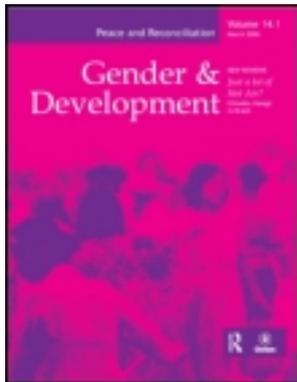


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Political transition and sexual and gender-based violence in South Africa, Kenya, and Zimbabwe: a comparative analysis

Kylie Thomas, Masheti Masinjila and Eunice Bere

This article draws on research conducted in Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe that focused on violence in the context of political transition. The paper examines the relation between political transition and sexual and gender-based violence in the three countries. The paper argues that it is critical to recognise sexual and gender-based violence as bound to systemic gendered inequality if such forms of violence are to be addressed and mitigated when periods of violent conflict end.

Cet article se base sur des recherches menées au Kenya, en Afrique du Sud et au Zimbabwe portant sur la violence dans le contexte des transitions politiques. L'article examine la relation entre la transition politique et la violence sexuelle et basée sur le genre dans les trois pays. Les auteurs soutiennent qu'il est crucial de reconnaître la violence sexuelle et basée sur le genre comme liée à l'inégalité systémique entre les genres si l'on veut remédier à ces formes de violence et les atténuer après les périodes de conflit violent.

El presente artículo se apoya en una investigación centrada en la violencia en el contexto de transición política, la cual fue realizada en Kenia, Sudáfrica y Zimbabwe. El artículo examina la relación entre la transición política y la violencia sexual y de género existente en estos países. El artículo sostiene que, para que tales formas de violencia sean enfrentadas y mitigadas una vez concluidos los periodos de conflicto violento, resulta urgente reconocer que la violencia sexual y de género se relaciona con la desigualdad sistémica por motivos de género.

Key words: political transition; sexual and gender-based violence; patriarchy; rape; colonial oppression; structural violence; Kenya; South Africa; Zimbabwe; post-election violence; *Gukurahundi*

Introduction

The suspension of the rule of law during times of transition is often understood as a cause of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), since it is assumed that this is what makes the violence possible. This article presents a comparative analysis of SGBV in the

context of political transition in three countries – Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. This article draws on the definition of SGBV as used by the United Nations guidelines for reproductive health in refugee situations. The definition recognises rape as the most common form of sexual violence, but also notes that

the term sexual and gender-based violence encompasses a wide variety of abuses that includes sexual threats, exploitation, humiliation, assaults, molestation, domestic violence, incest, involuntary prostitution (sexual bartering), torture, insertion of objects into genital openings and attempted rape. Female genital mutilation and other harmful traditional practices (including early marriage, which substantially increases maternal morbidity and mortality) are forms of sexual and gender-based violence against women which cannot be overlooked nor justified on the grounds of tradition, culture or social conformity. (UNFPA 1999, Chapter 4, 1)

Asking questions about SGBV in three different locations, all of which have undergone violent (and in some cases, multiple) transitions, has led us to consider what might be specific about SGBV as it has occurred in each of these contexts of political transition. The research for this paper formed part of the third and final phase of the Violence and Transition Project, which has conducted research on this subject since the transition to democracy in South Africa. This third phase included a multi-country study on informal armed formations and gender-based violence, at the ‘moment’ of transition – that is, the period immediately before, during and after the cessation of armed conflict. The Violence and Transition Project forms part of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, an organisation launched in South Africa in 1989, and its third phase is a collaborative research project between NPI Kenya, the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa, the Centre for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa, and the Africa University Zimbabwe.¹

The third phase of the Violence and Transition Project analysed SGBV in the three countries in order to understand the nature and rationale for this violence in contexts in which political transitions have taken place. The experiences of women, including descriptions and analyses of SGBV, have become increasingly visible over the last 30 years as a result of feminist activism and scholarship. Feminist analyses of SGBV recognise it as not an aberration, but rather as systemic and structural, with a clear purpose in perpetuating male dominance over women. In our research, we examined three case studies of contemporary events and focused on SGBV in its historical context. Our research shows how in these three country case-studies, SGBV during transition is part of a continuous experience of violence against women over time. As feminists have shown, its root cause is not political turbulence, but patriarchy – that is, male rule over women and children.

