

**Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional
Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary
KwaZulu-Natal**

By

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Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary
KwaZulu-Natal**

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A Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Masters in Gender Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, University of
KwaZulu- Natal

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DECLARATION

I, Zamambo Valentine Mkhize

Student Number: 209539357

Hereby declare that the thesis entitled **Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary KwaZulu-Natal** is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other Degree or to any other University.

Signature.....

Date:.....

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ABSTRACT

Name: Zamambo Mkhize.

Student number: 209539357.

Title of thesis: *Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary Kwa-Zulu Natal*

Supervisor: Dr. NB Zondi.

Polygyny has been defended by some men in terms of ‘tradition and culture’ but a cursory observation suggests that it is currently being embraced even amongst women. It seems that some women are willing to allow a husband to take a second wife and even in arranged marriages some women seem content to enter into a polygynous union because they will be answering the call of duty. This study seeks to explore why even some middle-class educated women enter polygynous marriages. The study is different than the previous studies conducted because it focused on women who were educated and had employment that made them financially independent. Previous studies focused on poor rural women who had no better option but to marry into polygynous marriages for a better life because in the past it was only wealthy men who could afford to support more than one family and unfortunately that is not the case in today’s society, now it is just any man who wants to ‘elevate his manhood’ by having more than one wife but who he cannot support. The findings showed women entered such unions for numerous reasons such as love, family and societal pressures as well as desperation to have a higher social standing in the community than a single woman.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Study

Polygyny is a very complicated and complex topic to research because intrinsic to it are several factors which are deeply intertwined. Amongst these one can mention culture, tradition, societal expectations, personal and even political considerations. The Oxford English Dictionary defines *polygamy* as having more than one wife or husband at the same time (Thompson, 1995:1059). The dictionary also defines *polygyny* as polygamy in which a man has more than one wife. The reason I chose to conduct a study on polygyny is that it allows men and not women to marry multiple partners. In this study I seek to understand why independent, educated, 'modern' working women in particular, should choose to enter into such relationships. Helander (1958) articulates that in the past this dispensation was sanctioned to chiefs and wealthy men because they alone could afford to pay *ilobolo*, which is a process whereby a man pays a certain number of cattle or money. Further, the practice was justified in traditionalist societies since biblical times as necessary for taking care of female population surplus due to warfare and decimation of male population. In recent years there seems to be a development in that any man regardless of his financial situation can marry more than one wife even though the factors cited historically to justify polygyny may no longer be applicable.

Polygyny has been defended by some men in terms of 'tradition and culture' but a cursory observation suggests that it is currently being embraced even amongst women. It seems that some women are willing to allow a husband to take a second wife and even in arranged marriages some women seem content to enter into a polygynous union because they will be answering the call of duty. This study seeks to explore why even some middle-class educated women enter polygynous marriages. Are they seeking companionship? Is it because of societal pressures, that is, do they view marriage as something that a woman must do? Does it mean that a woman desperate for marriage will settle for a polygynous union just to lift the societal burden? Do women enter such unions because they love their men unconditionally? Do some women feel that monogamy is an unnatural social construct and that polygyny builds social cohesion? Finally, are there instances where some working women believe that such relationships are meaningful in caring for children where fellow wives are unemployed?

Philip & Jones (1990) assert that polygyny is not chiefly restricted to African countries; it is also practiced in the Middle East and in some parts of America, such as the Mormons for example, as well as on the Asian sub-continent. The root of the problem investigated in this study lies with South Africa. Because of the multifaceted nature of polygamy, culture, religion and law are also used to justify it at times. In dealing with this subject, a question of morality becomes part of the debate. In South Africa the topic has been at the forefront in recent years because of South African President, Jacob Zuma, who is an overt polygamist. By adopting polygamous lifestyle, people in high positions highlight a hyper-masculinity and a model of manhood which, in my opinion, objectifies women.

1.2. Aims and focus of the study

Zondi (2007) describes that African cultures epitomize patriarchy and this study aims to prove that the persistence of patriarchy perpetuates polygyny and that even ‘enlightened’ modern women are subscribing to it to fulfil societies expectation of a woman must be married regardless of the type of marriage.

The aim and overall objective of the research is to find out peri-urban women’s views of polygyny. By listening to and recording the stories and experiences of women in such unions, the study will be able to find out information about various facets of polygyny; the motives behind such practices, and other issues pertinent to it.

I am interested in this research because I have noticed in the literature that there is a gap in the literature. The literature discusses rural poor women and their reasons for entering into polygynous marriages but it fails to explain why modern, educated and financial independent women enter such unions. My research hopes to fill in that gap.

Some of the questions I hope to get answered are *Why do women enter polygamous marriages? Is coercion part of the reason? If given an option would stay married in that polygamous marriage or do they prefer a monogamous marriage? Do societal expectations of patriarchal communities contribute to these women accepting these types of marriages, assuming that they are in favour of such marriages? Is there any common link between women in polygamous marriages? Is there a particular type of woman who is more prone to a polygamous marriage? For example, do factors such as education and family background*

contribute? How do these women feel and act towards other women within the same polygamous marriage?

1.3. Reasons for the study

The reason I chose to conduct a study on polygyny is that the practice of polygyny is the foundation of inequality because at its root it renders women inferior to men because men are allowed to have more than one wife where-else, women are denied that privilege by the very fact that they are women. It allows men and not women to marry multiple partners and I am seeking to understand why independent, educated, 'modern' working women should choose to enter into such relationships.

Traditionally polygyny has been excused by three major points; economics, culture and morals. Economics used to be a viable reason for a man to be in a polygynous marriage because during the industrial revolution many men from rural areas had to leave their homes and wives and go to the cities to work and live there for months on end. Being away from home for such long periods of time some of these men married and had wives in the cities as well as in the rural areas they were from. Economics can no longer be used as an excuse because as technology advanced so did transportation, with the ability to travel long distances within a short period of time and even if the man moved to the city he could move with his family or visit as often as possible. Many polygynous unions now are not separated by distance because the man makes his two wives live in close proximity to each other so he can see them, this discredits the economic excuse. The next rationale in which polygamy refuses to perish is because of culture. Professor Zulu defines culture as, "the way in which aggregates or groups of people interact with and adapt to their environment". The definition of culture is interesting because it highlights 'adaptation to one's environment'. Today we live in a society where people, especially women, are being killed and infected by HIV/AIDS at alarming rates. Having multiple sexual partners as is the case in a polygynous marriage is in fact is hazardous to one's health and potentially life-threatening, especially during this time where HIV/AIDS is rife amongst married spouses. Therefore in my opinion in order to survive people cannot continue to enter relationships which have multiple sexual partners and keep arguing it is their 'culture' because 'culture' would cease to exist without people. The last motivation which excuses polygyny are 'morals', morals are determined by culture therefore it is extremely difficult if not impossible to separate 'morals' from 'culture' because they are intrinsically linked by one determining the other.

In recent years there seems to be a development in that any man regardless of his financial situation can marry more than one wife even though the factors cited historically to justify polygyny may no longer be applicable.

I think it is important before continuing to define certain concepts so that they are unambiguous and that there is no confusion.

1.4. Definitions of concepts

1.4.1. Polygyny is a very complicated and complex topic to research because there are many issues embedded in it such as; culture, tradition, societal expectations, personal and certainly political are all deeply intertwined. The Oxford English Dictionary defines *polygamy* as; having more than one wife or husband at the same time (Thompson, 1995:1059). The dictionary also defines *polygyny* as; polygamy in which a man has more than one wife. In the past this dispensation was only sanctioned to chiefs and wealthy men because they alone could afford to pay *ilobolo*. In my research I will be using the term *polygyny* but some authors I have reviewed in the literature review, in chapter two, use *polygamy* and I will in that context use *polygamy*. In terms of my own study I will use the term *polygyny*.

1.4.2. *Lobolo* is a process whereby a man pays a certain number of cattle or money (Helander 1958). *Lobolo* in recent times has had negative connotations to it because it has been so convoluted and used by feminists claiming it is the buying of a woman. *Lobolo* in its purest definition is the claiming of paternal rights of any offspring that may result in the marriage (Delius & Glaser, 2004:84).

1.5. The present state of knowledge, and the proposed research's addition to that knowledge

Studies conducted in the past on polygyny have been mainly from a males' perspective and seldom from a females'. The male authors for example Helander (1958) examined old Native African custom where only the chiefs or wealthy men could afford to have more than one wife. An ordinary man paid a staggering amount of *lobolo* for his wife and therefore, to take a second wife would entail further economic burden. Blum (1989) discusses how culture was used to justify a man taking many wives regardless of economic status. Maillu (1988) reiterated how polygyny was justified by culture and tradition. In this sense culture is concocted and perpetrated by men to fulfil their needs. The male authors emphasize that women who enter such unions do so because of poverty and family pressures to marry regardless of what type of union it is. There are few transformed men who take on a feminist view of polygyny. Delius and Glaser (2004) for example highlight the more practical reasons as to why polygyny existed in the past and disclaim the reason for male promiscuity as a valid reason for polygyny because male promiscuity has always existed.

Delius and Glaser (2004) say that many scholars have assumed a close connection between polygamy and contemporary male promiscuity. The connection was argued that polygamy created an expectation of multiple sexual partners for men and that there is a tendency to romanticize African tradition by insisting that in the past polygamy successfully contained male urges. The authors state that Westernization and urbanization destabilized polygamy and distorted homestead structures and motivated extra-marital sexuality. Delius and Glaser articulate that marriage was about rights to offspring, transaction of cattle and the organization of homestead labour than about control of sexuality (2004:84).

Female authors such as Zondi (2007) touch on the evils of polygyny. While in her study, Zondi investigated polygyny as part of the themes in the songs collected, my research wishes to venture deeply into the topic and with the focus directed to polygyny. A study by Tabi (2010) delves into polygyny and women married in such unions but her approach is from a clinical where she wants to discover the psychological and emotional strains that such marriages have on women. My research will be profoundly different from the cited and those that have been studied because I want to understand why educated, financially secure and independent women would willingly enter such unions. I will then assess how my findings concur with or differ from those that emerged from the previous studies.

1.6. Structure of chapters

Chapter 1: Introduction: This chapter has introduced the motivation and the purpose of the study. It has also discussed the background, research aims and objectives of the study. It further explained relevant terms and vocabulary used in the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: In this chapter past research which is relevant to my study will be brought forward and discussed. An exploration of how my work fits in with or differs from these studies will also be explored.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework: This chapter will be an elaboration on theories that have been selected and which form the framework within which the study's data will be analyzed.

Chapter 4: Methodology: In this chapter I will be elucidating on the research methodology used, data collection, ethical issues, method of analysis and a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Data Collection: In this chapter I will present data in preparation for the analysis and outcome of the research which will be examined in line with prior (and possibly future) studies.

Chapter 6: Data Analysis: This chapter will give a detailed examination and synthesis of the data collected.

Chapter 7: Research Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations: This chapter will synthesize the research and provide recommendations based on the findings.

1.7. Conclusion

The chapter has provided the thread that will tie the thesis together. It has also provided a brief overview of the chapters was also discussed. I hope that by drawing on multi-fold experiences a link between what I am investigating and society will be created. In line with Neuman (1997:16), social research is conducted "to discover new knowledge and to gain a richer understanding of a social world".

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Polygyny is a multifaceted topic to research because there are so many issues intrinsically linked to it. Polygyny in recent years has become a very relevant, visible and controversial topic. The public in recent years has been vociferous when discussing the subject. Polygyny is a complex subject because religion is quoted, culture used to justify it, morality is questioned and the law is ambiguous. Polygyny has been researched by numerous authors and scholars. Studies conducted in the past on polygyny have been mostly from a males' perspective and seldom from a females'.

This chapter will focus on the literature I have reviewed and it is aimed at highlighting the gap that is present in the literature when addressing polygyny and women. This chapter will look at the religious perspective on polygyny, the various countries which still practice polygyny, the contrasting laws internationally as well as South African law on polygyny and this chapter will also showcase the contemporary issues of polygyny in South African.

This literature review will assist in highlighting what different authors have researched on polygyny and women as well as comparison amongst them.

2.2. Scope of Literature Review

I have decided to categorize my literature review into nine broad sections. I have decided to start with the Religious perspective and conclude with contemporary authors because the furthest I could research on any written writings on Polygyny were religious texts. The sections are:

- Literature review of related studies in Religious texts
- Literature review of global perspectives on polygyny (America, Asia, Africa)
- Literature review of Laws on polygyny in South African as well as International Law
- Literature on South African Polygyny
- Literature on the contemporary South African perspective (Newspapers, Magazines, TV)
- Review on literature on Polyandry
- Review on countries that practice polyandry
- Review on literature of the affects polygyny has on women and children

- Review of literature on polygyny and men

2.2.1 Literature review of related studies in Religious texts

Literature gives countless reasons for the existence or persistence of polygyny. Polygyny has been around for hundreds of decades, historically polygyny has been about culture and status but in recent times it has become about economic opportunity, material wealth and less about culture status and more about what individuals involved in the polygynous marriage can acquire in terms of material wealth and financial security. The debate about polygyny in modern times has become a social construct debate. The religious debate surrounding polygyny is weak because although the Christian Bible speaks of God creating one man for one woman, the Bible does not outright condemn polygyny because there are characters in the Bible who are in polygynous marriages. In order to not venture into different explanations the definition of polygyny must be a narrow one. Religion is often used to justify many behaviours but the religious justification for polygyny is a weak argument because the Bible is ambiguous on the subject of polygyny but condemns divorce and remarriage.

2.2.1.1 A review of Judaism and Christianity

There is a misconception that early Christians were monogamous, that is incorrect (Philips & Jones, 1990:3). Early Christianity was born from the Jewish tradition therefore it followed the Jewish tradition of the practice of polygamy. It was only after Christianity was revised with accordance to the Pauline doctrines was the concept of monogamy introduced into Christian philosophy (Philips & Jones, 1990:3). The introduction of monogamy into Christianity was done so it can conform to the Greco-Roman culture. In theory Rome was a monogamous State but it practiced unrestricted polygamy because the large number of married men engaged in illicit extra-marital affairs.

The reality is that monogamy protects the man's rights to engage in many sexual affairs free of responsibility because infidelity is higher amongst men than it is amongst women (Philips & Jones, 1990:17). Philips & Jones say men in Western Societies vehemently opposed the institution of polygamy because it would force men to be faithful (Philips & Jones, 1990:18).

Polygamy would force men to take responsibility of their polygamous ways and to provide economical protection for their women and children (Philips & Jones, 1990:18).

In *Polygamy: A cultural and biblical perspective*, Gaskiyane (2000) says that the bible tells us that God made one woman for Adam. We can only surmise that God in his infinite wisdom did this because not only having made humans, God understood the fundamentals of human nature and that no man can love more than one woman equally and that the man will always favour one woman over another.

Maillu the author of *Our Kind of Polygamy* declares that in the Bible the Old Testament, Paul's speech and Genesis 2:24, Paul compares a love between a husband and a wife to the love between Christ and the church. The Bible also goes onto say that when a man and a woman get married they become "one head to the one body in an exclusive relationship" (Eph. 1:22-23). The Bible then clearly states that Christ came to abolish polygamy. The Bible also makes its stance on polygamy crystal clear when in the depiction of the Garden of Eden depicts monogamy as something intended by God from the very beginning. The reference to "man" and his "wife" (not wives) becoming "one flesh" is understood to be what God intended since the beginning of time (Maillu 1988: 45). The Bible also makes reference to its 'acceptance' of polygamy because God's beloved men such as Abraham, Jacob, King David and Solomon were in polygamous marriage. The New Testament is silent on the issue of polygamy by not outright condemning it but not condoning it either.

2.2.1.2 Review of Islam and the Qur'an

Islam allows polygyny but under strict rules and regulations. In Islam a man is allowed to take a maximum of four wives only if the first wife agrees and if every wife will be treated equally.

Marriage in Islam has been ordained by Allah as the correct and legal way to produce children and the family unit is very important in Islam culture (Philips & Jones. 1990: 10). *Polygamy in Islam* speaks about marriage being more than just a means to obtaining legal sex; it is an extremely important institution that safeguards the rights of men, women and children whilst at the same time satisfying the physical, emotional and intellectual needs of the family members. Marriage in Islam is built on the principles of love, honour, respect and

mutual caring. Stable marriages stabilize society by protecting its primary unit the family (Philips & Jones. 1990: 11). In Islam, Allah advises that a man is first told to marry two, three, or four women then he is advised to only marry one woman if he cannot deal justly with more than one but Philips & Jones, stress that this is not to be confused with Islam encouraging men to marry many women but it allows those men who can fulfil the necessary requirements of polygamy to be able to take more than one wife. According to Philip and Jones (1990) the Quran allows a man to take a maximum of four wives in a polygamous marriage. Before a man is allowed to take a second wife he has to prove that he will be able and willing to divide his time and wealth in an equitable fashion. If the man is unable to feed, clothe and house all his wives equally than by law of the Quran he should not marry more than one wife. The Quran talks about polygyny as a way of marriage for socio-political purposes such as marrying widows with children so as they will not starve, with no one to take care of them, linking clans and breaking certain taboos. Today in modern society majority of Muslims find polygamous marriages “distasteful and demeaning to women” (Philips & Jones. 1990: 35).

Polygamous marriages give rise to jealousies amongst the wives because no woman wants to willingly share her husband but the law of Islam always give precedence to the general welfare of society over individual discomfort or personal preferences, thus the Islamic marriage system includes polygyny to protect and provide for the ever present surplus of females in most human societies (Philips & Jones. 1990: 39).

Certain conditions are attached to plural marriages because in plural marriages it is the women who are taken advantage of. These conditions include; a man cannot take more than four wives and that each marriage contract is legal and binding which includes the same rights, responsibilities and obligations as the first marriage contract. Wife number one is not the ‘mother or chief’ of all subsequent wives nor is wife number four allowed preferential treatment at the expense of the other wives (Philips & Jones. 1990: 46).

In Islamic law it is extremely important that a man in a plural marriage loves his wives equally and treat them all the same because the Quran says that *if a man in a plural marriage loves one wife more than another he will arrive on judgment day with his body leaning in one direction and he will be judged for his unfairness towards his other wife* (Philips & Jones. 1990: 47).

Philip and Jones (1990) state that 'love' is not a prerequisite for marriage in Islam and that is why the concept of plural marriages does not have as emotionally devastating an effect on true Muslim women as it would on non-Muslim women except of course Muslims who have a great Western influence. In Islam 'Love' follows marriage. Islam says that if a man is able to care for more than one wife, justly, then there is no sin on him if he does so, on the contrary he may be commended for it (Philips & Jones. 1990: 47-49). In her article, *Marrying Well*, Mba does mention that 'love' was not a requirement for marriage either in African culture.

In the Quran, Allah has instructed men to care for their wives and for those men in polygamous unions to care for their wives in an equitable fashion. Allah says wives should be accorded the best possible treatment and that even if a man may be bored with his wife or may dislike her, he should not mistreat her because even though he may dislike her he may find qualities within her which compensate for that which he dislikes. If a man has more than one wife he should never outwardly make his preference obvious that the other wives may see it because it would kindle jealousy and ill-feelings which could lead to hostility amongst the wives (Philips & Jones. 1990: 50-51).

The importance of equitable treatment in regard to time and wealth cannot be overstressed because it is the major factor which allows men to be allowed to take plural wives or not (Philips & Jones. 1990: 53).

The most important factor of being in a polygamous marriage in Islamic law is that the man has to divide his time and wealth equally, if division were to be left at the whim of men there would be an enormous likelihood of injustices no matter how well intentioned or reasonable the man may be. A simple method endorsed by Islamic law is the drawing of lots, which is a way to ensure that there is impartiality amongst the wives in relation to the division of time and wealth. The division of time is based on the time period allocated to sleep or rest. In Islamic law division of time is made according to the nights because the nights are usually when mankind relaxes from work and takes rest. During the night men and women spend their most intimate time together. If a man is married to more than one wife he should divide the nights amongst his wives because during the day he earns a living. If a man's trade is during the night then he should divide his days accordingly (Philips & Jones. 1990: 54-57). If a man misses his wife's day for any reason he has to make it up somehow because he has deprived her of her life (Philips & Jones. 1990: 67).

Polygyny is not forbidden in Islam but it is not encouraged either. The Qur'an explicitly states that a man is allowed to marry more than one wife if he can treat them both equally.

2.2.1.3. Review of Mormonism

In her book *Mormon wives*, Metta V. Fuller wrote: "Repulsive as slavery appears to us; we can but deem polygamy a thing more loathsome and poisonous to social and political purity". Fuller has summarized how most Americans felt in the latter half of the 19th century about polygamy, which was largely practiced by the Mormon faith. A conference held in Cincinnati in 1884 declared that "Mormonism is not a religion but a crime which therefore cannot be entitled to protection and tolerance under the laws and Constitution of the United States of America as a matter of conscience. "It was originated in the deepest depravity, and is shared by the three motives—money, power and lust" (Young, 1954: 2-4).

