the data is not broken into categories of crimes the very fact that such a magnitude of women offenders are between the ages of 21 and older, it is testimony that women are also capable of participating in different acts of crime probably including political killings. Based on the above ideas on the motives behind women killers, the traditional interpretation of political killings by political violence scholars should borrow from the studies of gender or homicide studies, this is because they acknowledge that women can be provoked to kill either by their environment, economic or social circumstances.

3.4 Conclusion of the study

At the heart of this study was an inquiry on the gendered perspective of post-apartheid political killings in uMzimkhulu. The study explored various sources of literature that generally speaks to the perpetual problem of hegemonic masculinities and their practices in KZN in general and uMzimkhulu in particular. In exploring relevant literature in relation to answering the research question on what could be the impacts

of political killings when women's experiences are ignored, the study has uncovered a few critical aspects.

The study established that women's involvement in politics is not a new phenomenon as much as the political violence against them. Political violence or political killings on women has only lacked equal publicity otherwise women also face the brunt of political violence. However, the implications of failure to acknowledge women's experiences in politics has detrimental consequences because it can only perpetuate practices that nourish political violence. The study can relate to the cadre development practice of the ANC and argue that it is blind to the general issues of equality where there is a trace that men have generally been preferred candidates. It results in the idea of entitlement where men assume that they are indispensable such as the case of the former councillor who had to threaten the new female candidate and organizing meetings to mobilize against her.

Finally, the study asserts that political killings have a strong correlation with various societal traditional and cultural practices and norms that generally subject women and promote hegemonic masculinity structures of power relations. Consequently, the research site's cultural practices and norms are imbedded in an already hegemonic masculinity structure which in turn shapes and influences relations in local politics. This study arrives at a conclusion that men assume a position of entitlement which continuously relegate women even in matters relating to simple reporting on their experiences such as during commissions of inquiry. Their voices remain side-lined. The study recommends that studies in this field must instead take an intersectionality approach to deal with the holistic challenges that women face in their political struggles because they are not only killed as in murder but their future, political careers, wellbeing and aspirations are killed by the conservative hegemonic masculinity power structure.

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