

**PERCEIVED GENDER INEQUALITY REFLECTED IN ZULU
PROVERBS: A FEMINIST APPROACH**

BY

ZETHEMBE MANDLENKOSI MPUNGOSE

YEAR: 2010

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
HOWARD COLLEGE CAMPUS**

**PERCEIVED GENDER INEQUALITY REFLECTED IN ZULU
PROVERBS: A FEMINIST APPROACH**

BY

ZETHEMBE MANDLENKOSI MPUNGOSE

SUPERVISOR: PROF. NN MATHONSI

YEAR: 2010

**UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
HOWARD COLLEGE CAMPUS**

**PERCEIVED GENDER INEQUALITY REFLECTED IN ZULU PROVERBS: A FEMINIS
APPROACH**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, DEVELOPMENT
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA

BY

ZETHEMBE MANDLENKOSI MPUNGUSE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE REQUIREMENTS

SCHOOL OF ISIZULU STUDIES, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, DEVELOPMENT
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL, DURBAN,
SOUTH AFRICA

FEBRUARY 2010

DECLARATION

I, Zethembe Mandlenkosi Mpungose, declare that this short dissertation entitled "Perceived gender inequality reflected in Zulu proverbs: A Feminist approach", is a result of my own tireless efforts, and it is submitted in accordance with the regulations of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It has not, by any means, been previously submitted for any degree and all the sources and relevant literature thereof have been duly acknowledged.

CANDIDATE'S SIGNATURE:  DATE: 19/02/10

SUPERVISOR'S SIGNATURE:  DATE: 19/02/10

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I run short of words to express my gratitude to God Almighty, who gave me strength and perseverance even through tough times of my research. Sometimes I thought of quitting the whole project but I thank Him for guidance, comfort and strength to press on.

I am grateful to Prof NN Mathonsi, who did not only act as my supervisor, but who also acted as a father figure to me. Many thanks, Prof, for bearing with me from the early stage of my research.

I am also grateful to my mother, Bazondisile Sindisiwe Mgwaba (*Intombi kaKhahlela abuye abhukluze*), who never ceased to pray and encourage me since my early years at the University. Many thanks, mom; may God keep you until you see the fruits of your toil.

I also thank my spiritual leaders, Bishop DS and LT Magwaza [Holy Trinity Fellowship-HTFC- at Eshowe], and Pastor Siboniso and Mbali Dlamuka [Christ Centred Missions Church-CCMC- in Durban] for spiritual guidance.

I would not have made justice if I did not thank Student Christian Fellowship (SCF) family in Howard College. Indeed my spiritual journey has been marked by ups and downs but I thank the support I got from SCF brothers and sisters who never ceased to encourage me, even when I lost hope. Guys, you don't know how inspirational you have been throughout my entire life at the University.

I would also like to thank Mthokozisi Maduna, William Makhubela and Siyabonga Langa, my dearest friends I met at Townley Williams Residence in 2005-2006. They encouraged me through their curiosity to see the final state of this project.

Last, but not least, I would also like to express my special gratitude to my most beloved friend, Siphiwe Walter Zondi, who inspired me through his unswerving faith in God. He supported me through prayers, and never ceased to contact me even when I was overseas. May God bless you, my dear friend; you indeed demonstrated your faith by action.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God Almighty, He alone deserve the Glory, Honour and Praise. It is also dedicated to my mother, Bazondisile Sindisiwe Mgwaba, who played a big role of guiding me throughout my entire school life. Indeed God made her a strong woman for a particular purpose.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the subject of gender inequalities as reflected in Zulu proverbs. The most notable examples are those proverbs that comment on the role and position of Zulu men in society, on women's behaviour, on marriage and on the morality of the Zulu society. The dissertation explores how language is used in the proverbs to help shape the behaviour of women, from childhood up till the time they assume the responsibilities belonging to *omakoti* (brides).

This study was undertaken in order to gain greater insight and understanding into why Zulu women are expected to play a submissive role in their society, unlike their dominant male partners. The study provides a case study of Zulu proverbs so as to gain an in-depth understanding of how patriarchy is reflected through language, and how proverbs help to construct the woman's identity in Zulu society.

Through the use of research participants, the dissertation concludes that Zulu proverbs about women are associated with *ukuhlonipha*, a custom where *omakoti*, once married, adopt new names for items they use on daily basis because they reflect the names or syllables of in-laws.

This study adopts a qualitative research methodology. Primary data was collected through interviews and several books on proverbs, whilst secondary data was collected from a wide selection of books, theses, dissertations and journal articles. Interviews which were carefully conducted with nineteen females (thirteen females between the ages of 16 and 35, and six females over the age of 35) and fourteen males (eight males between the ages of 16 and 35, and six males over the age of 35), all who are from KwaZulu-Natal.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS	PAGES
TITLE PAGE.....	I
DECLARATION.....	II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	III
DEDICATION.....	IV
ABSTRACT.....	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	VI

Chapter one

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Preamble.....	1
1.2 Background of the study	2
1.3 Aims and objectives of the study.....	3
1.4 Scope of the study.....	4
1.5 Rationale for the study.....	4
1.6 Key research questions.....	6
1.7 Plan and structure of the thesis.....	6

Chapter two

2. Literature review.....	8
2.1 Introduction.....	8
2.2 Scholarly analysis on proverbs and their significance in the society.....	9
2.3 Role of proverbs in identity construction.....	11
2.4 Crisis of patriarchy and relevance of Zulu proverbs in current society.....	13
2.5 Evaluation of reviewed literature.....	15

Chapter three

3. Data presentation and analysis.....	16
3.1 Introduction.....	16
3.2 Methodology.....	16

3.2.1 Research design.....	16
3.2.2 Area of study and study population.....	17
3.2.3 Study sample.....	17
3.2.4 Data collection method(s) and analysis.....	18
3.2.5 Research ethics and protocols.....	19
3.3 Theoretical framework.....	19
3.3.1 Introduction to feminist.....	19
3.3.2 Radical feminism.....	20
3.4 Data analysis and processing.....	22
3.4.1 Introduction.....	22
3.4.2 Proverbs' origins, definitions and their functions.....	22
3.4.3 Categories of Zulu proverbs and their impact on women.....	24
3.4.3.1 Proverbs associated with the role and position of men in the society.....	24
a) Position of men.....	24
b) Role of men.....	25
3.4.3.2 Proverbs associated with marriage.....	26
• <i>Ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona</i>	26
• <i>Umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane</i>	28
• <i>Umendo ngumkhum' lansika</i>	29
• <i>Ukwenda wukuzilahla</i>	31
• <i>Akuqhalaqhala lahlul' isidwaba</i>	32
• <i>Uyofika KwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa</i>	33
3.5 Summary.....	37
Chapter four	
4 Conclusions and recommendations.....	39
4.1 Overview.....	39
4.2 Summary of findings.....	40
4.3 Recommendations.....	42
REFERENCES.....	43

APPENDICES.....	47
Appendix one.....	47
a) Informed consent.....	47
b) Declaration.....	49
Appendix two.....	53
a) Questionnaires.....	53
Appendix three.....	58
a) Research participants' demographics.....	58

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Preamble

Proverbs continue to play an integral part in normal, everyday conversations across the African continent, particularly in rural areas. Most African societies still regard proverbs as linguistic tools to both instil and maintain cultural, social and moral values (Magwaza, 2004). People frequently use proverbs without really noticing the impact that they have on identity construction, especially in rural African societies. Based on studies conducted by Mathonsi (2004), Magwaza (2004) and Nyembezi (1991), this research discusses how Zulu proverbs, particularly those concerning women, reflect gender inequality

In recent times there has been a major paradigm shift: women have now taken centre stage in society, thereby challenging rigid, traditional gender roles where males dominated and females played a subservient role. Men are slowly losing their dominance within society and the household. They are no longer the sole contributors to the family's financial, material and other needs (Muthuki, 2004).

I am of the opinion, however, that Zulu proverbs (especially those centred on women) have not adapted to the prevalent changes in society. Despite the argument that language is constantly in a state of flux (cf. Sienaert, Cowper-Lewis & Bell, 1994), Zulu proverbs have maintained the traditional stance of favouring men over women. By drawing on radical, feminist arguments, this study explores the ways in which Zulu proverbs are used to influence both society and the household. By focusing on those proverbs associated with marriage, authority in the family and women's behaviour, this study attempts to reveal how language can be used in favour of a certain sex.

This chapter focuses on the background, aims and objectives, scope, key questions, plan and structure of the thesis.

1.2 Background of the study

In recent years there has been much debate surrounding the significance of proverbs in society, particularly in traditional African societies (cf. Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza 2004). Papers have been presented and journals have been published that highlight the importance of proverbs in today's society. Of special interest to this study is Mathonsi's paper (2004), which considers proverbs as aspects of social commitment in oral literature. It is studies such as Mathonsi's that form the basis upon which the research hypothesis in this study is constructed. To understand the role of proverbs and the rationale for the research hypothesis it is important, at this stage, to look back at both the history of proverbs and the scholarly attempts that have been made to define a proverb.

Proverbs have been in existence since time immemorial. Originally they were not written down but were rather transferred from one generation to the next by word of mouth. Various authors have offered different definitions in an attempt to define a proverb and its function in society (cf Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza 2004; Nyembezi, 1991 and others). These definitions highlight the fact that proverbs form an important part of oral literature and that 'poetic structural techniques such as alliteration, parallelism, vowel elision, and rhythm' are used in their composition (Canonici, 1994:39).

Who initiated proverbs and for what purpose? Proverbs were initially used only by men and older people, like grandfathers; it was taboo for women and children to use proverbs in their speech, unless they had obtained permission from men to do so. Okpewho (1992:230) alludes to the fact that in many traditional African societies, older people, especially men, were considered better qualified to use proverbs than other members of the society, mainly because it was assumed that their age and experience put them in a better position to fully understand the implications of the wisdom and truth contained in the proverbs. They could therefore impart this wisdom to younger members of society and to women.

The brief history of proverbs, as described above, suggests that in many traditional African societies the woman's contribution to society has been trivialised, while men have occupied the dominant, public positions in society. So it is clear that in

traditional African societies proverbs have played an important role in maintaining the existing patriarchal system (i.e. a system in which men have power over women). Women were not even allowed to speak publicly about their treatment at home. Consequently, this study sets out to explore how Zulu proverbs have maintained the status quo of favouring men over women, despite the current social transformations taking place, where women are now taking centre stage both within the household and in the workplace.

1.3 Aims and objectives of the study

When one considers the way in which issues of gender equality have taken centre stage in today's society (thanks to the efforts of feminists and of women's movements), it is almost unimaginable that Zulu proverbs should still favour a system of patriarchy. This study discusses the nature of Zulu proverbs in comparison with the current transformation that is taking place in our society where women are gradually playing a more dominant role. It also reveals how Zulu proverbs reflect gender inequality in the way they are used both within the traditional household and society at large. Working from a theoretical framework of radical feminism, this study is critical in nature; it seeks to reveal the negative emotions inherent in Zulu proverbs, by providing an analysis of those proverbs concerning women as well as of the accounts and perceptions of research participants.

The specific issues the study aims to focus upon and examine are listed below.

- To explore the relationship between proverbs and the social construction of gender.
- To establish a relationship between proverbs and patriarchy in Zulu society.
- To look at the significance of those proverbs associated with marriage in Zulu society, and consider the role they play in ensuring that *omakoti* (brides) adapt to the standards of living set within in-laws' households.
- To compare and contrast the way men and women are treated in Zulu society.

While the size and nature of the study is limited, the in-depth interviews conducted allow one to gauge the manner in which proverbs and gender relate to one another. Although participants were interviewed in their work settings, the set of questions they were asked covered issues and activities that concern their home lives and societies. Details concerning research design, sample, and population study as well as data collection method are all addressed in Chapter Three.

1.4 Scope of the study

Although this study focuses on the use of Zulu proverbs, especially in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), it does not presuppose that all Zulu-speaking people use proverbs in their day-to-day conversations. The study bases its research on interviews conducted with the Zulu-speaking population enrolled in or working at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College. While it might not be possible to extrapolate the findings in this study to the entire South African Zulu population, the reason for choosing UKZN Howard College as the area of research is that such an institution consists of a number of Zulu-speaking staff and students, most of whom have come from the rural areas and townships of KZN. This is done under the premise that these people, as a group, could arguably be seen to represent South Africa's Zulu society at large. While focusing on proverbs that deal with women, this study does also involve men, and therefore the data analysis provided is comparative in nature.

1.5 Rationale of the study

Until 1970 terms like 'sex roles' or 'sex differences' were used tremendously. But with the 70's came the concept of 'gender', which, according to Johnson (1997:55), refers to grammatical constructions that often have nothing to do with sex (much in the same way that the French and Spanish assign a masculine or feminine gender to their nouns, regardless of how appropriate those assignments really are). The term 'gender' was originally used in 1890; it referred to sexual equality and was part of a social commitment to eradicate the sexual domination of men and to transform society (Rendel et al., 2000:7).

