

GENDER INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICAN NGUNI CULTURES, AS PORTRAYED IN SELECTED NGUNI LITERARY TEXTS

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I declare that this dissertation, titled **Gender Inequality in South African Nguni Cultures**, **As Portrayed in Selected Nguni Literary Texts** is my original work, that I am the sole author thereof, that reproduction and publication thereof by the University of Pretoria will not trespass any third-party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification. I further declare that sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late maternal grandmother, namely MaKhoza; my late paternal grandparents, namely Bhatasiya and MaDlalisa; my parents, namely Violet and Jabulani Memela; my brother, namely Siphamandla Memela; and my family at large. It has been my mission from the onset to place my family's name on the map. I live to make them proud and happy by taking them to spaces they have never been to, and by opening doors to those who are behind me. To those who are building from scratch with only God and hard work at hand, this is for you too. Nalapho ekungenaqhude khona kuyasa!



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ABSTRACT

This research seeks to highlight the gender inequality brought by some of the rituals and traditions practised by South African Nguni cultures. It seeks to work as a mediator or a mouth for the parties that are being treated unfairly by these cultures. A study of multiple literary texts was conducted in order to be fully informed and equipped about the topic. The findings show that despite the 28 years of South Africa's constantly evolving democracy, the LGBTQI+community is still vaguely recognised by customary law, whereas women and children are subservient. In light of these findings, a viable recourse would be for traditional authorities and scholars to consolidate and re-amend customary laws, and to sift out the obsolete and prejudice.

Keywords: Civil law; customary law; gender; inequality; literary texts; Nguni social groups



TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLA	ARA	ΓΙΟΝ OF ORIGINALITY	i
DEDIC	ATIC	DN	ii
ACKNO	OWL	EDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTF	RACT	Γ	V
CHAP ⁻	TER	1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Intr	oduction	1
1.2	Re	search aim and objectives	6
1.2	2.1	Aim	6
1.2	2.2	Objectives	7
1.3	Pro	bblems to be investigated and questions to be asked	8
1.3	3.1	Research questions	8
1.3	3.2	Problem formulation	8
1.4	Со	nceptual and theoretical frameworks to be used	9
1.4	4.1	Theoretical framework	9
1.4	4.3	Conceptual framework	11
1.5	Re	search methodology	12
Chapte	er 2		15
2.1	Lite	erature review	15
2.	1.1	Females	16
2.	1.2	Males	18
2.1.2	2.7	Conclusion	22
2.8	Ou	tline of chapters Error! Bookmark not defin	ned.
CHAP	TER	3: ANALYSIS OF THE LITERARY TEXT KUNJALO KE! BY M.E. WANDA	24
3.1	Intr	oduction	24
3.2	The	e stigma against giving a girl child education in Nguni cultures	24



3.	2.1	The right to education	24
3.	2.2	A child out of wedlock (Umlanjwana)	26
3.	2.3	Virginity	28
CHAP	TER	4: ANALYSIS OF <i>ISIKO NELUNGELO</i> BY N. ZULU	30
4.1	Intr	oduction	30
4.2	A b	rief summary of <i>Isiko Nelungelo</i> by N. Zulu	30
4.3	Lev	virate and sororate unions known as Ukungenwa	36
4.4	Мо	urning attire (Inzilo)	38
4.	4.1	Limitations of wearing mourning attire	41
CHAP	TER	5: ANALYSIS OF <i>BENGITHI LIZOKUNA</i> BY NAKANJANI G. SIBIYA A	۸ND
SUBLI	ITER/	ATURE AMANYALA ENYOKA BY MANDLA NDLOVU	47
5.1	Intr	oduction	47
5.2	Αb	orief summary of analysed literature, namely Bengithi Lizokuna and Aman	yala
Eny	oka		47
5.3	The	e stand of South African Nguni cultures and religion (Christianity)	49
5.4	The	e stand of the South African law and politics	51
5.5	Sar	me-sex unions in South Africa	52
5.6	Sex	xuality, sexual orientation and gender defined	53
5.7	Sou	uth African politics and politicians' stand regarding homophobia	54
5.8	The	e stand of South African Nguni cultures regarding homophobia	56
5.	8.1	The history of the Nguni culture (Zulu)	57
CHAP	TER	6: ANALYSIS OF <i>INTANDO KAMUFI</i> BY S. MATHABA	60
6.1	Intr	oduction	60
6.2	A b	rief summary of Intando kaMufi by S. Mathaba	60
6.3	Tra	ditional gender roles in the Zulu nation	61
6.	3.1	The analysis of traditional gender roles in the Zulu nation	62
6.4	The	e roles and responsibilities of a wife in terms of her in-laws (wifehood)	69
6.	4.1	Ukukotiza	69



6.5	Duties of a bride before and after pregnancy	71		
6.6	The life of a woman after her husband's passing (widowhood)	73		
6.7	Conclusion	74		
CHAP	TER 7: CONCLUSION	75		
REFERENCES				
ANNEX	KURES	82		
ANNE	XURE A: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF <i>KUNJALO-KE</i> BY M.E. WANDA	83		
ANNE	XURE B: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF ISIKO NELUNGELO BY N. ZULU	85		
ANNEX	XURE C: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF <i>BENGITHI LIZOKUNA</i> BY N.G. SIBIYA	86		
ANNE	XURE D: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF <i>AMANYALA ENYOKA</i> BY M. NDLOVU	88		
ANNE	XURE E: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF <i>INTANDO KAMUFI</i> BY S. MATHABA	89		



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In order to survive, people have to learn to adapt to different environments and, therefore, end up establishing a form of a lifestyle called culture. Numerous attempts have been made at defining the term 'culture' by scholars such as the American anthropologists, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, who "critically reviewed concepts and definitions of culture, and compiled a list of 164 different definitions" (Oety, 2012:1). Oety (2012:1-2) further justifies his statement as follows: "Despite centuries of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature."

According to Avruch (1998:6-7), the term has been interpreted as follows in the past:

Much of the difficulty [of understanding the concept of culture] stems from the different usages of the term as it was increasingly employed in the nineteenth century. Broadly speaking, it was used in three ways (all of which can be found today as well). First, as exemplified in Matthew Arnolds' Culture and Anarchy (1867), culture referred to special intellectual or artistic endeavors or products, what today we might call "high culture" as opposed to "popular culture" (or "folkways" in an earlier usage). By this definition, only a portion – typically a small one – of any social group "has" culture.

As much as there has been difficulties in defining this term, there is confusion around how it should be used; hence, the Activate website (2015:1) provides the following definition that will be used as the basis meaning for this term in this study:

It is very important to highlight upfront that the term culture is broad. There is consecutive culture that is informed by traditional norms (e.g. men are heads of the households), modern popular culture which; is informed by global experience exchange (e.g. feminists also have a role to play in society), intellectuals culture; which is informed by constitution, academic information or discoveries (e.g. upholding human rights for everyone despite their age, race or culture is always important). Thus, our view isn't based or bias to any of these cultures.

Matsumoto (1996:16) further states that culture is "...the set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors shared by a group of people, but different for each individual, communicated from one generation to the next." As a result, culture can be defined as the way a certain nation lives their lives or how an organisation goes about its ways. Similar to any element of life, culture evolves with time. Prior to civilisation on the African continent, indigenous knowledge was transferred from one generation to the next by word of mouth through folklore, poems,



songs, paintings and observations. This passing down of vital knowledge is the only form of transaction that was used in the past as the documentation of knowledge was not yet practised in Africa.

Culture concerns language, morals, beliefs, heritage, norms and values, in other words, it has to do with ways of life. Idang (2015:98) justifies this as follows:

Culture, as it is usually understood, entails a totality of traits and characters that are peculiar to a people to the extent that it marks them out from other peoples or societies. These peculiar traits go on to include the people's language, dressing, music, work, arts, religion, dancing and so on. It also goes on to include a people's social norms, taboos and values. Values here are to be understood as beliefs that are held about what is right and wrong and what is important in life.

The interest of this study is how South African Nguni cultures influence societal roles and how they contribute to segregation within a society, consequently contributing to inequalities in terms of gender. The word 'Nguni' is found in the Agriculture and Linguistics fields. It has different meanings or uses in both fields. In Agriculture, it refers to a certain kind of cow that was historically owned by the Nguni nations. The Cattle Site (2000:1) elaborates on the origin of the Nguni cattle through the following statement:

Nguni cattle derive their name from the black tribes of Africa, collectively known as the Nguni people. Nguni cattle descend from both *Bos taurus* and *Bos indicus* cattle and entered Africa around 8000 years ago. As the tribes migrated south into Africa they took their cattle along. Through natural selection and environmental interaction, the cattle evolved into the hardy breed we know today as the Nguni. As the tribes settled in different areas, distinctive cattle ecotypes developed, but are essentially still Ngunis.

The origin of the Nguni breed is still in question as some scholars argue that even though the Nguni cattle inherited the name by being owned by the Nguni nation, they are more different and distant from the other members of the Nguni group, as stated by Rege and Tawah (1999:2):

Smallholder farmers and commercial farms keep them in southern Zimbabwe. Although they are classified to be of the Nguni descent, they are probably genetically more heterogeneous than, and more distant from, the other members of Nguni group.

Furthermore, Van der Wiel (2017:29) states in her Zulu edition that "Nguni cattle got the name because people across Southern Africa used to keep this kind of cattle, especially the Nguni people: the Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa and Swazi." In his collection, he mentions that the Nguni



cows were used as dowry for *lobola* and as sacrifices for ancestors, that their skins were used for clothing and that the meat and milk were used for food. The more cows a man owned, the more wives he could have (Van der Wiel, 2017:41).

Therefore, in the Linguistics field, the term 'Nguni nation' or 'Nguni people' refers to the Bantuspeaking nations whose language is dominated by clicks, namely amaZulu, amaXhosa, amaNdebele and amaSwazi. Gaur (2014:1) defines the Nguni people as a –

cluster of related Bantu-speaking ethnic groups living in South Africa, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe, whose ancestors inhabited a broad band of upland territory extending from the Great Fish River, in what is now Eastern Cape province, northward to Kosi Bay, near the border of KwaZulu-Natal province and Mozambique, that paralleled the Indian Ocean. Although the people of this zone originally spoke a Bantu language in common, with only subtle and gradual linguistic variations, distinct (and mostly mutually unintelligible) Bantu languages developed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, e.g., Xhosa, Zulu, and Swati (Swazi).

The Nguni people who fall under the Bantu-speaking ethnic groups, as stated above, was originally a large group and, due to migration, had to separate and become the nations that are found in South Africa today. Their cultures are quite similar when reading through Van der Wiel's collection about the 11 African cultures of South Africa. He states that the Xhosa culture has initiation ceremonies for males and females (Van der Wiel, 2017:26-31), as well as the Ndebele culture (Van der Wiel, 2017:26). Furthermore, some cultures migrate from one nation to the other, for example, the late Queen Mantfombi Dlamini Zulu, who is the daughter of the late eSwatini King Sobhuza 11. When the Queen married King Goodwill Zwelithini kaBhekuzulu – the King of the AmaZulu – she persuaded King Zwelithini to bring back the reed dance celebrations in the Zulu culture as the celebrations had been stopped by the previous Zulu kings. According to East Coast Radio (2020:1), "the dance dates back many years before King Goodwill Zwelithini reintroduced it in 1991."

As Idang (2015:98) states above, culture helps to mark out a certain nation from other nations and, therefore, it causes segregation. This "marking out" can be between different nations or within a nation and it is usually promoted through gender roles and responsibilities of the culture of a specific nation. This may lead to unfair treatment and inequality based on gender and financial statutes, among other reasons.



Similar to any culture, most South African Nguni cultures have traditional practices that are done within a nation. These traditional practices have their pros and cons, and can, therefore, be in favour of a type of people within a nation or against a type of people within the nation. These traditional practices may be helpful, but can also have negative consequences, which leads to this "mark-out". Maluleke (2012:2) indicates this as follows:

Traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others have become harmful to a specific group, such as women. These harmful traditional practices include early and forced marriages (Ukuthwala as practised currently), virginity testing, widow's rituals, 'ukungena' (levirate and sororate unions), female genital mutilation (FGM), breast sweeping/ironing, the primogeniture rule, practices such as 'cleansing' after male circumcision, and witch-hunting.

Based on Van der Wiel's collection, in all four South African Nguni cultures, gender roles are in place for men and women. He states that, in the Zulu culture, only men are in charge, whereas women take care of the households and their children (Van de Wiel 2017:17). This family structure places women in a secluded position where they are excluded from intensive decision-making processes as their roles include taking care of the household. This imbalance of gender roles has contributed and still contributes to the patriarchal system in which males are given more power than females as they oversee matters that are considered important. According to Van der Wiel (ibid), in all his Nguni collections, when referring to each culture's family structure, a man is considered to be the head of the family and the provider. Men are, therefore, given more respect and power by society than women in such a way that women are almost ranked along the same lines as children. Only women from the royal family and associates are given an abnormal form of respect owing to their social status. These gender roles lead to societal patriarchy, which Mulaudzi (2012:26) explains as —

[a] patriarchal society is one where a woman is seen as property and the man has ownership over her and her body. Patriarchy gives men an entitlement that allows them to take whatever they deem to belong to them. The South African context is one where men are driven by and have power and ownership over women and women have no autonomy over their own lives. When this entitlement is lost or there is a feeling that it is lost, it leads to aggression and violence.

Even post civilisation and post democracy, South Africa still faces a patriarchal system and its effects as some cultures still promote gender inequality. If post-democracy women are still suffering from being marginalised by culture, how much longer do the other current gender categories have to suffer?



In terms of section 6 of Chapter 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) (1996:4), "[t]he official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu." Each language belongs to the following nations, namely isiZulu is spoken by the amaZulu, isiXhosa is spoken by the amaXhosa, Siswati is spoken by the amaSwati, isiNdebele is spoken by the amaNdebele, Xitsonga is spoken by the amaTsonga, Tshivenda is spoken by the amaVenda, Sepedi is spoken by the baPedi, and Setswana is spoken by the baTswana, Sesotho is spoken by the Sotho, English is spoken by English-speaking people, and Afrikaans is spoken by Afrikaans-speaking people. All these nations have a common denominator, which is the man being the head of the house. Some nations are similar, but their traditions and cultures set them apart or rather mark them out from other nations. As stated above, this marking out leads to inequality and, according to the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, (2015:1), —

[i]nequality – the state of not being equal, especially in status, rights, and opportunities – is a concept very much at the heart of social justice theories. However, it is prone to confusion in public debate as it tends to mean different things to different people. Some distinctions are common though. Many authors distinguish "economic inequality", mostly meaning "income inequality", "monetary inequality" or, more broadly, inequality in "living conditions". Others further distinguish a rights-based, legalistic approach to inequality – inequality of rights and associated obligations (for example, when people are not equal before the law, or when people have unequal political power).

It can, therefore, be agreed that inequality concerns being treated in an unequal manner based on a specific criterion, which can either be gender where there is unfair treatment between males and females or other gender patriarchy, inequality in treatment, namely social inequality: unfairly treated according to social class and sexuality etc., and inequality in responsibility "rich vs. poor: how the system is strict to the poor vs. how the rich get away with crimes".

Of the above-mentioned types of inequalities, the researcher focuses on gender inequality in this study and how it is being promoted by South African cultures. According to Kari (2021:1), gender is understood and used in this research as –

refer[ing] to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed. This includes norms, behaviors and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as relationships with each other. As a social construct, gender varies from society to society and can change over time.



The truth is that women have always been treated unequally compared to men. The patriarchal system has been applied on them through culture, religion and politics. Culturally, the heads of households are men, while women are expected to bear children; hence, the term 'housewife' and not 'househusband'. In the Holy Bible: New International Version (1978) : 869), it is stated: "... but I want you to realize that the head of every man is Christ and the head of the women is man, and the head of Christ is God" [1st Corinthians 11:3]. Politically, in the record of South African leadership, South Africa has never had a female president as even after 26 years of democracy, a patriarchal system is still at play. There are still jobs a woman cannot do, positions they cannot fill, and in the workplace, women are still treated unfairly compared to their male colleagues. Women are usually underpaid or are entitled to unpaid compulsory maternity leave, whereas men can decide not to take it and still be paid in full. Women still have to choose between being successful and independent or being married and being a true African woman who plays her traditional role. The focus of this research study is more on the gender inequality caused by South African cultures, especially women and sexual preferences such as LGBTTTQQIAA persona. According to Ok2bme.ca (2021:1), "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Transsexual, Two-Spirit, Queer, Questioning, Intersex, Asexual and Ally" persona are marginalised by these Nguni cultures. Throughout this study, LGBTQI+ persona will be referred to as the rainbow community.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

1.2.1 Aim

The aim of this research study is to analyse how South African Nguni cultures promote gender inequality in society, how it impacts society and how it can be fixed. Literature was analysed to give examples of the causes and effects of gender inequality at play in South African communities as the researcher believes that the literature teaches about real-life occurrences to which a reader can relate. Culture evolves with time and people need to be aware of the accompanying change, and embrace it by adapting themselves, their cultures and beliefs to the current time. Some cultural norms are outdated in this era, for example, the cultural norm of being a womaniser or *isoka/ubusoka*. At present, there are many infectious and deadly diseases, and, therefore, self-discipline is emphasised for males and females. The cultural norm of polygamy or *isithembu* falls under customary law, which Krawitz (2018:1) defines as "the customs and usages traditionally observed amongst the indigenous peoples of South Africa, and a customary marriage means a marriage concluded in accordance with



Customary Law." According to Krawitz (2018:1), in customary law, which was adopted in 1998, it is stated that –

all spouses married in terms of Customary Law are automatically married in community of property. A husband who is already married in a customary marriage and who wishes to enter into a further customary marriage with another woman, and the parties require that an Antenuptial Contract applies to their marriage, must make an application to the Court to approve a written contract which will regulate the future Matrimonial Property System of his marriages.

He continues to state that the law also needs consent from the first wife as the Constitutional Court has also ruled that –

the first spouse must consent to the second marriage in order for the second marriage to be valid. The reason for this is partly based on customary law and partly based on the provisions of the Constitution. Given that marriage is a highly personal and private contract, it would be a blatant intrusion on the first partner to introduce a new member to that union without obtaining the first partner's consent. The Court based this decision on developing Customary Law in line with the Constitutional requirement for equality and dignity of wives in customary marriages (Krawitz, 2018:1).

In this study, South African traditional systems are analysed and examined to see which ones are outdated, which ones are to be forsaken, which ones need to be amended in order to align them with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), and which ones should be kept as they are aligned with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996). In doing so, it is envisaged that a better environment and society will be created for all, which will be conducive for this generation and future generations.

1.2.2 Objectives

The objectives of this study are to analyse South African Nguni cultures and traditions in order to see how they promote gender inequality within nations or society. Another objective of this study is to analyse South African literacy in order to highlight the impact of these cultures on South African society. Among all the types of inequality stated above, the interest of this study lies within gender inequality as the researcher believes that it has not been adequately dealt with in the South African Nguni cultures as statistics on gender-based violence (GBV) are still high; an aftermath of the gender inequality promoted by culture and tradition. Other sources that cover this topic will also be included in order to answer the research questions that led to this research study being conducted.



1.3 Problems to be investigated and questions to be asked

1.3.1 Research questions

Every research study emanates from questions that lead to a researcher conducting a study on a chosen topic. According to White (2017:1), –

[i]f you are going to do research you need to be curious. Being genuinely curious doesn't just mean being open-minded about answers to questions: it also means thinking carefully about the questions you ask in the first place.