Understanding the nature and incidence of SGBV using the concept of transition has limitations. The fact that gender-based violence exists in all societies means that in times of turbulence and conflict we tend to see a continuation and intensification of pre-existing violence, rather than a clear transition from non-violence to violence. Forms of violence are familiar from the pre-conflict period, and those which appear 'new' have their roots in the patriarchal ideas about women which exist already in society. When transition takes place to democracy, SGBV does not just finish. Instead, it continues, and can often remain at a higher level of frequency and intensity in the aftermath.

Thinking of SGBV as caused by the turbulence associated with political transition is problematic for policymakers and planners concerned with supporting women who have experienced violence, and constructing a society free from all forms of violence in the future. Political transition will not end SGBV, even though it may morph in terms of the form it takes, since ending it altogether would require lasting and substantive change in gendered power relations. The research examined the claim that sexual violence is intensified or exacerbated during political transition. It draws attention to the importance of addressing the legacies of the violence of the past, as well as changing the political, social, and economic circumstances which lead to – and perpetuate – SGBV.

The international community has not generally seen violence against women as a core security or socio-development issue, and this is true during transitions as at other times. In many cases the implications of SGBV for policymakers seeking to bring about change which is supportive of the human rights of citizens are ignored. Instead, SGBV may be seen as an issue which is connected to conflict which is now at an end, and is treated as a humanitarian issue to be taken care of by different forms of relief measures. In fact, what is required is an understanding of SGBV as a distinguishing feature of patriarchal systems of rule – whatever form these take, and regardless of whether society is currently turbulent or 'peaceful' – and it needs to be addressed via specific policy or legal structural measures by government.

As Romi Sigsworth and Nahla Valji note in their article, 'Continuities of violence against women in South Africa: the limitations of transitional justice':

There is now growing recognition that sexual and gender-based violence does not begin with the onset of conflict and cease the moment that conflict ends. There are multiple and intersecting theories as to why violence against women continues and may escalate in post-conflict settings. Pre-existing gendered hierarchies and patriarchal norms which inform the dominant forms of masculinity in pre-conflict settings can run up against shifting gender roles and identities during the conflict, as well as new values of gender equality introduced during the transition. In this context, where the conflict has left a legacy of normalized violence, ongoing trauma and a proliferation of small arms, feelings of threat, insecurity and loss of status may play out in acts of violence against marginalized or less powerful groupings. (2011, 117)

Our research showed this to be true in all three contexts researched. There are disturbing parallels to be drawn between the three countries at the present time, and these are sharply in evidence when we look at SGBV.

Before looking at some of the findings of the research, the next section provides some information on the methods we used in the third phase of the project.

Researching SGBV in the project

The research for the project's third phase in Zimbabwe involved field work that covered six provinces: Matebeleland South and North, Bulawayo, Harare, Mashonaland East and West, and Manicaland. Field work in Zimbabwe was conducted between August 2011 and January 2012. A qualitative approach of narrative inquiry and oral histories was engaged. Key informant interviews were held with community support organisations (CSOs), political parties, war veterans, and traditional and community leaders. In communities we carried out face-to-face interviews and focus-group discussions with men and women and held special focus-group discussions for women only in all areas. Focus groups were made up of between eight and ten people. In South Africa, research was carried out with young men in the townships of Gugulethu and Khayelitsha who were members of gangs; with women who had been subject to rape in the same areas; and with ex-combatants residing in the same townships. A small number of in-depth interviews were conducted in order to obtain more comprehensive oral history narratives. The South African researchers opted to work more intensively with a small number of respondents over a period of time, partly because of the sensitive nature of the research subject. In Kenya research was conducted with 120 people in five urban areas – Kisumu, Nairobi, Naivasha, Muranga, and Mombasa. Four of these areas were those most affected by the 2007–2008 post-election violence. Most of the information was collected in focus-group discussions but individual key informant interviews were also used, targeting people who had access to specialised information or who witnessed events important to the study. Most accounts were from survivors of SGBV, or people who had knowledge of what happened as service providers or witnesses. The sensitivity of the study necessitated respondents being assured of confidentiality and rendering of their accounts as objectively as possible. Most of the accounts were collected within premises of community-based organisations that offer services largely to those affected by SGBV.

