

Being a ‘good’ Zulu woman? An investigation of female UKZN students’ self-perception of ‘Zuluness’.

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Declaration

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters Media and Cultural Studies, in the Graduate Programme Media and Cultural studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I Sinenhlanhla Diana Ngubane, declare that

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Abstract:

In this study, the researcher was interested in understanding and exploring what female Zulu UKZN students on the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses felt made a 'good' Zulu woman. The objectives of the study were to explore academic literature, which outlines the role of women in Zulu culture with the intention of finding out how female UKZN Zulu students reacted to these ideals. Researchers all seem to agree that in order for a Zulu woman to be considered 'good' she has to have certain characteristics and attributes that derive from Zulu culture. These include being kind, humble and nurturing. The findings of this dissertation reinforced some of these characteristics as participants felt that a Zulu woman needs to perform domestic chores, maintain the household and bear children for her husband. However, there were also a number of findings, which highlighted confusion from participants as to what was expected of them as Zulu women, often attempting to justify normative gender identities in combination of independence and individuality outside of the traditional Zulu home.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Zulu people are the majority population group in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal (Zondi, 2015). According to Nompumelelo Zondi (2015), the Zulu people are known for holding on to their cultural beliefs, and marriage is a vital component of this because this is how a man's lineage is said to continue. Women enter marriage as a kind of 'borrowing' to 'do the job' by giving birth to children for her husband. *Ilobolo* (bride's price) is paid as a process of obtaining the wife through the exchange of property, life stock and money (Zondi, 2015). This becomes a problem for some women because men often see them as 'bought commodities' that can be treated however the man wishes (Zondi, 2015). Consequently, there is a clash between traditional practices and modern rights in South Africa's new democracy, especially rights that uphold equality, women's rights, gender rights and personal rights (Zondi, 2015). Therefore, due to the nature of Zulu customs toward marriage, many "women have the added burdens of home-management and child care irrespective of whether they are full time housewives or employees. These two roles cannot be shrined by women no matter how much we cry for equality with men" (Abbie Mchunu, Inkatha Women's Brigade)

In an article published in *The Guardian*, Faranaaz Parker (2010:1) states "South Africa's constitution may guarantee gender equality but that ideal has yet to be brought down to grassroots level". Parker (2010) informs us in his report on Zulu gender roles that "80% of women and 95% of men said their communities think a woman should obey her husband. This implies that [...] there is still strong pressure from communities for men and women to behave in a certain way" (Parker, 2010: 1). According to Parker (2010), a third of men also think that they should have the final

say in all family matters, a woman needs her husband's permission to do paid work, and that if a woman works, she needs to come back home and give her money to her husband.

Monica Luvuno (2004) explains that a women's submission is a dilemma, which originates from the foundations of most African culture. Luvuno (2004) links this back to ancestral times when the birth of a girl would symbolize wealth because "a girl was considered an item born to be nurtured and then exchanged for a herd of cattle or money" (Luvuno, 2004:20). "If a boy acts intelligently, it is said that he has inherited this from his father, but if the boy acts foolishly, he has inherited foolishness from his mother's family" (Luvuno, 2004: 1). Women in African culture are usually not given the status they deserve and are considered secondary to men to be treated as subordinates to their husbands (Luvuno, 2004).

The deputy of Direct Gender Links, Kubi Rama, said, "when it comes to gender, there is a mismatch between what is said in public and what is practiced privately" (Parker, 2010:1). According to Rama (in Parker, 2010), there is a gender acceptance that men and women are equal but in practice we have not moved very far. Women are still being treated like they are inferior to men. They are expected to live double lives. In the public space, we say politically correct things but, in our homes and communities we go back to patriarchal values (Parker, 2010). Luvuno (2004) illustrates that women are living double lives highlighting their independent careers outside the home while simultaneously taking responsibility for the domestic chores. A Zulu woman is the one who wakes up early before everybody else and goes to bed last

because she is busy preparing everything for everybody for the next day (Luvuno, 2004).

According to Thirushia Mohabir (2012) however, a vast number of women in South Africa are becoming independent and career orientated. These women do not strictly conform to traditional gender roles. They are no longer just part of the private domain (family) but are also part of the public and political sectors (Mohabir, 2012). As a young Zulu woman from an urban more Western-centric environment that encourages women to be empowered, I began to question where a 'good' traditional Zulu woman, that is encouraged to be subservient to men, fits in to this model. Robert (1998) explains that from early childhood Zulu girls are taught to differ from men and to show them respect. A Zulu girl has to abide by the rules and regulations set down by her father as the head of the house, and when a young girl grows up she is expected to abide by the decisions made by her husband if she is married, or her father or male relative if she is single (Robert, 1998). Zulu women are considered inadequate to handle situations that men can handle. Women are expected to adhere to language use in terms of *ukuhlonipha* (respect) and the same does not apply to men. (Luvuno, 2004). This does not mean that that women cannot handle language properly but because Zulu society has taught them to. This has resulted in many women forgetting who they are in order to please men. In the Zulu culture, femininity is constructed by adhering to patriarchal cultural norms.

Additionally, once married, a Zulu woman is obliged to bear children (Mpungose, 2010). Failure to do this results in severe mockery and harassment both within the household and Zulu society. Some of these attributes and characteristics go against

what women in Western-centric environment are being taught and how women are expected to behave. In light of these discussions, it becomes important to consider how women in a country like South Africa, which respects and encourages both traditional cultural values and gender equality, feel in light of this dichotomy. Consequently, this dissertation aims to explore these differences by analyzing what female Zulu students from the University of KwaZulu Natal, (UKZN) believe makes a 'good' Zulu woman and if there are any key differences between students on different campuses. In order to collect data, the researcher administered questionnaires at the Howard College campus, in Durban, and the Pietermaritzburg campus and later followed up with four focus group discussions. Purposive snowball sampling was used to find participants that were interested in participating in the focus group discussions. Questionnaires provided an efficient method of collecting data from a large number of people simultaneously (Rule 2007). Once the questionnaires were analysed, the researcher used the results to help form the questions for the focus groups. Focus groups were useful because the researcher wanted to receive in-depth answers as well as create an environment in which participants were able to listen to one another and add depth to each other's answers.

However, before the data can be discussed the dissertation provides a literature review in the next chapter which considers interpretive and critical accounts of published scholarly research, exploring what is, and what is known about Zulu women. The researcher has also taken it upon herself to break down the literature into five themes: gender, identity, gender roles, feminism and Zulu culture. The dissertation's third chapter moves on to discuss the research methodology which indicates the techniques that were used to collect the data and how data was analyzed.

Chapter four highlights what was found and will answer the main research question based on the data collected. Finally, chapter five sums up the research project by stating the results that were found in the data collection and highlights how the results fit into the research field.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of literature relevant to this study. The following themes will drive this dissertation as follows: culture, identity (cultural identity and gender identity), gender roles, Zulu culture and African feminism. Many scholars have explained what makes a ‘good’ Zulu woman by exploring how they are constructed, embodied and lived. The literature carries a wide variety of such theories, and will focus on five major themes, which emerge repeatedly throughout. Johanna Schalwyk (2000) outlines culture as being intellectual creative products, which link traditions and religions. Based on cultural systems there are specific expectations, attributes and behaviours appropriate for men and women. Stuart Hall (1997) defined cultural identities as coming from somewhere, having history and undergoing constant transformation. This is how individuals define themselves based on where they come from and where they are stationed. Similarly, people in different locations create different cultural identities. According to Hall (1997), cultural identities are always changing. Mark Leary (2012) defines identity as being how a person or a group of people views themselves, with the knowledge of their past and current context, as well as what is expected of them in the future.