These questions answer the 'what?', 'how?', 'when?' and 'who?' questions about the topic. The research questions also act as a guide in the structure of the research study. In this research study, the following main research questions are investigated:

- 1. How do South African cultures contribute to gender inequality?
- 2. How do South African cultures contribute to the unequal treatment and responsibility of both genders, namely male and female?
- 3. How do South African cultures contribute to the unfair treatment of the rainbow community?
- 4. What conflict arises between a traditional system (patriarchy) and a civil system (human rights)?

1.3.2 Problem formulation

Many academics have analysed South African cultures, but only a few have highlighted the clash between South African cultures and civil law. Again, few academics have analysed how South African cultures influence gender inequality, but none have linked their findings with GBV and the rainbow community. In this study, an attempt is made to bridge the gap by acknowledging all parties involved in this phenomenon as in a specific chapter in this study, it is shown how the rainbow community is affected by the gender inequality resulting from South African cultures. Post democracy, South Africa has been in the process of amending laws, cultures and traditions that are biased, of which the mission has been to establish equality, especially gender equality. However, after 26 years of democracy in South Africa, gender inequality is still at play due to a large number of GBV cases, femicide, suicides, corruption, and more. According to Minisini (2021:1), "[i]n South Africa, sometimes known as the 'destination of femicide', more than 2,700 women have been murdered as result of gender-based violence (GBV) since 2000."



The people of South Africa need to unlearn some habits and learn new habits, which will help to improve their ways of life. The aim of this study is to analyse and amend South African cultures as ways of life have still not changed post democracy, even though in today's world, there is enough power for all, freedom for all, and a massive change in gender roles has been seen. This study is aimed at determining the relevance of some cultures and traditions, and the negative impacts of the irrelevant traditions that are still being practised, thereby promoting gender inequality in society.

1.4 Conceptual and theoretical frameworks to be used

1.4.1 Theoretical framework

Among other well-known theoretical lenses used when building a theoretical framework, in this research study, the formalist lens is incorporated, which is explained by Catanzao et al. (1997:56.) as "a lens where the viewer constructs ideas based on their own interpretations of the authors work, ideas, and prior knowledge, this theory was constructed in the 1830s." The researcher, therefore, read a number of literary texts in order to comprehend the input of other South African authors with regard to gender inequality caused by culture. According to the Mometrix website (2021:1), a "[h]istorical context is the social, political, cultural, economic, and environmental situations that influence the events or trends we see happen during that time." The researcher, therefore, also uses the historical lens to examine content on the history of the topic and their relations to the South African history or cultural backdrop as it deals with history. In order to comprehend the view of feminists on gender inequality caused by South African cultures between the two genders, the researcher uses the feminist lens as it concerns "the ways in which literature (and other cultural productions) reinforce or undermine the economic, political, social, and psychological oppression of women" (Tyson, 2006:83). Lastly, the researcher uses the Marxist lens to understand whom the culture benefits between the genders and to discover how it oppresses females and the rainbow community in their everyday life and in literature as it is "a social, political, and economic theory originated by Karl Marx (1843), which focuses on the struggle between capitalists and the working class." (Marxist Internet Archive, 1844:1).

The researcher uses the following sources that form part of the theoretical framework:



Van der Wiel's collection about *South African Nguni cultures* and *IsiSekelo Samasiko* by N.M. Ntui

This collection is used, which elaborates more on the history, beliefs and ways of life of each Nguni culture. They are studied in detail in order to understand the cultures and traditions of other South African nations. The researcher strove to understand why they were formed and practised back then, how they benefited the nation and how they caused segregation within the nation, thereby resulting in the formation of gender inequality, which later yields to abuse. The evolution of South African cultures and traditions are also studied as South Africa is becoming more westernised.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996)

After having read about South African Nguni cultures, the researcher read the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), which was drafted in 1994. The researcher aimed at understanding the role of the law in South African society and how it rectified traditions that promote oppression and inequality. The law has its own advantages and disadvantages, in other words, the law empowers women by giving them freedom, but it also oppresses men as women, children and people with disabilities are kept a priority, rather than men. For instance, the police will be quick to arrest a male rapist than a female rapist. Justice is immediately served when a father is charged with maintenance compared to when the father applies for his rights to visit his child.

Maluleka (2012:1) used the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) to show the clash between culture and civil law, as follows:

In addition to the international commitments, the South African Constitution enshrines the rights of all people in South Africa and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom (section 7 of the Constitution), declares its supremacy (sections 1(c) and 2 of the Constitution), and provides that any law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid.14 The right to equality, including gender equality, is one of the fundamental pillars of the Constitution, and it is enshrined in the Bill of Rights, which is justiciable. On the other hand, the Constitution also provides for and protects the right to culture (sections 15(3), 30 and 31 of the Constitution) and recognizes traditional leadership (sections 211, 212 of the Constitution), which recognition could be interpreted as protecting polygamy as well as related practices such as 'spouse inheritance',15 Ukuthwala16 and other customary practices which have the impact of undermining the constitutional guarantee of gender equality.17 However, the provisions protecting the right to culture explicitly include a qualification stipulating that 'no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights' (sections 30, 31(2)



of the Constitution). But what does this mean in practice for a young girl in the rural areas who has to endure many harmful practices in the name of her culture?

1.4.3 Conceptual framework

To comprehend how South African Nguni cultures, promote gender inequality, journals from other South African scholars were studied in detail and other South African literary texts were included in this research to provide examples and scenarios on how gender inequality plays out in society. The researcher also highlights biased terms or concepts to justify her case. She has discovered that South African languages have more vulgar terms for women than for men. Even though the same act may be done by both parties, a man will be applauded for it, while a woman is shamed. Reading the resources helped the researcher justify the hypothesis of the study, that indeed South African cultures and traditions promote gender inequality.

Other South African scholars, such as Idang, took the route of defining concepts that are used in identifying gender inequality promoted by South African cultures, as follows:

Before we can have an appraisal of African culture and values, it is necessary for us to have an understanding of the concept of culture and its meaning. This will help us grapple with the issues we will be dealing with in this paper. Let us now look at the concept and meaning of culture, as this is fundamental to our understanding of what African culture is (Idang, 2015:1).

The researcher felt the need to define the following terms which will be used in this research study:

Ukuthwala: When a man forcefully kidnaps a young lady in pursuit of marriage.

Isithembu: When a man is married to two or more wives (polygamy).

Ukuzila: A period of mourning to pay respect to the deceased.

Umhlonyane: A ceremony for a girl immediately after she has her first period.

Umemulo: A ceremony for a matured lady in order to thank her for keeping

herself pure and to prepare her for marriage.

Ukuhlolwa: Virginity testing done by elderly women in the nation to confirm

that young ladies are still virgins and to control that they stay virgins

until they marry.

Umkhosi womhlanga: The reed dance ceremony in which young virgins carry reeds to

the Royal Palace and are educated about life in general.



Ukusokwa:

Male initiation where boys go to a place of isolation and they are initiated into being men. This also includes circumcision. After a period of time, initiation is over and their families hold a ceremony in order to welcome them home.

Throughout this research study, all three theories viz. historical, Marxist and Feminist are used equally as they will benefit this study.

1.5 Research methodology

Janseen and Warren (2020:1) define a research methodology as "simply refer[ing] to the practical 'how' of any given piece of research." More specifically, it concerns how a researcher systematically designs a study to ensure valid and reliable results that address the research aims and objectives. In this study, more of a qualitative than a quantitative method has been adopted. Janseen and Warren (2020:1) differentiate between the two techniques as follows:

Qualitative research refers to research which focuses on collecting and analyzing words (written or spoken) and textual data, whereas quantitative research focuses on measurement and testing using numerical data. Qualitative analysis can also focus on other "softer" data points, such as body language or visual elements.

The first phase of this study includes a search for the literary sources to be used. The resources cover South African Nguni cultures, gender inequality in South Africa, GBV, the South African Bill of Rights, women empowerment, education post the 1900s, patriarchy, polygamy, arranged marriages, gender roles in South African Nguni cultures and the rainbow community, among other searches. After having gathered these sources, an in-depth study of each source was conducted to have a full understanding of the approach of each source. Each source is analysed and scrutinised to assure that the information used is relevant.

An in-depth evaluation of the sources in the reference list is conducted to confirm that the sources to be used are the latest editions in order to obtain information relevant to this era. The relevant life experiences and observations of the researcher are also incorporated in this study, especially information related to the Zulu culture and other similar nations. Other academic sources in the reference list were used to validate the researcher's experiences and hypothesis. The relevant South African literary texts were also incorporated in this study to obtain the views of South African authors concerning this topic. It is believed that the



information that was obtained from these texts are relevant as the authors write about what they have observed in societies to educate or warn about it, and any South African citizen can attest to these storylines as real-life occurrences.

"Descriptive research involves gathering data that describe events and then organises, tabulates, depicts and describes the collected data" (Glass & Hopkins,1984:1). A descriptive method has, therefore, been adopted to examine phenomena of South African cultures, gender inequality and the rainbow community. Each source is used to describe the phenomena found in this research study in order to define them fully and to differentiate them from other phenomena, for example, South African culture vs African or American cultures.

The terms that are used in this research study, such as *ukuthwala*, *Isithembu*, *Ukuzila*, and so forth, are interpreted based on the understating of other academics who included them in their academic work and based on the researcher's understanding of the terms. Lastly, the sources are compared, including the South African literary texts, academic journals and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) to find information relevant to the study and to reach a conclusion about the phenomena being studied.

1.6 Outline of chapters

This study comprises seven chapters, as follows:

In this chapter, namely Chapter 1, an introduction is given to the study. The researcher presents the research problems that led to her conducting this study. The aims and objectives of the study are discussed, as well as the research methodology that is adopted in this study.

In Chapter 2, definitions of the concepts used in the study are provided, such as culture, gender, inequality, customary law, and so forth. An overview of the literature review used in this study is given in this chapter. The structure of the study is outlined to show how the content will be distributed.

Chapter 3 is aimed at presenting the analysis of the literacy text titled *Kunjalo-Ke* by Wanda (2008) to show how South African cultures promote gender inequalities between the following genders, namely males and females. The focus is on how inequality is displayed in the following fields, namely education, child(ren) out of wedlock and virginity testing.



In Chapter 4, the focus is on the contrast between civil law and customary law. A discussion follows on how human rights and traditions are in conflict. In this chapter, the analysis of *Isiko Nelungelo* by Zulu (2011) illustrates the above-mentioned conflict and how other traditions, such as *ukungenwa* and *ukuzila*, oppress women and, therefore, promote inequality in society.

Chapter 5 is aimed at a discussion on the analysis of *Bengithi lizokuna* by Sibiya (2006) to show how the rainbow community group experiences inequality in society and how South African cultures accommodate the group. The history of the rainbow community in South Africa and the Zulu culture are dealt with in more detail in this chapter.

In Chapter 6, the analysis of *Intando kaMufi* by S. Mathaba (2012) is presented to show how women deal with discrimination when they become widows and how it is different with men. In this chapter, a detailed description is given of the role traditions play in promoting gender inequality. Phenomena such as *ukukotiza* are studied and discussed, along with the change in roles when becoming a widow.

In Chapter 7, suggestions are made as to how civil law and customary law can be merged to eradicate gender inequality. It also includes the researcher's concluding remarks, annexures and a reference list.

The primary and secondary texts used in this research are in isiZulu, of which the English summaries are attached as annexures to this dissertation in order for the readers who are not familiar with isiZulu to also understand what these texts are about. The annexures are organised as follows:

Annexure A: English summary of Kunjalo-ke by M.E. Wanda

Annexure B: English summary of Isiko nelungelo by N. Zulu

Annexure C: English summary of Bengithi Lizokuna by N.G. Sibiya

Annexure D: English summary of Amanyala Enyoka by M. Ndlovu

Annexure E: English summary of Intando kaMufi by S. Mathaba



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature review

In the Andruss Library (2021:1), a literature review is defined as –

a comprehensive summary of previous research on a topic. The literature review surveys scholarly articles, books, and other sources relevant to a particular area of research. The review should enumerate, describe, summarize, objectively evaluate and clarify this previous research. It should give a theoretical base for the research and help you (the author) determine the nature of your research. The literature review acknowledges the work of previous researchers, and in so doing, assures the reader that your work has been well conceived. It is assumed that by mentioning a previous work in the field of study, that the author has read, evaluated, and assimilated that work into the work at hand.

As this research is based on gender inequality in South African Nguni cultures, as portrayed in selected Nguni literary texts, the selected literary sources are as follows: *Kunjalo-ke* by Wanda, *Isiko nelungelo* by Zulu, *Bengithi lizokuna* by Sibiya, and *Intando kaMufi* by Mathaba. These literary texts have been used to answer the above-mentioned research questions and the sources in the reference list have been used to validate these texts. Each literary source has its own approach to the topic and it shows different views in such a way that it changes the reader's view and reveals the bigger picture of how South African cultures promote gender inequality. Some sources adopt the approach of how South African cultures promote GBV, while others focus on how culture has evolved over time, resulting in a change in gender roles for which our grandfathers did not prepare us.

Post democracy, some nations had to amend some of their cultures and traditional practices as they clashed with the democratic agenda the country had at the time. Some traditions were against the upliftment and empowerment of women and, therefore, needed to be amended or stopped. Different traditions practised in South African Nguni cultures and how they promote gender inequality are discussed in this study. The literary texts mentioned above are used to support the findings.

In the following sections, the ceremonies/rituals practised in South African Nguni cultures based on gender are discussed:



2.1.1 Females

2.1.1.1 Umhlonyane (Sweet Sixteen)

This ritual is conducted by most Nguni nations. It takes place as soon as a girl has her first period. As she matures, the elderly women start advising her on how to safeguard her virginity and to keep herself pure.

According to Ntuli (2010:38), -

[u]mhlonyane ileyombuzi ebulawa uma intombazane ithombile, noma isiqala ukukhula, noma iqala ukungena ezinsukwini zobusha bayo esikhathini, uma isiqeda izinsuku eziyisikhombisa isithombile, ebese uyise wentombazane ebulala imbuzi efake intombazane isiphandla.

Ntuli (2010:38) states that this ritual is done after a girl has self-isolated for seven days after having received her period. After the seven days have passed, her father slaughters a goat, consults with the ancestors, informs them that their child has matured and asks them if they may guide her so that she may keep her virginity until marriage. The meat is only eaten by the family and local virgins and, therefore, it is an inclusive event.

Initially in African cultures, a girl did not necessarily need to be 16. They used to do *umhlonyane* for her as soon as she has had her first period. As times have changed, African people have adopted the "16" rule and, therefore, a lot of girls have had their *umhlonyana* at the age of 16. However, it depends on the family customs and finances.

2.1.1.2 Umemulo (21st birthday)

This phenomenon is also mostly practised by the Zulu nation. The father does *umemulo* for a girl when she has matured enough in such a way that she is ready to be in a relationship or is ready to marry. Ntuli (2010:40) states that –

[u]kwemulisa intombazane kuwuphawu lokuyikhulisa, noma kuwuphawu lokuyikhombisa ukuthi isikhulile ezingeni lobuntombi, noma kusho ukuyibonga ngokuziphatha kahle kwayo ezingeni lobuntombi.

In the above statement, Ntuli states that for a girl, *umemulo* signals that she has fully matured or is thanked for safeguarding her virginity and for keeping herself pure. This means that after this ceremony, a child may enter into a relationship and marry.



Similar to *umhlonyane*, rituals are done prior to the big event of *umemulo*. The girl will need to self-isolate for a week or two depending on the family customs. She will isolate in her room along with her maids/companions. On the morning of the event, they will wake up at dawn to bath at a nearby river and then put red mud or *ibomvu* on their bodies.

In the past, this practice of putting *ibomvu* on their bodies was used to signal that a female has her period. Ntuli (2010:41) continues to state that "[w]ena-ke wesilisa owuyise wengane uye uzwe ngomama wayo noma ngogogo wayo ukuthi iziphethe kanjani ingane yentombazane..." In summary, Ntuli (2010) opines that before the father of the child appeases to the ancestors, he will first need to confirm from the mother or the grandmother of the child if the child is still a virgin. The mother and grandmother are, therefore, accountable for the child's virginity.

2.1.1.3 Ukuhlolwa (Virginity testing)

Monthly, a girl attends a session where all virgins gather and camp throughout the night. Trusted elderly women attend this camp to facilitate young virgins. They also conduct *ukuhlola*. The rule is if they check you and you are still a virgin, they put a white dot on your forehead and if you are not, you do not get a white dot. The testing is done at dawn immediately after the virgins have bathed with cold water at dawn.

The practicality of this test has not yet been proven to be 100% accurate, because when they check you, they look for the hymen layer, which some girls lose to reasons such as riding a bike/a horse and by using harmful products on their private parts, for example, scented/harmful soap, etc. Girls are, therefore, prohibited from riding a bike/a horse and they advise them to bath with cold water, and if there is a need for soap, to only use the green Sunlight bar of soap.

Unfortunately, this discriminates those whose virginity was taken away from them by force, specifically those who were raped. What matters in the end is how virginity is defined, either as untouched (pure) or never having engaged in sexual intercourse. As an example, a person may practise oral sex, but remain a 'virgin' as long as penetration never occurs. In the past, if a girl was in a relationship, but did not want to lose her virginity, she will let her partner penetrate her thighs. This is called ukusoma. Many young virgins who were in relationships did it this way and remained virgins.



2.1.1.4 Umkhosi womhlanga (Reed dance ceremony)

After attending *ukuhlolwa* sessions, which are done regionally, later in the year, young virgins gather on a national scale. They gather at the King's palace, in this case *kwaNongoma eNyokeni* under King Zwelithini. Virgins from all over the country gather and participate in this reed ceremony. They sing hymns and do traditional dancing. They carry reeds to the King's palace. If it breaks, it signals that you are not a virgin, but if it does not break, you are still a virgin. Every group of virgins has a leader called *iqhikiza*. They are mostly the most mature girl in the group. They form the front line and are likely to be chosen by the King to be his wife.

2.1.2 Males

Most Nguni nations practise initiation for boys to become men. In the Xhosa nation, it is called *ukweluka* and in the Ndebele nation, it is called *ingoma*. Only the Swati and the Zulu nations do not practise such. The Zulu nation used to hold initiation ceremonies, '... but King Shaka stopped this in the early 1800s. Boys were only seen as men only after they had fought for several years in the king's army" (Barnes, 2019:21).

This initiation occurs in an isolated camp situated in the wild, especially in the mountains. Only men are allowed here, but not just any man; trusted initiators. This is done so that the initiation proceedings are kept exclusive and so that they are not exposed to the public. Some nations are strict in this regard and no one is allowed to tell what takes place during initiation as what happens in initiation, stays in initiation.

In 2017, a movie called *Inxeba* the Wound was released to the public, but it caused a stir as it was talking about *ulwaluko* and what happens in the mountains. A lot of people, especially Xhosa men, were against it as it exposed in detail the events that occur during initiation. It is not only the Xhosa nation who believes that the initiation proceedings must be inclusive and kept away from the public. The Ndebele and Pedi nations share these sentiments too. Moreover, in the Ndebele and Pedi nations, women attend initiation ceremonies when they transition from girlhood to womanhood.

The researcher found insufficient information on the sentiments the above-mentioned nations share concerning initiation rituals and, therefore, she deferred to analysing the old method the Zulu nations used when observing this ritual even though it was the only source that



elaborated on this matter. The information in this source was clear and, therefore, it served as a firm foundation to build on explaining the concept of *ukusokwa* or *ulwaluko* or *ingoma* or *komeng*.

Take note that the Zulu nation does not go to the mountains like the other nations, but the ritual is performed under similar conditions, in other words, it is discreet and done in a secluded area. The focus in the following section is on Ntuli's (2017) view on the initiation ritual.