There is evidence that when the husband took a second wife there was considerably emotional strain on the first wife. In some families there was an agreement at the time of the initial marriage that sooner or later subsequent wives might be introduced (Young, 1954:121). There was also discussion about consent and that the Mormon religion states that there has to be prior consent from the first and subsequent wives if the husband were to take an additional wife but just as in the Zulu culture this was only in theory and not in practice. Although there are cases recorded in the Mormon faith whereby the first wife has refused the husband to take a second wife and although very rare those husbands have not taken on a second wife. In reality if the husband wants to take a second or third wife he does so even if it is without consulting his wife or wives. The wives are expected to respect the husband's decision because according to the Mormon faith the husband is their 'Lord and Master' and is their only entry to heaven so it is in their best interest for them to obey him.

According to the research done by Young a successful plural marriage usually occurred if all the individuals involved in the marriage came from polygamous household (Young, 1954:125).

In Mormon custom older married men traded off their young daughters to other polygamists who in turn accorded them the privilege of their own daughters as plural wives (Young, 1954:126). Even in the Mormon religion the women were seen as property to be bought and sold to the highest bidder. The women had no voice to object because doing so would mean

eternal damnation according to their belief. The Mormon had many similarities to the Zulu culture which promote and perpetuate the women's submissive role to the husband.

2.2.2. Literature review of global perspectives on polygyny (America, Asia, Africa)

2.2.2.1 Review of America

Polygamy is illegal in America but experts say there are 30, 000 to 50, 0000 people living in plural families across America. Polygynous families usually live in the state of Utah and follow the Mormon religion. Polygynous families live in constant fear because Utah law states that if a man lives with another woman besides his wife and calls the other woman 'wife' and supports her children that is illegal and criminal and he can get imprisoned for up to five years and it is considered a third-degree felony. The man is allowed to live with a mistress whilst still married but is not prosecuted for that.

Polygyny is synonymous with organized marriage between old men and underage girls, accomplice to rapes, incest and sex with minors. The Brown family aim to change that stereotype by participating in a reality TV show called *Sister Wives* on the TLC network in the United States. Kody Brown may appear on the outside as a regular man with a good job and a devoted father but when one asks about his wife he asks which one because he is married to four women; Meri, Janelle, Christine and Robyn. They have 16 children in total.

The husband Kody was raised in a monogamous household by Mormon parents. When he turned 21 years old he converted to fundamental Mormonism. Kody believes that plural marriage is like a 'reward for good behaviour', in that if you are good with one marriage you will be good in two marriages and it will continue. The wives Meri and Janelle also grew up in mainstream Mormonism but are happy being in a plural marriage. The third wife Christine grew up in a polygamist family and as always coveted that type of a marriage for herself and her children. The fourth wife Robyn was in a monogamous marriage before and divorced and is now happy with being in a polygamist marriage.

Since the first episode aired on TV the police in Utah, where the family reside, have launched an investigation into the polygamist marriage. According to Utah law "a person is guilty of bigamy when, knowing he has a husband or wife, the person purports to marry another person or cohabits with another person. This law applies to people who obtain multiple marriage licenses, as well as people who are legally married to only one person while also engaging in other marriage like relationships". The family has been warned to cease their

polygamist lifestyle by the Utah prosecutor or prepare to be charged with felony bigamy, which if convicted the husband and wives could face a maximum of 15 to 20 years in prison and their children would go to the State.

Kody's wives are well educated professionals in their own Right; Meri used to work in the mental health industry and has since been terminated from her position when her employer discovered she was in a polygamist marriage and subsequently breaking the law. Janelle and Robyn have their own businesses and are successful.

The wives all consider themselves sisters and are supportive of each other. They all discuss the possibility of their husband wanting to take another wife and how it will best suit the entire family. There are strict rules the husband has to adhere to in that he is not allowed to kiss or have sex with any other woman besides his four wives and even if he is courting an outside woman he has to marry her first before he could even kiss her, there is no pre-marital sex. The wives do admit to sometimes feeling jealous but they understand that is human nature and all they can do is work on changing their feelings.

(Sister wives on the Oprah Winfrey Talk Show. CBS. SABC 3. March 16, 2011. 9:30pm).

In the United States and Canada polygyny is illegal yet the Mormon religion is still practiced there. Canada's federal law makes a union with more than one spouse at a time illegal and punishment is a prison sentence of five years in prison. The lack of prosecution is that it would violate religious freedom. In the United States they have begun investigating open polygamists and imprisoning them. Mormon polygyny in the United States is associated with incest and child abuse. African polygyny is associated with feminization of poverty and the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS (Cook, 2007: 240).

2.2.2.2. Review of polygyny in African countries

In Africa polygyny was and still is used as an adaptive practice that provided a man with many children, therefore workers that added to his wealth. Polygyny ensured that the population size was constantly growing and it prevented depopulation. Although polygynous marriages were more commonly found in rural areas and amongst the less educated. Cook found that well-educated women in polygynous societies were in monogamous marriages but

the reverse was true for men. Well-educated men who were financial successful were expected to take second and/or third wife (Cook, 2007: 236).

Cook researched many African countries that practiced polygyny and she found that Madagascar had the lowest percentage of married women in polygynous marriages. Togo had the highest percentage of married women in polygynous marriages and Niger had more women than men in polygynous marriages (Cook, 2007: 237). Polygyny was blamed for population growth in Ethiopia which increased food shortages and malnutrition. In all African societies a man who was wealthy was expected to be able to afford a first wife and additional wives. In some African societies women worked on farms and the women's labour provided some of the funds that allowed the husband to take additional wives.

Polygyny in traditional Africa was to ensure that every woman in the village had a husband in order to procreate. Polygyny also enabled the husband to take a second wife if the first wife was barren or unable to give him a son. Polygyny in traditional Africa was an adaptive practice which ensured all women were married and had children which contributed to the survival of the community (Cook, 2007: 238).

One of the reasons that have been highlighted for men to take additional wives is that if they assumed the wife to be barren then additional wives would bear him children. No solution has been presented to suggest what the recourse is if the man has several wives and they are all childless. The patriarchal belief would be that all the wives are barren and the man is just unlucky because a man being barren is something that could never happen. If a man is barren the wife is raped by a male relative so she could have a child but male sterility is never to be discussed publicly and it is a secret the family will protect.

2.2.3 Literature review of Laws on polygyny in South African as well as International Law

2.2.3.1 Different countries and their laws on polygyny

In the United States and Canada polygyny is illegal yet the Mormon religion is still practiced there.

Some Muslim countries recently have put certain restrictions on polygyny as according to the Quran. In South Africa and Egypt Muslim women can include in their marriage contract a

restriction on multiple wives. Syria prevents a man from taking additional wives unless he can support them. Iraq and Pakistan require a man to get permission from the government to take multiple wives, whilst Turkey and Tunisia have outlawed polygamy completely. Polygyny in the Ivory Coast is illegal but many women say it still persists (Cook, 2007: 239). In some sub-Saharan African countries traditional marriages are usually polygynous and not recognized by the government. South Africa is attempting to rectify this by making traditional or customary marriages legal regardless of whether they are monogamous or polygynous. Women in Uganda are also fighting for this law (Cook, 2007: 240).

2.2.3.1.1 Law in South Africa

South Africa has the most progressive Constitution according to the international world. The South African Constitution has been conspicuously quiet on the topic. The Bill of Rights clearly states that if a practice is by its very nature discriminatory towards a group of people it is not supported or sanctioned by the law but there is also the Customary Marriages Act which recognizes the practice of polygyny. The Bill of Rights states that if any cultural practice is discriminatory it is not protected. The question then becomes is the customary practice of polygyny contravening section 9 of the Bill of Rights. If a certain group is allowed a certain 'privilege' based on their gender and race and other groups not extended such a privilege that is the fundamental nature of discrimination which renders such a practice polygyny unconstitutional. The Constitution states that if there is a contradiction between customary law and Bill of Rights the latter takes precedence.

Polygynous marriages are unconstitutional because in the South African Bill of Rights the equality clause supersedes the right to culture and polygyny discriminates against women and people traditionally not indigenous to South Africa such as white people. Another issue that is never raised within the law is that by allowing men to take another wife the emotional and financial positions of the existing wives are weakened. The man in a polygynous marriage yields all power both financial and physically over his wives and may act as a dictator to whom his wives must serve and obey and although the law may in theory alleviate the cruel consequences of such a union in practice it fails to intervene. The law does recognize monogamous and polygynous customary marriages by The Recognition of Customary Marriages Act no 120 of 1998. Section 6 of the Act maintains the financial position of a wife

in a polygynous marriage by stating that; *A wife in a customary marriage has, on the basis of equality with her husband and subject to the matrimonial property system governing the marriage, full status and capacity, including the capacity to acquire assets and to dispose of them, to enter into contracts and to litigate, in addition to any rights and powers that she might have at customary law.* According to the Act wives in a customary marriage enjoy equal status with their husband after the marriage in terms of the law and might not always adhere to this provision of the law, the Act clearly aims to limit the harsh discriminatory effect of traditional patriarchal practices on married women (Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 108 of 1996 The Recognition of Customary Marriage Act 120 of 1998).

Customary law is defined as “the customs and usages traditionally observed among the indigenous African people of South Africa which form part of the culture of these people”. This means a White man cannot legally enter into a polygamous marriage because he is not indigenous to South Africa and neither is his culture. The Law does not explicitly state that a Black woman cannot enter into a polyandrous marriage but it is understood to be illegal. The law is also silent on homosexual Black men if they are allowed to enter polygamous marriages with other men. The Constitutional court may not declare polygyny unconstitutional because it recognizes the traditions and customs of a particular community whose traditions and culture were previously disrespected and marginalized during Apartheid, while also not sending a message that those groups prohibited from entering polygamous marriages are less worthy of such a privilege and that it does not affect their human dignity.

In KwaZulu-Natal customary law, extramarital affairs by either spouse are sufficient cause for the dissolution of the marriage. If a man has been cheated on by his wife, whilst in a polygynous marriage the result may be different because of the disparity in status between men and women in a patriarchal society. Before the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act was enacted in November 2000, traditional unions were given limited recognition. The Act addressed the issue of divorce as well as creating a distinction between those marriages concluded prior to November 2000 and those entered into afterward. Customary marriages since November 2000 where the man has not been previously married will be deemed to be in community of property, which means the couple has equal share in the estate profits and losses. If a man in a polygynous marriage wishes to dissolve a marriage with any of his wives he will have to go to court to do so and as with Civil marriage, the party requesting the

divorce will have to show that the marriage has broken down irretrievably. If a man in a polygynous marriage launches divorce proceedings he may consider calling for the repayment of the *lobola* given to the wife's family. In terms of Customary law if a man suspects his wife of having an extramarital affair which results in a pregnancy, if the man asks the wife who the father of the child is and she refuses to answer the customary marriage may be dissolved and the amount paid in damages will be determined by the court (Snider, 2010: 21).

In his article *Zuma's wives boggle pension rules* in the Saturday Independent newspaper, Pressly states that when a president dies his pension fund 50% of it goes to his wife. In the case of a polygynous marriage there have been no rules stipulating what should occur or how the pension fund shall be distributed. The likely outcome would be however many wives the president has by the time of his death the 50% will be divided amongst them (Pressly, 2010).

2.2.3.1.2. Literature on South African Polygyny

The authors Delius and Glaser in their article, *The Myth of Polygamy: A history of Extra-Marital and Multi-Partnership Sex in South Africa*, say that throughout the twentieth century observers of Black sexuality in South Africa have assumed a close connection between the tradition of polygamy and contemporary male promiscuity. The connection has been argued in two ways; firstly polygamy created an expectation of multiple sexual partnerships for men and secondly there was a tendency to romanticize African tradition by insisting that in the olden days polygamy contained male sexual urges (Delius & Glaser, 2002:84).

Delius and Glaser argue that polygamy although common was still in the minority during pre-colonial society but there was still a great deal of sex taking place outside marriage. Marriage was not so much about fidelity but it was about the rights to offspring, transaction of cattle and the organization of homestead labour than about the control of sexuality (Delius & Glaser, 2002:85). The pattern within most African communities was that girls became brides shortly after puberty and men married at a more advanced age and additional wives were often taken later in life. It could then be argued that the incidence of polygamy was shaped by a life cycle and that age was the crucial determinant in allowing individual men to achieve this end but there is a broad consensus that it was wealth and power which was the

critical determinants of the ability to marry more than one wife or to marry at all (Delius & Glaser, 2002:86).

In South Africa the Zulus according to 'old records' were a very 'moral' people, incidences of divorce, adultery and illegitimacy were very rare. Adultery was considered a serious crime and punished by death or flogging. In matters of intimacy, married women were expected to remain monogamous. Adultery was a grievous infraction for wives and lead in some instances to punishment by death (Delius & Glaser, 2002:93).

The authors state that it is argued in academia as well as popular literature that the establishment of the migrant labour system played a crucial role in destabilizing family life and in encouraging sexual promiscuity. There is evidence that polygamy increased in the early colonial period before diminishing in the nineteenth century under the impact of Christianity, hut tax and other economic pressures. One more consequence was that the removal of a large number of sexually active young men from communities diminished the potential for extra-marital relationships (Delius & Glaser, 2002:95). Migrancy did contribute to married men engaging in adulterous relationship because they were forced to live far away from home for long periods of time.

The authors proposed that due to 'Western' ways and decline of polygamy in urban townships lead to the high levels of adultery and illegitimacy in urban townships. Polygamy it was argued, contained male sexuality within a formalized system and ensured all women were absorbed into married life (Delius & Glaser, 2002:104). Urban observes were romanticizing the effectiveness of polygamy in maintaining marital fidelity but in effect as the authors have shown polygamy had never been designed to maintain sexual fidelity nor did polygamy ensure that all women would be absorbed into the marriage system. There is a misconception that all women in pre-colonial society all women were married because polygamy was so common, in reality there was a large population of unmarried women and extra-martial sexual liaison were as traditional as polygamy was (Delius & Glaser, 2002:104). The difference in the city was not the existence of unmarried women but the decline of the father's household which offered a safety net for the unmarried, divorced, deserted and widowed women. (Delius & Glaser, 2002:104).

A study conducted in the 1970s found that most married women regarded their husband's affairs as routine. There are a number of inter-related reasons for the levels of infidelity. Firstly, in spite of the western imposition on the significance of marriage it was clear that the

continuance of social acceptance of marital infidelity allowed it to thrive. As the authors have already previously mentioned African marriage whether monogamous or polygamous was conceived to designate homes and responsibility for children rather than to constrain sexual activity. The greater tolerance of infidelity was transferred by western lifestyle and a Christian element also contributed to its tolerance but infidelity was never regarded as a divorceable offence. Secondly, urban life offered a wide-scope for extra-martial affairs in which punishment was rarely suffered by its offenders. Thirdly, there was a wide-spread marriage of conveniences which were a means of gaining urban status and resources. Fourthly, in the face of grinding poverty wives who were involved in extra-martial relationships this meant extra valuable income for them. This was a common survival strategy in the countryside especially with the long-term absence of migrant husbands. The income from their husbands was usually inadequate and unreliable especially if their husbands were heavy drinkers or had their own extra-martial affairs.

According to the authors neither polygamy nor Christian monogamy could contain sexuality in African communities in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Evidence suggests that a significant reduction of multi-partner sex can play an important part in reducing the rate of HIV/AIDS infection. The authors declare that the tragedy of the twentieth century was not the existence of unmarried women but the systematic undermining of their position in both the town and countryside which makes it difficult for them to escape deeply rooted dependent, exploitative and coercive relationships (Delius & Glaser, 2002:114).

2.2.4 Literature on the contemporary South African perspective (Newspapers, Magazines, TV)

Polygyny and politicians who seem to be advertising their polygynous lifestyle are constantly written about in newspapers, magazines and discussed on television programs. Polygyny seems to be the discussed and debated continuously in contemporary South Africa. The following articles were from the year 2010 and not a month went by where the topic of 'polygyny' was not discussed in any newspaper which shows that this is very much a relevant topic.

2.2.4.1 Review on polygyny in contemporary newspapers

Polygyny has roots deeper than the association between marriage and romantic love took hold in the 19TH century. In pre-industrial societies marriage served three purposes; economic production, reproductive ends and most importantly creating alliances between families. De Haas (2010) in her newspaper article goes as far as to dissect the word 'wedding' which means the families negotiated and entered into agreements and this aspect remains central to the rituals surrounding African marriages. De Haas discusses how polygyny was practiced globally from Kings in Ireland to parts of Asia and of course Africa, Kings married to create political alliances and sometimes enemies.

The man/husband had all authority and sanctioned control of all his wives and their property rights. There has been competition amongst the wives over resources for their children and allegations of witchcraft.

The author says HIV/AIDS is a serious threat in a polygynous marriage because the husband has multiple wives. De Haas (2010) says the risk of HIV in a relationship stems from the status of any of the partners and whether (assuming they are all HIV-negative) they remain faithful. Polygyny does not put a stop to infidelity. The past proves that men have been unable at times to support one family let alone many families and therefore are a failure to fulfil their duties as fathers.

The author declares it is one thing for a king/chief to enter into a polygynous union but it is the height of irresponsibility for a poor man to do the same. De Haas mentions sibling rivalry as being intense in a monogamous households but it pales in comparison to polygynous households as the competition for scarce resources is fierce.

Men continue to use the uneducated excuse of "my ancestor did it so will I" but the bigger question is why do women continue to willingly enter such unions. According to research women are married off to unsuitable men as additional wives by their poverty-stricken families bribed by the payment of *ilobolo*. Some women believe any marriage is better than no marriage and fail to fully appreciate the ramifications of entering polygynous marriage entails for themselves as well as any future children they may have. The authors concludes that women should make informed decisions about their lives and the partner they intend on marrying because the ultimate people who will suffer as a result will be themselves and their

children and must not be blinded by pomp and ceremony of a wedding to a wealthy man (De Haas 2010, *Sunday Times*).

Gqola is a feminist blogger and an associate professor of literature who wrote an article debunking all the arguments the anti-feminist bought forward defending the South African President and his polygamist lifestyle. The first one being “it is a private matter”, the President is not a private citizen. The President pledged his loyalty to certain principles and it is the duty and right of any citizen to question his office when he transgresses or jeopardizes those principles. It is not a private matter if it is citizen’s tax payers’ money that pays for a president’s increasingly expensive family and countless illegitimate children.

The second argument is that if the President had one wife he would escape public scrutiny. Gqola says this argument uses binary logic which is useless. The heart of the matter is the president is an adult and can therefore do as he pleases, short of commit a crime and not get convicted of a crime. Gqola just wishes the president would stop acting like a helpless child who has no decisions, no choice and no mind of his own.

The third argument is that the president’s critics romanticize monogamy whilst the president’s defenders romanticize polygamy. The issue isn’t about monogamy or polygamy it is about the message the president is sending and the disregard for the very real dangers that come with infinite sexual relationships in a time of AIDS that is the problem.

The fourth argument is that men use “it’s my culture” excuse to practice polygamy. The fact is culture is not static and changes. They cannot claim polygamy as ‘their culture’ because it is not specifically African and has been and still is practiced all over the world.

The fifth and final argument is that the personal is the political. That not all women are feminists and there would be no oppressive system has ever succeeded without the complicity and active support of members of those classes/groups it seeks to oppress that is why the personal is the political (Gqola, 2010).

The King of Swaziland, King Mswati III has had many of his wives rumoured to have committed adultery. In his article, *The King, queen and the justice minister*, in the Sunday Tribune, Fabrious raises a loaded question on what is the significance of polygamy if all it does is fuel a pompous king’s infinite ego, a king who has publically and proudly declared that his mission in life is to have more wives than his father did. The author states that the king does not love these women but wants to rape them legally. A few years ago a law was

passed in Swaziland stipulating that it was illegal for anyone to have sex with a girl who is 17 and under and anyone who did so is a rapist. Then that very year the law was passed the king marries a 16 year old. In order to try explain his obviously embarrassing mistake the king claims his young bride was never 'touched' until she was of legal age to have sex, which was a blatant lie because the young bride gave birth a year later proving that she was more than 'touched' by the king, maybe it was immaculate conception. The tragedy is that Swaziland according to the World Health statistics is the world leader in terms of HIV/AIDS and is also amongst the poorest in the world. Instead of trying to help his people the king is preoccupied with taking another young virgin to be his wife regardless of age because the 'no sex with a girl 17 or younger' has been removed ever since the King married his 16 year old bride (Fabrius, 2010).

The authors of *the joys of polygamy for middle-class women* offer some reasons as to why middle-class educated women enter polygamous marriages. The authors begin by saying it is ironic and astounding that in a democracy such as South Africa which prides itself at being modern and liberated, that middle class women would voluntarily enter into polygamous marriages. Hlophe and Ngcaweni state that traditionally it has been the men who have been the providers and have lured women into polygamous marriages with the promise of economic security but today women who are able to provide for themselves willingly enter into polygamous marriages. The authors believe that if a man is wealthy women are more accepting of the idea of sharing him as long as he can provide for them, although the authors also mention that in some polygamous marriages the wife or wives are financial secure themselves so they do not need to marry for economic security therefore there must be other reasons for entering such unions. The authors in effect give some of the reasons they suspect financial independent women may enter polygamous marriages.