Researchers Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) argue that individuals categorize people into groups (in or out groups) in order to simplify their understanding of the world by structuring social interaction. Children learn by observing behaviors from the people they live with (Baldwin, 2006). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), boys are expected to be masculine, aggressive, active and strong whereas girls are expected to be emotional, soft and submissive. Gender is the cultural and social

significance individuals attach to biological differences (sex) through socialization (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Gender is culturally constructed. Additionally, Adeneye Ajayi (2005) states that a women's job in Africa is to bear children and maintain the household by performing domestic chores. However, women in Africa are viewed as being the property of men and are expected to obey their command (Ajayi, 2005). Therefore, the aim of this literature review is to explore the existing literature that addresses how women in traditional Zulu society are expected to behave.

2.2 Culture

Culture is a contested term which is understood to mean different things by different groups of people. According to Johanna Schalkwyk (2000), when we talk about culture we can mean intellectual and creative products such as literature, music, drama and art or the beliefs and practices of a society, particularly the link between tradition and religion. However, she highlights that as a result of these cultural systems, there are specific expectations about the attributes and behaviors appropriate to men and women. Gender is culturally constructed. Therefore, gender identities and gender relations are critical aspects of culture because they shape the daily life that is linked to the family, wider community and the workplace (Schalkwyk, 2000).

Raymond Williams (1979) states that culture is difficult to define as the definition can alter in relation to the text or area you are looking at. According to Williams (1979), there are three different categories in the definition of culture: the social, ideal and documentary ideas (Williams, 1979). Culture can be defined as a state of process of human perfection; this is what Williams (1979) refers to as being the ideal culture. Culture can be defined as the body of intellectual and imaginative work, where human thoughts and experiences are recorded and described and valued, this is what

Williams (1979) refers to as being documentary culture. Culture can also be defined as focusing on culture not simply in terms of artifacts and achievements but in terms of all the many ways that people conceive and in act lives. This is what Williams (1979) refers to as being social or popular culture.

According to Richard Baldwin (2006), every individual goes through a process called enculturation, which is the way humans engage in cultural learning (Baldwin, 2006). Children learn by observing behaviors from the people they live with (parents, guardians) and their surroundings (media, teachers, peers) which encourages cultural transmission and the passing on of culture from one generation to the other (Baldwin, 2006). Therefore, one can argue that cultures are coherent, distinct and linked to social, political and racial ethnic groups. Through culture, individuals make sense of the world in which they live by shaping their identities to fill the norms of a specific culture and how they experience their lives (Phillips, 2003). Gender is an important aspect of this because an individual's understanding of gender roles and gender responsibilities are shaped by their culture. Gender roles are formed through gender relations (socialization) as they are passed down from generation to generation (Phillips, 2003). Women face strict cultural codes in many societies which dictate how they are expected to behave. Traditionally, gender roles are defined by a women's reproductive and sexual capacity and this maintains women in inferior power positions by keeping them dependent on men for status and resources (Phillips, 2003).

There is a connection between culture, race and gender. According to Anne Phillips (2003) in South African society across most cultures, women are subordinate to men.

Men have more institutional, social power and have access to all sorts of resources and opportunities in South Africa. Men are in positions of power of women from the family structure to the highest public level (Phillips, 2003). Whereas women have less access to decision-making and other structures of power and authority (Phillips, 2003). This is linked to their subordinate situation at home, in their communities and public life. Unequal power relations in South Africa are rooted from gender roles. Most women do both productive and reproductive work but women remain having an inferior status to men (Phillips, 2003). Women's work is less visible and is not valued when compared to men.

According to Hall (1997), there is also a connection between representation and culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meaning between members of a particular community, society or a group of people (Hall, 1997). Therefore, if two people belong to the same culture, they will generally interpret the world in the same way and express themselves, their thoughts, and feelings about the world, in a language or conceptual framework shared with each other.

Hall (1997) argues that people interpret these elements in similar ways because they often share the same feelings, attachments and emotions towards concepts and ideas. According to Hall (1997), participants of a particular culture give meaning to people, objects and elements via what terms, the circuit of culture (see Figure 1). As can be seen in Figure 1, Hall (1997) outlines the complex and multi-directional flow of cultural constructions. He considers how culture is created through the interactions between representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. Importantly, he highlights that none of these elements are independently determinants

of culture, but are equal partners in the way culture is shaped, maintained, constantly ebbing and flowing from one element to the next on an infinite scale. Therefore, as various elements shift and alter over time, these changes impact and influence the manifestation of other components of cultural structures. For example, as the representation of women has changed over time, so too has their identity, and as aspects of identity shift, so too do representations (Hall, 1997).

Kathryn Woodward (1997) states that identity is made up of both individual characteristics, community affiliation and social position (how other people perceive us). Our identities overlap, we are not our race, sex, gender but we are a combination of our identities (Woodward, 1997). Our common social identities include our race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age and physical and or mental ability (Woodward, 1997). With each of these identities, there is a dominant and subordinate group. Dominant identities for example can be a white heterosexual man. White men are the ones who are in dominant groups and are said to have cultural privileges (Woodward, 1997). Subordinate social identities for example can be people of color and are women.

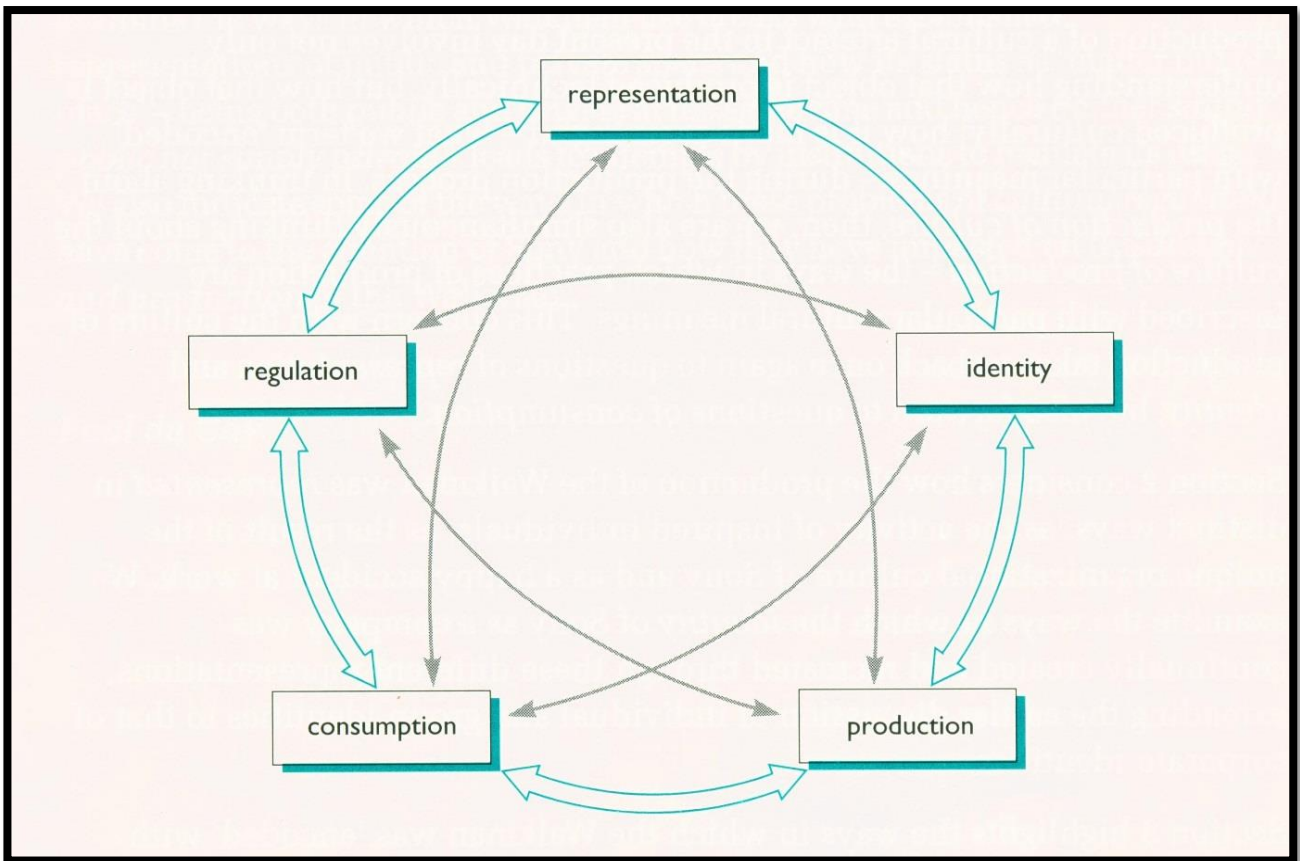


Figure 1 – The Circuit of Culture Centre (as based on Hall, 1997)