2.1.2.1 Ukusokwa/Ingoma (Circumcision)

Ntuli (2010:101) states: "Ukusokwa kwenzelwa ehlathini ngokosiko lwesiZulu, kuyazilwa uma kuzosokwa umuntu. Kuzila lowo osuke ezosokwa, nozosoka kanye nabazali baloyo ozosokwa." In summary, Ntuli explains how the preparation process of circumcision plays out in the Zulu nation. He explains that it is done in the forest and is attended by the person who will be circumcised, the one who will perform the circumcision and the parents of the ones who will be circumcised fast. This is done for the process to be successful.

(Ntuli, 2010:101) further states: "Ukusoka kwenzelwa wena mfana ukuthi kungagcineki noma imuphi udoti ogcolile kumphambili wakho, kakhulukazi uma usuganiswe." In the above statement, he explains that circumcision is done so that no dirt can be trapped in the foreskin, especially when you are married. In contemporary society, men are also circumcised in hospital compared to being circumcised in a forest. Most nations such as amaNdebele, abeSuthu and amaXhosa still go to the mountains to perform this ritual. This is the only event where men are taught about their roles in the family and in society. As men are only circumcised once and, therefore, only get 'the talk' once in their youth up until they marry, they will be advised on how to be a better man. The researcher still stands by her point that they are neither taught to preserve, nor to keep themselves pure, as women are taught.

In conclusion, it is saddening to see that out of the five ceremonies based on purity and self-discipline found in South African cultures, women have to undergo four, while men only participate in one. It can be argued that the unequal treatment or grooming condoned by South African cultures has an effect on the gender inequality which is at play in South African society. It is pointless for women to keep themselves for marriage when they will marry men who have not been groomed fairly. In some Nguni nations, a man is considered a man if he



has many girlfriends. If by a certain age a man does not have a girlfriend or girlfriends, or if he is still a virgin, it is assumed that he might be homosexual. Yet a lady has to keep herself till marriage and if she has multiple partners, she will be labeled a whore or *isifebe*, which is a very nasty and degrading term for a woman, whereas a man will be labeled *isoka*, which is a nice and acceptable term in South African society.

South African cultures approach the following life aspects in a certain way and could cause inequality between the genders involved:

2.1.2.2 Umshado kanye nezingane (Marriage and children)

In South African cultures, when two people marry, the bride has to leave her family and go to her husband's family to do her duties or *ukukotiza*. This includes her waking up early in the morning to clean for everyone, to cook and to do the other house chores. If a bride fails to meet her in-laws' expectations, she is deemed lazy and not capable of taking care of her husband.

Immediately after marriage, newlyweds, especially the bride, are pressurised into having children. If they take long to have children for some reason, for example, financial instability, the woman is suspected of being barren or *inyumba*. This term is used for women who cannot conceive. Men in the same scenario are never given this term as a term or label for them does not exist.

In the past, a custom used to be practised when a man was infertile. They used to ask his brother to impregnate his wife on his behalf as they wanted to preserve the family's bloodline. The wife's feelings about the matter were rarely taken into consideration as long as they knew that they were doing it in the interest of their families and the husband's happiness. However, if the wife were infertile, the husband would consider polygamy so that he may preserve his bloodline. Regardless of the wife's happiness, the option of taking a second wife will be taken in the hope that the first wife will 'warm up' once the husband has taken a second wife. The researcher believes that polygamy has an effect on how men perceive women as it gives them that notion of substitut[ing] their wives anytime they want.

2.1.2.3 Ukufa Kanye nokuzila (Death and mourning)

Each African culture has different procedures and processes with regard to death and mourning. However, these processes and procedures are similar or are done similarly, for



example, all cultures mourn for their deceased by wearing black at funerals (a western culture, which has recently been adopted by African cultures); they keep their households silent, for example, radios and televisions are kept off during the preparation week for the funeral; and the widow needs to sit on a mattress and put a huge blanket over her called ukugubazela, regardless of how hot it is. A widow or umfelokazi has to be dressed in black from head to toe, while the widower only wears a small piece of black cloth on his shoulder. The treatment is also different as a widow is prohibited from doing certain things, for example, they must not have frequent movement, must not sit in the front seat of a taxi and must not date while having the black clothing on, etc. The mourning period is not the same. According to Kasselman (2019:3) "The four months' Maternity leave is compulsory for the birth mother, and can only be reduced if a doctor certifies that the employee may return to work earlier." For women, maternity leave is compulsory and may be shortened if there is a doctor certificate permitting it. Unfortunately, due to certain policies, "in South Africa, employees have a statutory entitlement to four consecutive months of unpaid Maternity leave" (ibid.). Men, on the other hand, have a choice to either take the leave or not, and the freedom to do as they please.

2.1.2.4 Ukungenwa (Levirate and sororate unions)

The culture of *ukungenwa* is only practised on a woman if her husband dies and they did not have children. After the funeral, the family gathers and selects a male relative who will take over and head the house of the deceased. Even in this case, how the widow feels about this matter is not taken into consideration. The selected male relative will then take over and be the widow's husband.

Schapera (1962:116) elaborates on how levirate and sororate unions were formed:

No marriage is complete without children. Should the wife be barren or die childless, a sister or other younger relative would have to take her place. Any children born will be considered children of the barren sister, and the seed-raiser has no hut or status of her own. No *lobola* is usually due for her, though a gift of from one to three head of cattle is usually given to thank the parents.

A no *lobola* scenario takes place when a younger woman assists a wife by bearing children only, unless the husband has an interest in taking her as his second or younger wife. Moreover, if the first wife has passed away, he is allowed to pay *lobola* for her sister, "If



however, the deceased has borne children, her husband would have to pay *lobola* in the usual way on marrying her sister" (Schapera, 1962:117).

In the drama titled *Isiko Nelungelo* by Nelisiwe Zulu, Thenjiwe is forced to marry her husband's younger brother. She tries to fight the issue, but her in-laws, along with her family, force her into the arranged marriage. This culture is done to avoid having to give back the *Iobola*. The elders believe that once you marry, as a woman, there is no space for you at your family's house as you belong to your husband's family.

2.1.2.5 Heir (Indlalifa) and kingship (ukubusa)

In most South African cultures, an emperor is only male. In the book titled *Ukufa KukaShaka*, King Senzangakhona was younger than Mkabayi. He reigned after his father's death. In the kingdom, a woman only becomes queen if she is married to a king. Regarding the lineage of the kings of the *amaZulu*, *amaXhosa* and *amaNdebele*, it would be rare to find a woman as a royal leader. Even in a household, if a man has no sons, he will be in distress as he does not have an heir, meaning that all his hard work would have been in vain.

Schapera (1962:162) justifies this by stating the following:

The principal heir is generally the eldest son of the great wife.... When a married man dies, leaving a wife and children of both sexes, his eldest son, as a general heir, inherits all the livestock which at the death of his father have not been allotted or donated to any special house or person. He also inherits any livestock specifically assigned to his mother's house.

Automatically, the oldest son inherits all his late father's possessions and position. In a scenario where a married man did not have a son(s), the nearest male relative becomes his heir, according to Schapera (1962:163):

If a married man dies leaving no sons, his estate comes under the control of his nearest male relative, generally his younger brother. This man must maintain and support the widow and any daughters from the property in his charge. He is expected by cohabiting with the widow, or by arranging for this to be done by someone else, to see that she duly bears a son, who will ultimately inherit the dead man's property.

2.2 Conclusion

In this brief overview of South African cultures, it is clearly seen how they promote gender inequality, which is also backed by the literature that the researcher chose to analyse. A lot



has changed in South African cultural systems, but the patriarchal system still stands. The researcher believes that this system plays a major role in GBV. It is time that the cultures people affiliate with be analysed if South African society is to be improved. In the following chapters, different literary texts are analysed to determine how gender inequality is portrayed in South African Nguni cultures.



CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF THE LITERARY TEXT KUNJALO KE! BY M.E. WANDA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the analysis of the literature text titled *Kunjalo-Ke* by Wanda (2008). The aim of the analysis of this novel is to show how South African Nguni cultures promote gender inequalities between the following genders, namely males and females.

In summary, this novel concerns a young lady called Dumazile Kheswa who is the only child to her parents. It gives a detailed journey throughout her life. Her parents went against the odds to ensure that she attends school only for her to disappoint them by falling pregnant. On Page 9 of this book, it is mentioned that they had to sell their cows in order to afford to take her to school and to cover her daily living expenses, namely accommodation, groceries, etc., as she attended a school which was far away from home. In the novel, issues of poor morals (ukuxega kwezimilo), disruptive behavior (ukuziphatha budlabha), child grooming (ukukhuliswa kwengane), self-conduct (ukuziphatha), self-respect(ukuzihlonipha) and self-discipline (ukuzithiba) in the youth are addressed.

A lot is revealed about her doings throughout the novel, which are regarded as disappointments in South African cultures, merely because she is a woman. In all South African cultures, purity (*ukubamsulwa*), self-conduct (*ukuziphatha*), self-respect (*ukuzihlonipha*) and patience (*ukubekezela*) are emphasised more in women than in men. A number of Nguni cultural laws and stigmas, which promote gender inequality, are discussed in the following sections, with the researcher justifying them with scenarios found in this novel and supported by other literature where possible.

3.2 The stigma against giving a girl child education in Nguni cultures

3.2.1 The right to education

In 1994, when the democratic governance took over, it noticed that a democratic country cannot continue to function under apartheid constitutions; therefore, in 1996, a new Constitution, which contains the Bill of Rights for all South African citizens, was drafted and signed in to law. According to the S.A. History website (2016:1), "[t]he objective in this process was to ensure that the final Constitution is legitimate, credible and accepted by all South Africans."



In terms of section 9(1) of Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), which consists of the Bill of Rights, it is stated that "[e]veryone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law." In section 9(2), it is further stated that –

[e]quality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.

The above sections include all citizens regardless of their age and gender. In relation to the right to education, in section 29(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996), it is stated that –

Everyone has the right—

- (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
- (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible.

In this chapter, the focus is on clause (a) only as it covers basic education. During the apartheid era where black people were allowed to receive Bantu education, education was more promoted in men than in women, simply because the society believed that the role of a woman was/is in the kitchen and in nurturing the family. In order to avoid illiteracy among women, most fathers would send their daughters to school until Grade 7 and then plan for their marriage, which also had a good impact on the dowry (*lobola*) of a girl child.

Most fathers saw educating a girl child as a waste of money as the girl child would marry into another family, so they would rather invest in a male child as they would carry the family name and expand it. In most African countries, this belief is still effective. VoxDev (2017:1) confirms this through the findings of their study, as a respondent in one of their focus groups stated: "A girl child is business, and we all need money and, for girl children, you benefit from charging while with boys support comes from them when you are old."

Moreover, bride price negotiators know what factors increase bride prices. In one of the focus groups in the study conducted by VoxDev (ibid.), one respondent said: "Lobola is up with level of education because the family knows that the husband and his household will be beneficiaries." Conversations with these parents suggest that bride price increases with female education and that Zambian parents are very aware of this connection. Indeed, in



Zambia, completing primary education is associated with 22%-37% higher bride prices and in Indonesia, completing primary school is associated with 43%-66% higher bride prices.

To date, in South Africa, this relation between education and *lobola* exists; the higher the education level a girl child has, the more expensive her bride prize will be. This is the same scenario the character Dumazile finds herself in. Being the only girl child, her father does not want her to further her studies as he also has the same belief that "educating a girl child is a waste of money". On Page 9, Dumazile explains to her suitor, Mr Moloi, that her father did not want her to further her studies as there was no money at home, but that her mother had begged her father to sell two of his cows so that they could afford to take her to school. If Dumazile was a male child, her father would have sold everything in his power to invest in him as he would have been his successor in carrying the family name.

3.2.2 A child out of wedlock (Umlanjwana)

In the novel *Kunjalo-ke*, Dumazile falls pregnant by her teacher when she is in high school (2008:15). The biggest disappointment was not her being impregnated by a teacher, but it was her being pregnant at that age and out of wedlock. Indeed, the teacher might have been blamed for impregnating his learner, but she had to deal with being labeled as "isifebe". Women get this label if they have multiple partners; if they engage in sex at a young age; if they fall pregnant under bizarre circumstances, for example, when impregnated by a married man, an old man; if they do not know the father of the child; or when they are raped, etc. According to Ngubane (2016:1), who shares his views on this phenomenon in his blog titled *Izwelethublog*, —

[a] woman who is caught sleeping with a man (other than her husband) is beaten and labelled as *'isifebe'*. *Isifebe* is a loose girl who can't control her sexual impulses. I remember one of my sisters coming back home from seeing her boyfriend (which was actually 'not allowed') and yet when she was punished, the words that were thrown at her were: *'usuyafeba ke manje? Wena nondindwa'* ('you are fooling around now? You are a whore').

Dumazile got this term *isifebe*, because she was impregnated by a teacher. According to the learners and other teachers, she seduced the teacher into having an affair with her while it was the other way around (2008:1-3). Meanwhile, a male caught in the same scenario is praised and identified as a victor who is able to express himself and win the hearts of many women. Ngubane (2016:1) defines such a man as *Isoka*, which in English translates to a casanova. Ngubane (2016:1) elaborates on this term by stating that –



Isoka is an idea of manhood designed for men, for the benefit of men. Isoka is a man who can express himself better in front of women, it's a man with good fashion sense and ultimately the "smooth operator" who can get with a lot of girls. Isoka is what every man wants to be called in society. They are the "players" and the "Casanovas" of our time. In fact, when we call a group of men amasoka it is normally to give them a status of manhood that few can achieve." He shares how both names are achieved through the same act but they have a different purpose for both genders. In females the term "isifebe" is a derogatory word ad its purpose is to shame the woman involved whereas the term "isoka" is an acclamation term used to compliment the man involved.

In most Nguni cultures, if a man becomes a father before marriage, it is not a big problem as that shows that he is fertile and the child will belong to his family, thereby increasing his clan. On the other hand, if a woman falls pregnant out of wedlock, it was/is a disgrace as she was/is supposed to save herself for marriage. If she gets married in future, she will have to leave her child with her mother unless the husband marries her with her child. However, if a man were in the same situation, him having a child would not be a problem as his child is a part of his family, meaning that his child would count as a first born despite being born out of wedlock. In the woman's case, her child would not count in her marriage unless her husband adopts the child. This would also affect her *lobola*, with one cow being subtracted from her *lobola*, meaning that having children out of wedlock decreases the value or worth of a woman.

Lobola is a practice associated with the provision of gifts, usually in the form of money or livestock, to the parents of a bride to be. The groom's family is in charge of providing these gifts after negotiation between the two families (Ansell, 2001:1).

Lobola is among the driving forces of GBV as it gives men the notion that they own women and it gives women the notion that they should obey and tolerate the abuse and, therefore, they have normalised abuse in their marriages. Ludsin and Vetten (2005:24) justify this by stating that –

[d]espite its cultural benefits, some men misconstrue the payment of *lobola* as their right to control and treat their partner as their property. In some marriages, this has resulted in. These men justify their abuse by asserting that 'I paid *lobola* for you'. Eighty-four percent of women interviewed in Mpumalanga, the Eastern Cape and Limpopo agreed that, once he has paid *lobola*, it is culturally acceptable for a man to beat his wife if she does something wrong.



3.2.3 Virginity

According to Scorgie (2002:1) and Vincent (2006:1), "[v]irginity testing entails testing whether or not young girls are virgins. This is a very old traditional practice that was common in KwaZulu-Natal but that has disappeared over the years." In most South African Nguni cultures, the virginity of a girl child is the most important as it counts towards her dowry (lobola). It is the mother's duty to groom the girl child accordingly, meaning that she has to make sure that her child safeguards her virginity until marriage. Dumazile's mother advises her, by saying:

Lalela lapha-ke mntanami, intombi iyintombi ngobuntombi bayo. Inkomo kamama usize ungeluse yona mntanami. Uma uke wangiziphatha kahle Dumazile, kuyobe ungithele ngehlazo (Wanda, 2008:23).

In short, Dumazile's mother advises her to conduct herself accordingly as a lady is a lady because of her virginity. She even asks her to guard her virginity as it represents her good grooming as a mother. Lastly, she says that if she fails to do so, she will be insulting her as her mother.

Most South African cultures emphasise the safekeeping of virginity more in females than in males. They even have two to three ceremonies and rituals, which train women in how to keep themselves pure and virgins until marriage. On the other hand, there is only one ceremony or ritual for males, which teaches about self-conduct and the roles of a man. Never have men been told to keep themselves pure or to save themselves for marriage as has been done to women. Although this tradition of virginity testing is biased, it has played a vital role in curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS as it promotes abstinence. However, according to other studies, "virginity testing puts young girls at risk of rape, based on the myth that was dominant in the early 2000s that sleeping with a virgin will cure HIV and AIDS" (Groce & Trasi, 2004:1).

Lastly, male circumcision is one of the methods promoted to men by health professionals in order to curb the spread of STIs, including HIV/AIDS. It is less likely for men to be advised to abstain from intercourse. Usually men are encouraged to have sex at an early age or rather before marriage so that they will have experience, according to Mgqolozana (2009:1), who states that –

Historically, initiation schools played an important role in socializing young boys into being responsible adult men. Today, a reinterpretation of this rite of passage has emerged, with the suggestion that initiation gives young men the unlimited and unquestionable right to access sex with multiple partners. Immediately after



initiation, boys are declared 'real' men and encouraged to go and test their manhood. This becomes an integral part of their masculine identity performance

Kometsi (2004:53) justifies this, as follows:

It is perceived that when you become an *indoda* (a man), you become a better fucker, if I may put it bluntly, and guys, those who have come out of *esuthwine* (initiation), because they have been away for a long time, or whatever period, you are encouraged to go and test yourself and that is something that is encouraged.

Though the researcher applauds the elders who came up with both traditions, namely female virginity testing and male circumcision as these help the youth to retain a part of their culture and it plays a role in identity formation, they should have created traditions that play equivalent roles in both genders. If the aim is for the youth to abstain, then abstinence must be emphasised on both sides, and if the aim is to explore, then both parties must be encouraged to explore. In the following chapter, the literary text *Isiko nelungelo* is analysed, followed by a discussion on how some South African traditions conflict with the rights brought by freedom.



CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF ISIKO NELUNGELO BY N. ZULU

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus is on the conflict between civil law and customary law. It entails a discussion on how human rights conflicts with Nguni traditions that a widow endures before and after the passing of her husband. In this chapter, the analysis of *Isiko Nelungelo* by Zulu (2011) will show the above-mentioned conflict and how other traditions such as *ukungenwa* oppress women and, therefore, promote inequality in the South African society.

4.2 A brief summary of *Isiko Nelungelo* by N. Zulu

In this drama, Zulu (2011:1-4) introduces a young widow, Thenjiwe, who lost her husband in the early years of their marriage. The story starts after a few weeks of the burial of her husband, when her sister—in-law, Thabi, voices out her opinions concerning Thenjiwe's dilemma. In their conversation, Thabi states that she would appreciate it if Thenjiwe continues to stay with them even though her husband has passed on. She justifies her concerns by saying that they are used to having Thenjiwe as family and that it would, therefore, be difficult if she went back home. Her main concern is whether the bride price (lobola) will be recovered if Thenjiwe returns home.

The term *lobola* is widely known as a bride price, but in South African Nguni languages, it is known as *lobola*. This is a practice that is done when two families want to wed their children to each other. *Lobola* is paid by a man to the woman's family. His family represents him and negotiate the *lobola* with the woman's family. Siwela (2015:17) defines *lobola* as:

Ilobolo liyindlela yokuthi izandla ziyagezana. Ngokuphuma kwentombazane ekhaya abazali bayo bayalahlekelwa ngosizo esuke iyilo ekhaya. Okwesibili ilobolo liyindlela yokubonga ukukhuliselwa intombi ibe ngumuntu ogcwele lona oseyokwakha umuzi kobani.