Gender, as a concept, has also been much utilised by feminists. Feminism is a politically-oriented movement that fights against patriarchy. Most women prefer to use labels other than feminism when they fight against patriarchy. Feminists argue

that gender refers to the way in which people are nurtured and inculcated with beliefs and information concerning their sexuality and sexual role in society, and so one can see that gender goes hand-in-hand with our understanding of femininity and masculinity.

Many researchers equate gender with sex, but such an association becomes controversial when one considers, for example, same-sex households. Whilst gender is a socially constructed phenomenon, sex, on the other hand, denotes a biological distinction. Thus patriarchy and the oppression of women has, in reality, nothing to do with the biological sexual differences between men and women, but actually has everything to do with society and its way of thinking. The view, therefore, that women are just objects there to serve sexual purposes, has nothing to do with their biological makeup, but rather is to do with the prevalent patriarchal attitude, a societal system which has been entrenched for centuries. But since realising that gender is merely a social construct, feminists have been empowered to fight and change the social norm.

During both the first and second waves of feminism, gender became the key focus of feminists' activities. The first wave of feminism emerged in the 1920's and it fought against gender inequality. The second wave of feminism looked at how women are different from men (Rendel et al., 2000). Sex became the very reason why women were different from men and patriarchy was regarded as the root cause of the oppression of women.

In light of the change of attitudes towards gender and sex, as described above, there has been a proliferation of research and literature centred on issues of gender inequality, including those focused on an African context. What stands out in such studies is that women have recently taken on a more dominant role in society, and that as a result many men now feel threatened and "deprived of their status and authority as providers and decision makers in the homes" (Pleck, 1981, cited in Muthuki, 2004:12).

Despite such dynamic changes taking place in society, Zulu proverbs have maintained the status quo where men still have certain privileges over women, beginning in

childhood and continuing into adulthood. Such patriarchal views, as encapsulated in the proverbs, are in strong contrast with modern gender studies, which have focused on the analysis of proverbs as forming a crucial part of oral literature. While most studies have concluded that proverbs play a role in instilling positive behaviour in our society (cf. Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza, 2004; etc.), this study sets out to reveal the negative emotions and influence of Zulu proverbs, by analysing the various aspects of gender inequality as reflected in the society's proverbs.

1.6 Key research questions

The questions below form the foundation upon which this study is built and they aim to fill the gaps that have been left by previous studies. They complement the aims and objectives outlined above.

- What role do proverbs play in identity construction?
- How do Zulu proverbs fit in with the contemporary feminist era?
- What are the perceptions held by men as opposed to those held by women with regards to the significance of proverbs?
- What is the relationship between proverbs and *ukuhlonipha*, with regards to Zulu traditional marriages?

1.7 The plan and structure of the thesis

In keeping with the aims and objectives, as well as key research questions, described above, this study is structured as follows:

Chapter one: Introduction

This is an introductory chapter and it presents the background of the study. It also highlights the research's aims and objectives, its scope, rationale and key research questions, as well as the plan and structure of the thesis.

Chapter two: Literature Review

This chapter discusses the existing literature on proverbs. The current literature was extensively read before the focus and hypothesis of this thesis were formulated. Books on proverbs and data collected through interviews constitute the research's

primary sources. The literature search prompted me to view proverbs in a different light to that which has been promoted by various other scholars. This thesis instead promotes 'radical feminism', the theory on which rests the thesis's main argument (Chaka & Mniki, 2003). Books on feminism and gender, therefore, as well as published research works on oral literature (mostly journal articles), constitute the secondary sources used in this research.

Chapter three: Data Presentation and Analysis

Chapter Three is the thesis's main chapter and it forms the climax of the study. It outlines the methodology used, which includes research design, area of research, study population, study sample, data collection method and analysis, in addition to the ethics of the research and the protocols followed prior to data collection. This chapter also includes the theoretical framework that was used, as well as the research's data analysis and processing. Interviews are here analysed and the paper's argument is developed through different themes that are presented in this chapter.

Chapter four: Conclusions, Findings and Recommendations

This chapter is an overview of the entire study. It presents a summary of the study's major findings, and also discusses foreseeable challenges and recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the literature on proverbs that was reviewed before the hypothesis of this thesis could be fully formulated. Such literature reflects current trends in academic circles concerning the significance of proverbs in society, especially in an African context. Most of the existing literature focuses on the artistic nature of proverbs, their structure, form and features, and the wisdom they impart from one generation to another, as well as their ability to persuade people to adopt a more positive way of thinking (cf. Canonici, 1993; Okpewho, 1992 & Magwaza, 2004). It is this idea of the positiveness of proverbs that prompted this study to adopt a different approach towards proverbs, particularly those Zulu proverbs focusing on women. The study argues that Zulu proverbs about women do not play a positive role, but instead reflect and encourage gender inequality.

Another motivation behind this study is the way proverbs dominate daily conversations, especially in African societies, and yet very little effort has been made to scrutinise their gender implications and their possible role in maintaining a patriarchal society, a system that ensures women maintain a subordinate position in all aspects of life.

The reasons for choosing to study Zulu proverbs were both academic and personal. As a Zulu myself, I have firsthand experience of how proverbs are used. I was born and raised in a remote rural area of Eshowe, within a traditional, polygamous Zulu household, where proverbs were ubiquitous in conversation. What I observed about proverbs as I grew up was that most proverbs about women focused on women's behaviour and their life's journey, from childhood with their family, up till and including marriage and their new lives with their husbands and in-laws. This study will therefore focus on how Zulu proverbs reflect gender inequality, even in the midst of current societal transformations and the myriad of voices that are crying out for the emancipation of women and gender equality.

Given the fact that society is constantly changing politically, socially, economically and otherwise, this study (especially Chapter Three) considers the origins of proverbs and then looks at the current static nature of Zulu proverbs (cf. Okpewho, 1992; Mieder & Dundes, 1981). African proverbs, in existence centuries before the development of the printing press, have always been transmitted from one generation to the next via word-of-mouth. This research has attempted to use proverbs that have been in existence for quite some time.

As a point of departure, therefore, the review will begin with Nyembezi's collection of Zulu proverbs, *Zulu proverbs*, which dates back to the 1960's but was reprinted in 1990. To further develop a substantive argument, the research reviews several recently published works on proverbs and oral literature, such as Mathonsi (2004) Magwaza(2004).

This chapter is structured according to the key research questions addressed by the study as a whole, as well as according to the major themes that arise from the literature review. Themes are divided into the following categories:

- A scholarly analysis of proverbs and their significance in society.
- The role of proverbs in identity construction.
- The crisis of patriarchy and the relevance of Zulu proverbs in current society.
- An evaluation of the literature reviewed.

2.2 Scholarly analysis of proverbs and their significance in society

During the literature review it was discovered that most, if not all, scholars who have conducted research on oral traditions are of the view that proverbs have had a tremendously positive impact on society in general (cf. Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza, 2004; Maphalala, 1990; Masuku, 2005). Mathonsi, in his article *Aspects of Social Commitment in Oral Literature* (2004:46), argues that proverbs seem to 'reflect on and offer directives for day-to-day problems, while myths represent reflections on the fate of man and the world'.

Such a view implies that proverbs contain wisdom that would benefit society by helping it find solutions for quotidian problems. Mathonsi argues that without

proverbs, a society is, generally speaking, directionless (Mathonsi, 2004). Magwaza (2004), arguing in a similarly moral vein, says that if proverbs “could be used more often and with deeper understanding, they could instil morals in people and be employed for educational purposes” (2004:33). Both Mathonsi and Magwaza maintain that if the wisdom contained in proverbs could be embraced by society, then not only would society receive greater and better direction, but its moral values would also be resuscitated (cf. Mathonsi, 2004 and Magwaza, 2004).

It is clear to see, therefore, that Zulu proverbs have generally been viewed by scholars as a positive force in society. Both Mathonsi and Magwaza use similar theoretical approaches to Zulu proverbs, with Mathonsi attempting to identify the thread of social commitment in proverbs (cf. Mathonsi, 2004), while Magwaza (2004: 25) argues that proverbs can play a significant role in “instilling and maintaining” the better social and moral institutions of humans.

There are scholars who assert that proverbs are distinguished by their “popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in them” (Mieder & Dundes, 1981:14). Nyembezi (1990:xi) is even more specific, stating that proverbs “represent homely truths expressed in a concise and terse manner”. Mutasa (1993) also sheds light on the significance of proverbs when he argues that:

This aspect of language [i.e. proverbs] cannot be ignored and taken for granted and should not be looked at from a subjective point of view. By ignoring it we are ignoring the complete expression of the feelings, ideas and [ambitions] of a given people (Mutasa, 1993, cited in Sienaert, Cowper-Lewis & Bell, 1994:158).

As can clearly be deduced from the statements of those academics quoted above, the nature of proverbs is derived from a society’s ideals, expectations and feelings. Mutasa (1993: 63) further argues that proverbs are derived from “folktales, beliefs, values, attitudes, perceptions, emotions and the entire system of thoughts and feelings”. Magwaza (2004:37) concurs with Mutasa, saying that proverbs are oral expressions of “culture, life, attitudes, ideals and hopes of its people”. Given the fact that scholarly debate regards proverbs as a conduit of culture, it is clear that proverbs (especially African proverbs) favour the dominance of men in society. In contrast to

the positive views held by existing academics about proverbs and their significance in society, any reading of Zulu proverbs would highlight how these proverbial and idiomatic expressions have favoured men over women.

2.3 The role of proverbs in identity construction

The language adopted by a society has a tendency to construct people's identities. It is through the process of intermingling that people become self-aware and develop a sense of belonging. The language used by a particular society thus plays a role in the gender and identity construction of individuals.

In all societies men have traditionally been the key players in gender and identity construction. It is largely men who have constructed women's sexuality because of their power and mastery over the household. According to Keohane (1983:127-128), all individuals are cursed with "a perpetual and restless desire of power after power that ceases only in death". Language contains in itself the power to construct one's individual identity, and according to Sheila Rowbotham, "language conveys a certain power; it is one of the instruments of domination" (Rowbotham, 1960, in Keohane et. al., 1982:127-128).

In writing about the significance of proverbs, Magwaza (2004) and Mathonsi (2004) imply that Zulu proverbs should be preserved in their current form, without questioning their value or worth, because they form the basis of their society's morals, ethos, ideals, culture, direction, perceptions, norms and values. The data analysis provided in the ensuing chapter will prove, however, whether their arguments are valid or not. It will also be established whether or not Zulu proverbs have been dominated by men or if women have also been using them unashamedly. Although Magwaza's article emphasises the positive influence of proverbs, it does also highlight, in passing, the fact that:

The manner in which the values are presented [through proverbs] leaves no room for negotiations or approval. Even the doubter opts to keep quiet, for by announcing his concerns he would be understood to be revealing his immorality, lack of *ubuntu* (humanity and good disposition) and trust. Options like 'voicing opinions' are simply excluded and there is belief that if advice is ignored calamity may result. Evidently, nobody would, in the old days, like to invoke peril,

hence honesty and obedience to the proverbs was unquestionable (Magwaza, 2004:39).

In making such a comment, Magwaza (ibid) is in partial agreement with the argument made in this study, about the dogmatism of Zulu proverbs. Magwaza's statement also underscores how language, in the African setting, has been used as a tool to help construct identity. Similarly, Zulu proverbs have also been used to define the role of women. From an early age, women are introduced to proverbs that promote the superiority of men and the subsequent inferiority of women. (Chapter Three offers a detailed analysis of a sample of Zulu proverbs that reflect gender inequality.) Suffice it to say, most of the proverbs examined emphasise the importance of men in the Zulu culture and the respect they are due, whilst disparaging women and their contribution to society.

The society in which we live is changing. Politically, there have been open debates and deliberations, and a consensus has been reached, in which it is acknowledged that everybody – irrespective of gender, race, culture and creed – is equal before the law (Deckard, 1979). Language is not impervious to prevalent social dynamics, as it too is always in a constant flux. For Mutasa (1003), language is like “a river, which carries what it can, and drops some items along the way” (Mutasa, 1993, cited in Sienaert, Cowper-Lewis & Bell, 1994:159). The findings in this study, however, will show that Zulu proverbs enforce patriarchy and gender inequality. One example of the proverbs that are to be analysed in detail in Chapter Three, is the proverb *Ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona* (she respects where she will not marry). The full form of this proverb is: *Intombi/intombazane ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona* (a girl respects where she will not marry).

Magwaza (2004) categorises proverbs, such as one above, under the ‘respect’ category. Chapters Three and Four of the study, however, identify whether or not such proverbs actually reflect gender inequality. I believe the Zulu saying, *Kuhlonishwana kabili*, (respect is reciprocal), should be made practical, in the sense that men should also respect every woman they meet because they too do not know where they will find a wife. The findings of this research clearly identify if proverbs of that nature place restrictions on the lives of Zulu women or if they treat men and women as

equals. The radical feminist slogans, 'the private is political' and 'the personal is political', highlight that it is high time Zulu proverbs were placed under serious scrutiny. After presenting the data analysis and findings, it will be concluded whether or not Zulu proverbs still favour patriarchy.