The first reason they put forward is companionship, the second is societal pressures marriage is seen in society as something a woman is obliged to do therefore a woman desperate for marriage will settle for any type of marriage even a polygamous one. The third reason some women choose to enter such unions is because they unconditionally love their men. The fourth reason women enter such unions is that they are accepting of the fact that man at his basic core his primal instinct is of a perpetual hunter and his mission is to spread his seed as far and as wide as possible. The fourth reason actually falls under the love her man 'unconditionally'. The fifth rationale is that some women feel monogamy is an unnatural social construct. These women feel it is an imperial imposition of Judea-Christian culture.

The authors assert that polygamy is a result of primal instinct but is reinforced by social construct as tradition and religion. The sixth reason is that middle-class women join such unions because it builds a foundation of socialism and social cohesion. The authors find it intriguing that in an age of heightened feminism, the social and economic empowerment of women and growing individualism, that polygamy still remains relevant and favourable to middle-class women (Hlophe & Ngcaweni, 2010).

In her article *Women ready to play polygamists at their own game*, Khoabane angrily declares that women are tired of the cultural claptrap of polygamy which is being used to justify the infidelity of men. She also states that men too are despondent about wealthy men possessing or marrying all the beautiful girls. Khoabane says that if girls married in polygamous marriages have to wait in long lines just to have a decent conversation with their husband and also to claim conjugal rights, they too must find 'toy-boys' to entertain themselves with. Khoabane eloquently draws attention to the double standard that society pompously enforces in that if a women commits infidelity she is quickly judged and punished but if a man does the same it is adequately called 'culture or polygamy'. She reiterates that polygamists are involved in socially sanctioned cheating. Khoabane encourages women to rise up and stop being used and abused by men who have no other aspiration than to bed as many women as possible. Women should put their feet down and demand a faithful and devoted husband and not settle for some of a husband rather than none at all (Khoabane, 2010: 2).

In his article *Row over Mandela's new wife*, George discusses how Mandla Mandela, the grandson of Nelson Mandela who is also a chief in Mveso, Eastern Cape took a second wife without consulting his first wife. The first wife learned of her husband's impending marriage when one of her friend's showed her the invitation to her husband's second wedding. The first wife sort a legal remedy to prevent her husband from marrying a second wife. The High court judge allowed the second wedding to continue but froze the husband's bank accounts. That did not deter Mandla Mandela from taking a second wife and the wedding ceremony did happen. The first wife is still trying to get the marriage to the second wife invalidated on the grounds that Mandela failed to draw up a contract regulating the matrimonial property of both marriages so if the first wife decides to divorce she will now only be entitled to a third of the estate instead of half the estate.

George does state that yes it is allowed for a chief to have as many wives as he wants but the first wife must be in agreement with such an arrangement. The custom in theory is that the

husband seeks the approval of the first wife to marry another but in practice that is not always true as the article highlighted (George, 2010).

In his follow up article *Mandela's first wife fights for share of joint estate*, George discusses how Mandla Mandela's first wife successfully had the High Court freeze her husband's bank accounts pending their divorce. Mandela's first wife claimed that her husband was a serial philanderer and that he has had many affairs during their marriage and was even contracted to marry a Swazi princess without her knowledge. Mandela's wife claims that ever since he was sworn in as chief of Mveso in the Eastern Cape he changed and became enthralled with the wealthy lifestyle of being a chief and had many business offers being offered to him as a result of his new elevated status. His first wife claims the marriage has broken down irretrievably as a result of Mandela's womanizing and the first wife claims they never discussed him possibly taking on more wives in the future and therefore failed to draw up a marriage contract stipulating the share of the estate each wife would get as a result of him entering into a polygynous marriage. The first wife has raised valid points and does have legal standing in court to sue her husband but Mandela being a chief is allowed by customary law to take as many wives as he wants so it will be an interesting outcome and one that might set a precedent for polygynous marriages and divorces in South Africa (George, 2010).

In Olifant's article *Mchunu's widow laughs off riches*, the author highlights the incomprehensible ridiculous notion of polygyny and how it has no bounds. John Mchunu not only was in a polygynous union but he married his wife's sister, his sister-in-law. This raises obvious moral and legal questions because the law stipulates one cannot marry their in-laws. Another issue raised is cultural because the man has already paid *lobola* for his wife and now he wants to go and pay *lobolo* again for his sister-in-law. The children of such a union would be highly complicated because they should be cousins but they would have the same father so that would make them half-siblings as well (Olifant, 2010).

In the article *The pastor who has six wives puts an end to polygamy in his church*; the author discusses a pastor of a church who made history when he married six women at the same time. The pastor declares that he does not approve of polygamy and he did not plan on marrying so many women it just happened because God wanted it to happen. Pastor Mandla Mthembu claims his polygamous marriage is different because it was planned and sanctioned by God and he does not want anyone to imitate what he has done. He explained that he does not approve of polygamy because men are unfaithful, pathological liars and unreliable. He

says men have many wives and fail to maintain them and their children which results in the suffering of women and children. The pastor discourages polygamy and refuses to marry anyone who wants to marry a second wife. The pastor claims his polygamous marriage is what God has willed and that his wives all get along extremely well and are like sisters and this is the result of him treating them exactly the same and not having any favourites. Pastor Mthembu who is against any other man entering a polygamous marriage has not ruled out taking a seventh or even eighth wife if God has ordained it. This article highlights how convoluted and confused men are and how they use polygamy to their advantage and then claim it is ordained by God.

In *Ngema says he can't wait to wed again*; the author, Masuku discusses how famous theatre producer Mbongeni Ngema (56) is going to wed Mroza Buthelezi (35) who is an Ukhozi FM Presenter. Ngema is thrice divorced his most famous wife, an actress who gained fame for her lead role in the movie *Sarafina*, Leleti Khumalo. Buthelezi says she is aware of the three fiancés behind her and waiting to marry her fiancé. Buthelezi says she respects culture and appreciated the way things were done in the past and is nervous as well as excited about her polygamous marriage.

Polygynous marriages are not about 'love' or even respect as was shown in Hlongwane's article, *No work just pay*, where a man married four women in the same day and his reasoning was to save costs. Instead of having four separate weddings days he preferred to have one big wedding day for all his four wives. The wives were just happy to be married to anyone so they could have a 'better' social standing in their communities and he was happy to show his community how ostentatious he was.

All these articles highlight many issues that come with polygynous lifestyle and in terms of leaders being in polygynous marriages it affects the countries because it is usually the taxpaying citizens that have to pay for the Presidents' and Kings lavish lifestyle as well as their ever growing wives and children.

2.2.4.2 Review on polygyny in contemporary magazines

According to Nomboniso Gasa who is a gender, politics and cultural analyst and writer she states that polygamy has been on the decline in African Communities since the 1990s, with only five percent of the population practicing committed polygamy. Gasa says that contrary to popular belief polygamy is not on the rise it is just more visible.

According to Gasa, in South Africa currently the most prominent polygamists are the Zulus. Polygamy has been practiced in rural and urban Africa as well as parts of Asia, the Middle East and United States. Polygamy is sometimes practiced in the Muslim culture because it is sanctioned by the Qur'an. Although polygamy is illegal in the United States of America it is still practiced by Mormons and other fundamental Christian sects. Gasa reiterates that although Islam allows polygamy it is not a requirement and there are strict rules and regulations the parties have to adhere to before entering a polygamous marriage in Islam. The Mormons in America have no restrictions about numbers but other sub-groups may have restrictions.

Gasa states that in the past, one of the leading reasons men would enter into polygamous marriages would be because of infertility but recently it has been more about social status and power it affords the men. Polygamy in the African context has been more about necessity and not wants. Gasa states that like men women also have various reasons for entering polygamous marriages which are; money, love, culture and societal pressure to have a husband. Gasa mentions that some women may be successful in every other aspect of their lives in terms of being highly educated, financial success and yet still view themselves as failures because of their unmarried or childless status. Gasa blames a complex psychology and also insecurities as well as patriarchy that are dominate even in these seemingly successful women even at subconscious levels that lead them to entering polygamous marriages.

Pato (2010) discusses some women who are in polygamous marriages and their views. The women state that at the beginning they were not happy about being in a polygamous marriage but got used to the situation with the understanding that at least their husband won't cheat on them as he has more than one wife and should be satisfied. All the women reported that their found out their husband had cheated on them and had other girlfriends. One woman even contracted a Sexually Transmitted Disease (STD) that her husband gave her from his girlfriend and he gave both his wives the STD. Unbeknown to them the wives later found out that the husband had impregnated his girl who also had the STD which later caused her to miscarry the child. The wives later divorced the husband because they didn't understand why he had wives and many other mistresses outside the marriage and they realized he would not stop his cheating.

The initial idea of polygamy was for men to nurture women and take care of them financially but that is not what is happening today. Today culture and religion is used as an excuse for men to have as many women as possible for their own pleasure. Pato says that men feel entitled to this type of lifestyle and women are the only ones who can stop it because polygamy is not a safe lifestyle in the age of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. Research according to Pato has shown that multiple sex partners is the main reason for the high HIV-infection rates in sub-Saharan Africa and polygamy is widespread in Swaziland which has the highest HIV/AIDS infection rate in the world.

Gasa believes that polygamy is “a purely a male-serving situation with no gain for the woman. It’s a situation that breeds male bravado, lack commitment and use of women as objects of trade and male pleasure. Women who believe otherwise are in denial”. The author believes the institution of polygamy was fairly well-intentioned but today it is hard to justify (Pato, 2010: 152-155).

In Ngwenya’s article *The new face of polygamy*, the author in this article discusses the reasons why young, educated and successful women are choosing polygamous marriages. Ngwenya states that most women who entered polygamous marriages were relatively poor and as a result of their disadvantaged position they enter polygamous marriages for material gain and nothing else. Of course there seems to be a trend where educated, financially stable and independent women are entering polygamous marriages, clearly the reasons they do so is not because of poverty.

The author dissects the many reasons men ecstatically embrace polygamy but also scrutinizes them. The issue of it being a ‘cultural’ practice is not a substantial argument because if it were a ‘cultural’ practice then the people involved need to live the ‘cultural lifestyle’ in the rural areas with none of the western influences. Ngwenya states that culture is used as justification for polygamy but ‘culture’ is not consistent. Men pick and choose some parts of ‘culture’ and ignore the other parts of it.

The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) does not support polygamy because women are the most vulnerable in such unions. Although the law does offer protection to the women this protection is only in theory.

Ngwenya does mention the glaring issue of such a union in the time of HIV/AIDS. She does point out the research done in Botswana where it was argued that polygamous marriages

there reduced the prospect of HIV transmission. The researchers there concluded that “Culture is seen as reducing the spread of HIV/AIDS since culture promotes that married partners should stick to one partner or polygamous partners only”.

Ngwenya does interview many experts such as; Jabulani Sithole, who is a historian at the University of KwaZulu-Natal as well as Professor Robert Thornton of the Department of Anthropology at Wits University. Sithole states that culture has and still is being used to oppress women and women as a result are brainwashed into believing that any marriage is better than no marriage. Professor Thornton believes that polygamy is and always has been about uneducated and vulnerable women marrying better off men for the sake of power and money or access to it. Thornton declares that customary marriage is a form of economic and legal arrangement. Thornton stresses that maintaining this level of economic wealth and exploitation is coercive and this coercion is hidden under the guise of religious, cultural and now even legal structures.

Thornton reiterates that a polygamous marriage is just a business arrangement. Women enter such unions for money or access to goods it provides. The reason why Thornton believes so staunchly that it is just about the money and power, is because women do not enter polygamous marriages with poor or powerless men. Women who enter into polygamous marriages do so for the protection, the money and the power as well as to give their children better access to a better life.

Thornton persists that since polygamy is built on political and economic power women who marry into such unions who are already independently economically stable do so because they want more power and money. These women want power and money but they do not want to have to spend the necessary time with the man as if it were a monogamous marriage. In fact they are just using the man to advance their own status. Thornton concludes that since marriage is a legal arrangement which primarily deals with inheritance and social rank these educated and economically independent women make a calculated decision to enter polygamous marriages for the benefits it will afford them. These women are using men to advance their cultural and societal standings just as the men are using these women to gain more respect and status in their communities.

2.2.4.3 Review on polygyny in mainstream popular culture and television

The stoning of Soraya M was a movie adaptation of a book, *the stoning of Soraya M: A True Story* by Freidane Sahebjam. Soraya M married at the age of 13 to Gharbon-Ali who was seven years her senior and she bore him nine children. Gharbon-Ali twenty two years later grew tired of his 'old' wife and wanted to marry a fourteen year old he coveted but being a poor man could not afford to marry another woman. Rather than returning Soraya's dowry a custom required when taking a second wife he plotted to dispose of his 'inconvenient wife'. He and a counterfeit Mullah accuse Soraya of adultery. In Iran it is the women's job to prove her innocence once accused not the accuser to prove her guilt. Soraya having withstood over two decades of physical abuse and hardship tried to prove her innocence but the tribunal of just men including her father, unanimously sentenced her to death by stoning, a practice prohibited by Islam but still widely practiced. Soraya was stoned until dead. Soraya's aunt told the story of a French-Iranian man who was passing through the town and he managed to escape with the recording of the story and he published a book about what happened to Soraya and the world found out about what happens to 'inconvenient wives' in that small town in Iran.

The story about the stoning of Soraya M is a perfect example of how some Muslim men have little or no regard of Islam law and do not view their wives as human beings but just property to be disposed of when they become an 'inconvenience' to them or they stand in their way of marrying a second wife.

Philips and Jones (1990) voice that popular opinion amongst Muslim people is that polygyny should be banned because of its high failure rate especially in the West. Philips and Jones stress that this may be a traditional conclusion because the incidence of failure in a monogamous marriage is greater but the thought of banning marriage all together is unimaginable. Polygyny in Islam tests the marriage partners and forces them to give more thought to communal feelings, needs and expectations than would be necessary in a monogamous marriage. The test lies in one's ability to be charitable, cooperative and patient in the face of jealousy and instances of apparent injustices. Success in this test could teach each family member how to succeed in the larger units of community and Nation (Philips & Jones. 1990: 92).

I want to discuss polyandry as well in this literature review because I want show the similarities between polyandry and polygyny as well as the differences.

2.2.5 Review on literature on Polyandry

In the Northern border of India, within the mountains of the Western Himalaya is the state of Himachal Pradesh. The state of Himachal Pradesh is rugged and mountainous (Parma, 1975: 1). The people of Himachal Pradesh consist of hill Rajputs. They are exclusively Hindu and adhere strictly to Hindu customs and traditions. They are wholly agricultural and live a very tough life (Parma, 1975: 2). Polyandry is usually said to be the effect of an excess of males over females. It has also been suggested that polyandry results from female infanticide but there has been no trace of that existing in Jaunsar-Bawar (Parma, 1975: 100). Most people in the hill chieftains practiced polyandry because there was a great disparity in the proportion of the sexes which explained the continuance of polyandry in the Simia Hills (Parma, 1975: 101). Polygyny is usually practiced where there are more females than males. In a place where there are fewer females this custom cannot be widespread for the majority of the male population would have to remain unmarried. Polyandry is prevalent in Kullu, Saraj, Bashahr, Simla Hills and Sirmur and even those who cannot afford to have a wife separately manage to do so jointly. It is only the wealthy who have more than one wife (Parma, 1975: 53).

The women in this society are viewed in two separate views; she is a little better than a slave or beast and is deemed to perform the hardest drudgery, she is bought as chattel and is treated as such. On the other hand she is considered the mistress of the family. The women in the hill society are subservient to men and are regarded as chattel and are bought and sold to the highest bidder and may be inherited by her husband's kin (Parma, 1975: 35). If the husband wants a divorce he can repudiate his marital obligations on the flimsiest pretext and receive compensation for his wife in the shape of Reet which is a custom whereby married women could only get a release from their husbands and marry others. The woman is also in high demand because of her resourcefulness in domestic life and care of children. Although women in these areas can be sold and bought to the highest bidder a husband cannot afford to do that because of her social and economic utility and the husband cannot live without her and cannot dispense of her services (Parma, 1975: 35). The woman will only agree to stay with her husband if things are agreeable if she is unhappy she will or can leave the husband and return to her parents and arrange that her parents will pay Reet to her husband and once Reet is paid she is then liberated to find a husband more to her liking. The husband will try his best to convince his wife to stay with him because he needs a wife to look after his household, perform duties, as well as bring in fuel and grass and help in other agricultural operations.

According to Parma the causes of polyandry are; psychological, biological and economic. The psychological reasons are that traditions have developed through the mental outlook of the people. For centuries the Pandavas believed they were the mythical heroes of their region and therefore a common wife should be regarded as an emblem of chastity and goodness. They looked upon polyandry with esteem and respect (Parma, 1975: 149). The biological and economic factors have been the most powerful causes of the introduction of polyandry. The scarcity of women and the birth of a greater number of male issues are significant biological factors underlying the institution of polyandry. The great difference in the number of males and females gave undue importance and value to females which resulted in the introduction of polyandry and Reet. This custom also ensured that a family of brothers would possess a common wife (Parma, 1975: 149). The economic reason may have been the most influential reason of the three. The desire to leave undivided an estate on which several brothers have worked and invested their capital is very important. This can only be ensured through polyandry. It is the interaction of biological, economic and psychological factors which helps keeps this practice alive and unless there is a radical change in economic life and social outlook polyandry is unlikely to stop (Parma, 1975: 150).

Polyandry in the Himalayas has been attributed to the poverty of the people. It is practiced in the areas of Himachal Pradesh. Those people who were too poor to have obtained a wife would be able to obtain one if they combine their resources with another women's husband and in effect the two men would have one wife whom they would share in running the household or farm (Parma, 1975: 40). The women in the hills of the Himalayas are high demand because of their scarcity and utility (Parma, 1975: 41). The parents of this type of society regard it their duty to see their sons and daughters married and even if they are poor they would rather incur lifelong debts to perform their duties than have unmarried son or daughter (Parma, 1975: 45). In some parts of the trans-Giri territory a betrothal is arranged before a child even attains the age of one year. In some instances the betrothals take place whilst the child is in the womb. The understanding is that if the children are of opposite sex they are to be wedded to each other (Parma, 1975: 45).

Polyandry of the fraternal type is extensively practiced in Bashahr, Kullu, Jubbal, Keonthal and the trans-Giri tract of Sirmur. It is not peculiar to any particular caste or tribe (Parma, 1975: 54). The most common form of marriage in the polyandrous trans-Giri tract of Sirmur is Asura. Polyandry was well established in some areas of Himachal Pradesh and adjoining hill areas of Chakrata. Its influence has diminished because of the growth of individuality and

changed social outlook but it has not lost its hold on the people and its worthwhile functions with the institution it serves. It is not documented when polyandry appeared but it is mentioned in Post-Vedic literature (Parma, 1975: 80). Fraternal polyandry is practiced in some Himalayan areas. Polyandry was generally just practiced by brothers who shared a common wife but it evolved to allow cousins and even strangers to share a common wife in certain tracts (Parma, 1975: 81). The general practice was a joint wife was shared by brothers up to the number of six. If there were more than six brothers the brothers would get two wives.

It was common for woman to have more than one husband some even had up to five husbands. In terms of determining the paternity of the child, it is recognized that all the husbands of the woman are the father child. The eldest brother so long as he is alive is considered the father of all the children (Parma, 1975: 83). A brother who shares a common wife or strangers may bring in another wife but only if he has the consent of the first common wife. If a brother brings another wife without the consent of the common wife the brother will forego his rights in the common household and will have to live apart with his new wife and he will lose his share of the ancestral property (Parma, 1975: 84).

It has been observed that polyandry prevents sub-division of property and maintains it as an economic holding (Parma, 1975: 89). If a woman is admitted into a polyandric family it is understood that she is the wife of all the brothers. She is not allowed to deny any of the brothers, she has to accept all of them even against her wishes but this rarely happens. Before the common wife marries into the family she already knows all the brothers and if she objected to one brother or more she would not be allowed to marry into the family (Parma, 1975: 95). The common wife is meant to treat all her husbands equally and she is not allowed to show favour to any one husband because that would cause great strife and even be considered grounds for a divorce. A woman was in great demand in the Sirmur culture and she was loved by her parents and was invaluable to her husband (Parma, 1975: 99).

Since a number of men share the wives of their brothers all their lives and it is only the eldest brother who actually brings the wife who is considered married, the others are considered 'unmarried' for purposes of the census which explains the great disparity between the number of unmarried males and unmarried females (Parma, 1975: 108).

Polyandry instead of forming separate families obtained a joint wife and avoided all the difficulties which a separate wife for each would have entailed. By practicing polyandry it

ensured a division of labour and an efficiency which would not have been possible otherwise and which alone have stood the rigors of life there. Everyone in the polyandrous family has enough work to do and none sits idle with nothing to do the whole (Parma, 1975: 145). Polyandry in these hills has been found to be due to the scarcity of women and land and a desire to leave an estate undivided and tradition has played a significant role in sustaining the custom (Parma, 1975: 146).