The next sections of this article analyse the similarities and differences between South Africa, Kenya, and Zimbabwe, while discussing some of our key findings about SGBV in these contexts. In some ways, South Africa is intrinsically different from the other cases studied in the research. The negotiated settlement that brought about South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994 is widely regarded as a peaceful transition, largely because the country never officially entered a state of civil war. In South Africa, transition to democracy came in 1994 after the lengthy struggle

against apartheid. However, some scholars have argued that the violence that characterised the last years of apartheid and the years immediately preceding the first democratic election amounted to civil war (e.g. Hamber 1999). Another difference between South Africa, on the one hand, and Kenya and Zimbabwe, on the other, is that South Africa's key moment in transition was 20 years ago, while transition in the other two contexts is ongoing. However, all three countries are experiencing ongoing social upheaval and violence, including high levels of SGBV, which makes comparisons between them valuable.

Patriarchy, violence and political transition in three countries

Violence as a continuum in patriarchal societies

Clearly, SGBV in these countries is not *caused* by political transition, but is rather part of long histories of violence in each place. Each country has inherited legacies left by brutal regimes of colonial oppression and racial domination (and, in the South African case, 50 years of apartheid authoritarianism), and each has undergone a struggle to challenge this domination via armed resistance. These violent histories have left their mark on the ways in which gendered identities are lived and unequal power relations are shaped. The long-term histories of violence surface in the narratives of those who were interviewed as part of this study. The violence taking place in the present day echoes earlier periods, and forms of violence may resurface years after they first appeared. For example, one notable resemblance between the current situation in Zimbabwe and earlier periods of violence is the reappearance of 'bases', sites that first emerged during the liberation war and that serve, in the political violence of the present, as centres for indoctrination, interrogation, and torture, where people are made subject to violent forms of punishment (Sachikonye 2011). The research conducted in Kenya and South Africa also revealed similar echoes of earlier forms of violence.

Transitions and denial of women's right to freedom from violence

The research highlighted the fact that women have suffered horrendous SGBV during the transition in each country, and this has compromised democratic gains. In each country, the hope among citizens was that political transition would lead to major socio-political change, establishing a more democratic system of government and greater respect for the rule of law. Yet transition has not altered the fact that each state is patriarchal in nature: thus, violence against women within the domestic sphere is so widespread as to be regarded as normative, and sexual violence, and in particular rape, has been used a means to punish and control women. In spite of relatively progressive legal frameworks, women remain extremely vulnerable to multiple forms of violence.

Women are entitled to a government which respects their full and equal human rights, including the right to live in freedom from SGBV.

Failures to uphold the democratic rights of women to live in freedom from violence are particularly stark when we consider the contribution women make to transition. Societies in transition often depend on the activism of women to push political change through, yet their gender-specific interests are frequently neglected in the post-transition political settlement. For example, a significant feature of post-independence Zimbabwe has been the absence of any real effort on the part of the state to redress the wrongs of the past, and the silence over SGBV occurring during the freedom struggle, and post-settlement in the 1980s and up to the present day, is noteworthy.

In Zimbabwe, women fought for recognition as equal citizens alongside men in the freedom struggle to end colonial oppression. For women, taking part and claiming space in the political processes of liberation meant also fighting patriarchal attitudes to women's public participation. The contradiction in the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe, as in other countries, was its failure to fight patriarchy as an integral part of the struggles against oppression and injustice (Campbell 2003). The emancipation ideology of both ZANU and ZAPU² inspired women combatants who participated in the struggle for liberation from colonialism but did not mean that women were protected from sexual abuse (Ranchod-Nilsson 2006). Patriarchal socialisation and militarised masculinity contributed to negative attitudes towards women and the sexual abuse of female combatants and women war collaborators, *chimbwidos*, is testimony to these contradictions. The Rhodesia Front soldiers of the colonial regime also sexually abused women, especially in the 'protected villages' (villages manned by the Rhodesian security to stop people from supporting the guerrillas; Mtisi et al. 2009). SGBV in this context can be seen as a 'message crime', sending a message to the opposing forces about what will happen to an entire population if it continues to fight.

In post-independence Zimbabwe, there have been at least two periods of transition that have been characterised by intense forms of violence. The first is the violence known as *Gukurahundi* (named for a Shona word, which means the rain that washes away the chaff after harvest – with clear overtones of ethnic cleansing, and, once again, 'message crimes'). *Gukurahundi* is a term that was given by Robert Mugabe to the Fifth Brigade at a military pass-out parade in 1982. In Zimbabwe it is common practice to give a name to a military operation consistent with the activity it will carry out – in this case the 'chaff' referred to the dissidents. However, the victims understood it to refer to the Ndebele as an ethnic group. The term has come to be used to describe the violence committed by the state on people in Matabeleland (the western parts of Zimbabwe and the Midlands Province) between 1982 and 1987. This violence ended with the signing of the 1987 Unity Accord.³ Many women interviewed in our research spoke of the trauma of *Gukurahundi*. The second period in Zimbabwe is the violence that has characterised election periods in Zimbabwe since 2000. The post-2008 electoral violence officially ended with the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and a government of

national unity formed by the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) formations and ZANU PF in September 2008.