Representation is the central practice, which produces primarily, culture, which is concerned with the production and exchange of meaning between members of a society (Hall, 1997). It is by our use of things, what we say, feel, think about them and how we represent them that we give them meanings (Hall, 1997). Therefore, meanings created through this process are said to regulate and organize to set the rules, regulations and norms for the way social life is ordered and governed (Hall, 1997). However, one must be aware that the concepts of culture and identity are highly debated (Chiang, 2010). Part of the reason for this is based on the condition of global modernity (globalisation) that has led to anxiety and uncertainty around the definition of culture and identity. There are many more options and variety in

identities and cultures, this leads to people incorporating other identities and cultures into their own culture and identity. This creates an anxiety because it makes it difficult to define culture and identity because cultures and identities are influenced by other cultures and identities from across the world, which are integrated into local cultures. Therefore, because “globalization has de-centralized the borders of countries [...] and the borders of cultures have become blurred, contested, open ended, unstable and frequently modified” (Chiang, 2009: 29).

Language is where individuals produce and exchange meaning (Hall, 1997). Individuals within a shared language have shared understandings and cultural values. Language symbolically represents shared cultural meanings (Hall, 1997). This takes place through spoken words, written words and through the meanings understood. Hall (1997) explains that culture has a specific meaning. “Culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings between members of a society” (Hall: 1997; 2). Culture is everything in our lives that is not physical, biological or nature. Culture is how members of a group of people share their common understandings of the world in which they live in (Hall, 1997).

According to Hall (1997), language is the privileged media through which individuals create meaning. “To say that two people who belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in the same ways” (Hall: 1997; 2). Culture does not have fixed meanings. Within a group of people, there is substantive variety of meaning on any subject (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) presented the model (see page 17) for the development of these shared meanings that he referred to as ‘the circuit of culture’

and meaning is produced at any of these five steps. These five elements are representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation.

According to Hall (1997), meaning is constantly produced when people interact with one another. It is produced rapidly when people interact with any form of media.

Language includes different communicated systems that are not written or spoken but interpreted by members of a culture; this includes body language and music (Hall, 1997). These languages work through representation, where a symbol, noise or an act represents a shared meaning (Hall, 1997).

2.3 Identity

Hall (1997) looks broadly at the issue of identity, he states that identity is not fixed and should not be seen as 'production' which is never complete but as a process that is constituted with and not outside representation (Hall, 1997). Hall (1997) explains that identity is a complex issue because it is based on many aspects of an individual's life. These include one's gender, age, race, ethnicity and age. Hall (1997) refers to these aspects as being 'the great stable collections'.

Hall (1997) explains the relationship between an individual's personal identity and their ethnicity in history and politics. These aspects play a large role in the development of an individual's character. According to Hall (1997), an individual's experiences always permeate into their thoughts. Politics and societal pressures influence individual's ideals and practices this is because individuals want to fit in and want to be accepted by their peers (Hall, 1997). According to Hall (1997), personal identity tells you the story of an individual's life. The way in which

individuals react to certain situations and how they view themselves is an indication of their experiences (Hall, 1997).

Identity considers how a person or a group views themselves, with the knowledge of their past and current contexts, as well as what is expected of them in the future (Leary, 2012). “Identities make up one’s self-concept variously described as what comes to mind when one thinks of one’s self” (Leary. 2012 :69). According to Leary (2012) the “self” and “identity” are predicted to state what people are motivated to do, how they think and make sense of themselves and others, the actions they take, and their feelings and ability to control and regulate themselves” (Leary: 2012; 70).

Sebastian Fuller (2010) states that there is no escape from the social world because people perform identity in relation to how larger social groups see them. The performative view of acting identified above can be understood not only in relation to the individuals within a social group, but also as the actions of social groups within larger society (Fuller, 2010). The successful influence of social groups creates dominant viewpoints or the common sense and implicit norms of society.

Therefore, identity is a form of action concerned with persuading others and ourselves about who we are and what we value in light of these norms (Penuel & Wertsh, 1999). According to Joan Woznaik (2009), it is not enough to assert identity it also has to be validated by those who we interact with. There are social-cultural concepts that help understand the role of social and cultural contexts, which affect identity shifts within society (Woznaik, 2009). Woznaik (2009) argues that an individual can possess several identifies based on the social context into which an individual placed,

such as a mother, child, teacher, business person or a pastor. Tajfel and Turner (1986) refer to this as social identity theory in which an individual is said to have several selves that correspond to widening circles of group members. Therefore, an individual is said to have multiple 'social identities' (Tajfel and Turner 1986).

Peter Burke and Sheldon Stryker (2000), state that identity theory conceptualizes the self as a collection of identities while Jasso (2003) argues that identity theory consists of phenomena that include enactment, meanings, behavior, competence, performance and expectations of individuals . According to Jasso (2003), identities are placed in networks of relationships among actors such as mothers, fathers, daughters, brothers, friends, teachers and students for example. Each of these identities generates self-evaluation, self-esteem, self-worth and self- efficiency. An individual internalizes each identity and therefore the outcome of the comparison (against other individuals) process is self-verification. People want to be understood and known by other people in relation to their own beliefs.

Identities are said to be role related as they are based on more generalized qualitative characteristics such as honesty, beauty, income, wealth and other maternal resources (Jasso, 2003). People learn about their identities through the interaction with other people, such as our family members, peers, friends, colleagues and through the media (Jasso, 2003). Gender, race, ethnicity, social class and sexual orientation also plays a huge role in how an individual experiences and understands the world.

According to Guillermina Jasso (2003), the personal qualitative characteristics that form identity theory include roles based on occupation and when individuals label

themselves to belong to a particular group. Because of these roles, every individual is said to generate self-esteem, self-evaluation and self-worth (Jasso, 2003). Self-esteem has to do with how positively or negatively a person views themselves while self-worth is the value which an individual places on themselves. Jasso (2003) argues that individuals compare themselves with other people and if the people who we compare ourselves appear to be happier, better looking and more successful than we are, we begin to develop a negative self-esteem as we evaluate ourselves in relation to these other individuals.

Social identity theory constitutes three elements: categorization, identification and comparison (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) which will be discussed in detail shortly.

However, first it is important to discuss that social identity theory is a social-psychological theory, which attempts to explain cognitions and the behavior of people with the help of group-processes (Tajfel, 1978). This theory has to do with individuals becoming part of different groups (or in groups) and how membership to these groups impacts on our identities (Tajfel, 1978). Examples of in-groups are social class, demographics, cultural groups, family groups, football groups, political parties and religious groups to name a few (Tajfel, 1978).

As mentioned above, social identity theory constitutes three elements categorization, identification and comparison (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). According to Tajfel (1978), individuals categorize people into groups in order to simplify their understanding of the world and to be able to structure social interaction. Usually we are able to describe these groups of people based on the clothes that they wear, the way they wear their hair and the music that they listen to.