[Lobola is a way of saying we help each other. By a woman leaving a household, her parents' house, they lose the help she is at home. Secondly, lobola is a way of appreciating the upbringing of the lady into being a woman who is capable of building her husband's clan.]

In her isiZulu edition, Barnes (2019:23) defines *lobola* as "[w]hen a man wanted to marry a woman he first had to give some cattle to her family. This is called "paying *lobola*".



The initial aim of *lobola* was to create relations between the two families, namely that of the bride and the groom. It was a way in which a groom used to show gratitude to the bride's parents for grooming a well-mannered child who grew to be a perfect wife for him. As Msimang (1975:265) mentioned above, after negotiations, the groom showers the woman's family with gifts to show appreciation and to form a bond between the two families.

In his isiXhosa edition, Van der Wiel (2017c:33) affirms that *lobola* is an appreciation token from a man to the woman's family, by stating that –

[w]hen a man found a woman he wanted to marry he gave her family *ikhazi*, which is a gift of a cattle. This was a way of showing that he would look after his future wife and their children.

Most Nguni nations used and still use cows to pay *lobola* simply because initially, every household had cows, even the poor. The number of cows in the kraal used to determine the financial state of the household. Even men were considered wealthy or beautiful if they had many cows; hence, the old Nguni saying that goes: "*Ubuhle bendoda zinkomo zayo*", which can briefly be translated to a man's beauty lying in his cattle. This gave an indication that if a man had many cows, he was financially fit to take care of his own, including his family and, therefore, he could provide.

Barnes (2019:23) justifies how cattle determine a man's status in society in her isiZulu edition, by stating that "[i]f a man had lots of cattle he could afford to have more than one wife." Van der Wiel (2017b:27), in his Swazi edition, also adds on this by stating the following:

Some men have big herds of cattle, and so they can afford to marry more than one wife. King Mswati III, for example, married his thirteenth wife in 2007. But most *Swazi* men own only a few cattle, and can afford to marry only one woman.

Therefore, a big herd of cattle means a man's ability to afford many wives. The affordability issue is not experienced by the above-mentioned Nguni nations only, but the struggle is shared across the nations that practise *lobola*. For instance, the Tswana nation also has to pay *lobola*, which they refer to as *bogadi* and is explained below:

When a *Tswana* man and woman wanted to get married they follow certain steps. First, one of the man's family members such as an uncle, went to speak to the woman's parents. He told them that the man wanted to marry their daughter. If the parents agreed, the two families had a big party, with eating and drinking, and singing and dancing (Barnes, 2019:33).



She further elaborates that "the man [then] had to pay *bogadi* by giving the woman's family gifts of cattle" (Barnes 2019:33).

Even the Venda nation practises a similar phenomenon to *lobola*. Van der Wiel (2017e:43) in his Venda edition states that –

[w]hen a *Venda* man and a *Venda* woman want to get married, the man must first bring gifts to the woman's family. These gifts are called bride-wealth. The man gives bride-wealth to the woman's family to thank them for letting their daughter become part of his family.

The aim of *lobola* or bride wealth, as mentioned above, in the Venda nation is to thank the bride's family across all nations. Even though *lobola* is a gratitude gesture from a man to a woman's family, some nations negotiate the quantity of this gratitude as it comprises livestock and, therefore, it must be determined how much livestock must be in the *lobola*.

In the Swati nation, initially, after the man had indicated that he wants to marry, he would send his elders to the woman's household so that both families may have *lobola* negotiations. Van der Wiel (2017b:27), in his Swati edition, states that –

[t]he man's family and the woman's family usually discuss the amount of *lobola* that the man will pay. These discussions are called *lobola* negotiations. It sometimes takes years before the two families agree on the amount of *lobola*. And then it can take a few years for the man to gather enough cattle and money.

As stated above, these negotiations can go on for a few years for the man to be able to gather enough cattle and money. The man involved needs to have patience and work hard so that he meets the amount the woman's family has set. Some families allow the couple to get married when a man has paid half or most of the *lobola* in hope that he will later finish paying it when he has hustled enough, as indicated below:

The wedding usually takes place when the man has paid all the *lobola*. But sometimes the families allow the couple to get married when the man has paid only part of the *lobola* (Van der Wiel, 2017d:27).

Paying part of the *lobola* means that certain procedures will be skipped or paused and may only be done when the husband pays the *lobola* in full. Ntuli (2011:54) affirms this by stating that –

[u]ma umkhwenyana esinise engakalikhiphi lonke ilobola lomkhwe wakhe, umkhwe akayikhiphi inkomo yesigodo, uze ayikhiphe uma seziphume zonke izinkomo zakhe zelobola.



[If the groom has decided to wed his bride before paying full *lobola*, his father-inlaw does not give him back a cow. He only gives him when the groom has paid all the *lobola*.]

There is a method used to calculate *lobola* due to the bride's parents that is followed by the Zulu nation and a lot of factors influence the amount of cows in the *lobola*. Initially, it was only two factors, namely virginity and the number of children the woman had, but this factor was only considered if the children were not fathered by the man who was proposing.

The standard number of cows that form part of *lobola* in the Zulu nation, according to Ntuli (2011:55), "Ziba yishumi nanye [11]", meaning that the number of cows in the *lobola* is 11. This number is the maximum, because this is the amount that is paid for a virgin maiden in the Zulu and Swati nations.

As stated above, initially, *lobola* was paid using cattle, but it evolved and money became a substitute for cattle. This was due to urbanisation as a lot of people migrated to townships and suburbs where it was quite impossible to keep livestock due to the space limitations and the rules of the area. Therefore, money became a solution to substitute cattle that made up *lobola*. In her Siswati edition, Barnes (2019:29) confirms this by stating that "*Swati* men still pay *lobola*, but these days they often give money as part of the payment."

Due to urbanisation and the migration of people from rural to urban areas, many households are left with women to take care of the cattle, while others do not have cattle. In townships and informal settings, there is no space to keep livestock, while in the suburbs there are laws against this and, therefore, a lot of people do not have cattle and, therefore, resort to using money as their *lobola*. In his isiXhosa edition, Van der Wiel (2017c:25) confirms this by stating that –

[m]any Xhosa families' live towns and cities, such as East London and Cape Town. There are few jobs in the rural areas, and many families are poor. Workers in cities usually send part of their wages back to their families in the rural arears.

This has resulted in the fluctuation of the *lobola* amount as the amount per cow is determined by the family, with some overpricing it and some underpricing it. Moreover, there has been an addition to the factors that influence *lobola*. Initially, it was the above two factors, namely virginity and the number of children that influenced the bride price, but now factors such as the number of qualifications and riches such as a car, house, etc., influence the bride price.



In contemporary society, the bride price of a lady who is educated and has a lot on her name, is more compared to a lady who is not educated and has no riches.

Even in homogenous relationships where the couple is of the same gender, in other words, man and man or woman and woman. The discretion of the couple comes to play in this scenario. They either both pay *lobola* for each other or they decide that the one who has assumed the provider role in a relationship pays the *lobola*. Therefore, there is no clear or standard way that homogenous couples approach *lobola*, which causes the couples to feel left out or discriminated against as, in terms of the Civil Union Act, 2006 (Act No. 17 of 2006), they are accommodated, but not accommodated in terms of the Customary Marriages Act, 1998 (Act No. 120 of 1998). During interviews, Isaak (2008:47), a black lesbian, states the following:

... It's time to be more challenging, and to say that we have multiple identities. I am a lesbian. I can access the Civil Union Act. But I am also a Black Zulu woman, and there is a law in this country that makes provision for Zulus in terms of recognizing marriage. Why should I not have that?... I believe that it's not only a legal institution- it's also about social recognition and communicating certain social values. So, I would like to do it properly. I might take the Zulu aspect of my tradition: the *lobola* needs to be paid, and there needs to be a negotiation around how it is done. I know of lesbian couples who talk about paying *lobola* for each other- they pay the same portion to each other's families. One can work around these things. But what we have so far is not enough. I want to have all the options. I want to have the option of using the Customary Marriages Act.

On the same topic, the South African gay couple, namely Tshepo Cameroon and Thoba Sithole, had a western and traditional wedding. Their traditional wedding was in KwaDukuza, a small rural town in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). According to Yarbrough (2020:9), –

first, the families slaughtered a bull to introduce each new spouse to the others' deceased ancestors and to request that the ancestors bless the wedding. Second, the proceedings included an *umabo* exchange of gifts between the two families.

Therefore, with homosexual couples, the couple and their families decide on how to approach the traditional aspects of their wedding. Some pay each other's *lobola*, whereas others decide who should pay and, therefore, it is based on their discretion.

In most societies that practise the *lobola* custom, there is a misconception most men have that when you pay *lobola* for a woman you are 'buying' her. This misconception is a driving



force behind the cases of GBV in South Africa. Siwela (2015:17) corrects this misconception by stating that –

[n]gokusobala nje ilobolo akusilo inani noma intengo ekuthengwa ngayo umakoti kubo ukuze ayogana emzini. Ilobolo liyindlela yokuthi kuhlanganiswa imindeni emibili kubongwe futhi kududuzwe abazali abakhulise umakoti ngokuthi useyabashiya useya emzini lapho esezokuba ngowakhona ngokuphelele

[It is clear that *lobola* is not an amount or a price that you buy your wife with from her home so that she may marry into your house. *Lobola* is a way of uniting the two families, as well as appreciating and consoling her parents who raise her as she is leaving them there since she is no longer a full member of her family.]

This is one of the practices that need to reconsidered as a nation as the economy has evolved over time, including our lifestyle. In contemporary society, cultural and western weddings are observed and, therefore, the amount of money spent is much more than what was spent back then. If only the number of cows or the amount per cow in the *lobola* could be decreased, then it could be manageable as some couples marry with loans and even after the wedding, they struggle to adapt as they start their marriage life in debt. This financial strain is what causes the majority of men to be abusers as there is a lot of pressure on their shoulders. It becomes better when the woman's family gives back a part of the *lobola* so that the couple can use it to fund their western wedding and establish their marriage life.

In the Zulu nation, the bride's father is required to give his son-in-law a cow only after he has paid the *lobola* in full. If he is still owing, the bride's father does not give the cow. Ntuli (2011:55) explains this by stating that –

[u]ma umkhwenyana esezikhiphe zonke, umkhwe uye akhiphe naye enye eyodwa inkomo, ethi ayihambe iye kumkhwenyana iyoba ubhaqa lwentombazane yakhe, noma isigodo, noma udondolo.

[When the husband has paid *lobola* in full, the father-in-law usually gives him one cow.]

This was done so that the wife may eat and be full, because she was not allowed to eat the meat nor maas by her in-laws, until she had given birth to her first born or until they had made a certain ceremony for her. Therefore, this cow was her source of meat, maas and milk. In summary, the parents and the families of the couple involved should be considerate and do



things, including *lobola* negations, in the best interest of the couple, not theirs. Perhaps then a curb will be seen in the increase of GBV cases in our country.

4.3 Levirate and sororate unions known as Ukungenwa

Lobola is the cause behind the custom of levirate and sororate unions known as *ukungenwa*. The custom of *ukungenwa* is done in order to avoid the recovery of *lobola* from the bride's family. It is practised in scenarios whereby the husband died and left a young widow without a child or when the wife is infertile, thereby being unable to expand the family's name. United Nations Women, known as UN Women (2011:1), defines a levirate marriage as "a forced marriage of a widow to the brother of her deceased husband." They define sororate marriages as "a forced marriage of the sister-in-law of a deceased or infertile wife to marry or have sex with her brother-in-law, the widower/husband" (UN Women, 2011:1). Sororate marriages usually occur in the case if the wife is infertile, then the husband is allowed to take a wife of his choice, whereas a wife in the same scenario is forced to sleep with the brother of the husband secretly or in a case where her husband has passed on, she is forced to marry the willing male relative regardless of her feelings.

This literature perfectly portrays the conflict between culture and human rights, specifically women rights. Culture is a term that refers to a large and diverse set of mostly intangible aspects of social life. Cole (2019:1) elaborates on the term 'culture' by stating that –

[a]ccording to sociologists, culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication, and practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as a collective. Culture also includes the material objects that are common to that group or society. Culture is distinct from social structure and economic aspects of society, but it is connected to them—both continuously informing them and being informed by them.

As stated above, culture constitutes practices that are shared by a collective of people or society. It is important to understand that those practices are called customs and, therefore, culture and custom(s) go hand in hand. Maluleke (2012:2) defines these traditional cultural practices as –

traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others have become harmful to a specific group, such as women.



As mentioned above, certain beliefs and traditional cultural practices are harmful to women. The custom of *ukungenwa* is one of them. Ntuli (2011:114-116) elaborates on how the custom of *ukungenwa* in the Zulu culture is carried out by stating that –

[t]he elders are the one who discuss this matter first before sharing it with the family especially the husband's brothers. They do not allow just anyone to take over but they keep those who are helpful at home as first priority so that they will also help the widow.

Although this is how this custom was done in the past, currently, it is not practiced properly as people do it with their own ulterior motives, be it that they are after their brothers' heritance or they are after the young widow.

Moreover, Maluleka (2012:13) confirms that this custom of *ukungenwa* is still commonly practised and, therefore, women are still forced to marry without consent, as indicated below:

At the International Alliance of Women's 35th Congress held in South Africa in December 2010, women from KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape reported that widows are forced to marry the brother or any male relative of the deceased husband. The widow is required to choose a husband without knowing who she is choosing because she is given a few sticks to choose from, and the stick she chooses will determine who the husband is.

A total of 27 years after democracy, women, especially widows, are still forced to choose their partners in the name of preserving culture. This clearly highlights the reality of the conflict between Nguni cultures and democratic rights.

Maluleka (2012:13) further unpacks this statement:

If she refuses to marry one of the men selected, she is banished from her home, and she loses custody and all her inheritance. The consent might therefore be coerced or unduly influenced by family members or the community. If the woman agrees to marry the male relative due to a fear of violence, then the marriage is not valid. But what are the implications for the woman of invalidating the marriage?

To justify Maluleka's statement above, Ntuli (2011:116) states that -

[i]f the widow denies the proposal she is not allowed to have a relationship with another man, if she is caught with that man she will need to pay a fine and the men will be physically manhandled.

The two above statements clearly state that it is either the in-laws' way or the violent way. It shows that if a woman disagrees or declines the proposal, she will suffer the consequences.



Her freedom of choice is ignored and oppressed because of culture. In the book, we find the same scenario where Thenjiwe's feelings and rights are infringed. When she turns to her family, they also force her to marry, because they fear the embarrassment of her return as they cannot pay back the *lobola*. Her wellbeing and happiness are ignored for the sake of culture.

4.4 Mourning attire (*Inzilo*)

Another custom that violates widows' rights is the wearing of mourning attire called *inzilo*. The attire is black or navy in colour. It is worn immediately after the funeral by a widow of the deceased in order to mourn her husband. The period of wearing this attire is determined by the family, but usually the period ranges from one to two years. Ntuli (2011:131-132) unpacks this custom as follows:

Inzilo ifakwa ekuseni ngakusasa kade kungcatshwa izolo, uma nje sekuqedwe ukudliwa amakhagala namasiko akhona athile aye enziwe, kube sekuyagundwa njalo khona lapha akugundelwa ekhaya uma kugundelwa isifo.

In summary, Ntuli explains how the custom is done. He states that the mourning attire is put on immediately in the morning after the day of the burial after certain rituals have been observed. Shaven heads are also part of the attire, but it depends on how the person is related to the deceased. If it is a father, husband or grandfather, the person's hair has to be cut. Husbands do not cut their hair unless the deceased is their father.

Ndiyane (2011:9), in the article titled "*Ukuzila ngezimnyama kakulona usiko e-Afrika*" in *Ilanga* (November 7-8, 2011:9), elaborates on how the mourning attire came to be:

Kuvamisile ukuzwa abamnyama uma bebuzwa ngokugqoka izingubo ezimnyama bathi kuyisiko ukwenza njalo. Bancane kakhulu abaziyo ukuthi uqhamukaphi lo mkhuba. Empeleni waqala ngowe-1861 e-England emva kokushona kwenkosana yamaNgisi u-Prince Albert. Ngalowo nyaka indlovukazi yamaNgisi u-Queen Victoria ibonakale isidlubhe ezimnyama, izilile. Yamemezela endlunkulu ukuthi izogqoka ezimnyama iminyaka emibili ukuze izenelise ukuthi izile ngokwanele. Namanye amalunga asendlunkulu ezwakalisa ukuthi nawo azongena kwezimnyama ukulekelela indlovukazi, abesilisa bona bagqiza ngendwangu emnyama emkhonweni yezingubo zabo. Kube umkhuba wabo-ke abesifazane uma beshonelwe ukuba bafake izingubo ezimnyama umzimba wonke. Naso- ke isikhathi sokuzila sibe unyaka kanti nabesilisa nabo bazila unyaka owodwa ngokufaka amabhande ezingalweni.

Ndlovu (2013:8) translates the above statement to English, as follows:



It is often heard when Africans are asked about black mourning dress and they say it is a cultural phenomenon. There are very few people who are knowledgeable of an origin of such practice. In fact, this was started in 1861 in England after the death of the eldest son of England Prince Albert. In that year, Queen Victoria was seen in black as a sign of mourning. She announced in a Royal Council that she was going to dress in black for two years so as to satisfy herself that she has mourned enough. The other members of the royal family followed suit, while male members decided to wear a black strip on their sleeves. Wearing of black all over the body became a normal practice as a sign of mourning for widows. Two years became a standard period of mourning for widows and one year for widowers.

The question arises as to what Nguni mourning attire is if black attire was inspired by the western culture? In his work, Ndlovu (2013:7) quoted Mr Nkosi's statement when he elaborated on what widows used to wear back then. When Mr Nkosi commented on a talk show hosted by uKhozi FM in 2012 during the 'Woza Nabangani Bakho' drive, he stated that –

[o]wesifazane olinyalelwe umyeni wakhe wayezila ngezikhumba. Kwakuhlatshwa izimbuzi, bese kuphalwa izikhumba zazo, kususwe bonke uboya, bese embathiswa zona umfelokazi, azigqoke unyaka wonke. Owesimame ozila ngalolu hlobo yilowo osinisiwe nothelwe ngenyongo wamukelwa emzini njengonkosikazi womuzi, hhayi noma ubani nje. Uma owesimame ezile ngalolu hlobo, wayegoya ahloniphe, engazihlanganisi nabantu, ngoba kwakwaziwa phela ukuthi unesinyama okungamele engame ngaso abantu."

[A woman whose husband has passed on used an animal skin to mourn. Goats were slaughtered and their skins made supple to be worn by the widow for the whole year. A woman who does this is the one that is traditionally married, sprinkled with a gall and accepted by the ancestors as family wife, not just any woman. If the widow is in the mourning process, she would have to confine and respect herself, and not be allowed to mix with other people, because it was believed that she had a shadow of death, which she must not contaminate other people with it.]

Widowhood differs with the gender involved, with widows and widowers undergoing different natures of widowhood, as explained below:

Widowhood is a clearly defined social role for women, that is associated with prescribed institutionalized cultural and religious norms and the concomitant social sanctions if a deviation from the defined social role occurs. However, an altogether different set of norms applies to men upon the death of their wives (Maluleka, 2012:13-14).



Different features of widowhood are discussed below to show how the process differs per gender. The features include the clothing you wear as a widow or widower, the limitations you face, etc.