Increased intensity in times of turbulence

While SGBV is a feature of all societies throughout history, our case studies confirmed the connection between transition and its associated political and social upheaval and increasing incidence of SGBV, the intensity of which may also be distinct from previous violence. In the case of Kenya, transitions have tended to involve transfer of state power from one head of state to another, and have been marked by largely civilian violence pitting youthful supporters of different political elite-led parties contesting for state power against each other. The most significant transition is the 2008 signing of the internationally mediated National Accord that ended a near civil war situation in the post-election violence after a contested election outcome. The political transition marked by the 2008 Accord created the office of the Prime Minister (filled by Raila Odinga), and espoused power sharing with the office of President Mwai Kibaki in a coalition government. The 2007/8 post-election violence was significant in the history of Kenya because, until then, no violent articulation of citizen grievances of that magnitude had occurred in the country (Muhula 2009). Over 1,300 people were killed and 300,000 displaced (Muhula 2009, 89).

The Nairobi Women's Hospital Gender Violence Recovery Center specialises in women's health issues. A 2008 Centre for Rights Education and Awareness study on SGBV in Kenya's 2007 post-election crisis noted that the hospital attended over 650 cases of gender-based violence related to the post-election crisis (Centre for Rights Education and Awareness 2008). There was a clear upsurge of cases of women who had suffered sexual crimes, with cases at the Nairobi Women's Hospital constituting three times the normal intake. It is estimated that 82 per cent of the women who were subject to sexual violence did not formally report to the police (*ibid.*, 33). Gang rape constituted about 90 per cent of the rape cases the hospital faced during the political crisis (*ibid.*, 33), whereas in the period of time before the crisis, this was about 10 per cent of total cases (*ibid.*, 33). Our research in Kenya suggests that fear of sexual violence has escalated since the post-election period. There is widespread mistrust of the police and other security forces in Kenya which made it difficult for women to report incidents of sexual violence even when the political situation normalised, and the role of the authorities in perpetrating violence was highlighted in our research. In an interview, a woman in the Kisumu area stated:

The police beat up everybody; they never bothered whether one was young or old man or woman. The police also attacked houses and raped women. They also forced the husbands they found in these houses to rape their children as the women watched. Later, they raped the women

in front of their husbands. What took place during that time can only be referred to as an abomination. (Masinjila 2012, 49)

Our research shows that SGBV formed a key part of the violence committed during times of political transition, and that the traumatic effects of such forms of violence are long-lasting. However, and as noted in the opening section of this article, there is a lack of attention and awareness of SGBV as a part of violence in transition, on the part of both researchers and policymakers. For instance, in the South African case, aside from some notable exceptions, studies of violence under apartheid and during the transition largely ignored SGBV. Research and advocacy work by feminist scholars and gender activists in the country has drawn attention to what has been termed ‘the unacknowledged gender civil war’ (Moffett 2006, 130), waged against women under apartheid and continuing in the post-apartheid present. Under apartheid, the struggle against gender inequality and SGBV was subordinated to the struggle against racist domination. The extent and significance of sexual violence, and the ways in which rape was used as a ‘message crime’ in similar ways to the events described in this article in the Kenyan and Zimbabwean contexts, remains a sublimated history in South Africa. Traces of this history can be found in the published accounts of women who were imprisoned and tortured under apartheid; in the testimonies of women who recounted experiences of SGBV at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings; and in occasional references in scholarly papers.⁴

Rape and impunity: challenging SGBV by recognising its role as social enforcer

Addressing SGBV involves, at least in part, contesting how gendered identities, power relations, and roles are understood, and challenging the ways in which gender-based violence has been and continues to be seen as a normal part of social interactions between men and women. In communities in Kenya, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, SGBV, including rape, has been used as a form of punishment – to ‘teach women their place’, to punish the men who are shown to be unable to protect their mothers, wives, daughters, and friends, and to punish women for being affiliated to particular parties or ethnicities. At the same time as sexual violence has been employed in a punitive manner, in each country there are high levels of impunity for those who perpetrate sexual violence and low rates of conviction – whether the country is in a time of political transition or not.