Importantly, it is from these groups that we begin to have certain expectations, hopes and fears about people that are associated with either the in-groups or out-groups to which people interact. Social categorization looks at the way in which people put others and themselves into categories. We label one another based on factors such as our interest, goals, ethnicity, race, gender, class, economical status, religion, occupation and other factors. Therefore, social categorization is a process by which objects, events and people are classified into categories. By doing this we exaggerate the similarities and differences of our in-group in comparison to out-group (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Once a social group has been identified, people choose to associate with different groups. According to Tajfel (1978), an individual's group collective identity (which is collected through interaction with other people) becomes their in-group. This can be your family member, friend and classmates. The closeness serves as function to boost an individual's self-esteem by creating a sense of belonging, feeling wanted, loved and appreciated. A group of people that pose a threat to your group are called an out-group.

Individuals categorize themselves into groups and identify themselves as being members of a particular group. They begin to compare their 'in-group' with other groups (out-group), in order to maintain their esteem. The individual experiences happiness, wellbeing, self-esteem and a variety of other outcomes when they compare themselves to other individuals and groups, only to find that they are better at

something than another individual or that their group is better than another group. This boosts their self-esteem and self-worth (Tajfel, 1979).

According to social identity theory, individuals show all kinds of “group” behavior such as solidarity within different in-groups and the discrimination against out-groups or groups to which an individual does not belong (Tajfel, 1978). Individuals discriminate against out-groups based on the fact that they assume that their ‘in-group’ is better than the out-group because individuals favor and are biased toward the group to which they belong. As a result, they see different groups in a negative light. This action occurs because, according to Tajfel (1979), in order to achieve a positive self-esteem and self-enhancement individuals improve their self-image and self-esteem based on how they are categorized within their various social groups. The more favour they garner within the in-group or discrimination against the out-group helps increase their social value as a member of the in-group.

2.3.1 Differences between identity theory and social identity theory

However, Peter Burke and Jan Stets (1998) argue that it is more useful to consider a unified identity theory than social identity theory. While social theorists looked at self-categorization in groups Burke and Stets, (1998) focused on how the self has many overlapping concepts. Burke and Stets (1998) argue that theorists tend to exaggerate and overlook fundamental similarities between identity theory and social identity theory and claim that that researchers such as Hogg (1995) miss seeing the benefits of a unified theory in their research.

Burke and Stets (1999) and Hogg (1995) believe that the only major difference between identity theory and social identity theory is that there are “sociocognitive processes, contextual representatives, intergroup relations, group behaviour and [a] clearer distinction between role and group”, in relation to the identity of an individual (Burke and Stets: 1999; 2). However, Hogg (1995) argues that social identity theory has provided a clear distinction between what it means to be an individual (role) and a group whereas, identity theory neglects the impacts of groups.

Burke and Stets (1999) argue that, social identity theory has concentrated on the causes and consequences of identifying with a role rather than with the membership. In other words, membership meanings have to do with who you are, whereas role meanings have to do with what you do. “For example, social identity theory would emphasize one’s identification or association with a particular racial group, while identity theory would examine the roles and behaviours person’s enact as members of a social group” (Burke and Stets: 1999; 3).

According to Burke and Stets (1999), social identity theorists argue that people define themselves based on their social group membership and enact their roles based on the expectations of in-group members, thus the concept of the role is placed under the concept of the group rather than being based on individual expectations. However, Burke and Stets (1999) believe that these two concepts need to be unified because together they offer a general theory of the self (Burke and Stryker, 1999). Identity theory and social identity theory look back on identity being an object and categorizes itself in ways that compare to other social classifications and categories (Burke and Stryker, 1998).

Essentially, social identity theory and identity theory are comparable sides of a single theory that have grown independently, but are linked (Burke and Stryker, 1998).

Both theories have attended to different features of identity, but because both theories have looked at many of the same concepts, they should be unified into one theory, as each concept is fundamentally similar (Burke and Stryker, 1998).

In the unified theory that Burke and Stryker (1998) have suggested, identity is a self-categorization that is based on a cognitive representation of the meanings, norms and expectations that are relevant to all social class, gender, groupings, ethnicity, social roles and group memberships. Consequently, identity is activated in a particular situation, which is distinguished between the salience of an individual's identity and the activation of an identity (Burke and Stryker, 1998).

The 'self' is hierarchal, adding identities that are most important or noticeable (salient). The importance of identities influences behavioral choices in situations. According to Burke and Stryker (1998), the unified theory incorporates both the individual's perception and behaviours, but also focuses on other group members' perceptions and behaviours, just are important in identity activation and maintenance (Burke and Stryker, 1998). The unified theory incorporates the emergence of macro social structures that influence and develop between groups in the form of identity formation and maintenance (Burke and Stryker, 1998). Therefore, "when an identity is activated in a situation, macro and micro social structures develop within and between groups" (Burke and Stryker: 1998; 24).

2.4 Gender

According to Raewyn Connel (1987), gender can be defined as being the cultural and social significance individuals attach to the biological differences (sex), men and women and through socialization. Traditionally, men have been first when it comes to the access of privilege, prestige and power (Connel, 1987), whereas women have always been seen as the secondary. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), all societies use anatomical differences to assign gender roles. Gender roles arise from biological development and cultural contribution (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Gender roles represent the division of labor among males and females. According to Tajfel and Turner 1979 gender roles can be defined as the expectations regarding proper behavior, attitudes and activities of male and female behavior. Women are attached to domestic and family responsibilities, while men to outdoor duties (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

2.4.1 The gender schema theory

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), boys are expected to be masculine, aggressive, active, tough, daring and dominant whereas girls must be feminine, soft, emotional, sweet and submissive and is usually determined by gender schema. The gender schema theory states that young children learn from the culture in which they live about what it means to be male or female (Connel, 1987). Children adjust their behavior according to the gender expectations and norms of the society in which they reside. Therefore, children internalize gender social practices of their culture which leads to individuals constructing their self-identity around these gender roles (Connel, 1987). According to Connel (1987), this takes place through language, dress, songs, toys and social learning. Additionally, parents tend to treat male and female children

differently from birth (Berger, 2006) and peer groups reinforce these differences at school. At school boys and girls are encouraged to play different games and learn different styles of reasoning (Berger, 2006).

Gender roles and characteristics are therefore learned and transmitted through socialization (King, 2005). The knowledge about appropriate behavior for men and women is exchanged through these social acts which lead to an individual becoming self-conscious, skillful and knowledgeable so that he or she can live their lives in specific gendered environments (King, 2005). This process takes place continuously through all phases of an individual's life and is constantly shaped by one's family, friends, school (education), working environment and the media (King, 2005).

2.4.2 The cognitive development theory on gender

<p><u>Step 1</u></p> <p>1. <u>Age 2-3</u></p>	<p><u>Gender identity</u></p> <p>Children understand themselves as being male and female.</p>
<p><u>Step 2</u></p> <p>2. <u>Age 4-5</u></p>	<p><u>Gender stability</u></p> <p>Children identify things that are appropriate for either males or females.</p>
<p><u>Step 3</u></p> <p>3. <u>Age 6-10</u></p>	<p><u>Gender consistency</u></p> <p>The perception of gender becomes less rigid.</p>

Table 1 - The cognitive development theory of gender (Kohlberg, 1966)

Lawrence Kohlberg's (1966) cognitive development theory as seen in Table 1 argues that young children identify with the parent and others of the same sex, which develops from what, sex category they belong too. This occurs between the ages of two and three (step 1, as indicated in Table 1). When children are two years old, they identify traits as being associated to males or females but they do not see themselves as belonging to a gender category up until they are they are around three years old (Kohlberg, 1966). Children notice male and female faces as being different and fitting into different categories but they do not think of themselves as belonging to a category up until the ages of two and three (as seen in Table 1). The reason behind this is because between the ages of two and three (as seen in Table 1) children start to notice physical and behavioural clues that are associated with being a boy or a girl (Kohlberg, 1966). Children find it rewarding to start behaving in a manner that is gender appropriate by imitating some gender models that they see at home. Girls will say I am a girl because I am more like my mother, this is called gender identity. The child begins to recognize that they are a boy or a girl (Kohlberg, 1966).