Differences in mourning attire for both genders

Females (widows)

If your husband passed on, the following will be your mourning attire:

- A black/navy headscarf;
- A shaven head;
- A black/navy dress;
- A black/navy cape; and
- Black shoes.

Males (widowers)

 A small piece of square black cloth pinned on your shoulder or an arm band, with an everyday normal outfit.

You are required to wear the mourning attire for the period the family establishes. For some, it is a year, for others it is two years or as short as six months. In rare cases where the widow is leading a busy life, which requires her to work with the public or to violate any of the limitation, the widow will dress in this attire for three to six months and then do a ceremony in order to undress the attire called *ukushwathika*.

Ndlovu (2013:8) quoted Mr. Nkosi during his commentary as he defined the ceremony of *ukushwathika* as follows:

Esikhathini sanamhlanje ukuzila ngezingubo eziyimibalabala akuhambisani esiphilwa ngabesifazane nesimo sempilo njengoba nabo sebengabasebenzi. Akwamukeleki futhi akubukeki ukubona owesimame eshaya ithili ngengubo yenzila, phela lezi zingubo zinesithunzi okungamele kwenganywe ngaso abantu. Lokhu kufakazela ukuthi mhlawumbe zazingamukeleka zakudala abesimame begoya ngezikhathi uma besaziggokile. kwakunemithetho okwakumele abesimame bayilandele uma besaggoke inzila okungaselula ukuba ingagcineka esikhathini samanje. Mhlawumbe kungakuhle nje owesimame uma esazilile athathe ilivu ende, okungenani yenyanga, aphindele emsebenzini esekhunyuliwe.

Ndlovu (2013:8) briefly translates the above statement to English as follows:



Nowadays mourning with different colors of clothes does not go with the current situation and women's lifestyle as women have to go to work too. It is not acceptable to see a mourning widow (woman) with these clothes working on a till since these clothes are associated with a shadow of death, which does not need to have other people interfering with. Perhaps in the olden days it might be accepted for the widows to wear the mourning dress as they were able to keep themselves indoors to demonstrate utmost respect. Actually there were so many restrictions that widows need to conform with while they were in mourning dress which makes it difficult to observe in the modern days. Maybe it might be better if a widow would take at least one month leave while in mourning dress and go back to work after it has been taken off.

4.4.1 Limitations of wearing mourning attire

4.4.1.1 Females

In Nguni and most South African nations, a woman whose husband has passed on goes through many procedures and rituals that occur pre and post her husband's funeral. The wearing of mourning attire is one of these procedures as you will see the woman wearing black clothing from head to toe post her husband's burial. The term given to her is *umfelokazi*, which translates to a widow. She is called by this term because *ufelwe* [she has lost a husband]. Lessing (1995:252) defines the term *umfelokazi* as a "[w]idow is a woman who lost her husband by death and has not remarried."

Analysing this statement while focusing on the last part, Siwela (2015:17) emphasises the following:

Ngokwencazelo kaLessing owesifazane ubizwa ngomfelokazi kuphela uma engabange esagana emva kokwedlula emhlabeni komnyeni wakhe.

[According to Lessing's definition, a woman is only called a widow if she did not re-marry after her husband's passing]

Widows stand out from the crowd with black attire, which makes it easier to be discriminated against and excluded from society as the attire is accompanied by a stigma. The following are examples of limitations that widows face in the South African context:

- Widows are not allowed to sit in the front seat of a taxi, only on the back seat.
- Widows are not allowed to go to events (excluding funerals).
- Widows are not allowed to be seen on the road with the attire after sunset.

Msimang (1991:145) justifies the above first and third bullet by stating the following:



Umfelokazi uzila ukuhamba ibanga elide. Akakakwazi ukunqamula imihlambi yezinkomo, kanti uma ehlangana nomuntu kufuneka abingelele eguqile. Umfelokazi akawadli amasi. Akathathi kuqala uma kudliwa futhi. Makungahlali muntu emva kwakhe.... kuqala ubehlala eyinhlekisa ngezikhumba zezimvu kuze kuphele iminyaka emithathu.

[The widow must fast or abstain from walking long distances. She cannot walk through a flock of livestock if on her way she comes across a person, she must greet that person while kneeling. She must not eat *amasi*. She is served last during eating time. No one must sit behind her (this justifies the first bullet). Back then, the widow used to be a laughing stock by wearing sheep skins for three years.]

- Widows are not allowed to date if they still have the attire on.
- Widows are not allowed to be seen frequently in public spaces, in other words, restaurants, on vacation, etc., as they are supposed to be mourning their late husband, to name a few.

4.4.1.2 Males

As much as a woman who has lost her husband is called a widow, which is *umfelokazi* in isiZulu, and a man who has lost his wife is called a widower, which is *umfelwa* in isiZulu, this term is rarely used in society. Less focus or attention is given to a widower compared to a widow. There is less expectation from him as he may heal at his own pace with no traditional expectations placed on him.

Therefore, there are no harsh limitations expected to be observed by the man. Ndlovu (2013: 33) states that –

[t]he widowed men acknowledge the importance of the mourning cultural practice in terms of sustaining and continuing the Zulu culture. They acknowledge that the practice has more expectations for widows and they also note that some customs are outdated.

In one of the men focus groups she conducted, a widowed man stated the following:

Ukuzila kuwuphawu lokuhlonipha nokutshengisa uthando lwaloyo osedlule emhlabeni. Thina-ke maZulu sinezindlela eziningi esizisebenzisayo ukugcina leli siko, ikakhulukazi abesimame kuningi okulindeleke kubo, akufani nathi bantu besilisa esizila ikakhulukazi ngezinhliziyo (WM1). (Ndlovu, 2013:-33).

[Mourning cultural practice is a sign of showing respect and love to the one who passed on. We, Zulu people, have a lot of methods to observe this custom,



especially the women who have so many things which are expected of them, they are unlike us who only mourn with hearts.]

According to Maluleka (2012:14), these are the findings of an in-depth study conducted by the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) on the experiences of widowhood in different cultures and in different geographic areas in South Africa. The study revealed the following:

- There is large-scale discrimination against widows and widowers, including the imposition of burdens, obligations or disadvantages, and the withholding of benefits, opportunities or advantages, as well as the regular harassment of widows and widowers in the context of the household, community, state and market-place.
- A woman's status shifts drastically downward after the death of her husband in contrast to the widower's status which remains unchanged. This includes the terms of the administration of the estate.
- A decrease in social status not only has implications for women's livelihood, economic status and quality of life, but also increases their vulnerability to discrimination, abuse, harassment and GBV, as well as their ability to assert their rights.
- Both women and men experience increased social pressure during widow(er)hood, but in opposite directions; widows are pressured to remain loyal and faithful to their late husbands, and honour their memory, whereas men are often pressured into a quick remarriage, regardless of their readiness or wish to remarry.
- If widows remarry, they rarely do so at their own free will. In some communities, widows may be forced into new conjugal relations with a male relative or be forbidden to remarry, even if they wish to do so.

After undergoing the painful process of burying a loved one and mourning them, widows face another challenge of being forced into an arranged marriage called *ukungenwa*, but it depends on the family married into. Some families that follow this custom let you choose what to do with your life and those who believe in this custom make you choose your next spouse in the family.

In Zulu (2011:30-32), Thenjiwe's in-laws introduced the matter to her. Her mother-in-law, MaMbatha, initiated it. Her father-in-law, Mr Zungu, was not keen on the custom. All he wanted was for his daughter-in-law, Thenjiwe, to make her choice. After the funeral, her in-



laws had a conversation concerning this and Mr Zungu was clear about his feelings when his wife proposed the custom of *ukungena* by saying the following:

Asazi-ke kuyozanywa. Ingabe uyoyithanda yini le ngane yabantu. Angisafuni iphatheke kabi ngena yaleli shwa eliyehlele. Pho uthi akungcono sike siyithi fahla kumakoti lendaba? (Zulu 2012:6).

[Mr Zungu is saying that he is not sure if Thenjiwe will like this proposal. He does not want her to be sad as she just lost her husband.]

Throughout the drama, Thenjiwe fights this custom of *ukungenwa*. On Page 31, she clearly states that she only wants permission to go home and that she does not mean that she will forsake them as her in-laws, but that she will visit them. She tries to turn to her family and her father is against her coming back home. He even says that he will have to accompany her back to her in-laws, so that they may discuss the way forward:

Kuzofuneka ngivuke ngikuphelezele kusasa ubuyele emumva. Sizofike ke sixoxe nabadala sibonisane (Zulu, 2011:45).

[I will have to wake up tomorrow and accompany you so that you go back to your in-laws. We will then have a discussion with the elders.]

He further praises the custom and how good it is by saying the following:

Sizohluleka sizamile. Lona lihle bantabami, ngiyalazi liyasebenza (Zulu 2011:45).

[We will fail after trying, this is a great custom my children. I know it, it works.]

He also explains that this custom is the solution to avoiding the recovery of *lobola* and the reversal of all rituals done during marriage when they introduce you to the ancestors of your in-laws, as follows:

Ngisho ukuthi phela lokho kuyosho ukuhlehlisa lonke uhlelo olwenziwa. Eqinisweni leli siko lavezwa yilokho. Ukubuya kukamakoti emendweni kusho ukuphindisela emuva amalobolo nakho konke okuthintene nawo (Zulu 2011:46).

[I mean that will mean redoing all the procedures that we have done during the wedding. In honesty, this custom was created for that. The returning of a bride from marriage means returning back the *lobola* and all that is related to it.]

In the end, after going through a lot, including losing a best friend and a potential lover, rejection from her family, ill-treatment from her in-laws and trying to poison Dumisani, Thenjiwe decides to engage in the custom and marry Dumisani. Fortunately, the ending is an



unexpected one as it is a happy-ever-after ending. Dumisani and Thenjiwe talk about their wedding, how beautiful it was and how they love each other. This proves that similar to other marriages, sororate and levirate marriages have their advantages and disadvantages.

According to the Code her website (2021:1), –

[i]t is estimated that **over 50 percent of marriages around the world are arranged**, and approximately 20 million arranged marriages exist today. Those who enter an arranged marriage also have a much lower divorce rate than those who enter a marriage without their parent's involvement. The divorce rate for arranged marriages is 4 percent, while the divorce rate in the United States is around 40 to 50 percent. In India, where it is estimated that the percentages of arranged marriages is 90 percent, the divorce rate is only 1 percent. It is difficult to know whether these numbers indicate that arranged marriages work, or if the type of people to enter arranged marriages are less likely to file for a divorce.

There are a lot of reasons as to why the women involved in these marriages are not filing for divorce. Some are not independent, some are afraid that they disappoint their families and some are scared of the stigma they will suffer in society. Thenjiwe was forced by her in-laws, her family and the circumstances to marry Dumisani because in the drama, Thenjiwe is portrayed as a young woman who got married and was depending on her deceased husband. If she was financially independent, she would have left and started afresh, but she had nowhere to go except home; hence, when she was rejected at home, she had to go back to her in-laws' house and abide by their rules and conditions, which was to marry Dumisani.

In conclusion, in terms of section 3(a) of the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act, 1998 (Act No. 120 of 1998) under the requirements for the validity of customary marriages, "the prospective spouses –

- i) must both be above the age of 18 years; and
- ii) must both consent to be married to each other under customary law."

Therefore, in the literature, Thenjiwe's right to consent to marry Dumisani was infringed in the name of preserving a custom; women must not be forced to remarry just because *lobola* was paid for them. On the other hand, the return of *lobola* is unfair to the widow, because she also invested in the failed marriage with her time and other emotional resources. If *lobola* is counted based on the number of children and being a virgin, the time spent in the marriage, the number of sexual encounters and the number of children conceived should be considered.



Lastly, *lobola* is also among the causes of gender-based violence (GBV) as it gives husbands a sense of entitlement over their wives.

Women who decide to leave such abusive marriages are culturally mocked, called names and also seen as failures in life. Some women feel trapped in abusive marriages because of their inability to pay back the *lobola* (Ludsin & Vetten, 2005:1).

Therefore, financial unstable women have no option but to stay in abusive marriages. Culture has to build and unite society. If it builds the one party, while destroying the other, then it needs to be revisited and modified. In the next chapter, *Bengithi lizokuna* by Nakanjani G. Sibiya is analysed. A discussion unfolds as to how other genders that from part of the rainbow nation, specifically transgender, are being discriminated against by the Nguni culture.



CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF *BENGITHI LIZOKUNA* BY NAKANJANI G. SIBIYA AND SUBLITERATURE *AMANYALA ENYOKA* BY MANDLA NDLOVU

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to comprehend how members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, known as the LGBTIQ+ or rainbow community, are discriminated against by South African Nguni cultures and how it leads to them being treated unequally in comparison with other genders belonging in the heterophobia spectrum. In summary, the above-mentioned literature by Sibiya concerns the consequences of coming out as being transgender, and discrimination against homophobic relationships, which are same-gender relations. This literature is supplemented by a novel titled *Amanyala Enyoka* by Mandla Mathaba, which briefly discusses homophobic marriages, challenges faced within such marriages, and South Africans society's stand in accepting this phenomenon.

5.2 A brief summary of analysed literature, namely *Bengithi Lizokuna* and *Amanyala Enyoka*

In the literature *Bengithi Lizokuna*, written by Sibiya (2006:16-61), Mhlengi is introduced, who is not comfortable with his gender and decides to change his gender and his sexuality. Before he does this, he breaks up with his girlfriend, Nontobeko, without giving her a reason. His father disowns him after he tells him about his sexuality. African people believe that a boy child is the heir and the one who will be the head of the family when the father passes away. Even Mhlengi was in the same situation, being the only child and the heir to all his parents' assets, having the responsibility to carry his family name. When he came out to his father about his sexuality, he lost the right to inherit all the inheritance as his father had disowned him.

After coming out and being disowned, Mhlengi continues with his plan of living the life he wants. He goes to the extent of changing his identity and altering his body in order to live the life he has always dreamed of. As time goes by, Mhlengi's father decides to reconcile with his child with the hope that he will change his mind about his sexuality, hoping that it was merely a phase. He had hoped that Mhlengi would change as he had been searching for him accompanied by Mhlengi's ex-girlfriend, Nontobeko. He believed that if Mhlengi saw Nontobeko, that he would change his mind and live as a straight man. Sadly, the story ends



with Mhlengi's father and Nontobeko meeting Mahlengi, which is Mhlengi's transgender name, living her life to the fullest.

In most cases, parents of people who are part of the LGBTIQ+ community at first do not fully accept that their child is gay or lesbian. They always have the hope that it is a phase that they will outgrow or that they will eventually find their straight identity in the long run. Unfortunately, society also has this hope. Driven by this hope, other members in society go to the extent of trying to correct homophobic behaviour through violent means, in other words, corrective rape, assault, murder, etc. This is not acceptable as no one is allowed to play God and infringe the right of another.

Beside internal reasons for identifying as a member of the LGBTIQ+, there are also external factors, in other words, being extremely hurt by the other gender to the point of giving up on pursuing love or pursuing love with someone of the same gender. This is Sindi's and Pat's scenario. They both identified as being lesbian as they had lost hope in forming relations with the other gender. In the novel *Amanyala Enyoka* by Ndlovu (2015:24-28), Pat grew up enjoying acting as a boy and involving herself in masculine activities. She used to play with boys and dress up as a boy. Even her community had accepted that she was a boy.

In her teen years, she dated a guy called Mthunzi who later impregnated her and she gave birth to a baby boy. Shortly after that, Mthunzi got a job and he had to leave Pat behind. He promised her that he would come back, but he never did. Therefore, Pat was forced to raise her child alone in that heartbroken state as she was disappointed and let down by the first man she had trusted in her life. Later, when their son, Lindokuhle, was about to further his studies at university, Mthunzi came back to try and form a relationship with his son and to rekindle his relationship with Pat. He tried a trick or two, then they got back together, but shortly afterwards, Mthunzi was involved in fraudulent crimes and unfortunately when Lindo was doing his second year, Mthunzi was arrested.

Yet again, he left Pat devastated and heartbroken, having to make sure that her son's tuition and other necessities are funded. This resulted in her giving up on men as she was let down by the only man she had known almost her entire life. She joined a Gays and Lesbians Network and because of her influence and skills, she was promoted to being a director of this



network. Through this organisation, she was able to fund her son's tuition and this is where she met Sindi.

Meanwhile, Sindi had come from Gauteng to KZN to further her studies. She chose KZN as she wanted to be far away from home and far from her ex-fiancé who had sent his uncles to her home to negotiate *lobola*. After the *lobola* negotiations, he continued with his adulterous shenanigans. Unfortunately, Sindi had fallen pregnant with her second child by this time. They had decided to abort the first one as they were high school children and could not afford to raise him or her. When she arrived in KZN, she aborted and chose a different lifestyle as she had had enough of men. She joined an LGBTIQ+ organisation in university, in which she was given a position and that is when she met Pat.

Both these women were disappointed by the men they had loved and trusted. This led to them not feeling valued, loved or protected by these men and, therefore, they decided to create an environment, which was their relationship and their marriage, in which they would feel loved, respected and protected. Throughout the novel, their marriage undergoes many challenges. Their marriage is undermined by police officers and by themselves through their adulterous acts when they decided to cheat on each other with men. This act makes readers question whether their sexualities were genuine or merely a phase, because, at the end, Sindi runs away with her ex-fiancé and Pat goes back home as she is running away from the Mthunzi and Thula drama.

5.3 The stand of South African Nguni cultures and religion (Christianity)

The stand of South African Nguni cultures concerning this matter is currently not clear. Meanwhile, religion, Christianity to be exact, and South African politics have always had an influence on how society views this phenomenon of homophobia, with both parties being transparent on where they stand. According to Le Roux et al. (2016:23), "[r]eligious ministers hold considerable power and authority and influence their constituency's beliefs and behaviours." In South Africa, religious leaders are given similar respect as traditional leaders and political leaders; hence, they are influential.

According to the S.A. History website (2020:1), most denominations of Christianity condemn homosexuality as it is deemed in the Bible to be unnatural and a sin as Leviticus 18:22 states: "[22] do not lie with a man as one lies with a woman; that is detestable." and Leviticus 20:13



continues as follows: "If a man lies with a male as with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination; they shall be put to death, their blood is upon them." Lastly, 1st Corinthians [6: 9-10] states:

[9] Do you not know that the wicked will not inherit the kingdom of God? Do not be deceived: Neither the sexually immoral nor idolaters nor adulterers nor male prostitutes nor homosexual offenders [10] nor thieves nor the greedy nor drunkards nor slanderers nor swindlers will inherit the kingdom of God.

Although there are verses in the Bible that straightforwardly condemn homophobia, such as the verses quoted above, there are Christian congregations that do not condemn, but affiliate with and accommodate members of the LGBTIQ+. Religious ministers who are in support of the LGBTIQ+ community believe that these verses are misquoted and that the Bible can be used to say or mean whatever you want it to, including accommodating LGBTIQ+ people:

All ministers agreed that while contextual Bible reading of detailed passages was essential, on its own it was not enough and that "you can make the Bible say anything you want it to say." The church needs to deconstruct the wider narrative of Scripture if it is to learn to tell its stories in life giving ways. (Palm, 2019:16)

This topic of homophobia has caused a similar stir among churches as topics of polygamy, namely polyandry and polygyny, abortions, in-vitro fertilization, etc. Some churches are inclusive of LGBTIQ+ members, whereas others are exclusive. The research conducted by The Conversation website, led by Dr Palm, is aimed at engaging the current lack of safe, inclusive spaces for LGBTIQ+ people in many local congregations in South Africa based in Cape Town (Palm, 2019:3).