2.4 Crisis of patriarchy and relevance of Zulu proverbs in current society

Kate Millet, in her 1970's piece, *The sexual politics*, argues that in all societies the relationship between the sexes has been based on men's power over women (Millet, 1970, cited in Bryson 1999:27). The power of men over women has historically been so overwhelming that it has come to be regarded as natural, that is to say, until the various women's movements exposed it as otherwise. The idea of patriarchy has historically been disseminated by means of the family, education and religion (Bryson 1999:27). According to Bryson (1992:198), a family is a social institution in which a woman's labour is exploited. Male sexual power may also be violently expressed and used to oppress gender identities and control modes of behaviour.

Previously, women had no public arena in which to air their views; the only place that was designated for them to occupy was the home. Jean Bethke Elshtain (cited in Keohane et al., 1982) argues that because of the separation of the sexes – men occupy the public sphere while women occupy the private – many men and women are unable to communicate with one another about issues they are facing. It is for this reason that women began to mobilise against patriarchy during the 1960's. Similarly, in Africa, the isolation of the two different sexes has resulted in the trivialisation of the woman's role, leaving men to dominate the household. In public gatherings, only the words of men matter. The thoughts of women have been assigned as vanity (Zondi, 2005). Women have thus been left disadvantaged, exploited and oppressed.

Zulu society has always been very strict in matters pertaining to gender roles and the division of labour; it aims to preserve what it considers its culture and customs. Vilakazi (1962), cited in Muthuki (2004:32), alludes to the fact that in the Zulu culture a child learns the ways of its society through observation and imitation; a boy learnt how to "milk cows, hunt, make sledges and yokes from his father, while the girl learnt how to gather firewood, fetch water and cook" for her mother and elder sisters.

Thus, in Zulu society, the culture, as handed down from generation to generation, plays a large role in perpetuating existing gender roles.

Simon de Beauvoir is well known for her famous slogan, “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (Ardener, 1993:188). This is true of Zulu society, where a woman is expected to behave in a certain way before and after marriage. She becomes aware of her status of inferiority when compared with men because of the language spoken by her society. Through the socialisation process, a woman ends up submitting to the status quo without question, internalising the idea that she is inferior to men and should always therefore respect them.

Owing to the socialisation process, women are allotted tasks that diminish their significance within Zulu society. Everything within the household is controlled by men (Muthuki, 2004). Women are not even engaged in the processes surrounding inheritances and *ilobolo* because it is believed that their sphere of operation should not go beyond household affairs. Zulu society has therefore always been a strong advocate of patriarchy.

Today, the system of patriarchy is crumbling as women are breaking the silence and are taking on roles previously assigned to men only. Because of socio-politico-economic transformations and the struggle for gender equality, especially in the workplace, women have now become family breadwinners and some are the sole heads of families. Despite such a dramatic paradigm shift, Zulu proverbs still maintain the traditional status quo, placing men in a position of superiority over women; proverbs have not changed with the times but have maintained their structure and meaning. However, current dynamics in society pose a serious threat to such outdated proverbs.

During the literature review, a vast array of scholarly analyses on proverbs was read and in most cases the critics associated Zulu proverbs concerning women, such as *ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona*, with *ukuhlonipha* (cf. Mathonsi, 2004, Magwaza, 2004). While the literature review helped me to identify a relationship between proverbs (especially those on women) and *ukuhlonipha*, it has also left room for the outcome of the research interviews conducted for this thesis and the findings thereof.

A final conclusion therefore about the relationship between proverbs and *ukuhlonipha* will be made after the data presentation and analysis provided in Chapter Three, as well as the summary of findings provided in Chapter Four.

2.5 Evaluation of the literature review

The literature on proverbs has been greatly focused on the importance of proverbs as part of an oral literature in general. In addition, findings on the dearth of research done on proverbs, ranges from the importance of proverbs in giving directions and solutions for society's day-to-day problems, to their significance in making languages rich. Research findings further point to the significance of proverbs in determining life and "instilling and maintaining, in particular; the social and moral aspect" of the society (cf. Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza, 2004). It is thus clear that most studies have focused on the positive aspects of proverbs because they have regarded them as important pillars of society and its morality.

In light of the foregoing debates, this research seeks to present a different aspect of proverbs, one that is rarely addressed by critics. This research thus takes the road less travelled, because it suggests that Zulu proverbs, especially those centred around women, reflect gender inequality. This study argues that Zulu proverbs have maintained the status quo, advocating for men to occupy the dominant positions in society. Simply put, this paper highlights how Zulu proverbs offer a true reflection of how extremely patriarchal contemporary Zulu society is. This argument is made by adopting the theoretical framework of radical feminism through which Zulu proverbs are analysed. It is expected that the relatively new and contrary findings of this study will contribute greatly to the body of knowledge on proverbs.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Data presentation and analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter constitutes a very important part of the research because it comprises the data presentation and analysis. This chapter is the culmination of the study because it is where the hypothesis is proved to be right or wrong. Before the data presentation and analysis, a brief description of the research methodology that was used to collect the data is presented. That is followed by a brief outline and description of the radical feminism theory that is used to analyse the collected data and that also serves as the basis for the main argument of the thesis (Chaka & Mniki, 2003). Because of the limited scope of this research, the chapter could not be entirely dedicated to discussing the research methodology and the theoretical framework. Thus, instead of dividing it into two separate chapters, the theoretical framework in this research is used to analyse the primary data, whilst the research methodology is used to help present a detailed explanation on how the data was collected.

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1 Research design

The research methodology adopted as the design for this study is the qualitative research method. As opposed to the quantitative research methodology, which relies on statistical data analysis, the data information in qualitative research appears in words (Nel et al., 1950). According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1992), cited in Hlophe (2005), qualitative research as a method of data collection and analysis is derived from the Verstehen tradition; it involves emphatic understanding, and seeks to understand and describe not only the dimension of human behaviour, but also the points of view of the study's participants. In adopting the qualitative research approach, this study is not only offering an analysis of Zulu proverbs, as garnered from a single text (that of Nyembezi), but it is also offering information that was gathered from interviews conducted with Zulu men and women who are originally from the remote, rural areas of KZN. This was done in order to show that proverbs of yore are still in use in some rural areas of KZN, despite the introduction of the newer, short-lived proverbs that have flourished in towns and cities. The main aim behind the conducting of interviews was to explore the very real influence of proverbs in

promoting patriarchy from the perspective of an 'insider' (i.e. a rural, Zulu-speaking person) as opposed to the perspective of an 'outsider', as is predominant in the quantitative approach (Ferreira et. al., 1988:137).

3.2.2 Area of research and population study

The research participants in this study were: UKZN Howard College students, grounds staff, cleaners, and Risk Management Services (RMS) staff. They are all Zulu speakers who were born in KwaZulu-Natal, and their ages range from 16 to 35 years (youth) and 35 years and above (middle to old age). The group targeted was those individuals who have come from KZN's rural areas as well as those who have moved to Durban's various townships because of work or study. All must either have been raised by Zulu-speaking parents or at the very least have been exposed to the Zulu culture in a significant way.

3.2.3 Study Sample

This qualitative study sample consisted of thirty-three UKZN Howard College research participants of Zulu descent: thirteen female youths (16-35 years), six females of middle to old age (35 years and above), eight male youths (16-35 years), and six males of middle to old age (35 years and above). The primary reason why females, especially female youths, form the larger group of research participants in this study is that currently they are the ones at the forefront in adopting or absorbing a culture of gender equality. Women in our society are becoming increasingly independent in the economical, social and political spheres of life. This has resulted in women being better educated, having an improved understanding of human rights, and many more have adopted feminist ideologies. This research seeks to understand why Zulu proverbs still uphold the predominance of men over women, in the midst of such a changing society.

Research participants who fall into the middle to old age category were included in this study because that age category is more likely to contain Zulu-speakers who actually use proverbs in their daily speech, or are in closer contact with the older generation who will be even more likely to sprinkle their natural conversation with proverbs. This study makes use of the purposive sampling method. The main reason for adopting this method is that having been at Howard College for more than six

years, I have developed personal relationships with most of its students, garden staff, cleaning staff and RMS staff, who in most cases have come from KZN's rural areas. Inspired as I was about the relevance of Zulu proverbs in contemporary society, I have even conducted informal interviews with some of the individuals that form part of my research population and from them I encountered mixed feelings about Zulu proverbs and gender inequality.

3.2.4 Data collection method(s) and analysis

The primary method of data collection in this study was unstructured, open-ended interviews. The main advantage of this research method is that it combines pre-planned, open-ended questions with face-to-face contact with the research participants that form the study population. A researcher carefully plans and arranges his pre-planned questions and then asks the research participants those questions in a similar sequence (Ferreira, et. al., 1988). Interviews were added to this study in order to ensure the authenticity of subjects' responses. According to Shaughnessy and Zechmeister (1990:79-80), "the consistent ordering and phrasing of questions is ill-suited for in-depth examination of thoughts or feelings of individual respondents". Another advantage of conducting unstructured, open-ended interviews is that it gives one the opportunity to ask some probing questions in order to get relevant answers to the research hypothesis.

A set of ten questions was put together to ask each group of research participants, according to their age. The first set of questions was for students from 16-35 years (youth) and the second set was for university garden staff, cleaners and RMS staff who are 35 years or more (middle to old age). The second set of questions was translated into Zulu because many of these individuals are not competent speakers of English; by conducting the interviews in Zulu, one is more likely to receive authentic responses and thus increase the validity of the study. Each interview lasted at least 45 minutes. Interviews were audio-taped for later transcription and analysis. While the main data collection tool was face-to-face interviews and the words that were spoken, non-verbal communication (such as hand gestures and facial expressions) was also noted down, as these modes of communication can add to the researcher's information (Hlophe, 2005).

All the interviews were audio-taped and then transcribed. Because the language of this research is English, the interviews conducted in Zulu were translated into English for later analysis. After transcription, responses were analysed in order to identify common themes, themes that either support or undermine the research hypothesis. The analysis is based on the assumption that the language used in Zulu proverbs indicates a gender bias that may encourage women to submit to men's authority.

3.2.5 Research ethics and protocols

Interviewees were treated with respect and courtesy that they deserve. They were informed about their right not to reveal their identities if they so wished. Moreover, everything possible was done to ensure that interviewees fully understood the purpose of the study, their role as participants, the level of confidentiality involved, and the protection of their integrity and individualisation.

3.3 Theoretical framework

3.3.1 Introduction to feminism

The principal theory upon which this study is constructed is radical feminism. In this section, a brief history of feminism is provided as it serves as an umbrella concept and a point of departure before concentrating on radical feminism. Feminism is a very broad theory that emerged as a women's movement in western countries in the 1960's, but as time went on it spread to other countries, adopting diverse names in the process (Deckard, 1979).

Current studies (see Deckard, 1979; Ramazanoglu, 1989.) show that there are three main feminist branches: liberal feminism, socialist or Marxist feminism, and radical feminism. Liberal feminists promote the freeing of women from masculine oppression through legislation that gives equal rights to both men and women, most especially in the workplace. Socialist or Marxist feminists regard the hierarchical nature of patriarchy as being equal to capitalism and they therefore make use of terminologies such as *labour power*, *profit*, *proletariat* and *bourgeoisie*. According to socialist feminists, women are exploited within the household in the same way that the working classes or proletariat are exploited in the labour force; the duties women

must perform in the household is likened to the labour power of workers, only they offer the profit of their labours to their husbands.

Radical feminists, by contrast, argue that the reason behind the oppression of women is the type of social roles prescribed to them by a restrictive, patriarchal society. The voice of radical feminists began during the mid-twentieth century. During this time, women, particularly in the United States, were fighting for economic independence and for universal suffrage. If women were to become liberated in these ways, there would be lesser dependency on men, and there would also therefore be a decrease in socially degrading activities, such as prostitution. These radically minded women, who labelled themselves as radical feminists, had a clear mission, and it was to destroy patriarchy. Bryson (1999:26) says that the reason behind their name was that "its proponents claimed it went to the roots of women's oppression."

3.3.2 Radical feminism

Radical feminism became a full-blown movement when women mobilised against patriarchy during the 1960's. Their mobilisation was prompted by civil rights movements, New Movements and students' movements in North America, Europe and Australia (Hlophe, 2005). As a relatively new ideology, radical feminism is not fully developed and there is much disagreement among its adherents (Deckard, 1979). However, radical feminism still makes its voice heard because of its ability to make the oppression of women a political issue. For instance, issues such as the international trafficking of women, pornography, sexual harassment, child molestation and domestic violence have become focal points for women's rights activists.