In her analysis of international discourse on conflict, feminist scholar Eve Ayiera (2010) argues that while armed conflict is violence that threatens the socio-political order, and for this reason is widely considered abhorrent, conversely, violence against women does not render societies ungovernable, and in fact can be understood as a fundamental component of existing systems of power. SGBV is ‘a prominent expression of pattern[s] of domination’ and comes to be ‘normalised through assertions of cultural

acceptability and desensitisation of communities to all but extreme manifestations of violence' (2010, 13). This leads to a failure to address SGBV, 'despite a strong global dialogue on sexual violence' (2010, 11). In similar vein, South African feminist scholar Helen Moffett argues that SGBV against women is understood by many South African men as 'performing a necessary work of social stabilisation' (2006, 132).

SGBV plays a similar role in times of transition, when enemy men violating women also serves the purpose of humiliating male opponents, and ultimately erodes the social fabric of entire communities (Heyzer 2004). In Zimbabwe during *Gukurahundi* and in 2008, rape was used as a weapon against opponents intended to achieve a specific goal: to punish, humiliate, and induce fear in women for the alleged support of dissidents in the case of *Gukurahundi* and, in 2008, alleged MDC support (Research and Advocacy Unit 2009). Women who were victimised during *Gukurahundi* spoke of beatings on their genitals which were labelled 'dissident possessions' (interview with survivor, Nkayi, Matabeleland North, 11 August 2011), whilst those who were subject to violence in 2008 were called 'Tsvangirai's whores'. Male abductees were forced to rape women who were abducted by the militias, and taken to the bases where most of the violations occurred in the 2008 violence. Gang rapes by militias were reported to be prevalent. Sexual violations and abuse were not only confined to 'enemy' women. Young women who joined militias were also raped, and some were forced to provide sexual favours to militia leaders (interviews with women in Manicaland, January 2012).

Our research revealed that the majority of the women did not report these incidents to the police because at the time those who reported political violence matters were often arrested and falsely charged with inciting violence. In the 2008 violence women reported that perpetrators were still living in the same communities with blatant impunity. The shame associated with rape and the society's attitudes towards rape victims have meant that many women continue to suffer in silence. Some of the women who had been raped in public or who have borne children as a result of being raped have been ostracised by their communities. Women in Matabeleland reported that the children born from the rapes were treated as outcasts and were shunned within their families and community. One of the women interviewed in Nkayi in Matabeleland spoke of how women felt about the children born of rape. She stated:

We love them, they are our children but they are also a constant reminder of the violations we have experienced. (Interview, Nkayi, 15 August 2011)

Sexual violence during *Gukurahundi* can be understood as a form of ethnic cleansing. Research conducted by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation reported that people in Matabeleland spoke of rapes being committed to 'dilute' the Ndebele by producing Shona babies (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation

2001). In contrast, the violence (including sexual violence) that has plagued Zimbabwe since 2000 has largely been targeted at those who support the opposition.

Gukurahundi violence was largely perpetrated by a trained army, the Fifth Brigade, whereas in the post-2000 violence perpetrators included youth militias, military personnel, and war veterans (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace in Zimbabwe and the Legal Resources Foundation 2001; Sachikonye 2011). The similarities between the two periods of time lie in the forms and patterns of violence which were characterised by an intensification of forms of sexual violence that exceed what might be considered the 'ordinary' violence of domestic abuse and rape. Objects such as bottles, sticks and soil were inserted into women's genitals, inflicting extreme pain and causing permanent injuries. Some women were forced to have sexual intercourse with relatives. In the post-2000 violence, women arrested for political reasons were also abused in captivity. A woman activist described the hardships women faced in prisons where women were attended to by male prison officers who threatened them with rape and death (interview with women's rights activist, Bulawayo, 13 August 2011).

Interviews conducted for this study show that in the post-election violence in Kenya, women and girls were made subject to extreme sexual harassment, rape, female genital mutilation, psychological torture, forced divorce or separation, and physical abuse which sometimes led to death (Masinjila 2012, 34–7). Some men also suffered mutilation of their sexual organs, forced circumcision, sodomy, and castration, and forced divorce or separation. Most of the attacks had to do with one's ethnic affiliation, and suspected sympathy with the ODM party (Masinjila 2012, 35). Women interviewed about their experiences for this study expressed the view that the International Criminal Court would only engage with high-powered political figures and would be entirely ineffective in addressing the violence they had suffered (Masinjila 2012, 38).