During the interviews with LGBTIQ+ people, Dr Palm stated that they had mentioned the struggles they had faced in exclusive churches. They also elaborated on their past experiences with such churches, as follows:

The first challenge highlighted by all LGBTIQ+ interviewees was the danger of church language of shallow welcome (we love you but.) that may not translate into full belonging practice. The prevalence of 'do not ask, do not tell' policy in many churches can hide ongoing homophobia and creates high levels of anxiety and fear and sense of in-authenticity for many LGBTIQ+ persons. (Palm 2019: 28).

With all the negativity around homophobia from the church and the bad experiences they have encountered within the church, LGBTIQ+ members still want to be included and considered as part of the congregation. One might argue that if 'normal' churches are failing



to be safe and inclusive spaces for the members of the LGBTIQ+ community, they should create their 'ideal church' where they will feel accepted and understood. In her research, Dr Palm elaborates on separate gay churches and how LGBTIQ+ people feel about them.

Most LGBTIQ+ people interviewed did not want to be part of separate gay congregation and many expressed that this was not how they thought church should be comments included, 'I do not want to go to church that is only for lesbian, gay, bisexual people.

Though I owe a huge amount to that gay church' and 'I felt, why am here? I want to go to a normal church'. Those who had had joined a gay church had often done so because of painful exclusion from mainstream churches. One trans-man emphasized, 'we need safe-spaces not an LGBTIQ+ ghetto church...doctrinally it if is flawed (Palm, 2019:14).

In the blog on the website, Dr Palm (2019:1) further elaborates on how the Leviticus scripture is misused, misquoted and misinterpreted by stating that –

[f]rom my interviews I learnt that the way in which Scripture is interpreted plays a key role in building welcoming environments. Instead of sticking to the various 'terror texts' such as Leviticus 18 verse 22 that have been used to suggest that only heterosexual sex is natural in God's eyes, these churches had elected instead to highlight the human dignity of all God's people.

Furthermore, in the research, Dr Palm further elaborates on the use of the Bible by stating that –

[t]he use of the Bible in literalist ways was noted by many using the justification that the 'Word of God is perfect'. It played a strong role in churches holding theologies of exclusion particularly the use of the seven 'terror' texts, despite their theological deconstruction. Interviewees noted that this is despite the rejection by these churches of similar biblical texts on issues such as slavery and genocide. The Bible is used indirectly to endorse paradigms of hierarchical domination and submissive obedience as 'God-ordained' within multiple biblical texts and stories. The Bible has long been abused to serve those in power across many hierarchical intersections; black or white, female or male, rich or poor but also the straight or queer binary. Interviewees note that this becomes a justification for the treatment of LGBTIQ+ people second-class citizens presenting difference not as to be celebrated but pushed down. It often ties into the treatment of women as second class, using the bible and the name of God to perpetuate patriarchy and police gender binaries (Palm, 2019:13).

5.4 The stand of the South African law and politics

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) currently fully commends the LGBTIQ+ phenomenon. It recognises LGBTIQ+ people as citizens of the



country who are equal with the heterophobia group in the eyes of the law. According to section 9, clause 3 of the Constitutional court of South African, is it stated that –

(3) The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

Therefore, the law protects everyone, irrespective of their gender and sexuality or sexual orientation. There is a difference between sexuality and gender, which is explained later as it usually causes confusion when discussed.

5.5 Same-sex unions in South Africa

According to Jasson da Costa & Witbooi (2006:36), -

it was the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Eddie Makue, who made a daring call in September 2006 for the Marriage Act to be amended to include same-sex unions, members of the SACC were divided concerning this matter.

As much as Makue wanted the LGBTIQ+ people to be allowed to form unions, which were going to be officiated in church, such as the heterophobia unions, it caused a stir within the organisation as some of its members were against Makue's call, according to Jasson da Costa & Witbooi (2006:38):

Catholic Cardinal Wilfred Napier and Salvation Army Territorial Commander Trevor Tuck distanced themselves from Makue's stand. Napier said homosexual unions, like homosexual acts, were contrary to natural law and undermined the nature of marriage and family created by God. Napier, president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, told the home affairs committee that the Catholic Church taught that homosexual acts were 'intrinsically disordered.

Makue's call took place in September 2006, under the Civil Union Act, 2006 (Act No.17 of 2006), which legalised same-sex marriages. It was implemented and came into effect. Through this Act, two people of any sex can be married or can enter into a civil partnership. As much as LGBTIQ+ people accepted this act with joy, for some, it conflicted with their religions and beliefs. Some religious ministers and marriage officers refused to officiate same-sex unions, which led to same-sex couples having difficulties in getting married as it was difficult to find a marriage officer who was comfortable enough to officiate marriages of this nature.



5.6 Sexuality, sexual orientation and gender defined

According to the Better Health Channel website (2019:1), -

[s]exuality is not about who you have sex with, or how often you have it. Sexuality is about your sexual feelings, thoughts, attractions and behaviours towards other people. You can find other people physically, sexually or emotionally attractive, and all those things are a part of your sexuality.

The Teens Health website (2021:1) adds to this by stating that "[s]exual orientation is the emotional, romantic, or sexual attraction that a person feels toward another person." Therefore, it can be concluded that sexuality has to do with the emotional or cognitive part of a person that determines whom one can develop a relationship with.

The Teens Health website (2021:1) continues to elaborate on different types of sexualities in the paragraph below:

Heterosexual: People who are heterosexual are romantically and physically attracted to members of the opposite sex: Heterosexual males are attracted to females, and heterosexual females are attracted to males. Heterosexuals are sometimes called 'straight'.

Homosexual: People who are homosexual are romantically and physically attracted to people of the same sex: Females who are attracted to other females are lesbian; males who are attracted to other males are often known as gay. (The term 'gay' is sometimes used to describe homosexual individuals of either sex.)

Bisexual: People who are bisexual are romantically and physically attracted to members of both sexes.

Asexual: People who are asexual may not be interested in sex, but they still feel emotionally close to other people.

Therefore, the focus of this chapter is on how people who identify as homosexual and bisexual are discriminated against by South African Nguni cultures. The term 'gender', which goes hand in hand with the term 'sexuality', is defined by the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2021:1) as follows:

Gender refers to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed. This includes norms, behaviors and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as relationships with each other. As a social construct, gender varies from society to society and can change over time.



Furthermore, the WHO elaborates on how gender and sex are different from each other by stating that –

[g]ender interacts with but is different from sex, which refers to the different biological and physiological characteristics of females, males and intersex persons, such as chromosomes, hormones and reproductive organs (WHO, 2021:1).

In one of their articles, the Activate website (2015:1) discusses how the terms 'gender', 'sex' and 'sexuality' have caused confusion in society. They elaborate on this matter as follows:

Despite the usually misunderstood difference between gender and sex and the impact that it has on one's identity, African culture is realistically a gender sensitive one. Social analysts and activists, [hopefully] understand that what you are born as (sex-biological) is not in proportion to how you would be identified as socially.

Activate (2015:1) continues to give the following example in order to explain how cultural and religious diversity in South Africa somehow yields to identity crises as some cultures and religions contradict:

To give a practical example; one is born as a Xhosa girl, solely because of her parents being of that tribe or ethnic group. She is Christian, which already takes away a portion of her definition as a Xhosa-culturally. Then she moves to a township and attends junior and senior school there, being exposed to a 'street-smart' culture that is liberal and not so stern in terms of gender roles, there she notices her strength and ability to challenge such stereotypes. Then she moves to the city and gets exposed to what society terms as 'alternative gender identities', the LGBTI community. She identifies with them and befriends them, which takes away a portion of her Christian religion in totality. Then she gets married to a metro-sexual man, who is in touch with his feminine side but still identifies as a man attracted to women. Now take this web and link it back to this woman being Xhosa. How much of her 'heritage' or 'culture' has she stuck to? And is it wrong that this is the type of culture she has adopted? The answer is debatable.

5.7 South African politics and politicians' stand regarding homophobia

In relation to the confusion mentioned in the previous paragraph, the confusion is also visible in a few occurrences where well-known African and South African politicians publicly condemned the phenomena based on the notion that it is unnatural and anti-African, but later had to withdraw their statements. Mulaudzi (2018:4) states that –

Democratic Alliance Leader, Mmusi Maimane's stance on LGBT rights was questioned after reports of comments he made in a sermon in 2014. His position on sexual minority rights was questioned because he referred to gay people as sinners. Maimane cleared up his position by assuring the public that he was a full supporter of sexual minority rights.



Maimane called gays sinners in reference to the Bible and what it says, but later had to apologise because he had violated the law and was under fire for that as he is an influential person.

Moreover, former President Mr Jacob Zuma was once under fire for condemning homophobia, as follows:

When Jacob Zuma was Deputy President of the country, he was not afraid to inform people that he did not support same-sex marriages when he said, 'when I was growing up, *ungqingili* which is a gay person would not have stood in front me. I would knock him out'. Zuma later apologized for his comments (Mulaudzi, 2018:4).

This camouflaging stance of politicians when it comes to the issue of LGBTIQ+ still justifies the confusion that society has regarding this phenomenon. This also affects how matters regarding the rainbow community are treated, for example, the treatment they get from police officers in police stations, how their cases are handled in court by law authorities, how their hearings are handled at work, etc.

Ntuli (2009:60-61) states that -

[i]n South Africa the laws regarding human rights and the constitution do not reflect the homophobia and the resentment felt by numerous members of the society and some of the leaders as well. Many South Africans believe that homosexuality is 'unnatural' and think negatively of it. This means the rights of homosexuals guaranteed by the South African government will not change the homophobic vies of the members of the society.

Though the rainbow community in South Africa has been recognised as part of South African society by law, there is still a gap in it being accepted as part of society by society or citizens. In most cases, the rainbow community members, gays and lesbians to be exact, still suffer traumatic events in the hands of society.

According to Mulaudzi (2018:5), "[p]atriarchy in itself has an influence on cultural perspectives such as the idea that homosexuality is un-African or against African culture." Lesbians are, therefore, found as victims of corrective rape, gays as victims of physical assault or even worse, being murdered.



Oxford dictionaries define the term 'corrective' (adjective) as 'designated to correct or counteract something harmful or undesirable'. The term 'curative' is defined as 'able to cure disease'. In other words, both words have a rehabilitative focus. Synonyms for 'corrective' include 'disciplinary', 'reformatory' and 'punitive' (Mulaudzi, 2018:10).

Discussions have been held about this term as it has different interpretations. It can be argued that the term alone sounds offensive if it is viewed from a victim's point of view as it sounds as if the victim is being 'corrected' and it can also be argued that the term somehow gives the perpetrator the idea that they are doing the right thing as they are 'correcting' the victim's sexuality and gender. Mulaudzi (2018:10) argues the nature of this term in the following manner:

It is, therefore, reasonable to interpret this use of the term as a way to describe the intention of the perpetrator. The perpetrator believes that the sexuality of the lesbian woman he is raping is something that needs to be corrected, that her sexuality is harmful or undesirable or even that it is a disease that can be cured. The perpetrator feels as if the lesbian woman is going against traditional gender norms and that it is his duty to lead her down the "right" path and it is perhaps even his duty to punish her for "straying" from her path.

Chabalala and Reolofaste (2015:3), on the other hand, are against the usage of this term, but suggest that the term 'homophobic rape' is a more appropriate term as it achieves the same purpose as corrective or curative, but manages to achieve this without placing blame on the victim or presupposing that there is an element of one's sexuality that requires correction.

5.8 The stand of South African Nguni cultures regarding homophobia

It is difficult to state the stand of South African Nguni cultures and nations regarding homophobia as there is little recorded cultural information regarding homophobia. It has always been something that has been shunned and not spoken of as in the end, the Nguni cultures recognise and acknowledge two traditional roles, namely females and males.

Gay and lesbian persons have not been taken into consideration as there is no ritual or cultural practice that is specifically done for a gay or lesbian person in Nguni cultures. Therefore, a lesbian will still practise feminine rituals and a gay person will still practise masculine rituals, but depending on the environment their homestead is situated in. If it is in developed areas, for example, urban areas, he or she will be free to express himself or herself as the environment is liberated from traditional laws and it is ruled by civil law,



whereas if it is in a rural area, she or he will be indirectly forced to either assume a feminine or a masculine role as the environment still follows cultural laws and procedures.

5.8.1 The history of the Nguni culture (Zulu)

Regarding which 'culture' condemns the rainbow community, on their website, Activate (2015:1) states that –

[t]here is consecutive culture that is informed by traditional norms (e.g. men are heads of the households), modern popular culture which; is informed by global experience exchange (e.g. feminists also have a role to play in society), intellectuals culture; which is informed by constitution, academic information or discoveries (e.g. upholding human rights for everyone despite their age, race or culture is always important).

Therefore, in this context, the rainbow community is discriminated against by the consecutive culture, whereas the modern culture and intellectual culture accommodates the community. In order to fully understand the stand of South African cultures in this matter, the consecutive culture that is informed by traditional norms needs to be discussed in order to see how it discriminates between both genders, in other words, females and males, and sexualities, in other words, gays and lesbians.

The history of LGBTIQ+ or the rainbow community in South Africa and how it evolved with time through the past apartheid era until the current democracy era needs to be discussed. According to the Ok2bme website (2021:1), –

LGBTQ is the more commonly used term in the community; possibly because it is more user friendly! You may also hear the terms "Queer Community" or "Rainbow Community" used to describe LGBTQ2+ people.

The Glaads LGBTQ+ Media Reference Guide (2016:6) states that "LGBTQ is an acronym for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer or questioning. These terms are used to describe a person's sexual orientation or gender identity."

The South African History Online (2014:1) elaborates on the history of LGBTIQ+ in South Africa by quoting Sanders (1997:1), stating that –

[t]here is evidence that pre-colonial African societies accepted homosexuality on a situational basis. The practice of boy-wives was practiced amongst the Zande of Sudan and was also practiced amongst mine workers in South Africa Homosexual acts were referred to as hlobongo amongst the Zulu and metsha amongst the Ngoni.



Lesbianism also occurred in polygamous households, but there is scarce information concerning lesbian activity during pre-colonial and even during the contemporary times, that is until the 1960s (Sanders, 1997). However, missionaries were quick to repress such behavior (Sanders, 1997). A caveat concerning African society's views towards homosexuality, was that gay acts were condoned, while lesbianism was condemned (Sanders, 1997). (S.A History 2014:1).

Mkasi (2011:54-57) conducted a research study in some parts of KZN based on same-sex relations with the following title: A threat to Zulu patriarchy and the continuation of community: A queer analysis of same sex relationships amongst Female Traditional Healers at Inanda and KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal. Her study brings to light the different treatment gays and lesbians receive. As society is structured in a patriarchal manner, gays are supported, whereas lesbians are condemned. The study argues that the objection to same-sex relationships lies in the beliefs about procreation, patriarchy and power, and is not about same-sex relationships being "un-African" (Mkasi, 2011:55).

Mkasi (2011:54) further states that same-sex relations have long been part of our culture as traditional healers, *izangoma* have been practising it. Mkasi (2011:54) explains the reasons behind the existence of these relationships, that male sangoma's date other males to keep their medicine strong and female sangoma's sleep with other women because of the preference of the spirit within them:

It was argued that one of the reasons why male sangoma's practice same sex relationships was to strengthen their healing practice and to attract more customers. As described by the participants of this study, there is a particular *muthi* that requires male semen and those who use it should not be sexually involved with women as it would render the medicine ineffective. This paradox has led some male *sangoma's* to practice same sex relationships. (Mkasi 2011:54)

Moreover, Mkasi (2011:55) states the reasons for the existence of female relationships among traditional female healers:

Female *sangoma's* who prefer female sexual partners are said to have been possessed by male spirits while male sangoma's who prefer male sexual partners are said to have been possessed by a female spirit.

Though both genders have reasons to have same-sex relationships, the reason for male sangomas is more logical and it shows that they are the ones who take the decisions without



being influenced, whereas female sangomas are portrayed as being possessed, meaning that they do not have full control over their sexuality.

5.9 Conclusion

In his recommendations, Mkasi (2011:56) shares how the phenomenon of homosexuality within the community can be addressed, as follows:

Everyone in South Africa should have basic knowledge of what really means to be homosexual. Knowledge in this area can decrease the abuse that is perpetuated against people of different sexuality, especially woman. Knowledge will help people understand that corrective rape will not change transgender person into heterosexuality. The information needs to reach rural communities and families of homosexual people. The informal discussion I had with participants shows that even homosexual persons do not understand them, what they know is that they are different from others. Through observation it is clear that most of them cannot identify themselves, one claim to be a lesbian, the next day she is bisexual the following day she is transgender. This behavior is confusing for the community because it looks like this practice reinforces promiscuity.

Mkasi (2011:57) concludes his studies by recommending how churches can play their part in educating society:

Education on sexualities in religious institutions is needed because the study shows that some churches who claim to be LGBTIQ+ friendly, recognize heterosexuality partnership "a male (transgender) and female (female)", this is from the scripture. As a result, Church leaders encourage marriage without teaching about sexual orientation or sexual identity. Education could help also when homosexual people decide to enter into marriage. For instance, when a lesbian marries a transgender person, that marriage is due to fall apart because the couple enters into a marriage with different expectations. In this case, it is like a man who marries a woman with an expectation that she will be cooking, washing and cleaning the house for him. Whereas in a lesbian relationship, a woman enters into the relationship with the view that she found herself a partner whom she can share house chores be equally responsible in looking after the children. The lesbian's aim of dating another woman is to free her from male bondage.



CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF INTANDO KAMUFI BY S. MATHABA

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the analysis of *Intando kaMufi* by S. Mathaba (2012) is given to show the challenges women face when they become widows. A detailed description is given of the role finances play in promoting gender inequality. Phenomena such as *lobola* and *amafa* are studied and discussed, along with the change in roles when one becomes a widow. This chapter is similar to Chapter 4 and, therefore, terms already used in Chapter 4, such as *ukuzila* etc., will also be used in this chapter.

6.2 A brief summary of Intando kaMufi by S. Mathaba

This novel opens with MaDube, who is the late Mangena's wife, fighting with her father-in-law, Mnguni. MaDube wants to give her husband a dignified funeral according to his will, whereas Mnguni wants to bury his child in the family's traditional way. Throughout the novel, MaDube supports her husband's will to be done, which comes across as if she is trying to dictate to Mnguni how he must bury his son.

This matter escalates to the extent that Mangena's lawyer becomes involved to make sure that MaDube is protected and she gets what is rightfully hers. This matter worsens when, during the reading of Mangena's will at his memorial service, it comes to light that his entire estate will be given to his wife and he wants to be buried in a way his wife was rooting for. This is not welcomed by Mnguni as he ends up taking the law into his hands by attempting to steal Mangena's corpse. This leads to him being arrested and released on bail, while MaDube has a chance to bury her husband in a way that he wanted according to his will.

This literature shows how most Nguni men and in-laws treated their daughters-in-law when they became widows. They tend to ignore their wishes regarding the burial of their husbands by using the statement "the tradition of this clan is this" or "this is how we do things". Most widows tend to encounter problems after their husbands' passing in terms of the estate, the funeral arrangements and even moving on with life as a widow. This applies to all women of different statuses, whether or not of royalty, that in-laws tend to interfere with the interests of the widow.



Mnguni believes that MaDube's duty is to bear children and take care of her husband. He never expected her to stand firm on her husband's wishes and, therefore, she came across to him as rude and rebellious. This chapter is aimed at unfolding how females as girls are raised to serve men and the household, how they are ill-treated by their in-laws during the *ukukotiza* phase, and how they are ill-treated after their husband's passing pre and post the burial. Therefore, the traditional roles and responsibilities, as found in the Nguni nations, specifically the Zulu nation, are discussed first, followed by the ill treatment wives and widows face by their in-laws, as MaDube endures as Mangena's wife and widow.