Unlike liberalists who believe that the attainment of equal rights will emancipate women from oppression, radicals attack the very foundations of the male-dominated society (Ramazanoglu, 1989:11-12). In other words, radical feminists oppose the longstanding notion that the place of a woman is in the home, taking care of her husband and children. Radical feminists argue that women have been unnaturally restricted by the institutions of patriarchal society. Radicals became famous through their slogans 'the private is political' and 'the personal is political'. These slogans helped unite women against a male-dominated society. They also helped to shift the

political focus, which had previously dealt simply with the legal rights of women; politicians were now forced to address concerns to do with women's private lives, such as the issues of rape, human trafficking and domestic violence. By shifting political focus onto the private lives of women, radical feminists exposed the negative everyday behaviours of certain men. Their efforts brought into question the traditional patriarchal order that has perpetuated the oppression of women.

Radicals also argue that the oppression of women is sustained by certain social institutions, such as marriage, motherhood, love and sexual intercourse (Deckard, 1979:452). Bell and Klein (1996:9) say that "radical feminism looks at the roots of women's oppression". Arguing in the same vein, Bryson (1999:25) says that even the fact that a woman lacks the right to deny her husband sexual access to her own body is a root cause of the oppression of women.

Radical feminism asserts that women form a social group that is continually oppressed by its counterpart, namely, men. Radicals regard patriarchy as the root cause of such oppression because it institutionalises heterogeneity and motherhood. Bell and Klein (1996: 13) summarise radical feminism by writing:

Radical feminism insists that women as a social group are oppressed by men as a social group, as well as individually by men who continue to benefit from that oppression and do nothing to change it. The system through which men do this is patriarchy. Radical Feminism is women-centred and stresses both the personal [household] as political and the need for collective action and responsibility; it is "power" rather than "difference" which determines the relationship between men and women.

Radical feminists consider patriarchy and its systems (such as marriage and motherhood) to be the root cause of the oppression of women. This research will reveal that marriage is the key institution in Zulu society that ensures that women, from childhood till they become *omakoti* (brides), grow up with a subordinate mentality. As the study unfolds it will be proved whether or not marriage constitutes a system of oppression and of gender bias, and whether or not it is further inculcated in the minds of women through the daily use of proverbs.

3.4 Data analysis and processing

3.4.1 Introduction

In this section data collected from the primary resources is presented. While C.L.S. Nyembezi's collection of proverbs was the main attraction in this research, it is important to note that due caution was taken to not only rely on one source to authenticate the hypothesis of the thesis. Interviews were thus conducted to test the relevance of the research hypothesis. In this section, however, those proverbs contained in C.L.S. Nyembezi's book on Zulu proverbs are analysed and the radical feminist viewpoint is used to present the case that such proverbs endorse gender inequality. For the sake of clarity, the proverbs have been divided into three categories: firstly, those that are associated with the role and position of men in society, like, for example, *izwi lendoda liyabhekwa* (a man's word is taken note of); secondly, those that address marriage issues, like *umendo ngumkhum'lansika* (marriage pulls down the pillar); and thirdly, those that are associated with marriage, for example, *akuqhalaqhala lahlul'isidwaba* (there is no cheeky woman who ever got better of a skin skirt).

This section draws on the study participants' perceptions of gender issues with regard to the use of Zulu proverbs and the significance of marriage in the Zulu culture. While presenting the collected data, this section also offers an analysis of it, using the theory of radical feminists as the lens through which it is viewed. The views of the research participants are analysed, taking into consideration the differences in gender and age of each of the participants. The data is analysed through the emerging themes, which in turn are related to societal expectations as regards the role of women and their status in Zulu culture. A couple of these expectations are: marriage as a rite of passage for women, and that the *omakoti's* sphere of operation is within the Zulu traditional household. A summary is also provided. In presenting the data, caution has been taken not to impose meanings based on personal thoughts and perceptions, but instead every effort has been made to remain impartial and allow participants to express their own feelings.

3.4.2 The origins, definitions and functions of proverbs

Proverbs have been in existence since time immemorial. Originally they were not written down but were instead transferred from one generation to the next through

word-of-mouth. Various definitions have been given by various authors in an attempt to offer the definitive definition of the proverb. For example, Canonici (1993:20) says that “a proverb is a pithy saying which ‘distils’ wisdom of past generations.” By contrast, Okpewho (1992:226) defines it as a “piece of folk wisdom expressed with terseness and charm”. These definitions illustrate the fact that proverbs form a part of oral literature and that poetic structural techniques such as “alliteration, parallelism, vowel elision, and rhythm” are used in their composition (Canonici, 1994:39).

Important questions to be asked about proverbs are: who initiated them? and for what purpose? The thread of history leads us to the fact that Zulu proverbs were originally only used by men and the elderly generation, like grandfathers; it was thus taboo for women and children to use proverbs in their speech, unless they had first obtained permission from men (Okpewho, 1992). Okpewho (1992:230) alludes to the fact that in many traditional African societies, older people (especially men) are considered better qualified to use proverbs than are the other members of society, mainly because it is assumed that their age and experience have put them in a better position to fully understand the implications involved in the wisdom and truth contained in the proverbs. The thinking is that only they therefore can responsibly impart this wisdom to the younger members of society. Still to be established as the study unfolds is whether or not, in traditional African societies, the contribution made by women to society has been trivialised, in favour of that made by men, who have historically occupied a dominant position in society.

Having highlighted the origins of proverbs, however, it is also important to acquire a clear understanding of the function of proverbs. Primarily conversations are used in order to “spice up the talk, to make speech in public or to present cases in traditional legal disputes, or to attract the imagination of the listeners by the poetic effectiveness of their expressions” (Okpewho, 1992:231). In most traditional African societies, moreover, proverbs have been used as a form of oral art in one’s usual, day-to-day conversations.

Because of this, proverbs have been so internalised by African societies such that they have become a part of everyday life. This is true of the Zulu culture, where proverbs have become part and parcel of people’s lives. From childhood, parents raise up their

children (and especially the boys) in such a way as to make them bold and strong. Proverbs are also used to warn children (especially girls) about the consequences of being nasty or cheeky, for example, *isalakutshelwa sibona ngomopho* and *hamba juba bayokuqhutha phambili*.

3.4.3 Categories of Zulu proverbs and their impact on women

3.4.3.1 Proverbs associated with the role and position of men in society

(a) The position of men

- *Izwi lendoda liyabhekwa* (a man's word is taken note of)

In Zulu society, a man's word does not come back void. Every counsel from a man is to be highly regarded, whereas that of a woman is normally taken lightly. It is a common belief in Zulu society that men are the masters of their own destiny, and every solution needed lies within their own reasoning. A man who allows his word to be overruled by that of a woman is ridiculed, and he therefore does not gain respect from other men. His authority during *izimbizo* (community gatherings) and other important forums is measured by the way he handles his wife within the house. The majority of Zulu men are of the shared belief that a woman's word carries little weight when compared with that of a man.

- *Ikhand'elixegayo lofulel'abafazi* (the weak head will be used by women for thatching)

This derogatory proverb implies that for a man to be respected in society he must ensure that the women in his household are in a subordinate position. Nyembezi (1990:140) argues that a man who keeps women in "their own place" [that is to say, in a subordinate, oppressed position] is a good master. Such a view highlights the attitude of the majority of Zulu men who demean the role of women, finding justification for their attitude and actions from society because the society itself is also of a patriarchal mindset. Nyembezi (1990:132-133) also maintains that:

In Zulu society, the woman definitely takes a second place. She is not her husband's equal, and must obey him. She must also give due respect to her in-laws.

Such a view supports the idea that in Zulu society men view themselves as masters over their wives, and that they do not feel the need to consult women in matters pertaining to the household and family.

b) The role of men

- *Okwahlul'amadoda kuyabikwa* (whatever men cannot handle should be reported)

In Zulu society, men have assumed the dominant position and there is therefore a general belief that men can handle any situation. If a man fails to handle a certain situation it is believed that a report should be made of it to the entire society. A woman's word, on the other hand, is ignored because it is generally believed that women are not fit to give advice to men.

There is a belief in Zulu society that everything a woman does should be stamped approved of by a man. Thus men in Zulu society often turn a blind eye to current societal transformations, where women have begun to stand on their own and assert their own independence; some women have even become the heads of their families, receiving no assistance from men. It is therefore not sensible that such a proverb retain its popular usage, affording men a superior position in people's minds, irrespective of the fact that women are also capable of handling difficult and challenging situations on their own.

A typical example is when South African women took a brave step of locking horns with the apartheid system after the introduction of pass laws in 1960's. Such women saw the involvement of men in their resistance against pass laws as unnecessary at the time, and they approached J.G. Strijdom, the traditionalist Afrikaner Prime Minister at the time, to demand their freedom from the oppressive pass laws (Ramsay, 1999).

- *Umkhwenyana yisigodo sokuqhuzula* (the son-in-law is a log from which to chip)

In Zulu society, the idea of *ilobolo* was not so that men can purchase wives and then part ways with in-laws, but it was intended to help create and maintain a solid relationship between the two parties. That is why it did not even insist on a certain number of cows, but *umkhwenyana* could pay whatever he could afford (Nyembezi, 1990). *Umkhwenyana* stands for a log from which the in-laws could chip when need be. However, in this study it is argued that such a proverb portrays women as men's accessories. It loses sight of the dynamism that is taking place in our society, where many women are no longer depending on men as the breadwinners.

The above-mentioned proverbs imply that Zulu society is patriarchal, and since radical feminists argue that patriarchy is the root cause of oppression because it institutionalises heterogeneity and motherhood, then it stands to reason that Zulu society needs transforming, because it appears that 'power' rather than 'difference' determines the relationship between men and women (Bell & Klein, 1996).

3.4.3.2 Proverbs associated with marriage

During the data collection process a very large number of Zulu proverbs on marriage were discovered and it became clear that marriage is considered a very important institution in Zulu society, more especially for the women involved. What is interesting to note is that in most Zulu proverbs about marriage it is implied that a woman must endure hardship in order for her to be regarded as a real *umakoti* (bride). A woman's behaviour is normally under severe scrutiny and surveillance because it is believed that she cannot manage her own life properly without the guidance of a man. In this section, the implication of each proverb as concerns the life of a woman, before and after marriage, is provided.

- *Ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona* (she respects where she will not marry)

In Zulu society, marriage is regarded as an important stage in life, one that marks a transition in the life of a woman, from being under the rule of her parents to being

under the rule of her in-laws. From an early age, therefore, women are encouraged to respect all men they meet because otherwise they might end up forfeiting a possible marriage partner without realising it, by having disrespected him. It is interesting that such a proverb is not applicable to men, because in Zulu society, it is generally believed that a woman is weak-willed and thus not as likely to garner the respect of others. Marriage is an institution which involves two parties, both of whom vow to love and respect one another, until parted by death. But it appears that in Zulu society the burden to keep the marriage intact lies only on the woman. As a result, women are the only ones to undergo scrutiny both before and during marriage, while men's behaviour goes unchecked.

The above proverb is also associated with *ukuhlonipha*, a custom practised largely by Zulu women. Such a custom is instilled in women from childhood through to marriage. Young Zulu women become aware of their inferior status because of the society in which they live; tradition emphasises that their behaviour should be respectful and that they should fully submit to whatever men tell them to do. Such a custom is often instilled in young women because it is generally believed that women are more susceptible to sexual immorality than are men. From such a proverb, it can be deduced that Zulu society is still very patriarchal, because the same expectation is not applicable to men, although they are actually just as susceptible to sexual immorality as women.

When asked about their views on the proverbs presented to them during the interview, participants in the study sometimes associated them with other proverbs, especially those proverbs about women and *ukuhlonipha*. Buyani, for example, a male student from Mnambithi, said:

If one observes carefully, these proverbs go hand in hand with *ukuhlonipha* custom, which is practised by most Zulu societies. And if you are asking my view on *ukuhlonipha*, I will deliberately say, that's nonsense; I don't see any reason why a woman should succumb to that because it really limits their sphere of operation within the household and society at large. They cannot express themselves clearly and confidently the way they grew up. Such practice is totally unacceptable and it's a burden to women. Of interest is that the same practice is not at all demanded from men, which leaves us with a big question why?

Ayanda, a female student from Newcastle, shares Buyani's view. She also adds:

Mina ngiyavuma ukuthi impela lezi zaga zikhetha noma zivuna abantu besilisa, ngoba angikaze ngizwe kuthiwa kunesaga nje esiqondiswe kubantu besilisa, esimayelana nokuziphatha kwabo besakhula beze baganwe. Njengaso nje lesi esithi ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona, sonke siyazi ukuthi vele lapho kusuke kubhekiswe kumuntu wesifazane, so ngicabanga ukuthi mina ayikho fair yonke le nto yokusetshenziswa kwezaga esiZulwini.

'I do agree that these proverbs are choosy, and in favour of men, because I have never come across any proverb that is directed to men and the way they should conduct themselves when they grow up and become married. Like the one that says *ihlonipha la ingayikwendela khona* (she respects where she will not marry), which we all know refers to women, so I certainly think that the way proverbs are used in Zulu society is unfair.'

Although not all participants in this study criticised *ukuhlonipha*, it is clear from the above responses that the *ukuhlonipha* custom is a burden to *omakoti*. The two participants above criticise the practice because it reflects gender inequality and it limits an *omakoti*'s sphere of operation.