The aftermath of conflict: what happens to SGBV?

The research conducted for the third phase of the Violence and Transition Project in South Africa engaged with how the legacy of the violence of apartheid continues to affect the present. The South African case offers a particularly stark example of how the end of a period of conflict and the formal implementation of the rule of law does not necessarily bring about the end to gender-based violence, or even minimise its incidence. Nor does it imply that perpetrators of sexual violence during political transition will be punished for their crimes once the new political and legal order is established. South Africa continues to have extremely high rates of rape and the statistics for sexual offences reported to the police in the country have remained constant for the last ten years, averaging 66,000 reported cases a year (South African Police Service 2013, 24).

The study we undertook in the Western Cape, South Africa in the third phase of the Violence and Transition Project centred on questions about how violence is used to

enforce gender norms about what constitutes masculinity and femininity – including being heterosexual. The research included two key areas of focus: the experiences of young men engaged in gang violence in the township of Gugulethu, near Cape Town, and the experiences of women in the township of Khayelitsha, also close to Cape Town, who have been subject to sexual violence because they are lesbian. The narratives of lesbian women who have chosen not to conform to gender norms of heterosexuality, who were interviewed as part of this study, made clear that veering from already-established and socially acceptable gendered scripts is to be exposed to the threat of violent punishment (Thomas 2013).⁵ Their experiences of the criminal justice system also, for the most part, directly contradict the ways in which the law is intended to function post-apartheid. This continues a history of failure on the part of the system to protect citizens from violence, and indeed of participation in this violence.⁶ There are stark resemblances between these cases and the cases of those who sought to report how they had been subject to violence to the police under apartheid and who were turned away, dissuaded from seeking redress through the law or were subject to further abuse (for an account of the attitudes and behaviour of police in the 1980s, see Haysom 1986).

Conclusion

Sexual and gender-based violence, as forms of violence that precede, accompany, and continue after those periods of time defined as ‘political transition’, significantly complicate attempts to think about the relation between violence and political transition. While in this paper we have referred to ‘transitional sexual and gender-based violence’ in relation to the post-election violence in Kenya, the South African case seems to indicate that it is misguided to draw too clear a link between transition and sexual violence. We have also drawn attention to how certain forms of sexual assault have increased in the wake of political violence linked to transition in Zimbabwe and Kenya. At the same time, we argue, it is important to recognise the ways in which such forms of violence draw on existing forms of gendered power relations in society. The question of how SGBV can be mitigated in the aftermath of political violence and transition in both Kenya and Zimbabwe remains critical. The case of post-apartheid South Africa offers no consoling remedies for reducing the prevalence of these forms of violence.

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Notes

- 1 The project is funded by the IRDC.
- 2 ZANU stands for the Zimbabwe African National Union. ZAPU stands for the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. These two organisations were the opposing parties competing for election at the start of Independence in Zimbabwe in 1980.
- 3 The Unity Accord was a peace agreement signed by Robert Mugabe representing ZANU and Joshua Nkomo representing ZAPU on 22 December 1987 that marked the end of the *Gukurahundi* violence in December 1987. The two parties merged to form ZANU PF.
- 4 For example, Goldblatt and Meintjies (1998a, 1998b), draw attention to the importance of analysing the relation between political violence, sexual violence and gender-based violence, and inequality in the aftermath of apartheid.
- 5 This research is discussed in a report by Kylie Thomas (2013). The interviews for this study were conducted by Chiedza Chagutah.
- 6 A notorious case is that of Nontsikelelo Tyatyeka whose remains were returned to her mother on 20 December 2011 by Deputy Minister of Police Maggie Sotyru at Salt River mortuary in Cape Town 15 months after Tyatyeka first disappeared and three months after her body was discovered in a bin outside the house of her neighbour Vuyisile Madikane. It is suspected that Tyatyeka was murdered because she was a lesbian and after finding her body residents in Nyanga set Madikane's house on fire. He has been arrested and has been charged with murder. The Deputy Minister of Police intervened in the case after receiving numerous complaints about the way in which the police had mishandled the case and issued an apology to the family for 'the police's initial attitude towards Tyatyeka's case' ('Police release lesbian's remains', *Cape Times*, 21 December 2011).

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