2.2.5.1 Review on countries that practice polyandry

Mazrui, in his article, *The Black woman and the problem of Gender: an African Perspective*, he begins the article by defining what polygyny and polyandry are and emphasizing that polyandry has never been a custom in South Africa.

There was a special case in Southern Africa where reverse polygyny occurred. Men in Mozambique went to work in the mines of South Africa for long periods of time and they were not allowed to take their wives and children with them because of Apartheid laws. Over the decades a reverse polygamy arose whereby an African woman had one husband instead of an African man having more than one wife, so in fact polyandry was practiced. When the first husband returned from the mines the second husband would vacate the hut for the duration of the first husband's visit. Agreements were reached in terms of paternity of the women's children. Therefore de facto polyandry, which was not sanctioned by custom and ritual but had evolved as a result of racist constraints on migrant labour in Southern Africa (Mazrui, 1993:93).

2.2.6 Review on literature on the affects of polygyny on women and children

This author discusses polygyny as benign or malignant sexism as well as it being benign sexism. Mazrui asks the question if polygyny is malignant sexism in which the harm unequivocally outweighs any advantage or is it benign sexism in which the husband and the wives gain different but equivalent benefits from the relationship. There are African societies where the wives of a single husband provide a support system whereby some wives take care of the household and children and other wives work outside the home and are active whether economically or socially in the world, this according to the author is benign polygyny. There

are also polygynous systems where women are just sex-toys and housekeepers for their husband and this is malignant polygyny (Mazrui, 1993:93).

In Cook's article she states that polygyny is harmful to women and children. Studies conducted on women in polygynous marriages in the Middle East showed that these women are unhappy in their polygynous marriages and suffer mentally and physically as a result. Islamic women have no choice but to remain married if their husband takes a second wife because Islamic culture and law dictate that if a woman divorces her husband she must leave the house, her children and will not be supported financially by her husband (Cook, 2007: 239).

A study by Tabi (2010) delves into polygyny and women married in such unions but her approach is from a clinical angle and she wants to discover the psychological and emotional strains that such a marriage have on women. Tabi did discover considerable strain on women in polygynous marriages, psychological as well as emotional illness which she attributed to being a polygynous union.

Cook's research results found that many women do not like polygyny. Cook interviewed many women on her trip across Africa and she found out that, in Africa polygamy is a cultural practice that is not dependent on a person's religion. Most of the women Cook interviewed had grown up in either a polygynous household or had a family member who was in a polygynous marriage or practiced polygyny. The consensus amongst the women she interviewed was men take on more than one wife because; they like women, they want many children, they need another house to relax, they are sexually unsatisfied with the first wife, the first wife does not respect him or the first wife cheated on him (Cook, 2007: 247).

Cook says that polygyny may be adaptive but it is a cultural practice women do not like but women are the reason for its continuation. The women do see an advantage of being the second or third wife to a wealthy man but they do not see an advantage of being the only wife to a poor man (Cook, 2007: 249).

2.2.6.1 Review of literature on polygyny and men

Delius and Glaser (2004) say that many scholars have assumed a close connection between polygamy and contemporary male promiscuity. The connection was argued that polygamy

created an expectation of multiple sexual partners for men and that there is a tendency to romanticize African tradition by insisting that in the past polygamy successfully contained male urges. The authors state that Westernization and urbanization destabilized polygamy and distorted homestead structures and motivated extra-marital sexuality. Delius and Glaser say that marriage was about rights to offspring, transaction of cattle and the organization of homestead labour than about control of sexuality (2004:84).

2.2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an extensive literature review on polygyny in South Africa as well as internationally. Emanating from this literature review is the fact that polygyny is not strictly African but is an international practice.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY

3.1. Introduction

Qualitative researchers focus on how individuals or groups perceive their world and how they construct meaning out of their experiences. The title of my thesis being *Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary KwaZulu-Natal*. My research will have a multidisciplinary approach. I will be using the Grounded Theory Approach, Weedon and Foucault's social construction and post structural feminism as well as Wallace's theory on socialisation. The Grounded Theory Approach is appropriate for my research because it allows me to conduct an inquiry for the purpose of constructing a theory since it is used to study a social phenomenon. It suits my research because I am studying a phenomenon amongst middle-class educated women in polygynous unions. In this chapter I will discuss the paradigms and the theoretical framework which informs the theories I have adopted. Since my thesis is about women, it will also deal specifically with issues that are gender related. I believe that this theory is appropriate in this study which examines gender, power and how it is used to perpetuate oppression of women in a society.

3.1.1. Paradigms

When researchers embark on a research problem their inquiry is guided by a particular worldview or approach. I have decided to use a combination of the postpositivistic and the social constructivist worldview. I chose to encompass the postpositivistic worldview because it represents the traditional form of research. The postpositivistic view is also known as the scientific method or science research and it is also called positivist research or empirical science. It is known as positivism because it represents the thinking of positivism and challenges the traditional notion of the absolute truth of knowledge and recognizes that as humans we cannot be 'positive' about our claims of knowledge when studying the behaviour and actions of humans (Creswell, 2009:6).

Creswell claims postpositivists embrace a deterministic philosophy in which causes determine outcome and effects. Therefore the problems studied by postpositivists reflect the need to identify and assess the causes that influence outcomes such as those found in experiments. Postpositivism is also reductionist in its methodology which is ideal for my

Grounded Theory approach. The knowledge gained from a postpositivistic perspective is based on careful observation and measurements of the outside world. According to this method; the researcher begins with a theory, collects data that either proves or disproves the theory and makes the necessary revisions for additional tests (Creswell, 2009:7).

The second worldview I will be incorporating in my study is the social constructivist worldview. Social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they inhabit (Creswell, 2009:8). Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences, which are varied and multiple, this leads the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas.

According to Creswell the goal of the researcher is to rely as much as possible on the participant's views of the situation being studied. The questions asked would be broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation. Open-ended questions are used because they allow participants to narrate their own stories. These subjective meanings are influenced by the participant's socialisation and culture. Researchers also understand that their own background shape their interpretation which flows from their personal, cultural and historical experiences. The constructivist researcher interprets the worldview according to how people experience it. Rather than starting with a theory as postpositivists inquire, constructivists generate or inductively develop a theory (Creswell, 2009:8).

The process of qualitative research is largely inductive with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field (Creswell, 2009:9).

I am concerned about gender issues so my study will draw from positivism which is associated with natural sciences and which feminist researchers view as being consist with a 'male point of view' (Neuman. 1997:80).

3.2. Conceptual framework

Polygyny is a very complicated and complex topic to research because intrinsic to it are several factors which are deeply intertwined. Amongst these one can mention culture, tradition, societal expectations, personal and even political considerations. The reason I chose to conduct a study on polygyny is that it allows men and not women to marry multiple partners. In this study I seek to understand why independent, educated, 'modern' working

women in particular, should choose to enter into such relationships. The reason I chose to conduct a study on polygyny is that the practice of polygyny is the foundation of inequality because at its root it renders women inferior to men because men are allowed to have more than one wife whereas, women are denied that “privilege” by the very fact that they are women.

3.3. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this chapter is multidisciplinary. This chapter examines the three approaches informing my study.

Grounded theory is relevant in the study of phenomenon. It is discovered, developed and verified by data collection and analysis of data pertaining to the phenomenon. One does not begin with a theory than prove or disprove it but the reverse; the researcher begins with an area of study and whatever is relevant to that study is allowed to emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:23).

Grounded Theory was developed in the 1960s by Glaser and Strauss (Larossa, 2005:839). In the ‘Discovery of Grounded Theory’, Glaser and Strauss (1967) aimed to close a gap between theory and research by generating a theory from the research completed. Grounded Theory emphasises the importance of empirical field work and the need to link any explanations closely to what happens in practical situations in real life (Denscombe, 2007).

The process of grounded theory building is that there are five phases of grounded theory research design they are; data collection, data ordering, data analysis and literature comparison, within these phases nine procedures are followed.

3.4. Walby’s Social Construction

Walby (1994) defines patriarchy as a “system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women”. This definition highlights the importance of viewing patriarchy as a structurally social phenomenon than as an individual one. Walby (1994) expresses that since the beginning of time as times and societies change, one thing has remained unchanged and constant and that is male domination over women. Polygyny is an accepted institution in most parts of the world. I argue that it is the persistence of patriarchy that allows polygyny to thrive and prosper. Arriving at a satisfactory definition of patriarchy

is difficult since it has so many explanations. One definition points to it being a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1994). In this way patriarchy operates to achieve and maintain gender inequalities which are essential for the subordination of women. Among six structures of patriarchy identified by Walby (2000) culture seems to be the strongest. She also mentions sexuality, violence, state, paid work and house work. Each of these impacts on one another but also remains relatively autonomous. She further argues that women are not passive victims in patriarchal societies but they act out of rational self interest. This notion will be tested in the study.

3.5. Analysis of Multidisciplinary approach

Patriarchy is a system whereby males dominate female (Walker, 1990). In the household this domination is not restricted to women but also includes sons and other junior males. African tradition is clearly patriarchal. Women are seen as not only different but also inferior to men.

The theory further presumes that power rests on the societal meaning validated by biological and sexual distinguishing features. What brings about the notion of gender and power is that women are defined in relation to men which results in women's welfare being subordinate to that of men.

The term 'gender' can be understood in two ways; grammatical and social category. When 'gender' is used in a grammatical category it means it is used in terms of pronouns as masculine and feminine. When 'gender' is used in a 'social' category it means what society has socially constructed to be the roles of males and females. In my study 'gender' will be used as a social category.

In a patriarchal society there exists a belief that gender differences mirror sex differences while in reality that is not the case. Sex differences are biological and natural and cannot be undone. Gender differences are man-made and are deeply rooted in culture and can be reversed. Talbot (1998:7) elaborates on this distinction where she defines sex as biologically founded and gender is socially constructed.

The biological differences between the sexes are often as insignificant as differences between individuals. There are certain roles which are natural to women and which men cannot participate in such as childbirth and breastfeeding. These roles should highlight women's natural superiority to men but instead these roles are used against women to further

discriminate against and limit them and put them in a secondary role in society (Talbot 1998:157).

3.5.1.1. A Brief history on Michel Foucault

Discussions of Post structuralism in the social sciences revolve around the work Michel Foucault. His work was in large part responsible for constructing and institutionalizing the post structural model. Foucault has been the most influential thinker in the field of contemporary field of cultural theory (Smith 2001:121).

Discourse is central in Foucault's thinking. A discourse is a way of describing, defining, classifying and thinking about people, things and even knowledge and abstract systems of thought. Foucault argued that discourses were never free of power relations, nor should they be understood as the products of sovereign and creative human minds (Smith 2001:122). They are implicated in and arise out of the power relationships between the groups of people that the discourses themselves constitute and regulate. Foucault says "that power and knowledge directly imply one another (Smith 2001:123).

Foucault describes a picture where by human thought and actions are shaped by cultural codes rather than individual will. Foucault suggested that power was fundamental and inescapable dimension of social life. Foucault argued that the terms of power at play have undergone a transformation over the past centuries. Foucault states that disciplinary power has replaced sovereign power in the modern era (Smith 2001:124).

3.5.2. Weedon and Foucault's social construction and post structural feminism

Weedon (1987) declares that social power is perceived in and through discourses through the definition of objects and social subjects themselves which contribute to the making of what we are as people. Weedon perceives patriarchal power as structural and exists in social practices rather than individual perpetuation. The use of social construction and post structural feminism is mentioned to examine and analyse the ideology of patriarchal societies of women being inferior.

Talbot (1998) states that feminism is a specific kind of political discourse that looks at customs, practices, people and events from the women's point of view and with an emancipatory aim. Feminism goes beyond simply disapproving of patriarchy disapproving of patriarchy but it also objects to the dominant discourses present in literary practice that look

at women and what makes them different and inferior to men. Feminism challenges the judgement of women by applying the same standards of men to women and then protesting women are less than capable than men. Feminism also challenges generally accepted gender roles traditionally assigned to women and men by custom rather than nature.

Marxism concentrated on the exploitation of the lower classes by the upper class, a feminist discourse takes issue and further criticizes such a stance. Marxism ignores the fact that within those exploited classes there are women who are doubly exploited; for being in the lower class and by those within their same class, this is what gave rise to feminism.

The ideas of power and patriarchy are summarised quite succinctly by Chege (2005) who states:

“Feminist-inspired scholarship has shown gender as being not naturally given, but as derived from the society in which individuals live. It involves a society’s use of biological differences as the starting point to define what it means to male and female. In societies characterized by patriarchy, gender is an expression of political power that enshrines rigid stratification of gender relations to ensure the political domination by men and the subordination of women”.

Talcott Parsons in Smith (2001), discusses the sociological exchange theory of Homans and Blau, that people seek to maximise certain things for example; social approval and will engage in interactions that will benefit their standing in their community (Smith 2001:23). The theory will be built around socialization. I want to prove that it is the society that women are raised in that allows polygyny to persist and if women are born and bred in a society in which polygyny is accepted and even welcomed they would have no qualms about entering into polygynous marriages.

It is therefore reasonable that post structural feminist theory as presented by Weedon (1987) forms part of the theoretical framework underpinning my study.

3.6. Wallace’s Theory about the gender system

Wallace (1989) talks about a system, a gender system of maintenance and reproduction which asserts that superior male power, which exists in societies allows men to coerce women into assuming work roles that reinforce their disadvantaged status, at macro and micro levels (Wallace 1989:136). Male power also allows the development of social and interpersonal

definitions that devalue women and femininity and strengthen and legitimize the gender system.

In her theory Wallace states that husbands acquire power at the micro level of the household to the extent that women are completely dependent on them and women are complicit to their husband in order to be provided with important resources (Wallace 1989:137).

Wallace (1989) states that the reason why women sustain and perpetuate a system manufactured to keep them at a lower disadvantage is because of “gender differentiation”. Wallace offers three explanations; the first deals with learning and cognitive development theorists who stress that it is the result of childhood socialization process which begins at birth, where people are taught a gender identity and to conform to their given gender roles. When children reach adulthood they actively seek confirmation of their gendered self-identity in their interactions with other by behaving in gender normative ways. The second perspective states that the primary caretakers of children are women and this further confirms the male and female roles as well as the division of labour (Wallace 1989:139-140). The third and final perspective is that specific roles played by adults create characteristic responses of attitudes, values, behaviours and priorities. Due to these roles being located in either male or female, men and women become differentiated. This strongly affects the probability that they will obtain or seek out these types of roles in the future.

Wallace asserts that despite these three different perspectives women make choices that reproduce the gender division of labour and with it superior male power and gender stratification. As a result they perceive their choices as being as unconstrained as those of men. This obviates the need for men to exercise power in order to maintain the status quo and its function to legitimize the entire system (Wallace 1989:140).

3.7. Bourdieu's Theory

Bourdieu in Swartz (1997), questions how inequalities of privilege and power persist inter-generationally without conscious recognition and public resistance? The answer he found was that cultural resources especially educational credentials, selection mechanisms and cognitive classifications can be used by individuals and groups to perpetuate their positions of privilege and power. Bourdieu goes so far as to say that it is the educational system that is responsible for the transmission of social inequality in our societies, more so than family, church and business (Swartz 1997:190).

Finally using Social constructionist and feminist post structuralism approach as part of my theory the thesis attempts to examine and analyse the naturally held and embraced ideology in patriarchal societies; of women being inferior.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the three approaches informing my study, Grounded Theory, Weedon's ideas on social constructionist and poststructuralist feminist theories which highlight the gender and power dynamics thus giving this theoretical framework its multidisciplinary approach. The theories I have discussed in this chapter are relevant to my work since they align with notions of gender and power. Power cannot be divorced from gender because one informs the other.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will be discussing the rationale behind the study. The objective of this research is to investigate peri-urban women's views of polygyny. Neuman (1997) discusses the many reasons for social research, one of which is to find something new and original to research in the social world. This research is done through a systematic way where theories or ideas are combined with facts.

The research I conducted for this study is qualitative in nature. Creswell (2009) expresses that qualitative research is best used when exploring and seeking to understand why certain individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The research I conducted is a case study and also narrative in nature because the participants shared their experiences through stories. I used sampling, data collection and analysis.

Qualitative research is vastly different to a quantitative approach. Creswell (2009) states, that qualitative inquiry employs different philosophical assumptions; strategies of inquiry and methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Qualitative research relies heavily on the text and image data.

4.2 Purpose of the research

The aim and overall objective of the research is to find out peri-urban women's views of polygyny. By listening to and recording the stories and experiences of women in such unions, the study hoped to find out information about various facets of polygyny; the motives behind such practices, and other issues pertinent to it.

4.3 Qualitative approach

The qualitative method allowed me to look at the reasons these women entered polygynous marriages. It allowed them to voice their own narratives. I used questionnaires in which individual interviews were done.

According to Creswell (2009) qualitative procedures includes certain characteristics. These characteristics are that the research takes place in the natural setting, relies on the researcher as the instrument for data collection, employs multiple methods of data collection, is inductive, is based on participants' meanings, is emergent often involves the use of theoretical lens, is interpretive and holistic.

Neuman (1997) states that the qualitative approach allows for flexibility and accommodates unexpected turns and events which may occur during the research process. It is then suitable for my current study because it allowed flexibility in terms of questionnaires and interviews.

4.4 Scope and Procedure

The methodology that was adopted in this study derived information on sample participants and provided certain biographic data related to the sample.

1. Population for the study

The study consists of women from Hammersdale area ranging from age 28-85 years old.

2. Sampling

I used convenience sampling combined with snowball sampling. (Chapter 1).

The rationale for the choice of sample was based on women who had some educational background and were in polygynous marriages. The ages of the participants taken into account were between the ages of 28 and 85 years old. These participants were selected on a voluntary basis. The language factor was taken into consideration and all the interviews were conducted in isiZulu only. These have been translated into English.

The following procedure was adopted:

- A Sample of 10 women from Hammarsdale were interviewed.
- I have separated the women according to the following groups:
 - Group 1: First wives.
 - Group 2: Second wives.
 - Group 3: Wives who occupied the third position or more.
- I also took age into consideration because I wanted to see if being older the opinions and views would be different or be the same.

Table 1: Participating members by age:

The following table is a summary of all the participants.

GENDER	AGE
Female (Young)	28-35 years old

Female (Old)	36-41 years old
	42-55 years old
	56-60 years old
	61 years and above

4.5 Instrument Design

A set of questionnaires were developed in line with achieving the research goals. Although questionnaires do have the disadvantage of limiting the scope of possible responses but this was balanced by the more open and flexible approach used in the qualitative phase of the research. This approach is more open-minded and allowed the emergence of issues which are important to the participants.

The key questions to be answered through the instrument were in the following categories:

- Reasons for getting married.
- Did they choose this type of marriage?
- Experiences in polygynous marriage.
- Discuss HIV/AIDS.
- Children.
- Experiences with the other wives

4.5.1 Procedure for interviews

The research was based on a generic questionnaire. However, for certain participants could not answer specific questions and the questions had to be adapted to suit those participants. For example one cannot ask the third wife how she felt when her husband took a second wife.

4.5.2 Sampling

The sample size consisted of ten, educated women living in peri-urban areas. All of them are in polygynous marriages. However, only one woman from each of these ten families was part of the research. For the purpose of this study I used a nonprobability sampling of convenience and snowball. Bickman & Rog (1998) identifies six nonprobability designs. They postulate that a nonprobability sampling is used because of convenience. I used convenience and snowballing. The sample size was fixed and determined geographically because of issues of convenience and time limitations.

4.5.3 Data Collection

The data was collected by means of interviews by questionnaires. The questionnaire is the main data collection tool utilized in qualitative research and this is useful because it allows the researcher to collaborate with the participants, observe the participants and be able to validate the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2009:17). The different research tools used in qualitative research is an excellent way of accessing people's meanings, definitions of situations and perceptions (Creswell, 2009:179).

The questionnaires were translated into Zulu because all of the participants' first language is Zulu and it is the language they would be more comfortable using. The interview was conducted by the researcher on a face-to-face basis and the researcher recorded the interviews with an audiotape recorder. The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions which allowed the participants to narrate their experiences. (See Annexure C). There was no particular order to the way the interviews were conducted. The questionnaire took approximately 45 minutes or so. There are no recordings of the interviews because the respondents did not want to be recorded.

The confidentiality and anonymity of the participants was ensured by the means of an informed consent document which were also used as a cover letter. The researcher adhered to all the necessary ethical principles of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. (See Annexure B).

4.5.4 Data Analysis

The data will be analyzed and transcribed manually. The researcher will also use graphs and cross tabulations that will aid in demonstrating patterns and relationships that may develop. An in-depth analysis of literature has revealed various common themes that are present in polygamy research.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has explained briefly what I will be examining in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5 DATA COLLECTION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I specifically discuss the data collection and the methodology used. Data was collected by means of note taking. These notes were captured and handwritten down based on the responses from the questions. Remarks made by the respondents after further probing by the researcher are also included.

5.2 Reliability and Validity

According to Creswell reliability in research is consistency in the measurements. Creswell stresses that researchers should convey the steps they will take in their studies to check the accuracy and credibility of their findings in the proposal stage (Creswell, 2009:191).

Validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and it is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the stand point of the researcher, the participants or readers of an account (Creswell, 2009:191).

In the case of Hammersdale women, reliability and validity was insured by selecting women who differed in ages and similar background and occupation. The study concerned itself with external validity which examines the extent to which the result of the study can be generalized to the real world.

5.3. Procedure for Interviews

The data was collected by means of interviews by questionnaires. The questionnaire is the main data collection tool utilized in qualitative research and this is useful because it allows the researcher to collaborate with the participants, observe the participants and to be able to validate the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2009:17). The different research tools used in qualitative research is an excellent way of accessing; people's meanings, definitions of situations and perceptions (Creswell, 2009:179).

5.3.1 Biological and geographical information

The participants were asked on their biological and geographical information

5.3.2 Interview Questionnaire

The questionnaire was translated into Zulu because all of the participants' first language is Zulu and it is the language they would be more comfortable using (See Annexure C). The interview will be conducted by the researcher on a face-to-face basis. The researcher recorded them with an audiotape recorder. The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions which allowed the participants to narrate their experiences (See Annexure C). The follow-up questionnaire also consisted of open-ended questions (See Annexure D). There was no particular order to the way the interviews were conducted. The questionnaire took approximately 45 minutes or so. There are no voice recordings of the interviews because the respondents did not want to be recorded.

The confidentiality and anonymity of the participants was insured by the means of an informed consent document which was also used as a cover letter. I adhered to all the

necessary ethical principles of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (See Annexure B). I understand it is difficult to guarantee anonymity but I took several steps to ensure it, such as; no names were used when discussing the respondents, instead I used numbers and their residences and occupations remained confidential.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have given an overview of how the data was collected and the procedures for the interviews. It has also elaborated on the type of questionnaire used and the ethical rules adhered to.

CHAPTER 6 DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I have discussed the analysis I did. This chapter will give a detailed examination and synthesis of the data collected. In order to be systematic with the analysis of the experiences of these women in polygynous marriages, the questions were categorized and analysed according to phases, age, themes and sub-themes. I separated the wives into different categories because I felt they had different experiences to share as being different number wives. The first wife had a different response than the second, third and even fifth wife did. I have added the narratives of each of the wives because this is a narrative study. Following the narratives will be an in-depth analysis of their responses.

6.2. Narratives of the women in polygynous marriages

Respondent 1 (80 year old).

The first respondent was an eighty year old grandmother who got married in 1952. She said the main reason she married was because she felt societal pressures to be married. She said

she grew up in a polygynous family so she had always wanted to be married into a polygynous marriage. She was fortunate because she married a traditional man who adhered to the correct ways of following tradition. Her husband asked her as his first wife if it was alright if he took the second, third and fourth wives and she agreed. As a woman who was advancing in age she did not want to fulfil the other duties a wife had to for her husband so she welcomed additional wives into her family. She only bore her husband one child and was happy about that. The other wives bore him children as well. The reason her husband took the second wife was because she was no longer interested in sexual intercourse. With the issue of HIV/AIDS the respondent did not have any knowledge of it except to say that she has heard of it and that is it killing thousands of people every day. She said she did not have sexual intercourse anymore with her husband so she did not worry about contracting it or any other disease for that matter.

The respondent did say she spent most of her time with her husband because he is old too and they are both retired. She says that there is jealousy and bitter fighting amongst the other wives for resources and she plays the role of mediator because she is the first wife. She feels pity for other wives in polygynous marriages because she sees how their husbands do not respect them and they just find out their husband is marrying or already married to someone else and they must just accept it. It is also disheartening to see how their husbands continue to take wives and have mistresses and other illegitimate children outside the marriage and they are not made accountable to anyone for their behaviour.

The respondent does admit to initially wanting a polygynous marriage but now later in life she does regret having agreed to be a part of a polygynous marriage. She says it is very stressful being a married woman alone, let alone adding other wives to the marriage. She said she would never recommend this type of marriage but is grateful to have been blessed with a good, decent husband who respects her and their culture and traditions and allowed her to have a voice when deciding to be part of a polygynous marriage or not.

Respondent 2 (68 years old).

The second respondent is a sixty eight year old woman who got married in 1954. The respondent says she got married because in her culture women are expected to get married regardless of the type of marriage. The woman said she is the first wife and her husband

married two additional women. Although the respondent said she was expected to get married she was also in love her husband. She bore her husband two children and the other wives in total bore him four children. She does discuss sexual intercourse with her husband. She admits to not having a lot of knowledge of HIV/AIDS but is aware that many people are dying because of it. The respondent is adamant she does not have HIV but does not clarify how she knows this with certainty. She allows reiterates that her husband does not have it but does not clarify how she knows this information. The respondent does voice concern of possibly contracting the disease and is deathly afraid.

The second respondent does admit to being unhappy in her marriage. She says the constant fighting with the husband over the other wives as well as the constant fighting with the other women over the husband. The fighting has also affected the children because the children have derogatory names as a result of the constant fighting and bitterness amongst the wives and husband. She also believes the fighting and jealousy is because the husband does not respect her and the other wives because he did not discuss taking on additional wives with her being the first wife she found out from other people in the community that her husband was marrying a second wife. The husband did not discuss taking a third wife with her or the second wife and that in result festered resentment and bitterness.

The respondent is very angry about the polygynous marriage because she did not want to be involved in a polygynous marriage and she was not even consulted about her husband taking additional wives. She would never ever recommend this type of marriage to any woman because it is degrading and unfair to women but she admits that she would rather remain in an unhappy marriage then be a single woman. As a married woman she has status in the community and that is worth more than happiness.

Respondent 3 (65 year old).

The third respondent married her husband in 1968 and she married him because she was madly in love with him. Her husband would later on marry five other additional wives. She gave birth to eight children and in total there are fourteen children in the polygynous marriage. She admits to discussing sexual intercourse with her husband and the other wives. She admits to not knowing anything HIV/AIDS but does know it kills people. She says her

husband and herself do not have the disease but does not explain further as to how she knows this information because she also admits to not having had an HIV test.

The third respondent is melancholy when discussing the state of her marriage today. She remembers when she first got married and it was just the two of them as a couple and they were happy and in love. Then the children started being born and suddenly she was no longer enough for her husband and she found out her husband had a mistress and then she became a second wife without consulting her. Then the third wife told her he had impregnated another woman and now he has to marry her and he did and then two more wives came after that. She says that everyone except the husband is unhappy in the marriage but the wives are all civil to one another to keep the peace. There is jealousy amongst them and the new younger wives are given special names.

The respondent says that a polygynous marriage is the road to unhappiness and bitterness. She states that no woman can ever be happy sharing her husband with another woman or women. This type of marriage is very depressing and stressful on the wives and sometimes even the children. The children are unhappy if their mothers are unhappy and the fighting does affect them. It is not a healthy environment for children to grow up in, an environment of fighting, jealousy, resentment and possibly witchcraft. The husband is oblivious to the tension and unhappiness because he is the reason they are fighting and he keeps going and having affairs with mistresses and impregnating or marrying them without taking into consideration of the feelings of his wives or children.

The respondent says she would never recommend this type of marriage to anyone and she feels pity for the young women who want to get married in this day and age because men are unfaithful and they use polygyny as an excuse to cover up their infidelities and philandering ways.

Respondent 4 (55 years old).

The fourth respondent married in 1980 and she is the second wife. She is the second wife in a polygynous marriage of in total four wives. She has two children and the other wives in total have four. She said she got married to her husband because she was in love with him and she did not know he was already married. She found out a week before her wedding that her fiancé at the time already had a wife. She initially wanted to cancel the wedding but her

father and family refused saying that the man had already paid *ilobolo* for her and that she was in the eyes of the ancestors already married to him. She went through with the wedding but she was not happy. The relationship deteriorated quickly after she gave birth to the first child. Her husband's first wife hated her even more after she had a child and they've had numerous physical confrontations. The respondent does admit to worrying about contracting HIV especially after her husband took two more additional wives and the rumours in the community that he has a mistress. She does discuss HIV/AIDS with the other wives and admits having limited knowledge of it but insists she does not have it but does not clarify how she knows this.

The fourth respondent says that her experiences in a polygynous marriage have been horrendous. There is constant fighting, bickering, jealousy and incessant accusations of witchcraft. The wives loathe each other and it is a stressful environment to live in everyday. The husband does not respect or support them nor does he want to get involved in trying to mediate for peace.

The respondent admits that she wishes she had been stronger when she was younger and had cancelled the wedding because in hindsight she realises she made a mistake. Her husband had lied to her and said he was single when he was not. She too was angry that she had been lied too and did not want to marry a man who was already married but her family forced her to do it saying that she should consider herself very lucky to have a man who wants to marry you regardless of the type of marriage it is. It is better to get married and be a married woman than die a single woman with no status in the community.

Respondent 5 (52 years old).

The fifth respondent is the first wife and she married in 1979. The reason she got married was because of societal pressures as well as being in love at the time with her husband. There are two other wives in the marriage and she gave birth to three children and there are a total of five children from the marriage. She was just grateful to be a married woman and enjoying a higher status in the community. She was initially disheartened when she found out her husband took an additional wife but she was still his wife as well so her status stayed the same in the community. She has been forced to accept the fact that she is in a polygynous marriage and has taken it upon herself to talk openly about sexual intercourse and the dangers

of HIV/AIDS because they are all sharing the same man and he obviously is sleeping with many people. The respondent insists she does not have it but she does not know if her husband has it or not. She confesses to being intensely afraid of contracting it.

The respondent says her experience in her polygynous marriage has been as if she is in a living nightmare. There is constant fighting amongst the other wives as well as jealousy. The fighting has affected the children as well because there is jealousy amongst the children too. The husband does not care because he knows we will not leave him because we will be vilified within the community. The community would not accept a divorced woman but they would accept an unfaithful husband because of the patriarchal society they live in.

She is unhappy, stressed, depressed and bitter about the type of marriage she has been forced to be wed in. She never thought she would ever be a part of a polygynous marriage and that is now her life. She feels trapped and although she has her own money and is some-what financially staple she does not want to leave because it will be very difficult for her and her children. She would never ever recommend this type of marriage and instead she would advise woman to be independent and not get married because men are unfaithful.

Respondent 6 (43 years old).

The sixth respondent was married in 1985 and there are two other wives in the marriage, she is the first wife. She got married not because she was deeply in love with the man but because as a good Zulu woman she is expected to get married and have children. She does not talk about sex with her husband or other wives because she is a conservative woman and it is against her culture to discuss such things. She does not know anything about HIV/AIDS but does know there is no cure once you contract it and it kills. She states that she does not have it and neither does her husband but does not state how she knows this for sure. She also admitted to being afraid of contracting the disease from her husband because he has sexual intercourse with many women and his other wives.

The respondent described her marriage as an unhappy one but her husband is the one who decided to take on more wives without seeking her approval and now she has no choice but to accept it. She feels neglected because she does not get the things she needs because of limited resources and the husband gives what little there is to the other wives and not her. She speaks about constant jealousy, fighting and name-calling that happens, because the co-

wives all hate each other. She does feel used and abused at times. The husband does not respect any of his wives because he just says there is a girl he saw that he likes and wants to marry her and they all have to accept it. She also states that the children are affected as well because there is jealousy amongst them and even competition about who gets the most time and affection from their father.

The participant believes polygyny is a very bad practice because there is always competition not only between the wives but the children as well. The wives are all suspicious of one another and hate one another because they know if they ever contract HIV it would be from one of them. There are always fights even in front of the children and the children will naturally side with their mothers. She would never ever recommend this type of marriage even to her worst enemy because there is no happiness only stress, pain, humiliation and heartache until the day you die.

Respondent 7 (28 years old).

The last respondent was the youngest and most recently married one. She got married in 1998 and there are four other wives in the polygynous marriage. She has one child from the marriage but the other wives in total have seven children. The reason she got married was because she had sex with her sister's husband and she fell pregnant and her family forced him to marry her. She is regretful for having betrayed her sister by having had sex with her brother-in-law. She also mentions that being in a polygynous marriage is difficult and is fortunate to have her sister as the first wife because she knows how difficult it can be to be in a polygynous marriage with other strangers. She says that the husband will have sex with the other wives during the day and he will come and want sex from her at night. She said that they have a quasi-sex schedule they have with their husband and he does not always keep to the schedule. The husband arrives at their houses whenever he desires to and demands that they cook for him or have sex with him even if it is not their turn to. The young wife says there is a discussion of HIV/AIDS because the first wife in her marriage is her sister. She is aware of the dangers of having multiple partners and that it kills and she is deathly afraid of contracting it.

She did not want to marry this man because he was already married to her sister and he had many other wives but she fell pregnant and was forced to. There is constant fighting amongst the other wives although with her she is fortunate to have her sister as an ally against the other wives. There is jealousy amongst the wives and even amongst the young children. The children are also given derogatory names reflecting the hatred and anger within the marriage.

She states that polygyny is a bad practice and that men keep taking on more wives which they cannot afford because their culture allows them too. The women and children are unhappy because of the constant fighting, bickering and jealousy. The competition and stress is not a good environment to be involved in and it certainly is not a good environment to raise children in. She hates her husband and herself for the mistake she made and curses the day she was weak and had sex with him and fell pregnant she is just grateful her sister is a good Christian woman and forgave her because she believes she would never have survived being in a polygynous marriage without a friend (sister wife).

6.3. Phase by phase analysis of responses

These will be outlined below in sections 6.2.1-6.2.16. The responses are analysed according to the most common responses made by the respondents to the issues in question. However for some questions other respondents would be vague in their responses.

There were interesting comments made by the respondents. If there is a direct quotation these are indicated under the column marked "comments". Where there are no particular comments "not applicable" (N/A) code was used.

Some people repeated what others had already said although not in the exact words. I have also indicated how many times the same issue was mentioned through different ways. I believe this assisted in drawing certain conclusions about the most burning issues that these women felt were of critical importance to them.

I have started a new question on a new page. I think it would be easier to read as well as to navigate whilst reading the responses to the questions and my analysis of their responses on the same page instead of on a different page.

6.3.1 Phase 1: Qualitative responses from the first wives. Females 43-80 years old.

In phase 1 I have analysed the responses of the first wives. These women are between the ages 43 to 80 years old. It is important to separate the responses so as to observe any similarities or differences between the first, second and above wives.

Question 1: Are you legally married? Or was *ilobolo* only paid?

Answer: All said yes. It was customary marriage.

Question 2: Why did you get married?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Culture	It is the Zulu culture which expects a woman to get married regardless of the type of marriage.	3
Expected to get married	Patriarchal society we live in	1

	expects women to be married.	
Pressure of society to get married	Society looks down on old unmarried women.	3
Love	In love with the man.	4

Every respondent answered ‘Yebo’ (yes) to question 1. I felt question 1 was important to ask first because there are many people who just pay *ilobolo* and consider themselves married and not go through with an actual wedding ceremony. I also considered how important it was that the respondents be legally married in terms of customary law and recognized by the government as a legitimate marriage because it adds an element of legitimacy to their marriage.

It is interesting that the issue of ‘love’ followed by ‘pressures of society’ and ‘culture’ rated the highest for reasons of getting married. I find it to be remarkable that the issue of ‘love’ was even mentioned let alone rated as a significant factor for these women getting married because in the literature I had reviewed ‘love’ was not a contributing factor for such marriages. The notion of ‘love’ is a Western influence and in the past Africans married because their families wanted them to or the woman had to because of poverty or other reasons. I surmise there were marriages founded on ‘love’ but such marriages were not mentioned.

Question 3: How many wives does your husband have? And what year did you get married to your current husband?

Age	Year of Marriage	Number of wives
80	1952	3
68	1954	2
65	1968	5
52	1979	2
43	1985	2

I thought it would be better to separate the wives into different categories because I wanted to see the difference in their responses as well as to compare their responses.

Question 4: What do you know about HIV/AIDS?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Ignorant of HIV/AIDS.	Has no interest in sex and that is why allowed her husband to take a second wife he could have sex with.	1
Heard of HIV/AIDS.	Five women have heard of HIV/AIDS.	5
Has limited knowledge of HIV/AIDS.	Although they have very little knowledge of HIV/AIDS they all know that it is real and it is killing a lot of people.	3
Fear of possibly contracting	Know that many married	5

HIV/AIDS.	people have HIV/AIDS because their husbands were unfaithful to them.	
Discuss HIV/AIDS with other wives.	Do discuss with other wives and try to find out if their husband is being faithful to all of them.	1
Discuss HIV/AIDS with husband.	Does discuss HIV/AIDS with her husband, who insists he is faithful to all his wives.	1
Does not discuss HIV/AIDS with her husband.	Does not talk about sex or HIV/AIDS because it is against her culture to discuss such things.	1

It is interesting to note that the oldest women, the 80 year old had no knowledge at all of HIV/AIDS. Her reasoning was that she is old and has no interest in sex and therefore was not apprehensive when her husband wanted to take a second wife whom he could have sex with. The oldest woman had no concerns at all about contracting HIV/AIDS because she was no longer sexually active. The younger women had some knowledge of HIV/AIDS. Although the younger women's knowledge was not extensive of HIV/AIDS they were aware of the dangers of having multiple sexual but they acknowledge they are in a situation in which they have no control over their own sexuality or that of their husbands. The younger women did express fear of asking their husband to use a condom because he would get angry and never have sexual intercourse with them again and possibly punish them by not giving them money for support. All these women insist they do not have it but they did not specify how they are so certain of their HIV status if they have not been tested. They also insist their husband does not have it and they do not say how they are so certain of his status since they say he has not been tested either.

Question 5: What are your experiences in a polygamous marriage?

Issues identified	Comments	Popularity of Comments
Jealousy.	Every wife is jealous of each other.	8
Constant fighting.	There is constant fighting with the co-wives over husband's attention, time and limited resources.	7
The pretence.	All the women pretend to like each other but they all hate each other. They keep up pretences for the husband and the children.	1

Name calling.	The wives are constantly fighting and calling each other derogatory names.	6
Witchcraft.	There are constant accusations of other wives using witchcraft on the husband.	6
Unhappiness.	Every woman expressed her unhappiness because of the constant bickering and tension.	8
Feelings of being used and abused.	Two wives expressed their feelings of just being used.	2
Taken advantage of.	One wife felt she was taken advantage of because she is old and her husband kept marrying younger people.	1
Unappreciated.		3
Patriarchal society which encourages abuse of women.		6
Societal expectations		8
Wanted this type of plural marriage.	Wanted this type of marriage because as she got older she realised her husband had needs she no longer had an interest in fulfilling and therefore welcomed a second wife.	1

All the wives alleged that there was jealous amongst them. All the younger wives said there was constant fighting and name calling going on between them. One wife said there is constant fighting because they were all vying for the husband's time as well as limited

resources for their children. One woman said they all intensely hate each other but they keep up appearances for the husband and the family. They are all civil to one another. The oldest woman said she experienced no unhappiness, jealousy or fighting because all the young wives respect her and treat her like their mother. The name calling the wives said they all have specific derogatory names for each other because they hate each other. One wife said the younger wives are given specific names. As for witchcraft the wives all accuse each other using witchcraft to bewitch their husband if the husband gives one particular wife more time, attention or money.

All wives expressed how unhappy they were in their marriages but would rather stay unhappy than be a single woman. They said they are respected more in society since they are married women. There were two wives who felt that they were being used and abused in their marriages but had no other alternative but to take the abuse because they want the respect and recognition of being a married woman in society. One wife expressed that she felt taken advantage of because she was old and the husband paid more attention to the younger wives and took care of their needs before hers. One wife said she is in a hopeless situation and she and the other wives all know they all may be infected with HIV but are too afraid to go and get tested. They know that they all may be infected because their husband is a womaniser. Six women expressed that it is the patriarchal society they live in that devalues them and uses them whilst the husband is praised for having many wives regardless of their happiness. All the wives felt societal pressures to get married regardless of the type of marriage. They admit they too are to blame to some extent because they want to get married for the respect they receive in society but are unhappy in their marriages.

Question 6: How do you negotiate money with the husband?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Work so have their own money.	Does not ask husband for any money because he says she works so she can use her own money.	1
Do not ask him for money because he won't give it to them anyway.	Do not ask for money because he will not give them any money.	3
Husband does give money.	Does get a monthly allowance from her husband.	1

Question 6: How do you negotiate time with the husband?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Spend a lot of time together.		1
Do not spend any time together.		2
Negotiate time amongst the wives.		3

Three of the wives said they never ask for money because the husband rarely gives them any money. They provide for their children because they used to be teachers so they have some money of their own.

The oldest wife did say she spent most of her time with her husband because he is old too and they are both retired. The other wives said the only time they spend any time with their husband is if he has come over to their house to eat a meal or have sex with them. The other three wives said they do have a quasi-schedule they abide by where time with their husband has been negotiated.

Question 7: Are there any children in the marriage? If so how many does each wife/s?