- *Umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane* (no mouse is sent, when one is to marry)

Having been taught that marriage is to be desired by everybody in society, when a Zulu woman leaves her parent's household she expects married life to be a far cry better than the life she lived under her parent's guidance. Although marriage can be portrayed as wonderfully glittering, marriage normally also comes with distinct challenges, and as such it is an unpredictable journey for a woman. The above proverb refers to the difficulties which *omakoti* face, as they are expected to adjust their lives to suit the standards set by their new in-laws. Another proverb that better explains how uncertain marriage life is for Zulu women is the proverb that says *umendo kawubhulelwa* (marriage is not divined for).

Masuku (2005:107) argues that "the two proverbs [*umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane* and *umendo ngumkhum' lansika*] clearly indicate that there are a lot of uncertainties in the institution of wedlock". In Zulu society, marriage is highly valued and, in most

cases, it is only the women who are subjected to much outside advice, both before and after the marriage takes place. However, not much effort is made to advise the grooms; they are instead told that *indoda iyazibonela* (a man can sort out things by himself). There is even a saying in Zulu that goes: *uyozibonela njengendoda*, which means you will see how you sort things out like a man. Such an attitude gives men the liberty to do whatever they please without risking ridicule from society.

It is clear that proverbs such as *umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane* and *umendo ngumkhumlansika*, refer to the difficulties women will have once they become *omakoti*. Because of such potential difficulties, it is therefore seen as justifiable in Zulu society to give women more advice than is given to men, especially before marriage. When asked about the advice given to women before marriage, Patricia Mkhabela, a university cleaner from Kranskop, had the following to say:

Uma ungumuntu wesifazane kumele ufunde ukubekezela, akafani phela umuntu wesifazane nowesilisa. Owesifazane uyakwazi ukubekezela. Basuke futhi benzela ukuthi uma ikhona inkinga abhekana nayo akhumbule leziya ziyalo azithola ngaphambi kokugana.

‘If you are a woman, you should learn to persevere because a woman is different from a man. A woman knows how to persevere. Another reason why they do that is that if ever there is a challenge that a woman is facing from in-laws in the household, she remembers the advice given to her before marriage.’

During the research interviews, participants in this study differed in their responses about the treatment of women before and after marriage. Most male participants, especially those above 35 years of age, were in favour of the view that women should be given strict advice before and after marriage. The same viewpoint prevailed among women (like Patricia) who are 35 and above. These women also emphasised that *omakoti* are the ones who should persevere and fight for the survival of a marriage. Participants below 35 years of age, however, had a different view of the matter. They felt that men and women should receive the same treatment when it comes to advice prior to marriage.

- *Umendo ngumkhum'lansika* (marriage pulls down the pillar)

In some Zulu communities the in-laws constantly remind *umakoti* of her status as a stranger in the household. Because of this inferior status, she has to endure all kinds of hardship in the *emzini* (in-laws' home). The above proverb suggests that no matter how proud and 'fastidious' a woman may have been before marriage, once she becomes part of her in-laws' family, she is expected to succumb to her in-laws' stipulations and to "surrender her pride, and become as tame as a lamb" (Nyembezi, 1990:132). Such a practice is common in most Zulu communities, and if a woman voices her dissent she is quickly reminded of the *ilobolo* (bride wealth) that was paid in full to guarantee her complete submission to whatever stipulations she met with in the household of her in-laws.

The proverb likens the woman to a pillar, because in Zulu society women are seen as having a useful role, one that cannot be played by men, especially within the home. Typically Zulu women perform duties that range from fetching water from the river, to gathering firewood, tilling, cooking and cleaning. Therefore, when a woman marries, she ceases to be that pillar in her home, and instead becomes a pillar in her new household. This proverb also reflects the expectations of in-laws that *umakoti* should give birth to children, thus ensuring the husband's lineage continues. In Zulu society, issues of reproduction and heterosexuality are taken seriously, and once married women are obliged to bear children. Failure to do so results in severe mockery and harassment, not only within the household but also in society at large.

A good example for showing the value that Zulu society places on reproduction and heterosexuality is James Stuart's folktale, *uDumudumu* (cf. Zondi, 2005). In the story, the king marries his fifth wife, *Nyumba-Katali*, who turns out to be barren. Regardless of the fact that his four previous wives gave birth to crows instead of babies, *Nyumba-Katali* has to endure mockery and harassment from the king and his four other wives, just because she cannot give birth at all. However, after some divine intervention, she manages to give birth to two babies and she regains her dignity.

The above example shows that the main aim for any typical Zulu man is to marry and reproduce, guaranteeing his family lineage. That is why in Zulu society it is such a great joy when a boy is born because he will continue to carry the family name. In

most Zulu communities *umakoti* is pressured to give birth soon after marriage and to try produce a boy, for purposes of inheritance.

Even though it is sometimes the man who suffers from sterility, it is the woman in the Zulu culture who suffers mockery and harassment when she does not bear children. This is why Zondi (2005) argues that the folktale, *uDumudumu*, reflects a traditional, patriarchal and polygamous society in which the husband, or patriarch, enjoys all the privileges, while his wives are only tools used in pursuit of continuing the male's lineage; they have no rights, only duties, as they have been 'purchased' through the system of *ilobolo* (bride price). Radical feminism strongly opposes this notion that women should be limited to activities involving the home, and that they should bear children and take care of husbands and in-laws, as though they are nothing more than a man's property. For radical feminists, such an attitude places unnatural restrictions on women. It is therefore clear that most Zulu proverbs about women reflect the oppressive, patriarchal attitudes prevalent in Zulu society.

- *Ukwenda wukuzilahla* (to marry is to throw oneself away)

This proverb emphasises the unpredictability of married life. A woman arrives *emzini* (at the in-laws' house), not knowing what is expected of her, and in most cases she faces a serious challenge in trying to adapt to her in-laws' standards and ways of living. Sometimes the *umamezala* (mother-in-law) keeps a close eye on her because in Zulu society it is generally believed that *omakoti* (brides) cause unnecessary conflicts within the in-laws' household. *Omamezala* have a tendency of imposing their will on their sons even after marriage, therefore *omakoti* often end up not having anything to say to their husbands (cf. Hlophe, 2005).

This proverb also means that in Zulu society, once married, a woman cannot easily go back to her biological parents, even if there is a problem in the marriage. The *ilobolo*, whether paid in full or not, is like a seal, guaranteeing her total submission to the husband and the standard set by the in-laws. According to Masuku (2005), "[this proverb] actually suggests to the girl that she [has passed] the point of no return and her destiny cannot be altered."

Proverbs like this reflect how patriarchal Zulu society truly is. The fact that there is no such proverb that addresses men in a similar fashion, telling them what is expected of them once they are married, clearly indicates how deeply entrenched patriarchy is in the Zulu culture. Such an attitude towards women gives men the liberty to do as they please in marriage, because they feel they are not accountable to anyone. Because of this, when it comes to cases of infidelity, men are not seriously scrutinised, while women run the risk of being sent back to their parents' home in disgrace.

- *Akuqhalaqhala lahlul' isidwaba* (there is no cheeky woman who ever got the better of the skin skirt)

This proverb implies that *omakoti* who are rude, cheeky, loose or unreliable need to be moulded and shaped to suit their in-laws' standards. Because of such a belief, it is not uncommon in Zulu society to find women who are overburdened by the huge responsibilities placed on them once they have become *umakoti*. This is sometimes called *ukukotiza*, when *omakoti* do the household chores without any assistance from their in-laws. Even before marriage, a typical Zulu woman enjoys very few hours of sleep because from dawn to dusk, she is expected by her family and society to do many household chores, such as fetching water from the river, cooking, washing, tilling and making the fire. In the above proverb, *isidwaba* (a skin skirt) is as a seal that binds *umakoti* to fulfil every duty assigned to her within the in-laws' household.

Deckard (1979) regards marriage as one of the primary institutions guilty of perpetuating the oppression of women. Such a view is true of Zulu society, where marriage subjects women to severe restrictions, ranging from the way they dress and talk to the places they are allowed to visit. *Umakoti* is not, for instance, allowed to use any exit within the household except for the gate, and for a certain period of time she was obliged to put on *isidwaba* (a skin skirt) everyday.

There is a Zulu proverb, related to the one above, which says *insakavukela umchilo wesidwaba*, referring to something that happens or takes place everyday. Likewise, *umakoti* is expected to be up and about everyday, seeing to the needs of her in-laws. If she fails to do this, her in-laws are quick to label her as *ivila* (a lazy or sluggard person). Another proverb that better explains the life of a married woman is *igeja*

lishis'emhlane (the hoe burns at the back), which indicates that in Zulu society a woman is always tasked with a responsibility (one that weighs heavily on her shoulders) and that she should not expect any assistance from her in-laws.

- *Uyofika KwaMkhathali, isidwaba siyokuhaqa* (you will get to Mr Mkhathali's household the skin skirt will encircle you)

As indicated above, *isidwaba* (a skin skirt) binds *umakoti* to her in-laws' household. The point is clearly made in this proverb, because *Mkhathali* stands for the position of any man in Zulu society. Such a proverb encourages people to think of women as inferior, and *isidwaba* (a skin skirt) seals such a position. In most Zulu communities, *isidwaba* is an indication of a total surrender of *umakoti* to her husband and in-laws. The stage of wearing *isidwaba* also points to *umakoti*'s adaptation and conforming to the standard of living set by her in-laws. Bhopal (1997:7) notes the various words used to describe this stage: *adaptation, integration, acculturation* and *assimilation*. In this new phase of her life, a woman is obliged to change her behaviour and attitude towards life in general.

Once *umakoti* wears *isidwaba*, she is committing herself to endure any hardships she encounters at *emzini* (the in-laws' house). At this point she is said to have arrived at *Mkhathali*'s household, as the proverb suggests. Just like *ihlonipha laphe ingayikwendela khona* (she respects where she will not marry), this proverb is also associated with *ukuhlonipha*, a Zulu custom where *umakoti* avoid saying names or syllables that reflect her in-laws' names, surnames or clan names.

Participants in this study often associated proverbs, such as the one above, with *ukuhlonipha*, thus supporting the argument of this thesis. They expressed mixed feelings about *ukuhlonipha*, and most responses appear to have been determined by either the gender or age of the participants. Most male respondents related such a proverb with *ukuhlonipha*, indicating that it is an acceptable way of introducing *umakoti* to her new household, where she will naturally be expected to change her behaviour and attitude. Mr Kunene, an RMS guard talking about the association between such a proverb and *ukuhlonipha*, said:

Uyabona mfowethu uma kuthiwa uyofika kwaMkhathali, kusuke kubhekiswe ekutheni umakoti ufika emzini akhathale. Kuyenzeka afike ngengqino, ukuzigqaja, ukuzazisa nokuziphakamisa, kepha konke lokho kufike kushabalale uma eseganile. Uma ungayikholwa le nto engiyishoyo, ubobheka indlela esetshenziswa kwezinye izindawo lapha kwelengabadi, lapho omakoti bephoqelegeka ukuba baphimisele amagama ayizihlonipho ukuze bagweme ukugagula amagama noma izinhlamvu zamagama athile ezithinta amagama abantu basemzini. Lokho akungatshazwa nje ukuthi uma umakoti eseganile, usuke esefike kwaMkhathali, kwamama ongemama uqobo.

‘You see, my brother, when they say *uyofika kwaMkhathali*, they refer to the fact that once a woman marries, she has met her equal. Sometimes it happens that she was cheeky before she arrived at the in-laws’ place, but such behaviour vanishes once she becomes *umakoti*. If you do not believe what I am telling you, observe the way women are subjected to the language of respect, called *ukuhlonipha*, where they are not permitted to pronounce names or phrases that reflect the names of in-laws. Undoubtedly, once a woman gets married she arrives at *Mkhathali*’s place, where she meets a mother, who is not a real mother.’

Shangase, a university construction worker from KwaNyuswa, also makes reference to the proverb under discussion when he identifies the following association between Zulu proverbs on women and *ukuhlonipha*:

‘According to Zulu custom, an elderly person is not mentioned by a name. I don’t even want to mention *umakoti*. She is not even permitted to utter any words or syllables that reflect the names of the in-laws. Zulu proverbs about women, such as the one that says *uyofika kwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa*, and others, clearly indicate that *umakoti* has to forget the way she was raised at home and adopt the new way stipulated within the in-laws’ household. Such proverbs show that *umakoti* has to respect everyone within the in-laws’ household, even a dog. The use of proverbs, especially those which refer to women, in Zulu, is a way of conveying certain social practices, and the way *umakoti* is expected to behave at her in-laws’ household, including that she respects *umkhwenyana* (the son-in-law), *umamezala* (the mother-in-law) and her other in-laws.’