Gender stability (step 2, Table 1) then takes place when children are between the ages of four and five as they begin to accept the idea that one's gender cannot change. Children begin to identify the things that are appropriate for each sex (see Table 1). According to Kohlberg (1966), a girl will not think that she will grow up to be like her father because she has identified that she is a girl. She will begin to identify with her mother, grow a bond with her mother and begin learning what the appropriate behavior is for her as a female (see Table 1). Gender consistency (step 3, Table 1)

takes place when children recognize that superficial changes in appearance will not change an individual's gender (Kohlberg, 1966).

Schalkwyk (2000) argues that gender functions organize principles for society because of the cultural meanings given to being male and being female. According to Schalkwyk (2000), this is evident in the division of labor. In most societies there are patterns of 'women's work' (work that is expected to be done by women) and men's work (work that is expected to be done by men), both in the household, work place and wider community. According to Schalkwyk (2000) there is a general pattern that women have less personal autonomy, fewer resources at their disposal and limited influence over the decision making processes that shape their societies and their own lives.

Traditional sex roles emerged in societies gathering by promoting the efficient functioning family. Each sex played a role by complementing the role played by the other. Men are the instrumental part and women played the expressive part (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Men are expected to be the ones who support their families financially. They are the breadwinners and the providers that ensure that the family is financially stable (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This suggests that men play an active, useful, influential and contributory role in the household. Women are expected to raise children, maintain the household by performing domestic duties. They are said to play an expressive role because they are meant to play a nurturing and supportive role for their husbands by creating a loving environment to come back home too.

Gender roles helped to integrate men and women into society by socializing boys into instrumental roles and the girls into expressive roles (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Young girls from a very young age are taught at home that they need to take care of the household by performing domestic chores. Boys are taught that they need to be strong and be able to take care of their families one day. They grow up knowing that this responsibility lies with them (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). However, as society has changed over time, these roles ignore the fact that some women have had to leave home and go to work outside the home due to financial necessity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

2.5 Gender roles

As mentioned above, gender roles are behaviors that are considered appropriate for male and females (Crespi, 2003). According to Isabella Crespi (2003), the way in which people behave and think is the final product of socialization. From the moment we are born we begin to be molded into being the way in which society expects us to be (Crespi, 2003). It is through socialization that individuals learn what is appropriate, and what is inappropriate, behaviour for both genders (Crespi, 2003). According to Crespi (2003), the first thing we notice when we meet another individual is their gender and the major way in which we split humanity is on the basis of gender.

Gender roles are everything that an individual feel, thinks, says and does in order to show themselves and other people that they are either a man (masculine) or a woman (feminine) (King, 2005). Gender identity is an individual's personal sense of being a man or a woman (King, 2005). Gender identities are said to function on two different levels, the first being when an individual identifies with the sex to which they belong (Tajfel and Turner 1986). The second level at which gender identity functions is at a

collective level when individuals think of themselves as members of a gender group (girls and boys).

According to Crespi (2003), women value being sensitive and monitoring good relationships whereas, men value gaining status and materialistic possessions. There are gender stereotypes that relate to cognitive processes that are a result of having different expectations for male and female behaviour (Crespi, 2003). Women are encouraged to be good mothers, submissive, subservient and talkative about their problems (Crespi, 2003). Women are valued for their looks, charm and not their strength or intellect (Crespi, 2003). Women who challenge this and are strong, ambitious, demanding, tough and rough are considered unfeminine (Crespi, 2003). Women are expected to be submissive, to follow their men and to dedicate their lives to their children (Crespi, 2003). Men are expected to be dominant, strong, wealthy, talented, powerful, educated, status driven and to have a high paying job (Crespi, 2003).

According to Crespi (2003), each sex has, and utilizes, power in certain ways which makes men and women more equal, but there is still a long way to go. The old roles pertaining to gender still serve to put women down and keep them in their place (Crespi, 2003). Crespi (2003) argues that women are still expected to be subservient and to raise children while men are expected to be the decision makers and the breadwinners. According to Crespi (2003), culture continues to pressure society to conform to gender roles and women are still expected to do what women 'are supposed to do'. This is based on the idea that family and friend's expectations become internalized as part of our own self-expectations (Crespi, 2003). According

to Crespi (2003), an individual may express guilt if they do not conform to the prescribed rules.

As already mentioned, gender socialization begins the moment an individual is born (Crespi, 2003). It is through socialization that we learn our gender roles. (Crespi, 2003). The main agencies or institutions, which teach us gender roles, are our family, schools, peer groups and the media (Crespi, 2003). A child's earliest exposure to gender role expectations comes from their parents (Witt, 1997). From the time the child is a baby, parents treat boys and girls differently from one another (Witt, 1997). Girls are expected to be sweet and sensitive and boys are expected to be strong and brave (Witt, 1997). According to Witt (1997), there is also a basic difference in development for boys and girls. For girls their relationship with their care giver (mother) is one of mutuality. Girls have a greater bond with their mothers as their mothers are the ones who teach them what is expected of them, such as domestic chores and general maintenance of the household (Witt, 1997). However, boys see themselves as being different from their mothers and through increasing separation and autonomy from their mother; they develop identification with their fathers (Witt, 1997).

The family is the most important institution in shaping a child's beliefs, attitudes and values, explaining that at a young age a child starts to adopt the attitudes and roles of its parents, especially in relation to gender (Witt, 1997). According to Crespi (2003), parents are the primary influences on gender role development in early life. Parents are the ones who encourage children to participate in gender activities such as playing with trucks for boys and playing with dolls for girls (Crespi, 2003). Parents send

subtle messages to their children on what they think is acceptable for each gender (Crespi, 2003). In the household, parents assign domestic chores to girls and boys that are expected of each sex to perform (Crespi, 2003). Boys are expected to do the maintenance chores that involve mowing the lawn while girls are expected to cook, clean and to do the laundry (Crespi, 2003). It is through household task chores that segregation according to gender is created (Crespi, 2003).

According to Wood (1994), there is a strong link between cultural contexts and the development of gender roles between men and women (Wood, 1994). Gender identity does not only originate from a particular personal standpoint, but it also originates from different perspectives of others and cultural values (Wood, 1994). Additionally, a cultural element in the process of gender formation is communication (Wood, 1994). Communication plays a huge role in gender formation; it is through communication with other individuals that we learn who we are, and what that means in the culture into which we are born (Wood, 1994). There are many levels of society in which gender norms are communicated, including family, neighborhoods and communities (Wood, 1994). This takes place through child raising, kin relation, sexual relationships, cooking and household routines (Wood, 1994).

By an individual internalizing cultural communications regarding gender roles, they learn that there are different roles for men and women and that they have unequal values assigned to them (Wood, 1994). Additionally, a significant factor in gender role development and gender identity is the degree to which an individual internalizes the roles set out by a culture (Wood, 1994). Based on the degree to which an individual identifies with a cultural group there is an impact on their beliefs of their

role, which impacts on how they participate as a particular gender in cultural environments (Wood, 1994).

“Gender is constructed by organisational processes such as social interactions between workers, segregation of occupations, discrepancies in salary and the ways in which work is divided by paid and unpaid labour” (Wood:1994;23). According to Wood (1994), the inequality that takes place in the workplace between men and women influences the norms and structures that create barriers to women advancing in the workplace. Women are not concentrated in occupations in which workers of one sex is dominant (Wood, 1994). According to Wood (1994), men and women perform different tasks and work in different sectors. Men concentrate in skilled trades, and operative jobs whereas women are generally teachers, clerical assistants and in other service operations (Wood, 1994).

As mentioned above, gender roles are socially constructed with society allocating gender roles to men and women according to what is considered to be appropriate (Daniel, 2010). Gender roles are culturally and historically specific in terms of what it means to be a man or a woman. Therefore, it varies over place and time (Daniel, 2014). Unequal roles are allocated to male and female members of a society and passed down from generation to generation-through socialization. Each generation of women has more choices about how they balance work and family (Daniel, 2014). If a woman is qualified for a job, she is allowed to have it. Women are not only restricted to household maintenance; they can work outside of the household. Even though women work full time jobs outside of the household, they are still expected to

have the primary responsibility of taking care of the household and family (Daniel, 2010).