Age	Year of Marriage	Number of Wives	Number of Children	Number of other children in the Marriage	Total of Children in the Marriage
80	1952	3	1	0	1
68	1954	2	2	6	8
65	1968	5	8	6	14
52	1979	2	3	5	8
43	1985	2	8	10	18

This table shows the number of children the first wives each have from their marriage as well as the additional children from the other wives within the same polygynous marriage.

I thought it was important to have a table showing the dynamics of each first wife's children and other children from other wives in the polygynous marriage. I wanted to show the total amount of children in each of their marriages.

Question 8: Is there a sense of jealousy between the other children?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Jealousy	Children do get along but there is a sense of jealousy amongst them because so children's mothers' buy them expensive toys and others do not.	2
Hate each other	The children do hate each other but it is because the mothers who poison the children against each other.	1
Affable to each other	The children are innocent	3

	and treat each other as siblings do.	
Really close to each other		0

The wives were unanimous in saying that there was some jealous amongst the kids. The only time it got really bad was when some kids get certain things that others do not. The wife who said that the children hate each other said of course the wives were to blame for that situation and that kids naturally would side with their mothers against any other woman.

Although I had initially wanted to delve deeper into the children and their relationships in polygynous marriages I realised that I would not have enough time to do so. If I do continue on with this research I will definitely explore the dynamics of children in polygynous marriages because I have been told interesting and heartbreaking stories about their experiences in polygynous marriages.

Question 9: When a child is born is there a specific naming of the children? What are the reasons for naming them specific names?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Children given derogatory names because of the fighting between wives.	There is constant fighting so the children's name reflects that situation.	2
Children given derogatory names because of the fighting with husband.	There are fights with the husband and the children's name illustrates that situation.	2
Children given derogatory names because of jealousy.	The other wives are jealous because one wife gives birth	1

	to a son and they just have daughters.	
Children given normal names.	Children are innocent and therefore are given normal names.	1

The children in these marriages are almost always caught in the middle. There is constant bickering and fighting with the wives and the husband and the children are given derogatory names which point to such a situation. One wife said there was a rumour being spread about her child not being her husband's by the other wives and she named her son *Kholowa* 'Believe', in that believe that he is his father's son. Another wife said that children of the polygynous marriage are given specific names to reflect the uneasiness in the marriage and the jealousy.

Question 10: Is it alright if your husband has a mistress/girlfriend whilst in a polygamous marriage?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Husband does have mistress.	These wives suspect their husband to have a mistress.	6
Husband is not allowed to have a mistress.	Husband has to ask permission.	6
Husband is allowed to have a mistress.	Agree that all the following wives were mistresses first before becoming wives.	

Husband takes a mistress if he wants one and no one can do anything about it.	Live in a patriarchal society where the husband has all the power to do as he pleases.	1
Reported to family about husband's mistress.	Took action against him.	1

The participants were unanimous in saying that their husband is not allowed to take a mistress but do understand that they were all technically mistresses before they became wives. One participant reiterated that although in true polygynous custom the husband is not allowed to take a mistress but in reality he does take one if he wants one and no one can stop him. One wife did try and stop him by reporting him to the family and the elders told him to stop behaving like a child and to start behaving like a married adult and to end the affair. He then decided to marry the mistress and she became his second wife.

Question 11: Does your husband consult you if he wants to take a new girlfriend who will eventually become his additional wife? If not what happens?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Does discuss taking another wife with wives.	The husband did consult her about taking on more wives.	1
Does not discuss taking another wife with other wives.	The husband did not consult or tell them when he took another wife.	5
Find out from other people that husband has taken another wife.	The community informed them that their husband had gotten married again.	5

It was only the oldest woman who said that her husband had discussed and asked her permission to marry again before he took on other wives. The other younger wives all said the same thing in that they found out from people in the community that their husband had taken other wives and that he had not consulted any of them before he got married. One wife said her husband told her he impregnated a woman and now wants to marry and she had no choice but to accept it.

Question 12: What are your thoughts on polygyny?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Not fair to women.	N/A	6
Hate it.	N/A	4
It is a bad situation to be in.	N/A	6
It is wrong and degrading to women.	N/A	6
It is not a good thing but do understand the patriarchal society we live in.	N/A	2

Is a good thing that builds families.	N/A	1
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All the women agreed that polygyny is a dire situation to be married into. The older woman agreed with the other woman that it is a grim situation to be married into but also admitted to being fortunate to have a husband who is respectful of her and always asks her permission before he does take on another wife. She also admits that she sympathises with the other wives who are not as fortunate as her to have a truly cultural husband who follows the traditions and cultures as they should be followed and not like the men today who have no sense of what real culture or tradition is and go around disrespecting their wives and spreading diseases and death to them with their philandering. Four of the women said they hated it but will have to tolerate it because they want to be married to somebody. They said they get respect in their communities if they are married women. All the women agreed it is very degrading to women and some women went so far as to say that they feel like old rags that are used and discarded when a new young wife arrives. Two of the women said it is a dreadful situation to be married into but do understand that we live in a patriarchal society where the men have all the power. The oldest woman was the only one who was happy in her marriage and she said she likes this type of marriage because it builds families.

Question 13: Do you think that polygamous marriages are a good thing and that they promote and protect women's Rights?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
It goes against Women's Rights.		5
Does not respect women's Rights.		5
If polygyny practiced correctly can respect	The oldest woman believes if polygyny practiced correctly	1

women's Rights.	it can be respectful of women because her husband asks her permission and if she says 'no' he respects that and does not do it.	
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One woman said it goes against women's Rights. Women's Rights are about protection and equality and polygyny is the complete opposite of that. Another said polygyny is a horrid practice one that devalues women and treats them like commodities that could be bought and sold. Many of the wives said the polygyny is a horrible practice and that men do not respect their wives and just keep taking more wives because they can and not because they love or care for them. One woman said polygyny and women's Rights cannot co-exist because it would require men to renounce some of their power and they will never do that willingly.

Question 14: What is your Religion? Where do worship?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
African Congregational Church	Promotes culture and tradition therefore are happy about polygynous marriages.	1
Zulu Congregational Church	Promotes culture and tradition therefore are happy about polygynous marriages.	3

Christian Zionist	Her church threatened to remove her from the congregation if left her polygynous husband.	1
Shembe	The church is very involved and wants all its members to be married in polygynous marriages.	1
Not religious	Only joined a church after she had married into the polygynous marriage.	1

One woman said her religion played a significant part in her staying in her polygynous marriage because her faith compelled her to be a peaceful person and to not have any enemies. One woman said she believes nothing happens without God having sanctioned it and therefore her marriage regardless of her happiness is a gift from God. Another woman said she is very religious and prays very hard because although she wanted marriage desperately she must find solace in her faith because polygyny is a difficult situation to be married into. One woman said no matter how hard she has tried to leave her polygynous marriage the church always warn her that she would be going against God and that the Bible says she must love her husband throughout the good and bad times. One woman said she was told once married in the polygynous marriage that she would never ever be allowed to leave because she was bound the church regulations to stay in the marriage and respect the husband no matter what he does because if she leaves the marriage she will also be leaving the church.

Question 15: How do you rate your polygamous marriage?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Moderately successful	It is not an easy marriage but if the people involved are committed they can make it a success.	2
Successful		1
Highly successful	It is a highly successful	1

	marriage because everyone affable and there is harmony and the children are happy.	
Moderately unsuccessful		
Unsuccessful		
Failure	No communication at all	1
Dismal failure	The husband does not provide them with basic needs.	2

One woman said it was moderately successful because being in a polygamous marriage can never be the same as being the only wife to your husband. There are things that happen against your will that you are unable to control or do anything about. There are always misunderstandings with one's spouse which result from lack of proper communication. It is not easy to open up to your husband when you are in a polygynous marriage. Another wife said it is very difficult and sometimes contemplates divorcing him because he no longer does the things he is supposed to do for her as his wife. He does not know how to balance his love for both of them. He loves the other wife better and he cannot even pretend to care for her. This makes her think of leaving him and she cannot always control her bitter feelings. One wife said it used to be an alright marriage until he took more wives because it meant less resources for her and her children. She says he always complains about having too much to pay for such as food, clothing and education for the children and yet he is the one who went and got the wives. Only one wife said she is happy and everything is in harmony and the children are all happy as well in their polygynous marriage. One wife said it is successful because they all get along and there is open communication. Two of the wives who said their marriage is a dismal failure said exactly the same thing that there is considerable conflict and marital difficulty. There is a lot of misunderstanding. Their husband does not buy food for them; he only buys for the other wife and her children. This affects their children negatively. With exception to the one wife almost all the wives speak about the same issues that concern them in this type of marriage. Most said there is a constant conflict, fighting, tears and stress and it affects everyone in the family.

Question 16: Would you recommend this type of relationship to young girls looking to get married? If not please explain.

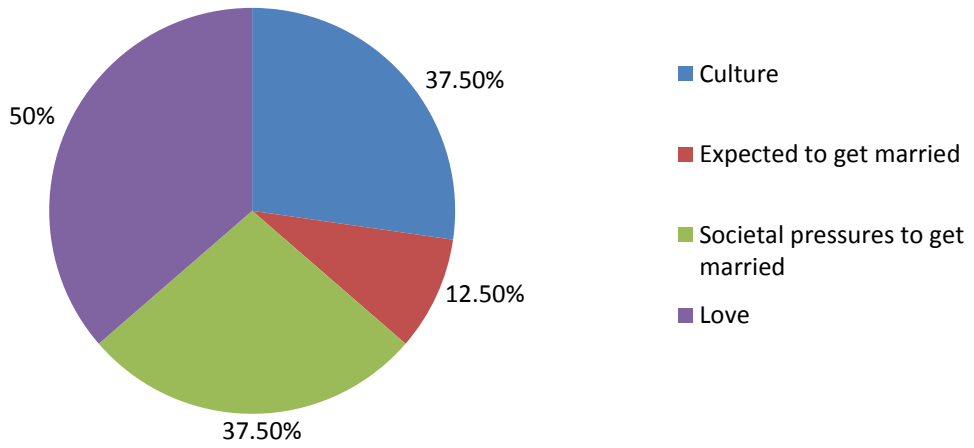
Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Recommend it		1
Never recommend it		5
Would never get married if knew of the unhappiness		4

All of the wives except one would not recommend such a marriage. They said everyone is unhappy because of the tension, competition, constant fighting and jealousy. The oldest woman said she would not recommend it to young people but older people if the husband wants to take on a younger wife or have more children then she would recommend it. All the wives acknowledge that they wanted to get married more than they wanted to be happy but they did not expect the “hell” they live in. They all wish they could leave but they cannot.

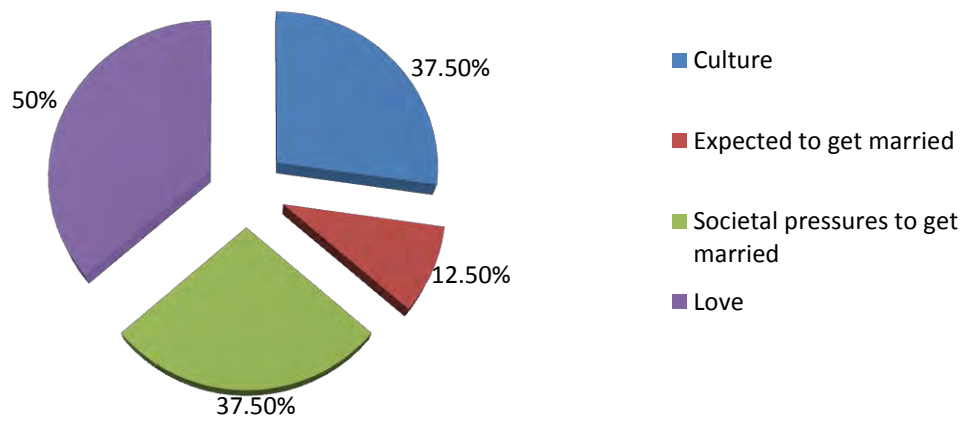
6.3.3. PHASE 1: FIRST WIVES RESPONSES

Although my study is qualitative in nature I do feel that the quantitative aspect would have added depth to it. The graphs show phase by phase the percentages of certain responses of the wives. I think it is important to have a qualitative analysis as well as a quantitative one in addition.

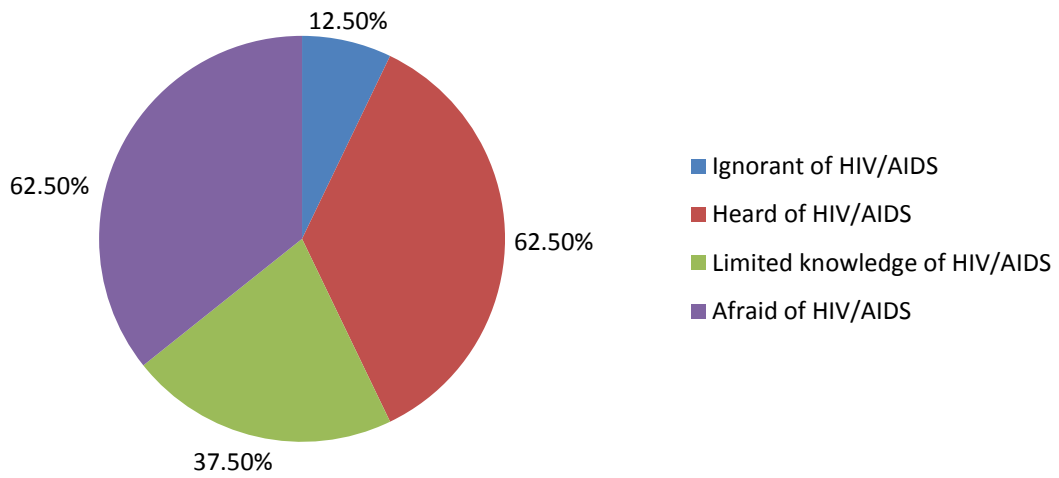
Graph 1: Representation of why the first wives got married



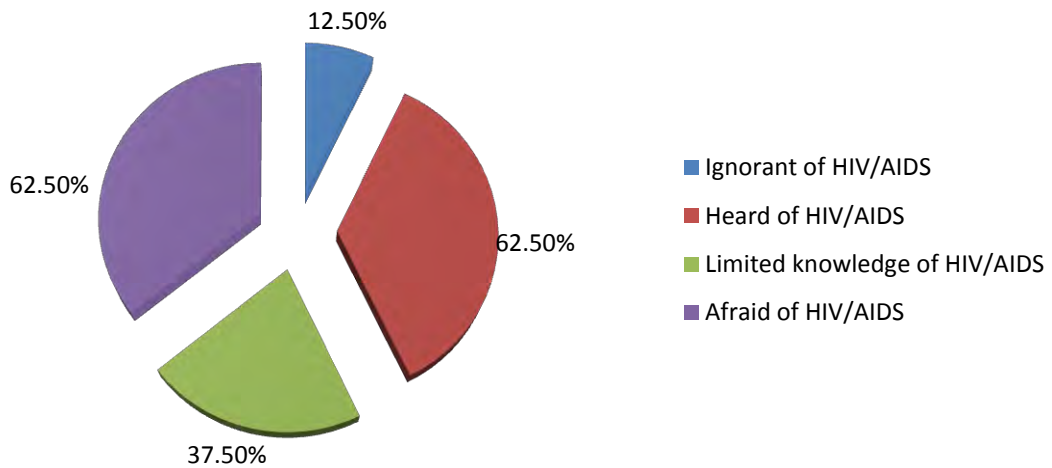
Graph 1: Representation of why the first wives got married



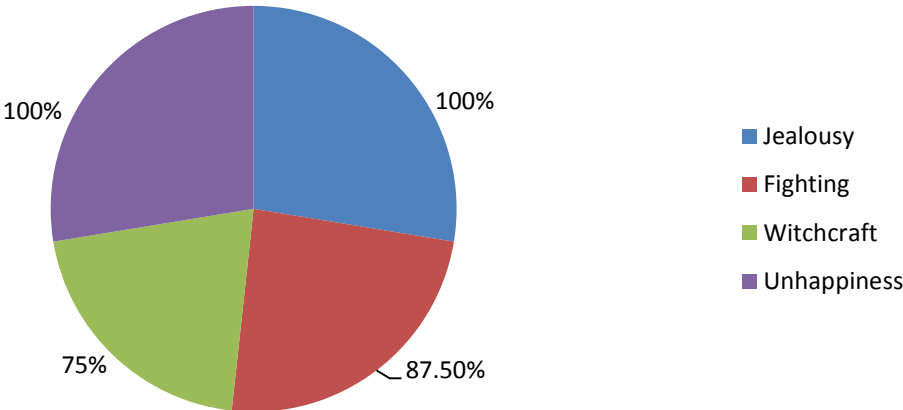
6.3.3.1. Graph 2: Representation of the Knowledge of HIV/AIDS



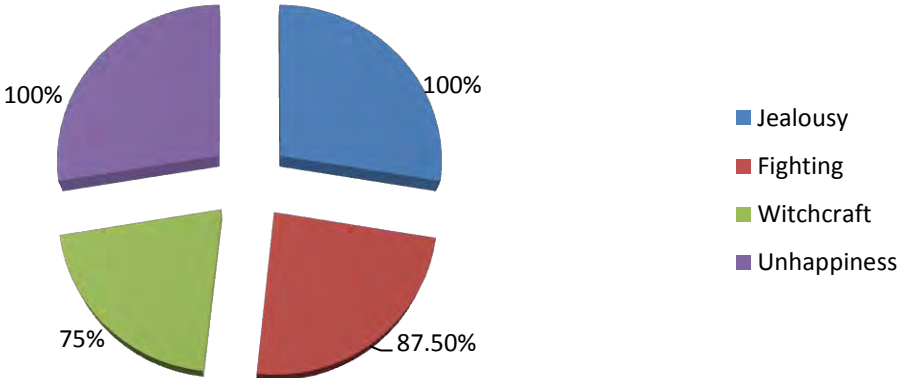
Graph 2: Representation of the Knowledge of HIV/AIDS



6.3.3.2. Graph 3: Experiences in their polygynous marriages



Graph 3: Experiences in their polygynous marriages



6.3.2 Phase 2: Qualitative responses from the second, third and more wives. Females 28-55 years old.

In phase 1 I will be analysing the responses of the first wives. These women are between the ages 28 to 55 years old. It is important to separate the responses so as to observe any similarities or differences between the first, second and above wives.

Question 1: Are you legally married? Or was *ilobolo* only paid?

Answer: All said yes. It was customary marriage.

Question 2: Why did you get married?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Culture	It is the Zulu culture which expects a woman to get married regardless of the type of marriage.	2
Expected to get married	Patriarchal society we live in expects women to be married.	1
Pressure of society to get married	Society looks down on old unmarried women.	2
Love	In love with the man.	1
Pregnancy	She fell pregnant and therefore was forced to get married.	1

All the respondents answered ‘Yebo’ (yes) to question 1. I felt question 1 was important to ask first because there are many people who just pay *ilobolo* and consider themselves married and not go through with an actual wedding ceremony. I also considered how important it was that the respondents be legally married in terms of customary law and recognized by the government as a legitimate marriage because it adds an element of legitimacy to their marriage.

It is interesting that the issue of 'love' followed by 'pressures of society' and 'culture' rated the highest for reasons of getting married. One woman said she fell pregnant with her brother-in-law's child and her family said she had to marry him.

Question 3: How many wives does your husband have? And what year did you get married to your current husband?

Age	Year of Marriage	Number of wives
55	1980	4
28	1998	3

These women were second and third wives in their marriages and I thought it was important to have their age, year of marriage and number of other wives recorded for comparative reasons.

Question 4: What do you know about HIV/AIDS?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comment1s
Ignorant of HIV/AIDS.	N/A	
Heard of HIV/AIDS.	Have heard of HIV/AIDS.	2
Has limited knowledge of HIV/AIDS.	Although they have very little knowledge of HIV/AIDS they all know that it is real and it is killing a lot of people.	2
Fear of possibly contracting HIV/AIDS.	Know that many married people have HIV/AIDS because their husbands were unfaithful to them.	2
Discuss HIV/AIDS with other wives.	Do discuss with other wives and try to find out if their husband is being faithful to all of them.	1
Discuss HIV/AIDS with husband.	N/A	
Does not discuss HIV/AIDS with her husband.	Does not talk about sex or HIV/AIDS because it is against her culture to discuss such things.	1

The younger wife who is 28 years old says there is a discussion of HIV/AIDS because the first wife in her marriage is her sister. She is aware of the dangers of having multiple partners and that it kills. Both these women insist they do not have HIV/AIDS but have not been tested for it and are afraid to get tested for it. They also insist that their husband does not have it either but do not clarify how they know this.

Question 5: What are your experiences in a polygamous marriage?