6.3 Traditional gender roles in the Zulu nation

This section seeks to provide enlightenment on how household chores and responsibilities are distributed in the Zulu nation among males, females, girls and boys. Information from other Nguni nations is used as additional information in order to justify or support the point raised by the researcher. The aim of the analysis of traditional gender roles within the Zulu nation is to show how South African Nguni nations follow the patriarchal system, which empowers males and discriminates against females. Albertyn (2009:166) states that this system "gives traditional (males) power over land, property and communities." As explained earlier, Nguni nations include the *amaZulu*, *amaXhosa*, *amaSwazi* and *amaNdebele*. These nations share similar traditional practices, rituals and values that are mostly centered around this system.

In a Zulu home, a male is the head of the family. It is he who makes rules, who coordinates the functioning of the household and who makes serious decisions regarding the family, whereas a woman's job is to maintain the household and care for the children. Before civilisation, a woman's main role was to bear children so that her husband's clan may expand. If she could not fulfil the role, she would be rendered useless and be given hurtful names, such as *inyumba*, which means barren, and she would be treated as less of a woman. Even in early stages, women as girls are taught how to serve their husbands and family, whereas males as boys are taught how to provide for their families. The traditional gender roles in the Zulu nation are discussed below in order to show how roles are distributed and how women are affected by this.



6.3.1 The analysis of traditional gender roles in the Zulu nation

All South African Nguni nations have similar roles for males, females, girls and boys. Men and boys tend to have roles that required them to be away from home most of the time, whereas women and girls mostly had household chores, which required them to be at home and maintain the homestead. As a women or girl, you were and still are expected to move around in the yard, so that you may be considered as a good hardworking female, and if you had little or no movement, in other words, resting during the day, you were considered lazy. Below is the distribution of gender roles found in the *Zulu* nation.

6.3.1.1 Men

In the Zulu nation, men were and still are considered as the heads of their family or the *umuzi* in isiZulu. According to Barnes (2019:13), "[e]ach family lived in a group of huts called umuzi. The huts were built around a cattle kraal, on a hillside." It is every Zulu man's wish to have a son who will carry his legacy and it is every woman's wish to give birth to a baby boy so that she may be a mother of an heir and have 'added value as a woman'. A man is the head of the house or *umuzi* and it is he who solves the problems of the family, according to Van der Wiel (2017:17) by stating: "The eldest brother was the leader of all the people in the *umuzi*. He sorted out any arguments in the family, and everyone in the *umuzi* treated him with respect. They called him *umnumzane*, which means sir."

Before civilisation, men's household chores included hunting for food for the family, building the foundation of certain infrastructures, for example, kraals and huts, greener pastures for the livestock and protecting the home stand. According to Schapera (1962:149), "[i]n agriculture, the men clear the new fields of bush and grass." In livestock maintenance, according to Schapera (1962:149-150), "... all work connected with cattle, goats, sheepherding, milking, making thick milk, washing the milking utensils, and slaughtering – is essentially within the province of the men." Regarding infrastructures, men and woman shared responsibilities, "... man built a curved frame from branches, which they tied together with a rope made of woven grass." (Van der Wiel, 2019:19). "Among the Nguni and Sotho the men cut wood and do all timberwork." (Schapera, 1962:150). Therefore, men did most of the hard labour that needed more man power as they were masculine and were deemed as the providers and protectors of the family.



Men also made utensils for the household, with Van der Wiel (2017:31) stating that "the man were good carvers. They made wooden buckets, meat dishes, and headrests, which are small wooden blocks that people used to support their head when they slept."

As stated earlier, men did chores that evolved around facilitating the events that occur within the household. "[A]dult men really do not often herd or milk, unless poverty compels them to adopt this as a means of live hood," according to Schapera (1962:150).

It was a man's job to also see to it that the household had food to eat and, therefore, men provided the food and the women made meals out of the food. Once in a while, men, along with the youth, would go to the wild and hunt. "Hunting is done by the men and youths," states Schapera (1962:150). Almost all the traditional chores of men have been presented in this section. The focus of the next section is on the traditional roles of women in the household.

6.3.1.2 Women

Women had chores that were related to maintaining and nurturing the *umuzi*. According to Schapera (1962:150), "women cut grass, thatch, and make the floor ... they also plaster the wall of the hut." As stated, women's chores evolved around the maintenance of the household. Other chores included farming and tiling the land, in other words, according to Van der Wiel (2017:23), "[i]n early spring the women went out into the fields that surrounded the *umuzi*. They planted crops such as mealies, sorghum, beans and squashes. They also planted *amadumbe*, a vegetable that tastes like sweet potatoes."

Their job did not end at planting, but also extended to the harvesting, storing and cooking of the food. Van der Wiel (2017:25) elaborates that "after harvest time, the women dried most of the mealies and sorghum seeds, so that these seeds would not go bad and would feed the families until harvest time the next year." These household chores were done by females from a young age, even when they became grandmothers. Schapera (1962:150) confirms this by stating that –

[h]ousework is almost entirely done by women and girls. They stamp and grind corn, prepare food and make beer, wash the cooking and eating utensils, smear walls and floors of the huts and courtyards, clean the huts and keep them in good repair. The women also fetch water and collect firewood, and do most other



carrying work, such as transporting grain home from the fields, or bringing in the poles cut by the men for building.

The above statements justify the researcher's point of view that men were or are groomed to lead, whereas women were or are groomed to serve. A woman's duty is a fixated daily schedule in which no rest is allowed during the day as it may reflect as her being lazy, whereas a man is allowed to rest in between tasks during the day, because as a man, he needs to rest as his exhaustion is caused by his hard labour during the day.

Lastly, women are required by nature and by culture to nurture their young. This starts from when they conceive, regardless of the situation or rather position they are in. They are still required to carry their household duties until they are heavily pregnant and almost due. Then they will have a valid reason to rest and attend to themselves.

An ideal day for a woman starts with her waking up early in the morning to fetch water and firewood so that the members of the household will have enough water when they wake up. Schapera (1962:121) states that –

[t]he women usually get up first, and wash before getting about their mourning work. They see to it that there is water for the menfolk to wash, and proceed to their other work. If the water supply is some distance off, washing-water may have been fetched the previous evening, as well as wood for making the fires. If the watering-place is comparatively near-by, the women go out to fetch and gather woods.

While it is mandatory for women to wake up at dawn and start with their duties, men tend to be given the leisure of waking up late and "... usually sit for a little while outside in the sun, and issue orders to the younger men about what is to be done during the day" (Schapera, 1962:122).

After fetching water, they are expected to prepare a morning meal for the household, which "... usually consists only of porridge, though occasionally some relishes are also prepared with it, such as monkey-nut sauce or sort of puree of wild spinach." (Schapera, 1962:122). This morning meal is followed by a later morning meal or early afternoon meal, and lastly, an evening meal. In between meal preparations, other chores are done, such as hut construction and maintenance, pottery and weaving, tilling of the land and fetching water, to name a few. As mentioned earlier, *umuzi* is a cluster of huts or rondavels usually built on the edge of a



hill. These rondavels are occupied by a group of people, who may be a wife and her children if the household is of a polygamous setting or if it is a big family. Therefore, it means that all the chores done to maintain the household are carried out within long periods, which requires energy too.

Among other chores, women do pottery, which includes the making of utensils used by the household. "Long ago, there were no shops where people could buy things such as metal pots or plastics buckets. So the women made their own pots and baskets," according to Van der Wiel (2017:37). The more family members, the more pots and baskets had to be made. These baskets and pots were used for the storage of water and beer. The small pots were used for drinking beer and to fetch water.

Van der Wiel (2017:31) elaborates on the process of making pots:

To make pots, the women started with a flat circle of clay for the base and then added rings of wet clay, one ring on top of another. They smoothed the surface of the pot by rubbing it with a small flat stone, after this, they carved patterns into clay with a sharp stick. The rough surfaces made by the patterns helped people to grip the pot, so that it would not slip out of their hands. To make the clay hard, the women baked the pots in the fire.

As explained above, the process needed to be done according to the specifications of the process in order for the pots to come out perfectly. Baskets were made with grass and other branches, which were woven together, with Van der Wiel (2017:31) stating that "the women made baskets by weaving together palm leaves or strong grass." The baskets need to be strong as large baskets are used to store crops and "... long, sock-shaped baskets called strainers. They poured beer through these strainers, to remove any small pieces of sorghum or maize from the liquid" (Van der Wiel, 2017:31).

Other chores woman did was beadwork and the weaving of clothes. There were clothes for day-to-day wear, clothes for special occasions, clothes representing different phases of life, and so forth. Every person had or has a way of dressing that shows a stage of life they are in:

... an unmarried woman can easily be distinguished from married one, while there are definite characteristics in dress to recognize the girl who has reached puberty. Even the ornamentation in many cases indicates the status of the person in the society, and society at certain times are indicated sometimes by the dress. A



pregnant woman dresses in a certain manner, an engaged girl can be easily distinguished from others, and so on (Reich, 1967:25).

The same applies to men and boys, but it is discussed further under the boy's section. All beaded and woven clothing were mostly made by women. They used grass to make a skirt for girls called *isigege*, with Van der Wiel (2017:33) stating that "long ago, Zulu girls wore short skirts that were made of animal skin or strings of beads that hung down from a belt around their waist." They used different animal skins to make a pleated skirt for married women called *isidwaba*. "Zulu wives used to wear long cowhide skirts that hung down to their knees they used charcoal to dye the cow hide black, and then they made tiny folds, or pleats, in the skirt," according to Van der Wiel (2017:35).

They used beads and wool to decorate attire. They also used skins to make a skirt-like layer for boys and men called *ibheshu*. Van der Wiel (2017:33) states that "the boys wore two small pieces of animal skin tied around their hips. One piece of animal skin tied in the front, and the other piece hung at the back." Furthermore, Van der Wiel (ibid.) opines that –

the man wore animal skins that they tied around their hips. At the back, the skin hung down to their knees or ankles. In front, they wore long strips hanging from their waist. These strips were made from twisted animal skins and the tails of monkeys or wild cats, such as genets.

In concluding the analysis of the traditional gender roles of Zulu females, the gender roles mentioned here are still done by women, especially those who do household maintenance. There are many chores that demand a lot of time and effort. Back then, woman were only able to do them because they used to do these chores in groups, and they were strong willed and believed that you persevere, especially in marriage; hence, the saying "kuyabekezelwa emshadweni." The traditional gender roles of Zulu girls and boys are analysed briefly in the sections below as their roles are almost similar to those of older females and males.

6.3.1.3 Girls

As mentioned earlier, the traditional roles of Zulu girls are similar to those of Zulu older women as they are preparing to become wives who will be required to take care of their family. Their roles are equal to those of older women's assistants, with Schapera (1962:150) stating that "children are required and taught from a fairly early age to be of assistance to their parents." They are taught their respective chores from a young age; hence, the Zulu proverb "libunjwa liseva", which translates to you have to teach a child the way of living while young.



Girls are made to help in fetching water and firewood, stamping or grinding corn, cooking, and smearing and cleaning the huts. They start imitating these activities in their play, and are gradually drawn into actual domestic work under the instruction of their mothers and older sisters. As they grow older, they begin to take part in Agriculture" (ibid).

Because of the notion that a girl child will later marry and leave to stay with her in-laws, she needed to be trained accordingly in doing her duties so that she would be a good wife at her in-laws and bring honour to her family. This would also affect her *lobola* in a way because of how she carried herself as her behaviour would attract a lot of suitors who would later propose marriage. Therefore, it was ideal for a girl child to be busy during the day so that she was considered a hardworking person, with Schapera (1962:122) stating that —

[t]he younger women and girls who may not have gone with the older woman to fetch water and to gather wood now set about other tasks in the home, such as sweeping and cleaning, washing cooking-utensils, stamping maize, and looking after the children.

In conclusion, Zulu girls' traditional roles were or are focused on agriculture and housework. They are also similar to those of older women, which was discussed earlier. The traditional roles of Zulu boys are analysed briefly below.

6.3.1.4 Boys

A boy child is the most wanted child in an African household as he is considered an heir, being the one who will take over from his father and being the head of the household. Similar to girls, boys are also taught how to do their tasks, for example, to hunt, herd livestock, etc., from a young age.

An ideal day of a Zulu boy includes waking up in the morning, but after the elder woman have fetched water and cooked the morning meal. Van der Wiel (2017:29) states that –

[e]very morning, when he sun rose, the boys took the cattle out to graze in the veld. Just before midday, they herded the cattle back home, where men milked the cows. Afterwards, the boys took the cattle out to gaze again, until the sun began to set. Then they brought the herd back to safety of the kraal inside the *umuzi*.

Moreover, Schapera (1962:151) elaborates further that –

[y]oung boys are put to herding small stock and calves. Older boys herd and milk the cattle, learn to handle weapons, hunt for themselves or accompany the men, help build the cattle-kraals, and do other work of similar nature. At the initiation



ceremonies marking the transition from childhood to manhood they are empathically reminded that cattle-herding and warfare are the two dominant spheres of masculine activity.

Therefore, they spend most of their day in the veld herding cattle or working with younger men so that they observe them as they are their predecessors:

While the older men are at the council-place, the younger men and older boys, or such of them as are not with the cattle, will be busy at their manual labor. The proceedings here are of course quite informal, made jokes are interchanged and much talk and shouting goes on. The exchanging of rude jokes with the younger women who pass by, on the part of the young man who may stand to them in cross-cousin relationship, forms a rather noticeable feature in the course of the day's work" (Schapera, 1962:124).

The only time when a boy child or males rather, in general, were found making food was when there was a ceremony and they were braaiing meat or when they were making a meal called *amasi*. According to Van der Wiel (2017:27), –

Zulu families have always enjoyed drinking amasi, which is milk that has gone sour and thickened. Long ago, men believed that if they drank amasi, it would make them strong, and also handsome!

Amasi was and still is an important dish in the Nguni nations. It was believed that if a family did not have amasi, they were poor. Moreover, a lot of rules were based around this dish as, according to Reich (1967:132), "among the Nguni no person may take it as food at home of the people not related to him." Even Van der Wiel (2017:27) confirms this by stating that "[a]masi was an extremely important food in each Zulu family. It was so important that the family would share its amasi only with its relatives." Hence, a visitor was not served with amasi, but with amahewu, which was also of importance, but not at the level of amasi.

There are also rules directed to women regarding *amasi*, which are discussed later in this study. In explaining the process followed to make this staple dish, Reich (1962:132) states the following:

It is generally allowed to ferment and thicken in a calabash or skin bag. It is then either eaten separately, or mixed with some other dish like boiled ground maize.

Van der Wiel (2017:27) adds to this by stating the following:

The boys and the men made amasi by putting fresh milk from the family's cows into a calabash- a container made from a squash that has been dried and whose insides have been scraped out. After a few days, the milk in the calabash



thickened into amasi. The family drank the amasi on its own or ate it with their mealie pap.

A boy child is of importance in the household as it is he who will take over after his father has passed and head the family. As a son, he has obligations to his parents and as a brother, to his sisters. According to Schapera (1962:161), "[s]ons when grown up must support their parents, and should place at the disposal of their fathers anything they obtain by hunting, purchase, or service for others."

When he gets married, he and his wife must stay with his parents and tend to them at their old age. He must assume the role of the provider, leader and protector of the family. To his sisters, his obligation is to –

provide her with clothes when necessary, give her meat whenever he slaughters, and, as among the Mpondo, supply her 'with some of the stock necessary for initiation rites before her marriage, as well as with a wedding outfit, and with clothing and utensils after marriage (ibid).

As an heir, he has to use all his inheritance to take care of the family. According to Schapera (1962:162), regarding livestock, he must "provide for his younger brothers, in particular by helping them to *lobola* wives for themselves." In conclusion, boys are trained to master the chores that develop leadership skills so that they may grow up to be men who are able to lead, provide and protect the family. In the following section, the focus is on how new wives are mistreated by their in-laws during the phase of *ukukotiza*, the traditions that take place during this time on how they contribute to gender inequality.

6.4 The roles and responsibilities of a wife in terms of her in-laws (wifehood)

6.4.1 Ukukotiza

Ukukotiza is a practice that is done by most Nguni nations. This is a phase in which newlyweds, especially the wife, spends time with her in-laws in their homestead. The main aim for this tradition is for the wife to settle in with her new family by learning their beliefs and tradition. Moreover, the in-laws use this phase to test the wife's patience and how hard a worker she is.

Reich (1967:48) explains this tradition as follows:

A bride for the first year lives under the control of her mother-in-law, having no fire in her own hut, if she has one to share with her husband at night. She has to



work very hard, carrying water, cooking, sweeping, gardening, gathering wood and grinding corn. This period is known as 'ukukotiza' and lasts usually until the girl has given birth to her first child. Then she is given her own utensils to use and is finally installed in her own hut.

A new wife is supposed to do all these chores alone so that her durability is tested and analysed. Even if there are other female members in the household for these tasks, she is supposed to do them alone, unless there are other wives, then they can work together. The sisters-in-law may help her partially, but with specific chores. As stated above, this phase lasts until she gives birth to her first child, meaning that even when pregnant, she is still required to do her duties, which is why when a wife gets married, she goes to her in-laws with her younger sister or a young maiden who will be of assistance to her.

Ntuli (2011:60) elaborates on this matter by stating that:

Umagotshana ileyo ntombazane efika nomakoti uma ezogana, ibizwa ngokuthi umagotshana emzini.Kuwusiko lwesiZulu lokho, intombi uma isiyogana ihamba nomagotshana wayo. Umagotshana usuke ezosiza udadewabo omdala emzini, kukho konke osuke ekwenza njengasexhibeni nje, nokuhambisela abasemzini ukudla nokunye, njengoba sazi phela ukuthi umakoti usuke esesaba izinto eziningi emzini uma esafika, njengokuhambisa ukudla nokuyongena kwezinye izindlu.

[A magotshana is a girl that comes with the wife when she marries, the in-laws call her umagotshana. It is the Zulu culture that when a maiden goes to her in-laws that she leaves with her. The magotshana is there to help her older sister in all that she is doing, in other words, in the kitchen serving her in-laws, etc., as we know that the new bride is still anxious and scared to do a lot of things in her in-laws, such as serving the in-laws and entering other houses.]

The transition from a comfortable household to a foreign household is difficult and requires one to be patient, especially when faced with challenges. New brides experience a lot of ill-treatment from their in-laws during this phase of *ukukukotiza*. As mentioned above, immediately after the wedding day, the new bride leaves home to their new home, which is the home of their in-laws.

When family accompanies a new bride to her in-laws, they do so with a kist that is full of her belongings, which symbolises that where she is going, she will only come out in a coffin as she has decided to leave her home and join her husband's family. A certain ceremony is done in order to inform the ancestors about this transition. Reich (1967:43) explains it as –



when the bride is about to leave home, a beast, known as 'ukuncamisa' or 'inkomo yokuncola', is slaughtered for her by her father, this must be one of the lobola cattle. The gall of this beast is poured over her face, arms, legs and the stomach contents are used to cleanse her. (The pouring of the gall over the bride is a means of telling the ancestors of the change that is about to take place.

During this phase, as mentioned above, most new brides have to wake up early in the morning before anyone and start with the chores of the day, in other words, prepare a morning meal for the household, sweep the yard, fetch water, wood, etc. Most in-laws take advantage of the new bride as they know that she has no one to stand up for her unless her husband if her husband supports her. The in-laws tend to use the new bride as a slave. In some cases, one finds her sisters-in-law mistreating her, whereas they are supposed to help her.