Because we live in a social world, we learn the expected gendered behaviour for men and women (Crespi, 2003). Gender roles in their own presentation of the individual (self) are a powerful means of social organisation. It is because of this that individuals internalize conventional and stereotypical gender roles (Crespi, 2003). It is through the general repetition of the appropriate gendered behaviours for men and women that convey an impression that this is the way things are and the way they are meant to be (Crespi, 2003).

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), gender is a social identity that is covered by a set of social roles that are based on identity. Individuals learn social roles from social organizations such as their families, peers and colleagues. It is through this that one would find that gender-stereotyped behavior and attitudes occurring as negative consequences (Connell, 1987). Gender stereotypes shape perception, treatment and evaluation of males and females through patterns of behavior that confirm stereotypes (Connell, 1987). Gender stereotyping takes place when pre-conceived ideas about one sex are applied indiscriminately without considering any personal, cultural and social factors (Schalkwyk, 2000). Stereotypes assume that a group of people are homogenous and that some key traits are shared by all members of the group (Schalkwyk, 2000) though often this is not the case.

<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Dominant	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Passive

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensitive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independent (Bread winners) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supportive/ Supported
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assertive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subservient
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Competitive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submissive
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggressive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience anxiety under pressure

Table 2 – Stereotypes often related to gender (Connel, 2005)

Stereotypes are not always negative, disempowering, or untrue (Connel, 2005).

According to Connel (2005), stereotypes can be accurate statements that are made about a group of people. Gender-based stereotypes as mentioned above (in Table 2) men are aggressive and independent while women are gentle and emotional (Connel, 2005). These stereotypes are accurate because men tend to be more aggressive, when compared to women. They are expected to play the dominant role at home being the head of the household, the breadwinners (independent) and the providers (as seen in Table 2). While, women are the ones who are expected to be subservient, submissive, and passive and play a supportive role to their husband and children (see Table 2).

2.6 Gender roles in Africa

While Ajayi (2005) argues that an African is a person whose origin is from Africa or by any other legitimate means of claiming citizenship of Africa, this dissertation will use the term African as a way to describe a black person who still lives in Africa.

According to Ajayi (2005), African traditional society is generally patriarchal. A woman's job in African society is to bear children and as such, there is a distinction between a 'potential' woman and an 'actual' woman. A potential woman has not

reached the status of an actual woman because she is unmarried. Only once she is married will she be considered an ‘actual’ woman by her society and only an actual (married) woman in the African culture can account for womanhood (Ajayi, 2005).

Not only does a woman need to be married, she also cannot be isolated from her husband and her children (Ajayi, 2005). According to Ajayi (2005), the ‘actual’ woman is referred to as a “real woman” only if she can bear children. If a woman is unable to conceive or bear children of her own, even if it is her husband’s fault, she is not considered a “real woman”. In traditional African society, from the moment a young girl enters into puberty she is viewed as a potential woman. She starts receiving lessons on social matters that relate to the duties of a wife and mother (Ajayi, 2005). These lessons are meant to make her conscious of her gender and the role she is to play in society.

Throughout African history, African men have been given the right to control women (Ngubane, 2010). Women are viewed as being the property of the men in their lives, whether it is their fathers, husbands or in-laws (Ngubane, 2010). Women are required to obey a man’s command (Ngubane, 2010). The use of this power can be used in a negative manner; it can be used in the form of emotional, physical and sexual abuse (Ngubane, 2010). “In African culture often women have been treated as ‘second class’ portrayed in many African proverbs and sayings. In most of these proverbs and sayings, women are referred to as stoves, old cooking pots, large wooden string spoons, hoes, cows, merino sheep, fields and even dogs usually with derogatory meaning” (Daniel, 2010: 1238).

In some cultures, in Africa, people think that women should not be educated because she will get married and no longer be a member of that family (Daniel, 2010). This is because they do not want to invest their money on somebody who is going to get married when they are older and educated and generate an income for another family. Women are expected to get married and leave their household one-day. They fear that they would have invested so much (time and money) on their daughters' education but will not gain anything as she is going to support her family when she is married. In most parts of Africa women are still the property of their fathers or husbands. Some women are forced to marry men against their will because the man is wealthy and can afford to pay a high bride's prize (Daniel, 2010). According to Daniel (2010), in most African societies the traditional role of a woman is passive. Chauvinism is a problem in Africa and women are taught to believe that being a female means that one is born inferior to men (Daniel, 2010). "We are taught that we are needed as mothers, care takers, cheap labor in the fields and factories. Due to women's low self-esteem they under rate themselves and fear leadership roles" (Daniel, 2010: 129).

According to Kasomo Daniel (2010), African women face hardships and there are rules that restrict women. For example, women in Kenya and South Africa cannot talk while men are having a discussion (Daniel, 2010: Mpungose, 2010) According to Daniel (2010), certain food that is high in protein such as eggs and meat is reserved for men to eat and Luo women in Kenya are forbidden to eat chicken, eggs, milk, sheep or rabbit (Daniel, 2010). Not only do these taboos affect women's health, they also express male hierarchy in African societies (Daniel, 2010).

In some African cultures, there are traditional practices that suppress and discriminate against women (Ngubane, 2010). These practices which are prevalent in many African cultures include the importance of fertility for women (Ngubane, 2010). Women are under pressure to prove their fertility prior to marriage which means that they do not use condoms and therefore put themselves at risk of acquiring HIV/AIDS (Ngubane, 2010). Elements of traditional African cultures and the subservient female roles are increasing HIV/AIDS infection rates in Africa. The reason being that in African culture, decision making has traditionally been left to the man so family planning decisions lie with him and, women are subjected to continuous childbirth by their husbands and in-laws against their will (Ngubane, 2010). “Motherhood, is a traditional way of defining the woman status since a woman is a woman only if she is a mother” (Daniel, 2010: 129). Traditionally, an African woman plays a role mainly in domestic activities by providing food, giving children moral foundation and monitoring the family (Daniel, 2010)

According to Siegfried Ngubane (2010), men are socialized into believing that women are inferior and should be under their control. Women are socialized into over-respecting and submitting to their husbands (Ngubane, 2010). According to Ngubane (2010) many women lack economic power and feel that they cannot risk losing their partners who support them economically and so they adhere to these gender roles (Ngubane, 2010).

2.6.1 Gender roles in the Zulu culture

Men and women are considered equal in terms of the law in South Africa (Ngubane, 2010). According to Ngubane (2010), discrimination among men and women still

exists, not in terms of the law but in daily interactions between men and women. Men believe that they are custodians of African culture and therefore, regard women to be inferior (Ngubane, 2010). African men believe that women should obey them; they feel that a woman's place is at home where she maintains the household, bears the children and raises her children (Ngubane, 2010). Even though women have gained substantial rights and opportunities, inequality amongst the genders is still an issue in African culture as it continues to promote patriarchy and perpetuates the subordination of women (Ngubane, 2010).

In Zulu culture, the term *isoka* (playboy) is used to complement men who have numerous partners. There is pressure for men to be promiscuous to prove their manhood though if a woman has multiple partners she is regarded as promiscuous (Ngubane, 2010). Additionally, Mpungose (2010) argues that, in Zulu society "a man's word does not come back void" (Mpungose: 2010; 24). This means that the man has the final say in the household. Women are taken lightly as men are said to be the masters of their own destiny (Mpungose, 2010). A man that allows a woman to control him is ridiculed and does not gain respect from other men (Mpungose, 2010).

Women are also given additional tasks as she prepares for marriage. Before a woman is married, she enjoys very few hours of sleep before her wedding day because she is expected by her in-laws and society to do domestic chores and household duties such as cleaning, cooking, washing to help maintain her father's home (Mpungose, 2010). The day before her wedding day she is expected to do all of this as this is seen as a way of preparing her for when she moves in with her husband. At this stage, she is

being prepared and trained for what she is expected to do when she is married.