The above response is a good indicator that Shangase still holds fast to the system of patriarchy. He does not view Zulu proverbs as being biased against women, but instead he maintains the belief that men are naturally superior to women. His statement reflects his dogmatism, in the sense that he still regards the subordination of

women as a justified Zulu custom. Shangase's attitude is typical of Zulu men who use cultural norms to deny women any say within the household. Zulu culture has been dominated by men, and it is men who have set the terms by which all must live. In Zulu culture, women have been marginalized in every respect. Deckard (1979) argues that the problem, then, is the "sex class system" which has relegated women to being "breeders" and has prevented them from having any real participation in cultural life.

From the above responses of participants, one can see that there is an association between Zulu proverbs about women (specifically those that talk about marriage and *ukuhlonipha*), in the sense that a proverb acts as a precursor to *ukuhlonipha* language to be adopted by *umakoti*. Like other typically Zulu men, Kunene and Shangase regard *ukuhlonipha* as the obligation of any Zulu woman who has become *umakoti*. A proverb advocating such an attitude is an example of how Zulu proverbs often favour men.

Zungu, a construction worker from Empangeni, also associates Zulu proverbs about women with *ukuhlonipha*. He says this about the role of *ukuhlonipha*, in the life of *umakoti*:

Kuyamsiza kakhulu ukuhlonipha umakoti, ikakhulukazi ngibheke mina lapho kuganwa umfowethu. Mina bengazi ukuthi intombi esaqala ebuntombini uma isiganile ingamkhulumisi umfowabo kamkhwenyana ngoba kuthiwa iyamzila noma iyamhlonipha. Ngokwenza njalo kwakugwenywa ukuthi kungabibikho ukulingeka phakathi kwabo baze bagcine sebethandana. Kuhamba kuhambe kuze kufike la kuthiwa khona umakoti uma ngabe esiganile kunabantu abadala emzini okungamele abagagule ngamagama, agweme namagama asondelene nawabo, kungakhathalekile ukuthi ukhule lawo magama ewasebenzisa nsuku zonke. Kusuke sekumele lapho ahloniphe. Yilapho-ke ofike ubone khona ukuthi siqinisile isaga esithi uyofika KwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa noma akuqhalaqhala lahlul'isidwaba, ngoba, umakoti uphelelwa yiyo yonke inkululeko akhule enayo engakagani. Uma esesemzini kumele athobele umthetho wakhona.

'*Ukuhlonipha* helps *umakoti* greatly; I especially observed this when I was growing up, and also when my brother married. What I knew was that when a woman married, she avoided talking to the husband's brother because of *ukuzila* or *ukuhlonipha* custom. Such a practice helped *umakoti* and her husband's brother to not get into temptation of cheating *umkhwenyana*. *Ukuhlonipha* goes as far as limiting *umakoti* to certain vocabularies, thus avoiding saying her in-laws' names or any

syllables associated with their names. *Umakoti* was obliged to practice such a custom, irrespective of which vocabularies she had been using while she grew up. She was compelled to practise *ukuhlonipha*. That was where the proverbs that say *uyofika kwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa* and *akuqhalaqhala lahlul'isidwaba* became practical, because they ensured that *umakoti* lost all the freedom she had had prior marriage. As soon as she became *umakoti*, all freedom disappeared.'

The above response also indicates that *ukuhlonipha* custom goes beyond *omakoti's* avoidance of saying names that reflect their in-laws' syllables, as it also limits *omakoti's* sphere of operation within the household. From the above responses, one can see that Zulu society is still rigidly patriarchal, because the same behaviour is not expected from men. They are not bound to any form of *ukuhlonipha* in marriage.

Ellellwang, a female student from Chesterville, also associates Zulu proverbs about women with *ukuhlonipha*. In her interview she also made reference to the above proverb. Unlike Kunene, Shangase and Zungu, she holds a different view concerning *ukuhlonipha*. Ellellwang thinks of it as oppression towards *umakoti*. She said:

Why *umuntu wesilisa yena aqhubeke awabize amagama abantu bakwamakoti ngale kokuhlonipha? If kuwukuthi mina ngingumakoti ngishadele kwamkhwenyana thizeni, lapho ngingeke ngikwazi ukubiza amagama athile, nomkhwenyana thizeni lowo kumele kube khona amagama athile angawabizi uma ethintana nawangabakithi njengomakoti. Ngakho nje mina angibuboni neze ubulungiswa kuyo yonke le nto yokuhlonipha. Yini kubhekiswe kumuntu wesifazane njalo uma kusetshenziswa izaga ezikhuluma ngabantu besifazane, njengalesi esithi akuqhalaqhala lahlul'isidwaba, nalesi esithi uyofika kwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa. Kungani umuntu wesilisa ehlale njalo evunwa ngumphakathi. Zonke lezo zaga, zisondelene kakhulu nomkhuba wamaZulu wokuthi omakoti kumele bahloniphe, bakhophoze noma banyobozele uma sebeganile. Okungicika kakhulu yilokhu kokuthi omakoti bashintshe indlela abasebenzisa ngayo amagama enkulumweni yansuku zonke ngoba lawo magama asondelene nabathize emzini. Yini yona leyo?*

'Why is it that a man continues to say the names of his in-laws, while a woman is obliged to practise *ukuhlonipha*? If I am *umakoti* (bride) and I am married to a certain *mkhwenyana* (son-in-law), where I am obliged not to say certain names, *umkhwenyana* should also then be obliged not to say certain names which reflect the names of his in-laws. I therefore do not see any justice in the whole business of *ukuhlonipha*. Why is it that a woman always becomes a

victim or a culprit, whenever proverbs about women are used? Like the proverb that says: *Akuqhalaqhala lahlul'isidwaba*, and the one which says *uyofika kwaMkhathali isidwaba siyokuhaqa*. Why does a man always find favour with society? All such proverbs are linked to the Zulu custom of *ukuhlonipha*, and avoiding eye contact with in-laws once they get married. What annoys me the most is when *omakoti* suddenly change the vocabulary they have been using in their day-to-day conversations, just because such vocabularies are related to their in-laws' names. What nonsense is that?'

The above response shows remarkable differences from the others interviewed about *ukuhlonipha*. Because of their gender and age, Shangase, Kunene and Zungu are in favour of *ukuhlonipha*, a language that is enforced by proverbs. However, Ellellwang, also because of her gender and age, maintains that *ukuhlonipha* is most certainly a gender biased practice because it only limits *omakoti*'s spheres of operation, not that of *abakhwenyana* (sons-in-law). Proverbs and *ukuhlonipha* as aspects of language therefore clearly contain the imbalance of power between Zulu men and women. Such power is a true reflection of the fact that in the Zulu culture a woman is of secondary importance to men (Nyembezi, 1990). According to Sheila Rowbotham, "language conveys a certain power. It is one of the instruments of domination" (Keohane et. al., 1982:127-128). Language contains the power to construct and instil certain identities, thus enhancing male domination and subordination. In every society men are the key role players in gender and identity construction. In Zulu society, language also plays an important role in the construction of gender and identity.

3.5 Summary

As can be seen from the foregoing analysis, it is clear that Zulu proverbs about women reflect gender inequality by portraying women as subordinate to men. It has also come to the fore that women are taught from an early age to respect every man in society because they do not yet know whom they will marry. Marriage, as an institution, is regarded as a rite of passage for women in Zulu society, as they receive strict advice about it prior to the ceremony and are also expected to make major changes once married in order to please their in-laws.

This chapter also showed that many Zulu proverbs are associated with *ukuhlonipha*. *Ukuhlonipha* limits *omakoti* as they are expected to respect every member of their in-law's family by not pronouncing any syllable or phrase related to their names. Such a

practice goes even further, limiting the places *omakoti* should visit within the household, and it also changes the way *omakoti* are expected to dress.

The data analysis in this chapter has also revealed that research participants who are above 35 years of age tend to favour or accept patriarchy, and thus do not see any suggestion of gender inequality in Zulu proverbs. On the other hand, those participants who are below 35 years of age eschew the message contained in Zulu proverbs. These younger interviewees maintain that such a practice favours men and therefore has to be changed. They concur with the radical feminists who argue that a total revolution in the processes of patriarchy prevalent in society is essential for gender equality to come about (Rowland and Klein, cited in Bell and Klein, 1996).

Of note in this research is that there is a current paradigm shift in general society as women are beginning to assume those positions that have previously been dominated by men, especially in the workplace. Thus the woman and her role in society are no longer defined solely by the household. Mathonsi (2006) acknowledges the transformation occurring in society with regards to the role of women. In his research article, *Unpacking Imbokodo*, he notes:

And women, as *imbokodo*, have chosen to take a stand against the pressure put on them, so as not to be destroyed or dominated. Some have decided to fight poverty single-handedly. The term *imbokodo* has become symbolic of a battle weapon to affirm women's status, to reclaim their position of control and as food providers, reclaim their space, to reclaim the night and the day that women lost when men lost their jobs as warriors and as labourers (Mathonsi, 2006:41).

Although Mathonsi refers to South African society, the situation described above is similar to the global transformation that is taking place where patriarchy is crumbling as women begin to take centre stage. The data analysis in this chapter reveals that Zulu proverbs have, however, not followed the trend, because most proverbs which were used before the 1960's, the decade in which women's movements began in earnest, are still in use today in daily conversation. What is highlighted in the data analysis is that Zulu proverbs reflect gender inequality and thus serve as a pillar helping to hold up the system of patriarchy.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Conclusion and recommendations

4.1 Overview

This study set out to explore gender inequalities as reflected in Zulu proverbs, the most notable being those that talk about women, their behaviour, marriage and morality in Zulu society. There has been a drastic change in society over the past fifty years regarding issues of gender. Women have taken centre stage in all aspects of life and have occupied positions that were previously occupied by only men. Men are slowly losing their dominance within society and the household as they are no longer alone in contributing to the family's financial, material and other needs (Muthuki, 2004). Despite such drastic changes in society, Zulu proverbs still maintain the traditional status quo where men dominate, both in the family and society at large. Having adopted radical feminism as its theoretical framework, this study aimed to expose the patriarchy inherent in Zulu, and thus show that Zulu proverbs reflect gender inequality.

This study was motivated by extensive research in oral literature; it was discovered that proverbs are seen as having elements of social commitment in African oral genres, and considered to be life determinants (cf. Mathonsi, 2004; Magwaza, 2004 and others). Because of a dearth of research on how proverbs have been used by men to keep women in a subordinate position in African societies, this study focused on how Zulu proverbs, especially those on women, still favour men at the expense of women, both within the household and society. This study aimed therefore to fill the gap in the existing research by providing and analysing empirical data on how Zulu proverbs are used. Data was collected by interviewing and gaining the views of Zulu-speaking interviewees, both male and female, regarding the study hypothesis.

The implications of Zulu proverbs cannot be fully understood without being contrasted with the current changes taking place in society. Women are taking on a more dominant role, doing jobs and taking on responsibilities that have traditionally been perceived as the roles of men only. This study thus adopted the theoretical framework proposed by radical feminism.

The study also employed a case study in order to gain an in-depth understanding of Zulu proverbs and their use in society.

Participants in this study included thirty-three UKZN Howard College men and women of Zulu descent. Of the thirty-three, thirteen were female youths (16-35 years), six were females of parental age (35 years and above), eight were male youths (16-35 years), and six were males of parental age (35 years and above).

4.2 Summary of findings

This study which has been critical and comparative in nature sought to address the issue of gender inequality inherent in Zulu proverbs. The primary aim was to assess the way proverbs are used in Zulu society and their influence on matters pertaining to gender. This was done by interviewing male and female participants of Zulu descent to test the validity of the study hypothesis.

Firstly, findings in the study have revealed that the role and position of men in Zulu society is highly regarded, at the expense of women. Most male research participants believed that women should always be subordinate to men, and that her role is to give birth to and nurture children, so that the male lineage continues. They also assert that once a woman becomes *umakoti*, she ceases to be independent and her pride must vanish; she thus becomes a child to her in-laws and is expected to follow every instruction laid down by them. These men also stress that a woman must tolerate every kind of harassment, pain and suffering she goes through at her in-laws' household for the sake of safeguarding her marriage.

Although the main aim of the study was to point out the differences between the attitudes of Zulu proverbs and contemporary feminist society, participants were also able to relate proverbs with *ukuhlonipha*. *Ukuhlonipha* represents the patriarchal nature of Zulu societies, because *omakoti* are obliged to shun every word or syllable that reflects the names of their in-laws. Findings in this study revealed that Zulu proverbs which talk about the lives of women and marriage are closely associated with *ukuhlonipha*. Such an association was also noted during the literature review, as most researchers, particularly Mathonsi (2004) and Magwaza (2004), stress that such proverbs ensure that women show men respect.

Secondly, it has been revealed that there are specific Zulu proverbs about women that are there to remind *umakoti* of her status within the in-laws' household. The study showed that men tend to favour the submission of women, and they point to their Zulu cultural upbringing as the main reason for maintaining such an attitude. The general conclusion, therefore, is that men are still more resistant to change taking place in society, while women are often eager for change and are assuming roles that were previously assigned only to men.