6.5 Duties of a bride before and after pregnancy

The main purpose of marriage in the Nguni nations is to expand the clan and, therefore, when a man marries a woman, her main duty is to bear him children. These children will take their father's surname and continue his legacy. As stated above under the boys section, a girl child and a boy child are important, in other words, a girl child expands the kraal by bringing in cows via *lobola*, whereas a boy child increases the clan by marrying a wife who will bear him children under the family's surname.

Therefore, a child is important in a union. Earlier on in this research, the measures of how a childless or bareness scenario is resolved were briefly discussed under the levirate and sororate marriages. A child is an important aspect of marriage. Having a child brings honour to the wife and the groom. It also elevates their statuses in the family and the community, and validates their marriage.

Reich (1967:48) elaborates on this by stating that –

[t]he birth of a child is important, not only as the advent of the individual into society, but as marking a further stage in the lives of its parents. No marriage is considered complete before a child has been born. For woman childlessness is the greatest of all misfortunes, for not only will she be taunted and gibed at by her more fortunate sisters, but she may even be divorced on that account, though it is more usual for her people to send a sister to raise seed for her.

When a bride bears a child, her in-laws accept her fully as their own and she gets to participate in the traditions and customs of the household. As mentioned earlier, after her first child, the



period of *ukukotiza* ends, as well as the rule regarding *amasi*, which is "[w]hen a newly married woman first moved into her husband's *umuzi*, she was not allowed to drink the family's *amasi*" (Van der Wiel, 2017:27).

This rule becomes nullified after her first child has been born, "[b]ut after the woman's first child was born, things changed. The husband's relatives then accepted her as part of their own family, and so she was allowed to drink the family's *amasi*" (ibid).

Another rule for women regarding *amasi* is "women may not eat it at all when menstruating, immediately after childbirth, newly bereaved, or in some other way ritually impure" (Schapera, 1962:132).

According to Reich (1967:86), in the Mpondo nation –

[d]uring pregnancy a woman leads a normal life and is expected to carry on all her duties of hoeing, fetching wood and water, and grinding corn until the birthpains begin. As a bride is the hardest-worked person in the *umzi*, this means that the manual work done before first pregnancy is exceedingly strenuous. A *Mpondo* may refuse to ride his mare in foal, but sees no reason why his wife should not hoe until the day she gives birth.

In all Nguni nations, women are required to prove that they are hardworking and hardcore. They are tested through labour and other social matters that disturb them mentally and emotionally. When husbands cheat on their wives, they are told to persevere and stay faithful to their husbands. When they conceive a child out of wedlock, they are told to persevere and even when they abuse them, they are asked what they did wrong and then advised to respect their husbands and persevere.

Besides performing all their duties, they are also required to observe certain rituals during pregnancy so that the child develops well during pregnancy and for the labour to go smoothly. "In the fourth or fifth of pregnancy among some Mpondo clans the bride is given an isihlambezo, a plant which she grows in water or boils. Instead of drinking ordinary water she drinks that in which plant is growing or has been boiled," according to Reich (1967:86-87).

Because of pregnancy, a women's lifestyle is altered, she needs to be careful of what she drinks or eat, who she meets with, to name a few. Reich (1967:87) further elaborates on the above procedure:



When she is ready to get an *isihlambezo* a bride is sent to her home to get a clay pot or tin can. On her return she is made to kneel down in a hut, naked to the waist, the pot containing water and the *isihlambezo* plant is set before her and she is told to confess all her dreams and any evil deeds. If she refuses to confess they will threaten to beat her. After confessing she is made to drink of the water in which the *isihlambezo* is standing.

The above statement proves how women are discriminated against by their cultures. If the above tradition is appropriate and if it serves the interest of a child, why is it not done by both males and females? Women tend to be victimised in the name of tradition, especially under the patriarchal system. They are expected to show up and carry on with their duties regardless of the situation they are in, which applies post and pre pregnancy. The treatment women get from their in-laws when they are widows is discussed in the following section.

6.6 The life of a woman after her husband's passing (widowhood)

Times have changed. Women are now protected by civil law and have as much rights as males. Regardless of these rights, women still face torment when their husbands pass away. There have been cases where widows have been kicked out of their homes after their husband's funerals. In-laws tend to abuse the widow more after the death of their son.

In the selected literature, as mentioned earlier, before Mangena's death, MaDube used to live with her husband in town, whereas his family lived in the rural areas, which was Mangena's doing, but his parents thought it was MaDube who wanted to take their son away. According to Mnguni, Mangena was supposed to build a house at his parents' home and stay there as he was the only child. Therefore, he and his wife were expected to stay with them and guard them as any heir would do.

Instead, Mangena chose to settle with his wife in town. In all the years, he spent little and then later no time at home. He made sure that he took care of his wife and they lived their lives. Mnguni never went to Mangena's town house while he was still alive, only when he had been declared dead and they had to plan his funeral.

All of a sudden, Mangena is Mnguni's child and he must be buried the way he sees fit as his father, regardless of what his widow's wishes or even most importantly, the wishes of the deceased. Mnguni tries to fight with MaDube. On Page 88, Mnguni is arrested for trying to steal his son's corpse so that he may burry him as per tradition. He did this despite the reading



of Mangena's will, which stated how he wanted to be buried and that he gave all power and estate to his wife.

At the end, Mangena is buried by his wife MaDube in her way. Mnguni, on the other hand, accepts the situation and learns a lesson that nobody is above the law. In South African nations, men like Mangena are needed; men who stand by their wives and do right by them, which involves protecting them at all costs even after death. Males should understand that their wives are their partners and that it is their duty as husbands to protect them from their families when they are alive and even when they are dead. They should make sure that they leave a will that secures everything for their wives and children, so that they will not fall victims of the in-laws' greed.

6.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to bring into light how Nguni nations, mainly the Zulu nation, and its cultures cause gender inequalities. Traditional roles were discussed where each traditional role for each gender was presented and explained in depth, as well as how traditional roles are assigned to different genders. The essence of this study is to provoke emotions and action from the readers, especially males, to bring about change in the way culture and traditions treat women, children and LGBTQI+ persona. Traditional systems need to change, so that they favour everyone. Together, people stand, and divided, they fall.



CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, an analysis was conducted of civil law, namely the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) and customary law, namely the traditions in Nguni cultures that contribute to gender inequality. Selected Nguni literal texts were studied and discussed to show how inequality comes to play and how it affects society.

The aim of this research was to bring to light gender inequality and the struggles that are faced by the genders and sexualities that are affected badly by the patriarchal system. The researcher discussed in detail the role of Nguni cultures, the role of religion, and the role of civil law and customary law in promoting or curbing inequality. While conducting the research, the researcher learned a lot about South African Nguni nations and their culture, other South African nations and cultures, the importance of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) and the dynamics of the LGBTQI+ community. It was challenging to obtain information about the existence of the LGBTQI+ as it has been shunned in the past and is, therefore, not documented enough.

South Africans need to find ways to bring about balance in their societies. These changes need to bring balance and benefit each gender involved accordingly. Many traditions need to be revisited and amended, so that no traditions suppress any gender. Traditional leaders, namely chiefs and kings, need to be at the forefront in fixing these issues and traditions that cause inequality in our society. Political leaders, the government and the President need to take the lead and amend the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996) accordingly in order to benefit all genders, including the LGBTQI+ community and not only end there, but also educate society about their rights and the rights of others.

In order to move forward, people need to change with the times and adopt traditions that are still relevant in this era, and forsake those that are irrelevant. Traditions, such as the reed dance and circumcision, are to be adopted as they help in curbing the spread of STIs and teenage pregnancy among the youth. However, traditions such as polygamy, need to either be stopped or administered properly as having multiple partners is risky, especially in an era in which the rate of contracting sexual transmitted diseases is high.



African people need to understand their cultures, including how they originated, and so forth. This will help in being open minded when sifting and mending traditions. Many people are stubborn and do not agree with this change as they believe that traditions must continue to be followed. However, a question arises as to whom it benefits when those traditions continue the cycle of ill issues that contribute to a broken home and a broken society. Children who grew up witnessing their mothers being abused under a patriarchal system are now adults who are suffering from childhood trauma, yet are raising children under the same system, which is not beneficial to anyone. South Africa needs to levitate towards this change, which will bring about fairness and not overcompensate, but lead to a balance.

In conclusion, indeed, people might not live to see a fully liberated South Africa in which no GBV, homicides, rape cases and broken families will exist, but if change is brought about now, people will act as catalysts in shortening the period to achieve a glorious South Africa. Even though indirectly, children will also benefit from this transition. South African people need to stand united and not see genders, but the human race. Only then will the people of this beautiful country achieve the glorious *Ningizimu* Afrika. *Nkosi sikelela i-Afrika*.



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ANNEXURES

Annexures A-E

The primary and secondary texts used in this research are in isiZulu. Therefore, they have been summarised in English so that the readers who are not familiar with the language will also understand what the dissertation is about.



ANNEXURE A: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF KUNJALO-KE BY M.E. WANDA

In brief, this novel concerns a young lady, Dumazile, who was the only child at home. Her parents tried by all means to provide good things for her even if it meant selling their livestock as long as she got the best in life. They had to sell a cow or two in order for her to attend school far from home and have proper accommodation. She unfortunately fell pregnant by her high school teacher; hence, she disappointed her family. The teacher ran away and she was forced to be a single mother, which forced her to work for Mr Sithole who owned a supermarket. She worked there as a cashier and stayed with his family. They used to go to work together and spend most of their time in the office together as their jobs demanded them to work together.

This did not sit well with Mr Sithole's wife and she became jealous and acted strange towards Dumazile. She later asked her husband to relocate Dumazile closer to work so that she did not need to stay with them anymore and that she was not to travel with her husband. Things take a sharp turn as a romantic relationship developed between Mr Sithole and Dumazile, which resulted in Mr Sithole relocating Dumazile to a house that he had bought her. He also filed for a divorce, which was dismissed by the court. Dumazile fell pregnant under those conditions, which did not sit well with her parents, especially her father, as Mr Sithole was almost his peer.

Mr Sithole paid damages for his child and Dumazile's father warmed up to him. Life continued and they lived as a family of four, including Dumazile's first child, Lerato. In that period, Mr Sithole took Dumazile back to school. She furthered her studies and became a nurse. Mr Sithole also bought her a car and a month later, she was in an accident when she drove into a white man's car in front of her as she could not stop as she was busy on the phone when it happened. Mr Sithole paid this debt as it was agreed with the owner that he would pay installments and that there was no need for the matter to go to court.

Owing to greed, Dumazile wanted to benefit from Mr Sithole's riches, so she formed an ally with the security at the supermarket and they burned the store, thinking that it was insured, but it was not. Mr Sithole lost his shops and became poor. He did piece jobs, but because his car was in a bad state, he was forced to stop using it and became a stay-at-home husband.



This led to him becoming depressed and he started drinking and abusing his wife until one day he was arrested as he had stopped paying his debt which had accumulated since the incident. Dumazile moved on and married one of his colleagues, who is a paramedic.

A few months after their marriage, Dumazile's husband had to relocate due to work and during that period, the teacher, who is the father to her first born, wanted to have a relationship with his daughter. This led to the children fighting as their fathers could not afford to do the same things for them. These fights caused Dumazile to cheat with the teacher. In the midst of it all, Dumazile's husband heard about it and the abuse started. This led to them separating and in the end, they die due to having contracted HIV/AIDS. In conclusion, the author shows that being ill-disciplined and having no self-respect affects a young person.



ANNEXURE B: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF ISIKO NELUNGELO BY N. ZULU

In brief, this drama concerns a young widow called Thenjiwe who lost her husband in the early years of their marriage. The story starts after a few weeks of the burial of her husband, when her sister-in-law, Thabi, voices out her opinions concerning Thenjiwe's dilemma. In their conversation, Thabi states that she would appreciate it if Thenjiwe continues to stay with them even though her husband has passed on. She justifies her concerns by saying that they are used to having Thenjiwe as family and, therefore, it will be difficult if she goes back home. Her main concern is whether the bride price (*lobola*) will be recovered if Thenjiwe returns home.

Thenjiwe turns to her friend, Gugu, for advice. She advises her to stand her ground and fight for her rights. Gugu and Thenjiwe's older sister, Nondumiso, are the only ones who stand by her throughout the story and understand that she has a right to choose her spouse. Thenjiwe tries to go back home. She faces the same dilemma as her father and her grandmother are against her return, and force her to go back home and do as the in-laws and the culture of *ukungenwa* requires. When she is at home, the little brother, Dumisani, who she is supposed to marry, stalks her and harasses her, which happens when she is walking with her male best friend, Sipho, from the shops. Dumisani accuses Sipho of disrespecting him and of stealing her from him. The fight ends with Sipho stabbing Dumisani on the hand in defense, which leads to Dumisani opening a case against him, with him later dying in jail.

She tries to run to her sister, Nondumiso, who does not stay far from her in-laws. This gesture puts Nondumiso in trouble with their father. She is also forced by their father to step back and stop supporting Thenjiwe. The death of Sipho brought sorrow to Thenjiwe as she considered him as someone who could be her husband if she chose to love again. Later in the story, she tries to poison Dumisani by spiking his tea, but she does not succeed as Thabi, her sister-in-law, sees it all and tells on her. After fighting with her in-laws and her family, she decides to give in and marry Dumisani. The story ends with an unexpected ending of them reminiscing about their wedding and how beautiful it was.



ANNEXURE C: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF BENGITHI LIZOKUNA BY N.G. SIBIYA

In this novel, in brief, we are introduced to Mhlengi, who is not comfortable with his gender and decides to change his gender and sexuality. Before doing so, he breaks up with his girlfriend, Nontobeko, without giving her a reason. His father disowns him after he tells him about his sexuality. African people believe that a boy child is the heir and the one who will be the head of the family when his father passes away. Mhlengi is in the same situation, being the only child and the heir to all his parents' assets, having the responsibility to carry his family name. When he came out to his father about his sexuality, he lost the right to inherit all the inheritance as his father disowned him.

After coming out and being disowned, Mhlengi continues with his plan of living the life he wants. He goes to the extent of changing his identity and altering his body in order to live the life he has always dreamed of. He even relocates and cuts communication with his loved ones so that he may start afresh and live a peaceful life. As time goes by, Mhlengi's father decides to reconcile with his child with the hope that he would change his mind about his sexuality.

Meanwhile, Mhlengi relocated to a new area after having had surgery done to change his identity to that of a female. Mahlengi is living her life and things are going well in her life. She is even in a serious relationship with a man called Ndumiso, who loves her. Ndumiso was also an entrepreneur, but was retrenched and, therefore, he hustles for him to keep Mahlengi happy.

Mahlengi meets Xolani, who is also an entrepreneur, in a business seminar. They fall in love and cheat on their partners. Their relationship costs them. Xolani loses his children after a fire breaks out when he leave the children alone to see Mahlengi. Mahlengi loses Ndumiso when he is arrested after he robbed Mahlengi's father and is caught.

In hope that it is merely a phase, Mnguni starts searching for Mhlengi, accompanied by Mhlengi's ex-girlfriend, Nontobeko. He believes that if Mhlengi sees Nontobeko, he will change his mind and live as a straight man. Sadly, the story ends with Mhlengi's father and Nontobeko meeting Mahlengi, which is Mhlengi's transgender name, living her life to the



fullest. They find him with Xolani who has risked all to be with her, only to find out that she was a he.



ANNEXURE D: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF AMANYALA ENYOKA BY M. NDLOVU

Pat grew up enjoying acting as a boy and involving herself in masculine activities. She used to play with boys and dress up like a boy. Even her community had accepted that she was a boy.

In her teen years, she dated a guy named Mthunzi, who later impregnated her and she gave birth to a baby boy. Shortly after that, Mthunzi got a job and he had to leave Pat behind. He promised her that he would come back, but he never did. Therefore, Pat was forced to raise her child alone in that heartbroken state as she was disappointed and let down by the first man she had trusted in her life. Later when their son, Lindokuhle, was about to further his studies in university, Mthunzi came back to try and form a relationship with his son and to rekindle his relationship with Pat. He tried a trick or two, then they got back together, but shortly afterwards, Mthunzi was involved in fraudulent crimes and unfortunately when Lindo was doing his second year, Mthunzi was arrested.

Yet again, he left Pat devastated and heartbroken, having to make sure that her son's tuition and other necessities are funded. This resulted in her giving up on men as she was let down by the only man she had known almost her entire life. She joined a Gays and Lesbians Network and because of her influence and skills, she was promoted to a director of this network. Through this organisation, she was able to fund her son's tuition and this is where she met Sindi.

Meanwhile, Sindi had come from Gauteng to KwaZulu-Natal to further her studies. She chose KZN as she wanted to be far from home and far from her ex-fiancé, who had just sent his uncles to her home to negotiate *lobola*. After the *lobola* negotiations, he resumed his adulterous shenanigans. Unfortunately, Sindi was pregnant with her second child by this time. They had decided to abort the first child as they were high school kids and could not afford to raise him or her. When she arrived in KZN, she aborted and chose a different lifestyle as she had had enough of men. She joined an LGBTIQ+ organisation in university, in which she was given a positon, and that was when she met Pat.



ANNEXURE E: ENGLISH SUMMARY OF INTANDO KAMUFI BY S. MATHABA

This novel starts with MaDube, who is the late Mangena's wife, fighting with her father in-law, Mnguni. MaDube wants to give her husband a dignified funeral according to his will, whereas Mnguni wants to bury his child in the family's traditional way. Throughout the novel, MaDube stands for her husband's will to be done; however, it comes across as if she is trying to dictate to Mnguni how he should bury his son.

This matter escalates to the extent that Mangena's lawyer becomes involved to make sure that MaDube is protected and that she gets what is rightfully hers. This matter worsens when, during the reading of Mangena's will at his memorial service, it comes to light that all his estate will be given to his wife and that he wants to be buried in a way his wife was rooting for. This is not welcomed by Mnguni as he ends up taking the law into his hands by trying to steal Mangena's corpse. This leads to him being arrested and released on bail while MaDube gets a chance to bury her husband in the way that he wanted according to his will.

One thing that does not please Mnguni about Mangena and MaDube's wishes is that their wishes include Mangena's corpse being cremated, which contradicts the family's beliefs and values. Mnguni does everything in his power to stop the funeral proceedings. Attempting to steal Mangena's corpse is one act that lands him in jail. He seeks advice from the traditional leaders who advise him to go to the higher court and lodge a case, which he does, but his request is declined.

After he is released, he does not give up. With his sister, Nozimanga, as his accomplice, they hire a hitman called Mankinsela to kill MaDube. Fortunately, Mankinsela does not abide by the agreement and uses all the money. He feels guilty, but his mind is changed by a sermon of repentance that he hears on his way from a tavern, which leads to him having a change of heart regarding killing MaDube. As the first step to living his new life, he decides to go to Mnguni and apologise for not keeping his end of the deal.

Because of his notorious statutes and him visiting Mnguni late at his house, he is not welcomed. Mnguni is scared that Mankisela is there to kill him and, therefore, he is hesitant to open the door for him. His passion to confess causes him to be persist in trying to open



the door. Finally, he succeeds in opening the door, but unfortunately, Mnguni has a spear, which he attacks him with and innocently kills him in his defense.

This incident leads to Mnguni being arrested and the truth coming to light that he tried to kill MaDube. He faces four cases, namely trying to steal Mangena's corpse; beating the mortuary worker, Mr Makhehlane Nzimande, when he tries to prohibit him from stealing the corpse; for attempting to murder MaDube; and for killing Mankinsela in self-defense. The story ends with him being sentenced to three years in jail.