Issues identified	Comments	Popularity of Comments
Jealousy.	Every wife is jealous of each other.	2
Constant fighting.	There is constant fighting with the co-wives over husband's attention, time and limited resources.	2
Name calling.	The wives are constantly fighting and calling each other derogatory names.	2
Witchcraft.	There are constant accusations of other wives using witchcraft on the husband.	1
Unhappiness.	Every woman expressed her unhappiness because of the constant bickering and tension.	2
Societal expectations		2
Forced marriage		1

The youngest wife said she was forced by her family to marry her sister's husband because she was pregnant with his child. She also states that she did feel pressure from her family and her community to get married before she got pregnant. She also mentions that being in a polygynous marriage is difficult and is fortunate to have her sister as the first wife because she knows how difficult it can be to be in a polygynous marriage with other strangers. She says that the husband will have sex with the other wives during the day and he will come and want sex from her at night. She said that they have a quasi-sex schedule they have with their husband and he does not always keep to the schedule. The husband arrives at their houses whenever he desires to and demands that they cook for him or have sex with him even if it is not their turn to. The young wife also articulates that there is jealousy amongst the other

wives and they all hate each other. The other wife reiterates what the other wives also said that there is constant fighting and even rumours of the other wives using witchcraft to bewitch their husband. The young wife did admit that the only way she could gain respect in her community was to marry the father of her child. All the wives felt societal pressures to get married regardless of the type of marriage. They admit they too are to blame to some extent because they want to get married for the respect they receive in society but are unhappy in their marriages.

Question 6: How do you negotiate money with the husband?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Work so have their own money.	Does not ask husband for any money because he says she works so she can use her own money.	1
Do not ask him for money because he won't give it to them anyway.	Do not ask for money because he will not give them any money.	2
Husband does give money.	N/A	

Question 6: How do you negotiate time with the husband?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Spend a lot of time together.	N/A	
Do not spend any time together.		2
Negotiate time amongst the wives.	N/A	

The two wives stated that their husband does not give them money but they work so they make their own money. They do not even ask him for money because he will not give them any money. The young wife said she only spends time with her husband if he arrives at her house and wants a meal or sex either than that they do not spend any time together. The other wife said she rarely sees her husband and that she is married in name and not in practice.

Question 7: Are there any children in the marriage? If so how many does each wife/s?

Age	Year of Marriage	Number of Wives	Number of Children	Number of other children in the Marriage	Total of Children in the Marriage
55	1980	4	2	4	6
28	1998	3	1	7	8

This table shows the number of children the first wives each have from their marriage as well as the additional children from the other wives within the same polygynous marriage.

I thought it was important to have a table showing the dynamics of each second and third wives' children and other children from other wives in the polygynous marriage. I wanted to show the total amount of children in each of their marriages.

Question 8: Is there a sense of jealousy between the other children?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Jealousy	Children do get along but there is a sense of jealousy amongst them because so children's mothers' buy them expensive toys and others do not.	2
Hate each other	N/A	
Affable to each other	The children are innocent and treat each other as siblings do.	2
Really close to each other	N/A	

The second and third wives mentioned the same issues the first wives did. They also said the only time it got really bad was when some kids get certain things that others do not. The wife who said that the children hate each other said of course the wives were to blame for that situation and that kids naturally would side with their mothers against any other woman.

Question 9: When a child is born is there a specific naming of the children? What are the reasons for naming them specific names?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Children given derogatory names because of the fighting between wives.	There is constant fighting so the children's name reflects that situation.	1
Children given derogatory names because of the fighting with husband.	There are fights with the husband and the children's name illustrates that situation.	1
Children given derogatory names because of jealousy.	The other wives are jealous because one wife gives birth to a son and they just have daughters.	2
Children given normal names.	Children are innocent and therefore are given normal names.	1

The issues mentioned here were the same as the first wives. The children's names reflect the constant bickering and fighting with the wives and the husband. The other wife said although her child was named by her family some of the children in the marriage have derogatory names.

Question 10: Is it alright if your husband has a mistress/girlfriend whilst in a polygamous marriage?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Husband does have mistress.	These wives suspect their husband to have a mistress.	2
Husband is not allowed to have a mistress.	Husband has to ask permission.	2
Husband is allowed to have a mistress.	Agree that all the following wives were mistresses first before becoming wives.	1
Husband takes a mistress if he wants one and no one can do anything about it.	Live in a patriarchal society where the husband has all the power to do as he pleases.	1
Reported to family about husband's mistress.	N/A	

These participants were also unanimous in saying that their husband is not allowed to take a mistress but do understand that they were all technically mistresses before they became wives. The young wife said it is against tradition to take a mistress but the husband does it anyway because he has all the power.

Question 11: Does your husband consult you if he wants to take a new girlfriend who will eventually become his additional wife? If not what happens?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Does discuss taking another wife with wives.	N/A	
Does not discuss taking another wife with other wives.	The husband did not consult or tell them when he took another wife.	2
Find out from other people that husband has taken another wife.	The community informed them that their husband had gotten married again.	2

The older wife said she heard about her husband taking on another wife from the community and he did not consult her or the other wives about it. He also did not consult his fist wife when he married her. They have no option but to accept his new wife because he is the husband. The younger wife said her older sister knew about the husband marrying her and accepted it before the wedding.

Question 12: What are your thoughts on polygyny?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Not fair to women.	N/A	2
Hate it.	N/A	2
It is a bad situation to be in.	N/A	2
It is wrong and degrading to women.	N/A	2
It is not a good thing but do understand the patriarchal society we live in.	N/A	1
Is a good thing that builds families.	N/A	

The young wife said polygyny was not a good situation to be involved in. She said there is constant fighting and jealousy. She also mentioned that there is a high level of stress in these types of marriages and it is an unhealthy environment to live in. The older wife said she is not happy and that if she could leave she would because she and her children are not happy within the marriage.

Question 13: Do you think that polygamous marriages are a good thing and that they promote and protect women’s Rights?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
It goes against Women’s Rights.	N/A	2
Does not respect women’s Rights.	N/A	2
If polygyny practiced correctly can respect women’s Rights.	The older woman said that if polygyny was done in the correct manner and all parties involved were included in the decision making process it might not be such a bad thing.	1

These women also repeated what the other wives had said in that women’s Rights are about protection and equality and polygyny is the complete opposite of that. Both the wives said the polygyny is a horrible practice and that men do not respect their wives and just keep taking more wives because they can and not because they love or care for them. The older woman said polygyny may have worked in the past because there was respect for your wife and women and they were not treated as sex objects to be used and discarded whenever the husband wants a new young wife.

Question 14: What is your Religion? Where do worship?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Zulu Congregational Church	Promotes culture and tradition therefore are happy about polygynous marriages.	1
Shembe	The church is very involved and wants all its members to be married in polygynous marriages.	1

These wives also repeated what the first wives said in that their religion has given them the strength not to leave and to stay in the marriage.

Question 15: How do you rate your polygamous marriage?

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Moderately successful	N/A	
Successful	N/A	
Highly successful	N/A	
Moderately unsuccessful	N/A	
Unsuccessful	N/A	
Failure	No communication at all	
Dismal failure	The husband does not provide them with basic needs.	2

Both the wives have said that their marriages have been a dismal failure and that is because of their husbands. Their husband does not respect them and he does not treat them well at all.

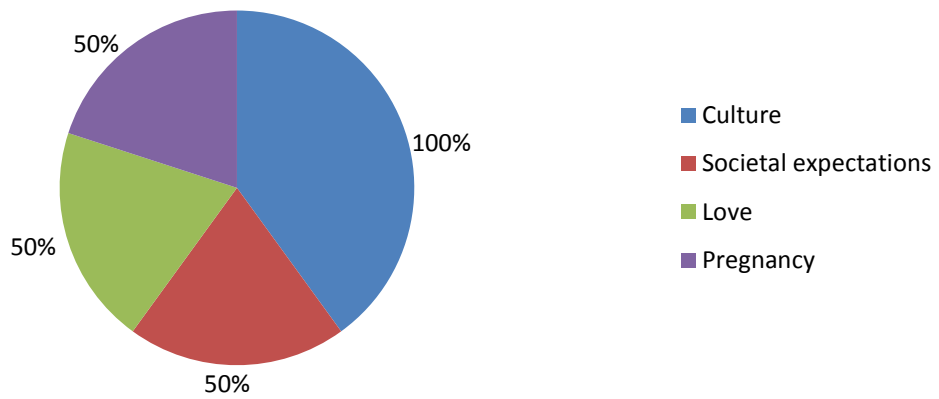
Question 16: Would you recommend this type of relationship to young girls looking to get married? If not please explain.

Issues Identified	Comments	Popularity of comments
Recommend it	N/A	
Never recommend it		2
Would never get married if knew of the unhappiness		1

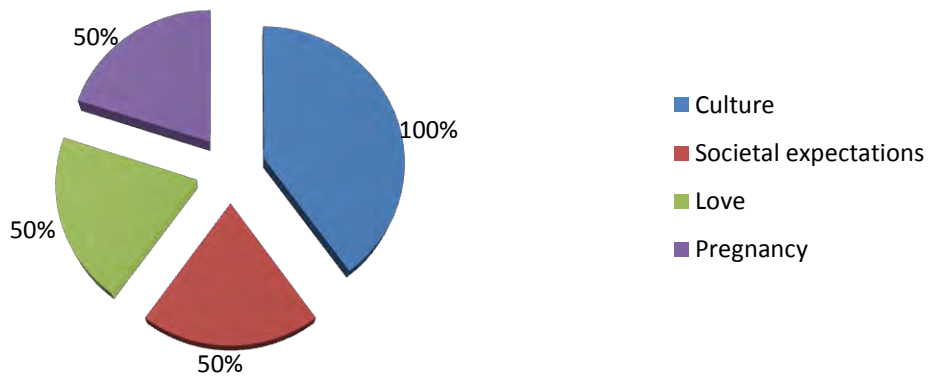
All of the wives said they would not recommend such a marriage. They said everyone is unhappy because of the tension, competition, constant fighting and jealousy. All the wives acknowledge that they wanted to get married more than they wanted to be happy. They all wish they could leave but they cannot and they would not have the respect of their communities.

6.4.1. PHASE 2: SECOND AND MORE WIVES RESPONSES

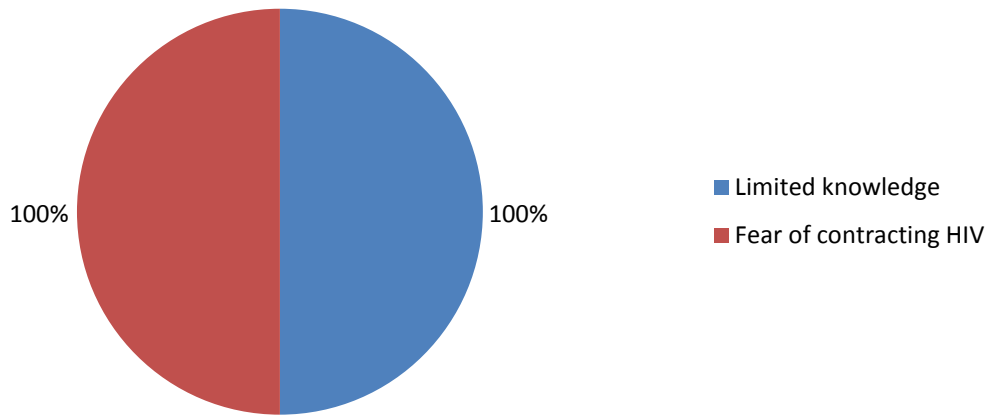
Graph 4: Representation of the second and more wives responses on why they got married



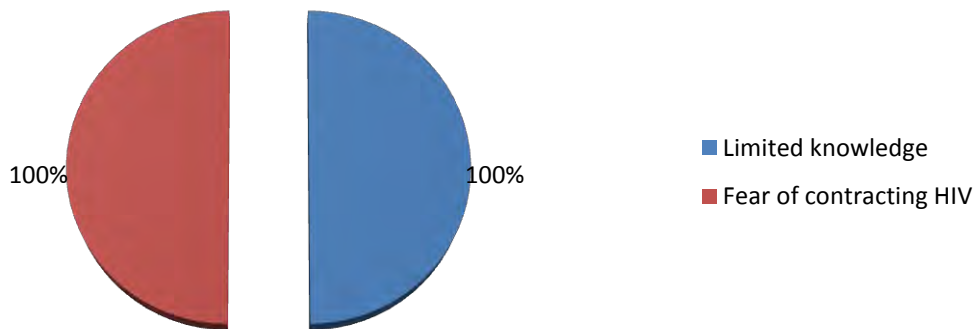
Graph 4: Representation of the second and more wives responses on why they got married



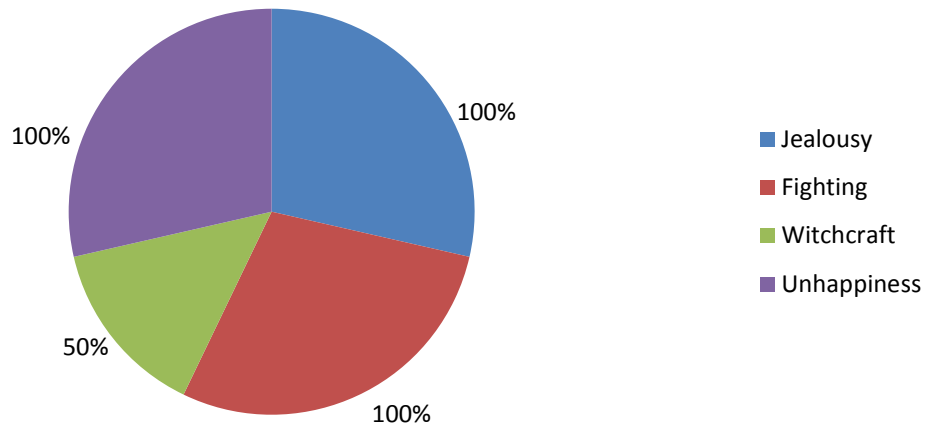
6.4.2. Graph 5: Representation of HIV/AIDS knowledge



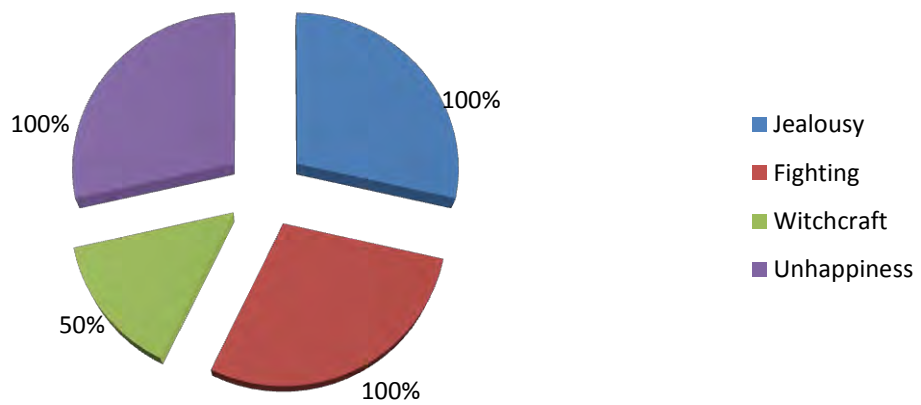
Graph 5: Representation of HIV/AIDS knowledge



6.4.3. Graph 6: Experiences in the polygynous marriage



Graph 6: Experiences in the polygynous marriage



6.4. Responses related to the literature review and theory.

The narratives of these women tie in with the literature review and the theory of patriarchy. In the De Haas (2011) article she states that some women believe any marriage is better than no marriage and fail to fully appreciate the ramifications of entering polygynous marriage entails for themselves as well as any future children they may have. This is true because five of the respondents did voice that they would rather remain unhappy in a marriage than be a single woman with no status in their community. The women do realise that the hostile environment is not a healthy one to raise children and it breeds hatred and jealousy amongst them. Hlophe & Ngcaweni (2010) suggested that there is a rationale that some women feel monogamy is an unnatural social construct and one respondent did say that she wanted to marry into a polygynous marriage because she grew up in one and that is all she has ever known. All the women spoke of how hurtful it was to find out from their neighbours that their husband was marrying another woman without their knowledge or consultation. George (2010) states in his article that yes it is allowed for a chief to have as many wives as he wants but the first wife must be in agreement with such an arrangement. The custom in theory is that the husband seeks the approval of the first wife to marry another but in practice that is not always true in modern society. Weedon's (1987) statements on patriarchy echoed to be true in my study. The society these women inhabited was a patriarchal society which is a society where the men have absolute power over the women. Wallace's theory on socialization was proved to be correct because these women all spoke in detail of their socialization and how it was their socialization that made them seek marriage desperately to gain the respect of their family and their community. The women also remarked that their education or financial status did not alter their beliefs or change their socialization in any way.

6.5. Analysis of Gender and Power

In this part of the chapter I draw from the theories in chapter three. I looked at the theoretical framework as well as the primary data collected and analysed. I focused on the discourse of gender and power.

One of the statements that was constantly mentioned was patriarchy, a system where the men dominant the women in a society. The man is the head of the household and the male

children are considered 'heirs' of the family. Since there is a perception that women are completely different to men there is an assumption that men have a right to complete power over women who have to conform to the normative expectations of their societies.

Weedon (1987) discusses women and their role in a patriarchal society. Weedon states that women's interests are subordinate to male interests. As I mentioned in chapter three when I defined the word 'gender' and how I will use it as a social category in this study. Talbot and Wallace speak of the family as a socializing agent and how prevalent socialization was in this study because all these women spoke of how when they were young their mothers and grandmother all told them that they must get married regardless of the type of marriage it is to get respect and recognition in their communities.

6.5.1. HIV/AIDS

There are many risks in a polygynous marriage, the most dangerous being the very real danger of contracting HIV because of the multiple sexual partners the husband has. The women in my study did mention that they have a deathly fear of contracting HIV but will continue to have sexual relations with their husband without a condom because they are afraid the husband will no longer support them if they ask him to use a condom and if the other wives also do not use condoms they will get an added advantage and they will get the bigger share of already scarce resources. The oldest woman had no concerns at all about contracting HIV/AIDS because she was no longer sexually active. The older women did express her pity for these young wives because today they live in an age of many fatal diseases and that in the past polygyny was not about sex and competition but about working together as a whole family unit to farm the land and make the family wealthy. Now it seems that polygyny is used as an excuse for a man to have as many sexual partners as possible and to even have sexual partners outside of the marriage. The older woman said these young wives are treated as prostitutes in that if they refuse to have sexual relations with their husband or ask him to use protection they are 'punished' for doing so and will therefore not get money or groceries for them and their children. The wives did talk about their fear of contracting HIV especially since they suspect their husband has a mistress.

6.5.2. Polygyny and Jealousy

Jealousy in a polygynous marriage was also another issue most mentioned and discussed. The jealousy did not just end at the co-wives but did also affect the children because the children would also compete with one another for their father's attention and would be jealous of one another because the wives would buy them toys with their own money and their mother may not be able to afford to buy them the same toys because she may not have as high paying job as the other wife, therefore jealousy and resentment would fester amongst the children.

Polygyny has many negative consequences for example all the husbands of these women have failed to treat them well or equally. This failure on the husband's part makes the women compete with one another to gain favour for themselves and for their children. In this type of environment mutual respect no longer exists and women are viewed as commodities and property to be bought and sold at will.

The interesting irony is that women understand this but it is the way they have been socialized that they will willingly enter a loveless marriage in order to gain respect of their communities. Which proves Talcott Parsons theory that people seek to maximise certain things for example; social approval and will engage in interactions that will benefit their standing in their community (Smith 2001:23).

6.5.3. Societal Expectations

All the women spoke of their socialization and how it was the reason for their entry into a polygynous marriage. All the women spoke of feeling pressure from their families and communities to get married regardless of type of marriage. One woman went so far as to say that her family had told her if she did not marry the man who impregnated her she will be an outcast from her community and she will have brought shame to the family because she should not have had sex with a married man or even had sex without being married let alone get pregnant by him. Marriage in the Zulu communities is considered the most important institution and it is believed it brings respect and honour to the bride and her family. Men are also elevated if they are married and are considered 'real men' and are respected by the community as well as other men.

6.5.4. Hardships in a polygynous marriage

Women suffer physical, emotional, psychological as well financial abuse in any marriage but more so in a polygynous marriage. The women in this study did speak of abuse but they are triply abused, first by their husband, then their in-laws and finally by the other wives in the marriage. These women spoke of the name calling and that they all have specific derogatory names for each other because they hate each other. One wife said the younger wives are given specific names. They also mentioned witchcraft and that the wives all accuse each other using witchcraft to bewitch their husband if the husband gives one particular wife more time, attention or money. All wives expressed how unhappy they were in their marriages but would rather stay unhappy than be a single woman. They said they are respected more in society since they are married women. There were two wives who felt that they were being used and abused in their marriages but had no other alternative but to take the abuse because they want the respect and recognition of being a married woman in society. One wife expressed that she felt taken advantage of because she was old and the husband paid more attention to the younger wives and took care of their needs before hers. The women said they cannot go to their mother-in-law to express their grievances because the mother in-law will tell them that they should be appreciative that her son married her and not to complain.

6.5.5. Children of polygynous marriages

Whilst my study was solely focused on women and their experiences in polygynous marriages I just could not ignore the children of polygynous marriages. Polygynous marriages do have a lasting effect on the children and although I do not delve deep into discussing their experiences I do feel the need to briefly mention the children's experiences through the narration of their mothers.