Thirdly, it has been established in this study that in Zulu society, *omakoti* (brides) are treated as second-class citizens within their in-laws' families. *Omakoti* are constantly reminded of their 'stranger' status. Most participants, especially the cleaners, construction workers and RMS guards, were able to relate the proverbs to their personal experiences and understanding of what is expected of Zulu women once they become *umakoti*. Some of the women interviewees, like Zodwa, were quick to point out that in Zulu society even conflicts within in-laws' households are usually blamed on *omakoti*'s supposedly unruly behaviour.

The findings of this study clearly show that marriage is highly regarded in Zulu society, and it is a general belief that every woman must eventually marry, whether she likes it or not. From an early age, therefore, women are taught that they will become *omakoti* one day and they should therefore respect every man they meet, because otherwise they might be disrespecting their future husband without noticing it.

The study also establishes that in Zulu society, issues of reproduction and heterosexuality are taken very seriously and therefore Zulu proverbs, especially those about women, play a crucial role in maintaining Zulu customs and social norms. Most Zulu proverbs concerning women (and men in this case), like the one that says *ukuzala ukuzelula amathambo* (giving birth is to stretch one's bones), imply that, once married, a woman is expected to give birth to children, and that failure to do so will result in persistent mockery and harassment, not only within the household but also in society generally.

4.3 Recommendations

A great deal of data was collected and analysed during the research phase, but unfortunately not all of it could be here presented due to the limited scope of the study. Although most research participants in the study came from rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal, their relocation to the city might have slightly changed their attitudes towards the use of proverbs and their significance in society. It is believed therefore that if a rural area were to be used as the area of inquiry, the findings might offer a slightly different perspective.

The study provided here might also have been more valuable if I had used other tools of data collection such as the observation of participants, because it is always possible that some participants were less than truthful in their answers, claiming, for example, to use proverbs in their everyday speech, while hand gestures or facial expressions may tell a different story. It is thus recommended to any future researchers that their interviewees include not only a university community, but also perhaps a rural community, and that they make use of other research tools for data collection than was used in the present study.

REFERENCES

- Ardener, S. 1993. *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited.
- Bell, D. & Klein R. edited 1996. *Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed*. London: Zed.
- Bhopal, K. 1997. *Gender, Race and Patriarchy: A Study of South African Women*. Hants: Ashgate.
- Bryson, V. 1999. *Feminist Debates, Issues of Theory and Political Practise*. New York: Palgrave.
- Canonici, N.N. 1993. *The Zulu Folktale Tradition*. University of Natal, Durban: Zulu Language and Literature.
- Canonici, N.N. 1994. *Zulu Oral Poetry: An Introduction*. Durban University of Natal: Zulu Language and Literature.
- Chaka, C. & Mniki, S. 2003. Language, Sexism and Classism: The Case of IsiXhosa in South Africa. *South African Journal for Folklore Studies*, 13 (2): 25-41.
- Deckard, B.S. 1979. *The Women's Movement: Political, Socio-economic, and Psychological issues*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Ferreira, M., Mouton, J., Puth, G. & Schrunik, E. 1988. *Introduction to Qualitative Research*. University of Natal: HSRC.

- Finlayson, R. 1995. Women's Language of Respect: Isihlonipho Sabafazi. In Mesthrie, R. (ed). *Language and Social History: Studies in South African Linguistic*: 140-153. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Hartley, R. 1972. Some implications of current changes in sex role patterns. In M.J. Bardwick (Ed.), *Reading on the Psychology of Women*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Hlophe, N. 2005. *The Extended Family's Power Structure: A Case Study of Relations Between Mothers-in-law and Daughters-in-law in KwaMashu Township*. Unpublished MA Dissertation. Durban: University of Natal.
- Keohane, N.O. Rosaldo, M.Z & Gelpi, B. 1982. *Feminist Theory*. Great Britain: The Harvester Press Limited.
- Lupri, E. 1983. *The Changing Position of Women in Family and Society: A Cross-National Comparison*. The Netherlands: E.J. Brill.
- Magwaza, T.S.C. 2004. Towards a contemporary understanding and relevance of Zulu Proverbs. *Southern African Journal of Folklore* 14(1): 32-41.
- Manqele, Z.H. 2000. *Zulu Marriage Values and Attitudes Revealed in a Song: An Oral Style Analysis of Umakoti Ungowethu as Performed in The Mnambithi Region at KwaHlathi*. Durban: University of Natal.
- Masuku, N. 2005. *Perceived Oppression of Women in Zulu Folklore: A Feminist Approach*. UNISA: Department of Literature and Philosophy.
- Mathonsi, N.N. 2004. Aspects of social commitment in oral literature. *South African Journal of African Languages* 24(1): 46-56.
- Mathonsi, N.N. 2006. Unpacking Imbokodo. *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies*, 16 (2): 35-44.

- Mieler, W & Dundes, A. 1981. *The Wisdom of many: Essays on the Proverb*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Mutasa, D.E. 1993. *The Proverb at the Present Time: The Sociolinguistic Approach*. Zimbabwe: Longman
- Muthuki, F.W. 2004. *Exploring Gender Roles: A Case Study of Married Zulu -Speaking Academic Staff of UKZN*. Unpublished MA Dissertation. Durban: UKZN.
- Nyembezi, C.L.S. 1990. *Zulu Proverbs*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Ntuli, C.D. 2000. Respect and Hlonipha Among the Nguni and Some Observations on Derogatory Tags That Tarnish Women's Image. *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies*, 11 (1): 33-40.
- Okpewho, I. 1992. *African Oral Literature: Backgrounds, Character and Continuity*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Pleck, J. 1981. *The Myth of Masculinity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Ramazanoglu, C. 1989. *Feminism Social Work Theory and Practise*. New York: Palgrave.
- Rendel, J., Penner, B & Borden, I. 2000. *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Ramsay, F.J. 1999. *Global Studies: Africa*. Third Edition. Connecticut: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company.
- Shaughnessy, J.J. & Zeichmeister, E.B. 1990. *Research Methods in Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill Publishing Company.
- Sienaert, E. & Cowper-Lewis, M, Bell, N. 1994. *Oral Tradition and its Transmission*:

The Many Forms of a Message. University of Natal: The Campbell Collections and Centre for Oral Studies.

Vilakazi, A. 1962. *Zulu Transformation: A Study of Dynamics of Social Change*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Zondi, N. 2005. The Oral Traditions and Problems of Gender Equity as Reflected in James Stuart's Folktale, Udumudumu. *Southern African Journal for Folklore Studies*, 15(1): 24-32.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

INFORMED CONSENT

Project title

Perceived Gender Inequality Reflected in Zulu Proverbs: A Feminist Approach
Aims of the study

- To investigate Zulu proverbs, particularly those on women and their connection with gender inequality
- To investigate the extent of Zulu proverbs usage in rural areas of KZN and the perception of people using them
- To measure the role language plays in identity construction
- To prove that proverbs have not changed, irrespective of the scholarly debate that language is not static

Researcher

Zethembe Mandlenkosi Mpungose
D-1144 Nontebe Road
(Dr. J.L. Dube High School)
Private Bag X 020
KwaMashu T/ship
4360
Tel: 031503 5507
Cel: 076 061 8534
E-mail: Khubazn@yahoo.com

For further information about the project contact:

Prof. N.N. Mathonsi
Head of School [IsiZulu Studies] and supervisor of the project
MTB Ground Floor
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban
4041
Tel: 031 260 2414
E-mail: mathonsi@ukzn.ac.za

How were subjects identified?

Subjects were identified with the perception that they come from rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal which the study perceive as still using language of proverbs. And

having developed some relationship with most of subjects the researcher was able to identify them easily.

What is required of the subjects?

Subjects are expected to share their experiences about proverbs and the extent through which proverbs are still used in their area. The study seeks to also get their feeling about the perceived gender inequality reflected in Zulu proverbs. Some questions will require personal opinions. Subjects will be interviewed face-to-face, and each interview schedule will take at least 45 minutes with each respondent.

Are there any benefits involved for taking part in this study?

No tangible benefits are involved in this study, except that the data collected from subjects will be stored and accessed for another similar research in future

Are there any payments or reimbursements of financial expenses incurred by subjects?

Since subjects are conveniently available within UKZN HC campus there are no costs incurred from them. All participants are easily accessible within the university premises and offices. The only abstract cost incurred is their time.

What will happen to the written, audio taped or video recordings made?

Audio taped interviews will be transcribed into written documents and analysis will be made.

How and when will gathered data be disposed of?

Audio-tapes will be destroyed immediately after the process of transcription and data transcribed will be included in the treatise which will be stored in library shelves.

How will confidentiality and anonymity be ensured?

Every effort will be taken to protect the identity of participants in this study. Participants will not be identified in any report or publication of this study or its results.

Are there any negative consequences of not participating in this study?

Participation in this study absolutely depends on subjects' decision, and a decision not to participate in the study will by no means constitute a penalty.

What happens when you withdraw from this study?

Participation in this study is voluntary and participants are not bound to be part of this study until it reaches its final stages. Participants can withdraw from the study if they feel uncomfortable.

DECLARATION

I.....hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participate in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

ISIVUMELWANO ESIFUNGELWE SOKUZIBOPHEZELA

Isihloko socwaningo

Ukusolakala Kokungalingani Ngokobulili Ezageni zesiZulu: Ngokweso Le-Feminism

Izinhloso zocwaningo

- Ukucwaninga nokuphenyisisa izaga zesiZulu, ikakhulukazi lezo ezibhekiswe kubantu besifazane kanye nokuxhumana nazo nokungalingani ngokobulili
- Ukuphenyisisa ukuthi zisetshenziswa kangakanani izaga zesiZulu ezindaweni zasemakhaya KwaZulu-Natali, kanye nombono walabo abazisebenzisayo.
- Ukukala ukuthi lingakanani iqhaza elibanjwa wulimi ekwakheni indlela umuntu azibuka ngayo nabuka ngayo impilo

- Ukufakazela ukuthi izaga azikakashintshi namanje, yize noma kunenkulomompikiswano kwizazi zemfundo ukuthi ulimi alumile kodwa lushintsha mihla namalanga.

Umcwaningi

Zethembe Mandlenkosi Mpungose
D-1144 Nontebe Road
(Dr. J.L. Dube High School)
Private Bag X 020
KwaMashu T/ship
4360
Tel: 031 503 5507
Cel: 076 061 8534
E-mail: khubazn@yahoo.com

Ukuthola imininingwane eyengeziwe ngocwaningo xhumana no:

Solwazi N.N. Mathonsi
Inhloko YoMnyango KwiSikole Sezifundo ZesiZulu
MTB Ground Floor
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Durban
4041
Tel: 031 260 2414
E-mail: mathonsi@ukzn.ac.za

Bahlonzwe kanjani labo abazobamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo?

Labo abazobamba iqhaza bahlonzwe ngokomuzwa wokuthi baqhamuka ezindaweni zasemakhaya esifundazweni saKwaZulu-Natali, ezihlonzwe wucwaningo njengezisasebenzisa ulimi lwezaga. Ngokukhula kobuhlobo nabanye ababambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo, umcwaningi ukwazile ukubahlonza kalula.

Yini elindeleke kulabo ababambe iqhaza?

Ababambe iqhaza kulindeleke ukuthi babelane nomcwaningi mayelana nabahlangabezane nakho ngokusebenzisa izaga kanye nendlela ezisetshenziswa ngayo izaga ezindaweni abaqhamuka kuzo. Ucwaningo lubuye futhi lufune umuzwa abanawo mayelana nombono wokuthi kunokungalingani ngokobulili okukhona ezageni zesiZulu. Eminye imibuzo iyodinga uvo lomuntu ngamunye kulabo ababambe iqhaza. Ababambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo bayophonswa uhla lwemibuzo ubuso nobuso, kanti lokho kuyothatha imizuzu cishe engamashumi amane nanhlanu umuntu ngamunye.

Ikhona yini imihlomulo ebandakanyekayo ngokubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo?

Ayikho imihlomulo ephathekayo nebandakanyekayo kulolu cwaningo, ngaphandle kokuthi ulwazi oluthathwe kwababambe iqhaza luyogcinelwa ukubuye lusetshenziswe ocwaningweni olufanayo ngomuso.

Ikhona yini inkokhelo noma isinxephezelo semali okumele sinikezwe abambe iqhaza?

Ngenxa yokuthi abantu ucwaningo olugxile kubo batholakala kalula ngaphakathi eYunivesithi yaKwaZulu-Natali, e-Howard College, akukho zindleko okumele zithwalwe ngumcwaningi. Bonke ababambe iqhaza batholakala emagcekeni nasemahhovisi aseYunivesithi. Okuyizindleko isikhathi sabo kuphela.

Kuyokwenzekani elwazini nemininingwanbe ebhalwe phansi, eqoshwe ngamakhasethi nangesiqophamazwi?

Uhla lwemibuzo nemininingwane eqoshwe ngamakhasethi iyokhishelwa emaphepheni nemiqingo ebhaliwe kanti uhlaziyo luyokwenziwa emva kwalokho.

Imininingwane eqoqiwe iyolahlwa nini nakanjani?