According to Deckard (1979) and Mpungose (2010), marriage is the primary institution that perpetrates the oppression of women (Mpungose, 2010). Marriage in Zulu society subjects women to restrictions ranging from the way in which the Zulu bride dresses, talks and where she is allowed to go (Mpungose, 2010). In Zulu society men have the dominant role as the head of the family and the woman needs to be subservient to her husband (Mpungose, 2010). Everything that a Zulu woman does needs to be approved by her husband (Mpungose, 2010).

According to Zethembile Mpungose (2010), Zulu men often ignore current societal transformations, where women have gained their independence, are becoming educated and are contributing financially at home. When a woman comes back from work, she still is expected to take on her 'wifely' duties at home (Mpungose, 2010). Husbands tend not to care how educated his wife is, or that she is also coming back from work. She still needs to do her household duties and take care of the family (Mpungose, 2010).

Consequently, marriage is considered a very important institution in Zulu culture (Mpungose, 2010). During this time "a woman's behaviour is normally under scrutiny and surveillance because it is believed that she cannot manage her own life properly without the guidance of a man" (Mpungose: 2012; 26). The burden to sustain and keep the marriage intact lies with the woman and this is why Zulu brides are scrutinized both before and during marriage (Mpungose, 2010).

Additionally, if a Zulu bride cannot have children, she is mocked by her in-laws, community and is regarded to be inferior to those women who have children (Mpungose, 2010). This is a reason as to why men in the Zulu culture will then take on a second and third wife because he is looking to a wife that will have his heir (Mpungose, 2010). Even though sometimes you find that it is the man who suffers from sterility, it is the woman who suffers mockery and harassment (Mpungose, 2010). Mpungose (2010) argues that Zulu culture is a patriarchal and polygamist society because the husband is the one who enjoys all the privileges, while his wives are the tools that are used to pursue a continuing male lineage. Women in the Zulu culture have no rights as they have been purchased through the bride's prize (*lobolo*) (Mpungose, 2010). According to Mpungose (2010), once a woman is married she cannot just simply pack her bags and leave if she is facing problems in her marriage. The bride's prize whether it be paid in full or not, is a seal that was made when she entered into marriage, guaranteeing her total submission to her husband and in-laws (Mpungose, 2010).

According to Mpungose (2010), young Zulu girls are aware of their inferior status from childhood. Tradition emphasizes that their behaviour should be respectful and that they need to learn to submit to whatever men tell them to do. This is inflicted on them from a very young age so that when they enter into marriage they know that the man is the head of the family, he is dominant and in control of the family (Mpungose, 2010). This is the main reason as to why Mpungose (2010) argues the Zulu society is very patriarchal.

Women in Zulu society are meant to marry and reproduce. Women are pressured to get married and to bare children soon after they get married (Mpungose, 2010). The whole purpose behind this is for the married couple to produce a baby boy who will be the heir of the family, for purposes of inheritance (Mpungose, 2010). It is very important that the husband's surname not die out, and, if they only have girls, those girls will eventually grow up and get married, change their surnames and the father's surname would eventually die out. But if they have boys then this will not happen as they do not have to change their surnames when they marry and in return their father's surname will spread when their grandchildren marry and have children of their own (Mpungose, 2010).

Ukuhlonipha (respect) is an example of how Mpungose (2010) argues why Zulu culture is a patriarchal one. *Ukuhlonipha* is a respect code that covers respect shown by women and any younger person to their elders, husbands and in-laws.

Ukuhlonipha demands Zulu women to show respect to men through speech, behaviour and general conduct (Mpungose, 2010). The same does not apply to men. In Shange's (2002) research, participants said that *ukuhlonipha* is an indispensable custom and that women who do not know the basic laws of *ukuhlonipha* should not call themselves women. Consequently, Shange (2002) concludes that *ukuhlonipha* captures what is perceived to be 'proper' female behaviour and the sought after qualities for a prospective bride in Zulu custom. However, Rudwick and Shange (2006) have noted that there is a decrease of *ukuhlonipha* in urban settings, which one could argue is indicative of the more Westernized lifestyle in South African cities. They suggest that young South African women challenge traditional patriarchal customs which position women in a submissive role and argue that under certain

conditions there is open protest and rejection of *ukuhlonipha* which is linked to ‘western’ emancipated identity (Rudwick and Shange, 2006).

The decreased use of *ukuhlonipha* in urban area settings by young Zulu women indicates a trend towards a less traditional setting however, indicates a shift towards a more westernized lifestyle (Rudwick and Shange, 2006). Westernized lifestyle can be defined as western civilization and western society (European civilization). This term describes the social norms, heritage, traditional customs, belief systems, ethical values associated with Europe (Rudwick and Shange, 2006). Young Zulu women in urban settings are challenging traditional patriarchal customs. Rudwick and Shange (2006) argue that this decrease in urban areas are open protest as a means of negotiating a western emancipated identity. Women in the African culture are meant to get married, bear children and take care of the household. Whereas a female in the western lifestyle is free to decide her priorities, when she wants to get married, bear children and if she wants to work professionally or do both (Rudwick and Shange 2006). By young Zulu women rejecting to use *ukuhlonipha*, this is a manner in which they are expressing and rejecting an identity which rejects female submission.

2.7 Feminism

The definition of feminism is complex and varies depending on a number of factors. These include the time-period (era), socio-political and/or geographical constituency/location, the needs and priorities of a given constituency of women, theoretical approach and practice (Mitchell, 1986)

Feminism aims to challenge patriarchy and to assert a belief in sexual equality between men and women. The aim of feminism was for women to gain individual

freedom and to end sexist oppression. It does not privilege women over men but it aims to draw a distinction between sex and gender in order to redefine male and female roles (Phillips, 1978). The differing context and the differing needs that arise from the lived reality of women have led to there being a variety of feminism theories (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988).

There a number of approaches, that can define feminism. Feminism can be defined in terms of the first wave (liberal) movement in the West, which emerged in the 1800s that focused on the women's struggle for the right to vote (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). Feminism can be conceptualized in terms of the second wave (radical/revolutionary) feminism of the late 1960s or early 1970s, which witnessed the emergence of separate black/ethnic movements in response to the mainstream (liberal) movements (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). The 1970s marked the African third world women's official engagement with feminism. Different women's rights took place in different parts of sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in the third world. Therefore, one can define feminism as ideology, theory and practice, economic or cultural context that seeks to address the causes and the consequences of women's oppression (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988).

2.7.1 African Feminism

African feminism is a humanist movement and it encompasses the socio-political and the economic struggle of black women. African feminism is a new brand of feminism emerging throughout sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in the third world. It is concerned with the oppression and survival of African women (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). African feminism like other brands of third world feminism is

much more than just a struggle for the equality of black women and sexual liberation (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). However, it is also a humanist struggle for survival that is committed to the economic, political and social struggle of all people in society (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). According to Ramphela and Boonzaier (1988), African women have six mountains on their backs. These include poverty/class, lack of education, oppressive traditional practices, men/sexism, colonialism, racism and African women's own inferiority complex (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988).

2.7.2 Poverty/class and lack of education

Poverty is the most oppressive aspect of African women's oppression (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). Most African women who live in rural and urban areas struggle on a daily basis. African women's poverty is linked to the poverty masses on the continent and is a product of colonialism (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). The effects of colonialism can be seen as a number of economic, social and educational patterns of inequality. African women have fewer employment opportunities due to fewer educational opportunities that tend to have literacy rates (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). African women are at the bottom of the rung of national and international socio-economic ladder (Mickell 1997a, 1997b).