Suzman (1994) in her article examines the importance of names in the Zulu culture and that every child's name is of significance because it describes the time in which the child was born; whether it be in a time of conflict or harmony. Two women did speak of how some of the children were given derogatory names. One of the women said there was a child in their marriage named *Sikhankwane* 'Nail', which means she had hit the nail on the head by having a boy. There were many girl children and when one of the other wives finally had a boy she gained huge favour with the husband and the husband's family. These women are educated and they know that the sex of the child is determined by the man and the woman has absolutely no control over such things. The one expressed how this regardless of scientific proof the woman is still blamed and chastised for having girls. It shows the growing gap between culture and present reality. The other wife said there were two children in the marriage who had derogatory names such as; *Thulani* which means be quiet and stop complaining and *Mfaniseni* which means who did he look like. The child named *Thulani* was named by their mother-in-law because she was telling the first wife to stop her complaining and accept the fact that her son was in a polygynous marriage. The child named *Mfaniseni* was also named by the mother-in-law and that she suspected the new young wife of having had an affair with another man because the child did not look like her son's child. One of the other women in the study did say that one of the children was named *Kungephi* which means where was she good and the other wife did mention that there was also a child named *Thembeni* which means what can she trust. This was in response to the continual fighting and bickering.

I came across children who were in polygynous marriages by pure coincidence. These children of such unions felt compelled to tell me their stories and they did so voluntarily. These 'children' were not 'children' but young adults in their early twenties and close to my own age and that is why they felt comfortable speaking to me about their personal experiences. They told me very sad stories about their experiences in polygynous marriages.

One student I came across from the University of Pretoria told me that she found out her father had taken a second wife and was supporting another family, when her boyfriend introduced her to his mother and she saw the family portrait of his family which included her father as his father. She is still traumatised and has sworn to never get marry because she has seen what Black men are capable of especially in this time of HIV/AIDS. Another child of a polygynous marriage said they were happy in a monogamous marriage and then her father became successful and he decided to take a second wife. Both these children of polygynous marriages had the same conclusion that it is the money that causes men to feel the need to take on more wives where else when they were 'normal' and had an average income there was no need to take additional wives.

6.6. Conclusion

The interviews I conducted showed the inequalities present in polygynous marriages and it showed that although these women are educated and are teachers their responses are exactly the same as the women documented in the literature review, who were poor, uneducated and married for a better life.

CHAPTER 7: RESEARCH CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

This study intended to explore why even some middle-class educated women enter polygynous marriages. Having delved deep in the literature on polygyny there was almost little to no literature on modern women and the reasons why they enter such unions. The choice of these women was specific because they had to meet my requirements such as; have a legally recognized polygynous union, be some-what educated, have or had employment and be financially stable. As I mentioned earlier the literature does not speak of the new ‘phenomena’ of modern financially secure women entering polygynous unions and their reasons behind doing so. The reasons I had initially surmised on why such women willingly enter such unions were proved to be right as well as wrong. I did expect to find that ‘culture’ and society were to blame for the reasons why these women enter into such unions but I did not expect to find that ‘love’ was also a contributing factor to the reasons why women marry men who already married. I also did not anticipate delving into the children of polygynous marriages and listening to their stories. The children of such unions offered a very unique and intriguing angle to the issues of polygynous unions and most often than not the children do suffer a great deal and their suffering is largely ignored. In this study I attempted to fill a gap that was present in the literature about why modern, educated and financial women enter polygynous marriages.

7.2. The study in essence

The first chapter was an introduction in which certain terms and concepts were defined. The background, aim of the study, reasons for the study, a brief overview of the literature, theories and paradigms as well as the methodology were all explained briefly in this chapter. This chapter discussed the problem, the key questions in which I attempted to answer and the study sought to investigate.

The second chapter reviewed the literature that has been written on the topic. I was able to explore in-depth how this topic had been researched and was able to identify obvious gaps in the literature. While my study is conducted in South Africa, the literature I reviewed was not confined to just South Africa but it extended out to the African Continent as a whole as well internationally. This I assumed was because since polygyny is an ancient practice that is

found in the history of the three major religions; Judaism, Christianity and Islam and that it is embedded in almost every civilisation in Africa as well as the entire world.

The third chapter introduced the paradigms, conceptual and theoretical framework which informed the theories that were adopted. This chapter provided the theories and approaches that informed the scientific and analysis. The study was a multidisciplinary approach and within this multidisciplinary approach I discussed Grounded Theory, Weedon and Foucault's ideas on Social Construction and Post Structuralist Feminism as well as Wallace's theory on Socialization.

The fourth chapter dealt with the methodology I used in this study. I discussed the qualitative nature of the study as well as the scope and procedure. I also examined the instrument design in detail and briefly explained the procedure for interviews, sampling, data collection and the data analysis.

The fifth chapter examined the data collection. This was an extremely brief chapter because I explained how the data was collected.

The sixth chapter dealt extensively with the data and how it was analysed. This chapter dissected the data and the respondents answers and answered the key questions asked in chapter one. This chapter also tied in with the theories presented in chapter three. This chapter discussed issues of gender and power as well as inequality.

The seventh and finally chapter was a continuation of chapter six because it discusses the research finding and the recommendations.

7.3. General findings of the study

This study focused on women who willingly entered such unions and their reasons for doing so. The study is different than the previous studies conducted because it focused on women who were educated and had employment that made them financially independent. Previous studies focused on poor rural women who had no better option but to marry into polygynous marriages for a better life because in the past it was only wealthy men who could afford to support more than one family and unfortunately that is not the case in today's society, now it

is just any man who wants to 'elevate his manhood' by having more than one wife but who he cannot support.

Weedon's (1987) statements on patriarchy echoed to be true in my study. The society these women inhabited was a patriarchal society which is a society where the men have absolute power over the women. Wallace's theory on socialization was proved to be correct because these women all spoke in detail of their socialization and how it was their socialization that made them seek marriage desperately to gain the respect of their family and their community. The women also remarked that their education or financial status did not alter their beliefs or change their socialization in any way.

The person with HIV/AIDS must live with the resulting uncertainty all the time: the uncertainty of diagnosis, of prognosis, of reactions of friends, families, loved ones, of anonymous and fearful of hate-filled others. Everyone else must live with the uncertainty too: the uncertainty bred of risk, of possible infection, of not knowing, of loss. Uncertainty breeds anxiety and fear: about the past, the present and the future.

Jeffrey Weeks (in *Invented Moralities*, 1995)

The statement above by Jeffrey Weeks succinctly summarized what all the women in my study felt and expressed about HIV/AIDS. All the women expressed deep and sometimes paralysing fear that they might have HIV or can very likely be infected with it in the near future because of their husband's many sexually partners. The women expressed that although they did make an income they still needed support from their husband and if they did not have sexual relations with him he would not support them and their children. The women also stated that they did not have control over their sexuality because the husband would arrive at their house whenever he pleased and if he demanded sex they would have to comply or they would be abandoned by him. He would go and have sex with another of his wives and he would continue to support her. One woman heartfully expressed that at times she felt no better than a prostitute, a prostitute within marriage because she would have to do certain things to gain favour with her husband so he would support her and her children and not give more of the limited resources to the other wives. All the women concurred that they were aware of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa and that they have seen many of

wives in their community infected with the disease some in monogamous as well as polygynous marriages. They also agreed that whether in a polygynous marriage or a monogamous marriage it makes no difference because the husband will have other sexual partners outside the marriage and they do not have the power to stop it because when they question their husbands about such behaviour they are met with abuse and arrogant responses that they are men and can do as they please and no woman can tell them what to do or question their behaviour.

The women also spoke of constant fighting, jealousy and competition. That unprotected sex was also used as a tool to gain favour with the husband who they are all competing against for. The wives did mention that the unfortunate consequence of their constant bickering and fighting had extended to their children and they could see jealousy amongst the children as well as competition for their father's attention.

Women suffer physical, emotional, psychological as well financial abuse in any marriage but more so in a polygynous marriage. The women in this study did speak of abuse but they are triply abused, first by their husband, then their in-laws and finally by the other wives in the marriage. These women spoke of the name calling and that they all have specific derogatory names for each other because they hate each other. One wife said the younger wives are given specific names. They also mentioned witchcraft and that the wives all accuse each other using witchcraft to bewitch their husband if the husband gives one particular wife more time, attention or money. In her research on this topic Mbatha (2011) mentions that unmarried women are viewed as a threat to married men and women and are viewed as disobedient women by not adhering to culture by getting married regardless of the type of marriage it is.

Marriage in the Zulu communities is considered the most important institution and it is believed it brings respect and honour to the bride and her family. This proves Weedon's theory of patriarchy and that it is the men who invented culture and tradition to their benefit and it is the women who suffer as a result. Talcott Parsons discussed the sociological exchange theory of Homans and Blau, that people seek to maximise certain things for example; social approval and will engage in interactions that will benefit their standing in their community (Smith 2001:23). This theory was also proved to be true because all the women expressed how they wanted to be married to be more respectable in their communities regardless of their unhappiness or type of marriage they were entering in to.

7.4. Recommendations for further research

This study revealed that Black women are oppressed by their culture, family, society, husbands and other women. What could be recommended for further research is that it could be delved in-depth the relationships between the co-wives and why they perpetuate the abuse of other women and the consequences of such abuse. I would also recommend a study into the children of polygynous marriages and their thoughts and how they cope being in such a union and if the constant fighting, jealousy and general unhappiness of all parties involved in such a union has any devastating effects on them.

7.5. Concluding remarks

In conclusion the dissertation highlighted the plight of Black women in polygynous marriages. The findings show that regardless of education and financial stability women are still victims of their culture, families and communities. My study is not conclusive but the conclusions I arrived at are based on the data I collected.

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ANNEXURE A: ETHICAL CLEARANCE

ANNEXURE B: ENGLISH INFORMED CONSENT FORM



I am Zamambo Mkhize and I am a Masters Student at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. I am doing research on women in polygamous marriages and their experiences. I am going to give you information and invite you to be part of this research. I hope to learn the reasons why women who live in urban, Townships enter polygamous marriages. You have been invited to take part in this research because you are in a polygamous marriage and your knowledge and experiences will contribute immensely in the study.

If at anytime you do not understand any word/s on the consent or questionnaire please ask me to stop and go through the information again.

Procedures

The research will involve a questionnaire which will be read to you individually and you will answer and the researcher will write down the answers. If you do not wish to any questions included in the questionnaire you may skip them. The information recorded will remain confidential.

Risks

The questions on the questionnaire are sensitive and personal in nature. I am asking you to share some very personal and confidential information and you may feel uncomfortable talking about some questions. You do not have to answer any question or take part in the study if you do not wish to do so.

Confidentiality

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain strictly confidential and will only be disclosed with your permission. If you decide to participate you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue your participation at anytime you wish. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. The information collected will remain with the researcher and the

information will remain under lock and key. The information will not be shared with anyone nor will it be given to anyone.

If you have any further questions please contact Zamambo Mkhize on 0827350518.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE AND BY SIGNING THIS CONSENT FORM YOU ARE AGREEING TO VOLUNTARILY PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

Name: _____.

Signature: _____.

Date: _____.

Signature of Witness: _____.

Signature of Researcher: _____.

ANNEXURE B: ZULU INFORMED CONSENT FORM



INCAZELO NGOCWANINGO LWAMAKHOSIKAZI ASHADE ESITHENJINI

NginguZamambo Mkhize ngifunda izifundo ezizonginika iziqu ze Masters e Nyuvesi yakwa-Zulu Natal. Njengamanje ngenza ucwaningo kumakhosikazi ashadele esithenjini ngakho konke okuwathinta ngezindlela ezehlukene. Ngizokunika incazelo bese ngikucela ukuthi ubambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo. Ngiyethemba ukuthi ngizokwazi ukuthola incazelo kumbe izizathu ezenza abantu besifazane abahlala emadolobheni nasemalokishini bashadele esithenjini. Isizathu esenza ngikucele ubambe iqhaza kulolucwaningo ukuthi usemshadweni oyisithembu okwenza ukuthi ulwazi lwakho ngalesimo lube olubaluleke kakhulu kulolucwaningo.

Uma kwenzeka kube khona ongakuzwisisi kahle kulokho engikushoyo ngamalungelo akho kulolucwaningo kumbe ngemibuzo uqobo lwayo, ngicela ungitshele ngikuchazele uze uzwe kahle.

Inqubo okuzosetshenzwa ngayo.

Ucwaningo luzoba nemibuzo ozoyifundelwa bese uyiphendula. Umcwaningi yena uzobhala konke okushoyo. Uma kukhona imibuzo ongathandi ukuyiphendula ungayeqa ungayiphenduli. Konke okushilo kwabhalwa phansi kuyohlala kuyimfihlo yakho nomcwaningi.

Okungase kube nobungozi kulolucwaningo.

Eminye yemibuzo kulolucwaningo ibucayi futhi ithinta wena uqobo lwakho. Ngizokucela ukuthi ukhulume ngezinto ezikuthinta kakhulu okungase kwenze ungakhululeki kahle ukukhuluma ngazo. Awuphoqiwe ukuphendula imibuzo ekuphatha kabi futhi awuphoqiwe ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo uyacelwa nje.

Ukubaluleka kokugcina lolucwaningo luyimfihlo

Konke ozosithela kona kulolucwaningo kuzophathwa njengemfihlo kungadalulwa uma kuvuma wena. Uma uvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo kufanele wazi ukuthi unelungelo lokuyeka noma kunini uma uzwa ukuthi awusathandi. Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza kulolucwaningo akuphoqelekile nakancane. Kukuwe ukuthi ube ingxenye yalolucwaningo kumbe ungabi yingxenye nakancane. Ulwazi esilutholile sizolugcina endaweni ephaphile lwaziwe yilabo abenza ucwaningo kuphela. Ulwazi esilutholile ngeke silunikeze abanye abangeyona ingxenye yalolucwaningo.

Uma kukhona imibuzo ofuna ukuyibuza, ungathintana no Zamambo Mkhize kulenombolo yocingo: 0827350518.

NJENGOBA USUFUNDILE KONKE OKUBHALWE NGENHLA WASAYINA ISIVUMELWANO LOKHO KUSHO UKUTHI UYAVUMA UKUBAMBA IQHAZA KULOLUCWANINGO NGAPHANDLE KOKUPHOQELELWA.

Igama _____

Ukusayina _____

Usuku _____

Ukusayina kukafakazi _____ -

Ukusayina komcwaningi _____

ANNEXURE B: ENGLISH/ZULU QUESTIONNAIRE

Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary KwaZulu-Natal Questionnaire.

PARTICULARS OF RESPONDENT/ IMININGWANE YALOWO OPHENDULA IMIBUZO

Name/Igama:	
Age/ Iminyaka yobudala:	
Gender/ Izinga lemfundo:	
Education/ Imfundo:	
Qualification/ Izinga lemfundo:	
Income/ Imali ayitholayo:	

MARRIAGE QUESTIONS/ IMIBUZO EQONDENE NOMSHADO WAKHE

1. Are you legally married/ Ushade ngokomthetho?	
2. Did you feel the pressures of culture or society to get married/ Ngabe washada ngoba kuyisiko kumbe umphakathi ukubheke ukuthi ushade?	
3. Is this your first marriage/ Ngabe umshado wakho wokuqala yini lona?	
4. Is this a monogamous or polygamous marriage/ Uwedwa kulendoda noma ushadele esithenjini?	
5. How many wives does your husband have/ Uma ushadele esithenjini mangaki amakhosikazi endoda yakho?	
6. What number wife are you/ Wena	

uyinkosikazi yesingaki?	
7. What year did you get married to your current husband/ Wamshada ngamuphi unyaka lomyeni wakho?	

8. Why did you get married/ Yini eyakwenza ushade?

9. Is this the type of marriage you initially wanted? If not please explain. Uma wawunikeziwe ithuba lokukhetha ngabe wakhetha lenhlobo yomshado? Chaza.

10. If you had a choice is this the type of marriage you would choose to be in it? If no please explain. Uma kwakufanele ukhethe umshado wawungalukhetha loluhlobo lomshado. Chaza.

HIV/AIDS AND SEXUAL INTERCOURSE/ ISIFO SENGULAZI KANYE NOCANSI

11. Is there any discussion about sexual intercourse with your husband or other wives/ Ngabe nike nixoxisane ngezocansi nomyeni wakho nabanakwenu?

12. What do you know about HIV/AIDS/ Wazini ngesandulela ngculazi nengculazi?

(I am not asking you about your HIV status, that is your private matter)

(Angikubuzi ukuthi unalo noma cha igciwane lengculazi lokho kuyimfihlo yakho).

13. What I want to know is do you know your own HIV status/ Engifisa ukukwazi ukuthi uyazazi yini ukuthi unalo kumbe awunalo igciwane eliyisandulelangculazi?

--

14. Do you know your husband's HIV status/ Uyamazi umyeni wakho ukuthi yena unalo noma akanalo igciwane lesandulela ngculazi?

--

15. Are you not afraid of contracting HIV/AIDS since your husband has many different sexual partners/ Awusabi ukuthi ungase uzithole usunesandulela ngculazi njengoba umyeni wakho ethanda amakhosikazi amaniningi?

EXPERIENCES IN A POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGE/ OSUKUTHOLILE ESITHENJINI:

16. What are your experiences in a polygamous marriage/ Ungathi uzweni kumbe uboneni emshadweni wesithembu?

18. Are you friends/friendly with the other wife/s/ Ngabe uyezwana nabanakwenu?

19. Is there any sense of jealousy between the wives/ Ngabe kukhona izimpawu ezikhombisa isikhwele phakathi kwamakhosikazi endoda yakho?

20. Are there specific names other wives are called/ Ngabe kukhona amagama athize abizwa ngawo amanye amakhosikazi?

21. How do you negotiate money, time and other things, with the husband/ Nibonisana kanjani nomyeni wakho ngezinto ezinjengemali, isikhathi nokunye?

22. Are there any children in the marriage? If so how many does each wife/s have/ Zikhona izingane kulomshado wenu? Uma zikhona abanakwenu banezingaki?

23. How do you relate to other children within the marriage/ Uyazwana nezingane zabanakwenu?

24. Is there a sense of jealousy between the other children/ Ngabe ukhona yini umona kumbe isikhwele phakathi kwezingane?

25. When a child is born is there a specific naming of the children? A reason for naming them specific names/ Uma ingane izelwe ngabe iqanjwa igama ngesehlo kumbe isizathu esithize?

26. Do you think or feel it is fair that your husband can have multiple relationships whilst you, as a wife cannot/ Uma ubona ngokwakho ngabe kulungile yini ukuthi indoda yakho ibe namakhosikazi amaningi kodwa wena ungavumelekile ukuba neshende?

27. Is it alright if your husband has a mistress/girlfriend whilst in a polygamous marriage/ Ngabe kuyemukeleka yini ukuthi indoda yakho ithi inamakhozikazi amaningi iphinde ibe nentombi ngaphandle komshado?

28. Does your husband consult you if he wants to take a new girlfriend who will eventually become his additional wife? If not what happens/ Ngabe indoda yakho iyakubuza yini uma ifuna ukuqonywa intombi engase iyishade? Chaza. Uma ingakubuzi kwenzeka kanjani?

29. Do you think that polygamous marriages are a good thing and that they promote and protect women's Rights/ Uma ucabanga ngabe imishado yesithembu iyinto enhle futhi ebhekelela amalungelo abantu besifazane? Chaza.

30. If given the option and women were allowed to take multiple husbands, would you marry more than one husband? If not please explain. Uma abantu besifazane bengase bavunyelwe ukuthatha isithembu ungasithatha?

31. Would you recommend this type of relationship to young girls looking to get married? If not please explain. Ungaweluleka amantombazana asemancane ngokuthi ashadele esithenjini? Chaza. Uma uthi cha ungathi yini eyenza ukuthi akangashadeli esithenjini?

32. When your husband is sick who of the wives nurses him back to health?/ Uma indoda yenu igula ubani okufanele ayinakekele?

ANNEXURE C: ENGLISH/ZULU FOLLOW UP QUESTIONNAIRE

Polygyny and gender: Narratives of professional Zulu women in peri-urban areas of contemporary KwaZulu-Natal. Follow up Questionnaire.

Name/Igama:	
Age/ Iminyaka yobudala:	
Education/ Imfundo:	
Qualification/ Izinga lemfundo:	
Income/ Imali ayitholayo:	
Are you legally married/ Ushadile?	

1. How do you rate your polygamous marriage? Uwubona unjani umshado wakho wesithembu?
 - a) Highly successful with harmony. Siyimpumelelo futhi kunokuzwano.
 - b) Reasonable successful. Iyanelisa impumelelo yaso.
 - c) Moderately successful. Siyethembisa/ Akukho izikhalo ezinkulu.
 - d) Considerable conflict and marital difficulty. Kuthanda ukuba nezinkinga nobunzima bokungezwani kahle.
 - e) Severe conflict including separation and divorce Kunezinkinga ezinqala futhi nokwehlukana kuseduze.

Please explain why you chose the answer you did. Sicela uchaze ukuthi uyikhethiswe yini impendulo engenhla oyikhethile.