Amakhasethi alalelwayo ayobulalwa ngemva kancane nje komshikashika wokukhiphela imininingwane ebikuwo emaphepheni, kanti ulwazi olukhishelwe emaphepheni luyobandakanywa noma lube yingxenye yomsebenzi ophelele wocwaningo oyogcinwa emtatsheni wolwazi.

Ubumfihlo nokungavezwa kwamagama kuyoqinisekiswa kanjani?

Kuyozanywa yonke imizamo ukuvikela ukungaveli kwalabo abebabambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo. Ababambe iqhaza ngeke bahlonzwe kunoma yimuphi umbiko noma ushicilelo lwalolu cwaningo kanye nemiphumela yalo.

Ikhona yini imiphumela engemihle ngokungalibambi iqhaza kulolu cwaningo?

Ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo kulele kwisinqumo salabo ababambe iqhaza kulolu cwaningo, kanti isinqumo sokungalibambi iqhaza kulolu cwaningo angeke nakancane sibe nesijejiso.

Kuzokwenzekani uma uhoxa kulolu cwaningo?

Ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo akuphoqelekile, kanti ababambe iqhaza ababophezelekile ukuba yingxenye yalolu cwaningo kuzo kufike esigabeni salo sokugcina. Ababambe iqhaza bangahoxa kulolu cwaningo uma bezizwa bengakhululekile ngokuqhutshwa kwalo.

ISIBOPHEZELO

Mina.....lapha ngiyaqinisekisa ukuthi
ngiyakuqonda okulotshwe kulo mqulu kanye nokuthi ucwaningo luquketheni, futhi
ngiyazibophezela ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo.

Ngियाqonda ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa kulolu cwaningo nangananoma yisiphi
isikhathi, uma ngithanda

ISIGINESHA YOBAMBE IQHAZA

USUKU

APPENDIX TWO

QUESTIONNAIRES

A] Questions to men and women from the age of 16-35 (UKZN Students from rural areas of KZN.

1. As a Zulu speaking person who grew up in this province, are Zulu proverbs still in use in the area where you come from?
2. How often do people use proverbs in your area and for what purpose?
3. Which category do people, who normally use proverbs fall under, in terms of gender and age?
4. A] Can you think of any Zulu proverb which specifically refers to a woman's expected behaviour while she is growing up and until she reaches marriage stage; her behaviour towards both her husband and other in-laws, especially *umamezala* (mother-in-law)?

B] Are you familiar with proverbs like *Akuqhalaqhala Lahlula Isidwaba*, *Umendo Ngumkhumlansika*, *Ihlonipha la Ingayikwendela/kugana khona*, *Okwahlula amadoda kuyabikwa*, *Umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane* and others which refer to woman's expected behaviour within Zulu societies and families?

5. What impact do you think the above-mentioned proverbs have on women growing up, in terms of their identity construction and their attitude towards men, or their attitudes towards their husbands and in-laws once they get married?
6. As a young Zulu woman/man who has moved away from home to study in an urban area, and who has probably come across gender equality debates, do you think Zulu proverbs which we have just mentioned reflect gender balance or they are biased towards a certain gender? Can you think of any proverbs used to advice men before and after marriage within Zulu society?

7. In your area how do families and society value marriage, and, as a young person, do you feel Zulu men and women receive equal treatment from society both before and after marriage where they become *omakoti*? Is there any difference in the way men and women are treated in Zulu society?
8. In your personal view as a young person, can you think of any reason why a Zulu woman should receive more advice before marriage or go through the rite of passage before being accepted as a real *umakoti* (a bride), as compared to *umkhwenyana* (a bridegroom)?
9. What is your view about *ukuhlonipha*, a language of respect used by married women especially in some rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal where they avoid calling names or syllables that refer to in-laws? Do you think this practise teaches married women to respect their in-laws or do you think it limits their sphere of operation within Zulu traditional household?
10. Lastly, can you give me your personal feeling about gender equality, and how it affects the way society functions, especially the change it brings to women, who have long been limited to household functions (giving birth, nurturing children, tilling soil, cooking etc)?

Questions to men and women from the age of 35 and above (parental stage) (UKZN garden staff, residence and university premises cleaners and RMS from rural areas of KZN).

1. As a person who is at the parental stage and who grew up in rural area, do you still practise the language of proverbs in your normal day-to-day conversations or do proverbs still practised in your area?
2. Which age group is more likely to be found using proverbs in your area and for what purpose in what kind of conversation?
3. Are there any proverbs that you can think of, which are specifically used in your area to give a woman advice before becoming *umakoti* (a bride)

4. A] Can you mention some Zulu proverbs that specifically refer to a woman's expected behaviour while she is growing up and in her marriage stage, in terms of her behaviour towards both her husband and other in-laws, especially *umamezala* (mother-in-law)

B] Are you familiar with proverbs like *Akuqhalaghalala Lahlula Isidwaba*, *Umendo Ngumkhumlansika*, *Ihlonipha La Ingayikwendela/kugana khona*, *Okwahlula amadoda kuyabikwa*, *Umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane* and others which refer to woman's expected behaviour within Zulu societies and families?

5. What impact do you think the above-mentioned proverbs have on women growing up, in terms of their identity construction and their attitude towards men, or their attitudes towards their husbands and in-laws once they get married?
6. As a parent, do you think Zulu proverbs which we have just mentioned reflect gender balance or they are biased towards a certain gender? Can you think of any proverbs used to advice men before and after marriage within Zulu society?
7. In your area how much do families and society value marriage, and, as a parent, do you feel Zulu men and women receive equal treatment both before and after marriage? If not, why?
8. In your own point of view as a parent, can you think of any reason why a woman in Zulu should receive more advice or go through the rite of passage before being accepted as a real *umakoti* (a bride), as compared to *umkhwenyana* (a bridegroom)? Why can't men receive the same treatment?
9. What is your view about *ukuhlonipha*, a language of respect used by married women especially in some rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal where they avoid calling names or syllables that refer to in-laws? Do you think this practise teaches married women to respect their in-laws or do you think it limits their sphere of operation within Zulu traditional household?

10. Lastly, can you give me your personal feeling about gender equality, and how it affects the way society functions, especially the change it brings to women, who have long been limited to household functions (giving birth, nurturing children, tilling soil, coocking etc)?

Imibuzo ebhekiswe kwabesilisa nabesifazane abaneminyaka esukela ku-35 nangaphezulu (Izinga lobuzali) (Ababandakanya abasebenzi basengadini e-UKZN, abahlanza ezindaweni zokuhlala abafundi kanye namageceke eNyuvesi kanye ne-RMS abaqhamuka ezindaweni zasemakhaya esifundazweni sakwaZulu-Natali

1. Njengomuntu owumzali, nokhulele emakhaya, kungabe uyasazisebenzisa yini izaga enkulumweni yakho yansukuzonke noma emphakathini oqhamuka kuwo zisasetshenziswa yini izaga?
2. Kungabe kujwayeleke ukuthi kube abantu abangakanani ngokweminyaka abasebenzisa kakhulu izaga, kanti basuke bezisebenzisela siphilisi izizathu noma kusuke kwenzenjani?
3. Kungabe zikhona yini izaga ezimbalwa ongazicabanga ezijwayele ukuthi zisetshenziswe ngqo lapho kuyalwa intombazane kusukela ikhula ize ifinyelele ezingeni lokuba iyogana?
4. A] Ungake uthi qaphu qaphu ngezaga ezimbalwa ozikhumbulayo ezibhekiswe endleleni okulindeleke umuntu wesifazane aziphathe ngayo ngesikhathi ekhula nalapho esefike ezingeni lokuba ngumakoti, indlela aziphatha ngayo phambi kukamkhwenyana nabanye abantu basemzini, ikakhulukazi umamezala?

B] Kungabe uyazisebenzisa noma uyazazi yini izaga ezifana nalezi ezithi:
Akuqhalagqala lahlula isidwaba, Umendo Ngumkhumlansika, Ihlonipha la Ingayikwendela/kugana khona, Okwahlula amadoda kuyabikwa, Umendo kawuthunyelwa gundane

5. Kungabe lezi zaga esiziphawule ngenxa zinamthelela muni empilweni yentombazane kusukela ikhula, indlela eziphatha ngayo phambi kwabafana nasemphakathini jikelele ize ifinyelele esigabeni sokugana?
6. Njengomzali, kungabe ucabanga ukuthi lezi zaga esiziphawule ngenhla zisetshenziswa ngokulinganayo kwabesilisa nabesifazane, noma kunokwenzelela okuvuna ubulili obuthile ekusetshenzisweni kwazo?
7. Endaweni okhulele kuyona kungabe imindeni nomphakathi usawuthatha yini umshado njengento eyigugu, futhi njengomzali ucabanga ukuthi ngokwenqubo yamaZulu abantu besilisa nabesifazane banikezwa iziyalo ngokulinganayo ngaphambi kokuthi bashade nalapho sebeshadile, noma iziyalo zibhekiswa kakhulu ebulilini obuthize?
8. Ngokovo lwakho njengomzali ucabanga ukuthi kungani umuntu wesifazane ngokwenqubo yamaZulu kumele anikwe izeluleko eziningi noma athole ukuvivinywa ngaphambi kokuthi amukelwe noma athathwe njengomakoti woqobo, uma kuqhathaniswa nowesilisa (umkhwenyana)?
9. Kungabe luthini uvo lwakho ngezihlonipho esiZulwini njengolimi olusetshenziswa ngomakoti ikakhulukazi kwezinye zezindawo zasemakhaya esifundazweni saKwaZulu-Natali lapho besuke bagwema ukubiza amagama ezinto asetshenziswa enkulumweni yansuku zonke? Ucabanga ukuthi lo mkhuba ufundisa omakoti ukuhlonipha abasemzini noma ubancisha inkululeko yokubiza amagama ngendlela abakhule beyazi?
10. Kungabe uthini umbono wakho ngokulingana kobulili, kanti futhi kunamthelela muni kwinqubo yomphakathi, ikakhulukazi ushintsho okuza nalo kubantu besifazane, oselokhu kwathi nhlo baziwa njengabantu abandawo nemisebenzi yabo isekhaya (kubandakanya ukuzala, ukukhulisa abantwana, ukuphekela izingane namadoda abo, ukulima njalo njalo)

APPENDIX THREE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS DEMOGRAPHICS

NO	NAME	PLACE	OCCUPATIO N/ CAREER STATUS	GENDE R	AGE
1.	Sinethemba Mtshali	KwaHlabisa	Student	Male	-35
2.	Buyani Ndlovu	Mnambithi	Student	Male	-35
3.	Thandokuhle Sangweni	Marianhill	Student	Female	-35
4.	Sikelela Dlamini	Chesterville	Student	Female	-35
5.	Zinhle Shoba	Newlands East	Student	Female	-35
6.	Thulisile Njilo	Lamontville	Student	Female	-35
7.	Nolwazi Mntini	Lamontville	Student	Female	-35
8.	Phiwokuhle Ndlela	KwaMaphumulo	Student	Female	-35
9.	Ayanda Mdakane	Newcastle	Student	Female	-35
10.	Nelisiwe Gumede	Eshowe	Student	Female	-35
11.	Nqobile Nkosi	Newcastle	Student	Female	-35
12.	Ellellwang Mofokeng	Chesterville	Student	Female	-35
13.	Nokukhanya Mahaye	Nkandla	Student	Female	-35
14.	Mr. Kunene	KwaMashu	RMS Guard	Male	+35
15.	Mr Shinga	UMthwalume	RMS Guard	Male	-35
16.	Mr. Mqadi	Port Shepstone	RMS Guard	Male	-35
17.	Mr. Xolo	Port Shepstone	RMS Guard	Male	-35
18.	Mr. Ntuli	Indwedwe	RMS Guard	Male	+35
19.	Mr. Hadebe	Umlazi	RMS Guard	Male	+35

20.	Zanele Mthembu	KwaMaphumulo	Garden Cleaner	Female	-35
21.	Nonhlanhla Lengisi	Ntuzuma	Garden Cleaner	Female	+35
22.	Patricia Mkhabela	Kranskop	Garden Cleaner	Female	+35
23.	Lungile Mkhabela	KwaMashu	Cleaner	Female	-35
24.	Sithembile Gumede	Umzinto	Cleaner	Female	+35
25.	Nesi Mpanza	Mbumbulu	Cleaner	Female	+35
26.	Zodwa Mpanza	Mbumbulu	Cleaner	Female	+35
27.	Thandazile Mzulwini	Mbumbulu	Cleaner	Female	+35
28.	Mazwi Mkhize	Mbumbulu	Cleaner	Male	+35
29.	Bheka Madlala	Mkhomazi	Constructor	Male	-35
30.	Thulani Zuma	Howick	Constructor	Male	-35
31.	Mr. C.Z. Zungu	Empangeni	Constructor	Male	-35
32.	Mr. Ngema	KwaMaphumulo	Constructor	Male	+35
33.	Mr. Shangase	KwaNyuswa/Emaqadini	Constructor	Male	+35