2.7.3 Oppressive traditional practices

Oppressive traditional practices refer to certain aspects of our traditional African heritage, which keep African women in subjection (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). The brides price (*lobola*), polygamy, child baring and widow rites are examples of traditional practices that keep African women under subjection in modern day African societies. African women do not perceive the bride's price (*lobola*) as being oppressive but it is the misinterpretation and the abuse by modern day African men

that makes the practice offensive. The introduction of cash (as a replacement for cattle) and decline in socio-economic conditions resulted in the practice of the bride price being misinterpreted, exploited and abused (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). The exploitation and the abuse of the bride's price has led to the disturbing male attitudes of thinking that they own women due to the payment (Russell, 1989). This leads to African women being vulnerable to all sorts of material and social abuse.

2.7.4 Men/sexism

Throughout Africa women occupy a subordinate status and are discriminated based on gender (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). African women experience sexism in both public and private aspects of their lives. An example is how in African culture irrespective of the type of marriage (customary or legal), African women occupy a subordinate position (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). The husband is the head of the household and makes all of the decisions, whereas the wife is responsible for the household chores and raising the children (Mickell 1997a, 1997b).

2.7.5 Colonialism

Colonialism was the process through which Africa was 'integrated' into a Western Capitalist system to serve as a reservoir of raw materials, cheap labour and mineral resources for European countries (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). According to Ramphela and Boonzaier (1988), colonialism did not liberate African women or any women from third world countries, contrary to western beliefs (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). Women's position in Africa may have not been equal, dominant or parallel in pre-colonial African societies. However, in pre-colonial African societies African women had a valued and defined role in the economic, political and social aspects of traditional life (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). Under traditional self-provisioning agricultural modes of production, African women had access to the

product of their labour (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988). It is through the introduction of commercial farming and wage employment under colonial rule that African women had very little access to the means of production. The process of production led to their role in society being placed in a more dependent economic position and leading to new attitudes of male social and economic superiority (Ramphela & Boonzaier, 1988).

2.7.6 Racism

Most African women on the continent do not directly experience racism or discrimination based on their skin colour (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). Women who live in racially diverse parts of the continent such as South Africa experience racism as a direct source of women's oppression (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). During the apartheid era in South Africa, the socio-economic status of the majority of black women was and is still directly racism and gender class (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). According to Mickell (1997b), the international level racism is an issue that (indirectly) affects all women in sub-Saharan Africa since the world economic order is stratified along racial and class lines. The international economic market and global profits heavily favour people with white skin at the expense of those with black (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). According to Mickell (1997b), the element of race in capitalist international economic system leads to the poverty of African women.

2.7. 7 African women's own inferiority complex

African's women own negative self-image cultivated by the centuries of being the subordinate (Mickell 1997a, 1997b). This contributed to African women negative self-image. African women have internalized patriarchal ideologies and tend to respond negatively to other African women who challenge traditional practices or structures that are oppressive to African women (Ogundipe-Lesile, 1993). African

women from Tswana (South Africa) regard themselves as ‘beasts of burden’, due to the oppression they have faced. By accepting the ‘lot of life’, these women participate in their own oppression (Ogundipe-Lesile, 1993). Ogundipe-Lesile, (1993) suggest that these women should be educated and informed about their positions and why are oppressed thus enabling them to make informed decision as to whether or not they want to join the struggle for a better deal in social, economic and political spheres of African societies (Ogundipe-Lesile, 1993).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of literature theories that is relevant to this study. Culture, identity, gender roles and African feminism drove this dissertation with the aim of exploring already existing literature that addressed what being a ‘good’ Zulu woman consists of. Schalkwyk (2000) defined culture as being the attributes and behaviours that are appropriate for men and women while Hall (1997) defined culture as being about people’s feelings, attachments, emotions, concepts and ideas that people have in common.

According to Chiang (2010), identity used to be seen as being objectified collective meanings that emerged from anthropology and historical context (Chiang, 2010). Traditional gender role ideologies promote ideas that men are more important than women (Wood, 2004) are. By nature, men and women have biological differences but it is life experiences that reinforce or contradict these differences (Crespi, 2003). Even though women have gained substantial rights and opportunities, inequality amongst genders is still an issue in African cultures, which promotes patriarchy and perpetuates the subordination and submissiveness of women (Ngubane, 2010).

Ukuhlonipha is an example of this (Mpungose, 2010) and subjects women to restrictions ranging from the way in which they speak (*Ukuhlonipha*), the way in which they dress, the places they go by placing the man in a dominant role as the head of the family.

Chapter 3 - Research methods/ Approach to study

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the research methodology of this study, outlining the research design, setting, sampling and data collection instruments. This chapter is concerned with the methodological choice and the impact of this on the processes and the outcome of the research. This chapter therefore defines the scope and the limitations of the research design. Researchers need to know how the data will be obtained because the method chosen affects the findings and how they are interpreted (Bem, 2008); however, there are varieties of different methods available for researchers to choose from in order to investigate the research problem.

Denise Polit and Bernadette Hungler (1999) argue that a research project of this nature could use mixed methods. The researcher used a qualitative research approach, with quantitative elements, as it would be best for this study because the researcher's stance and interpretation of the data is an important tool for answering the key research objectives (Polit and Hungler, 1999) which were:

- To find out what female UKZN Zulu students feel makes 'a good Zulu woman'.
- To find out if there were any key differences between female Zulu UKZN students interpretation of a 'good' Zulu woman across campuses.

In this study, the researcher was interested in understanding and exploring what female Zulu UKZN students on the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman. As discussed in Chapter 2, researchers such as Robert (1998), Luvuno (2004), Ngubane (2010) and Rudwick and Shange (2002) all

seem to agree that in order for a Zulu woman to be considered a 'good' Zulu woman she has to have certain characteristics and attributes. These include being kind, humble and nurturing. She needs to be able to perform domestic chores, maintain the household and be subservient to her husband and in-laws. Therefore, the aim of this dissertation was to find out how female UKZN students make meaning about a 'good' Zulu woman. The objectives of this study were to find out what female UKZN Zulu students believe makes 'a good Zulu woman, and if there were any key differences between campuses. The reason for selecting university students was that Zulu culture does not appear to value education for women and therefore, the researcher wanted to focus on how educated females understand traditional gender roles.

3.2 Research method

For this research, both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used for collecting data. Quantitative questionnaires were used to help compile general statistics about the sample population, and help guide the researcher in terms of how to construct the more qualitative aspects of the focus groups. Qualitative research as a method of data collection and analysis involves understanding of participant perceptions regarding the topic at hand by seeking to understand and describe not only the dimension of human behavior but also the points of view of the study's participants to provide the research with open and adaptive information (Polit and Hungler, 1999). A qualitative research design was chosen because qualitative research relies on observation; questionnaires, informal interviews (focus group meetings) and the researcher's own experience of the events and process (Polit and Hungler, 1999).

In order to answer the main research questions, this study used an ethnographic study.

“Ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and reoccurred patterns, values, behaviors, beliefs and language of a culture sharing groups” (Creswell: 2009: 65). Ethnography research focuses on cultures and customs (Leininger, 1985). Therefore, according to Polit and Hungler (1999), qualitative research allows for the use of multiple data gathering technique tools to provide a more comprehensive perspective. The researcher used questionnaires and focus group discussions because ethnographic research allows for flexibility in the use of techniques. In the following qualitative research, the participants were given the opportunity to explore a broad range of aspects related to the topic (Polit and Hungler, 1999). These include aspects on gender roles, power relations and stereotypes.

Additionally, an interpretive paradigm was used because the researcher aimed to understand the meaning of actions that takes place between individual interaction and in wider society at large (Leininger, 1985). The interpretive research method focuses on understanding phenomenon in a comprehensive manner. It aims at unpacking the meaning –making practices of human subjects (Bem, 2008). Leininger (1985) illustrates that interpretive researchers attempt to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings individuals assign to them. For this dissertation the researcher aimed at understanding female Zulu UKZN students as they discuss their feelings and opinions in relation to what makes a ‘good’ Zulu woman.

3.3 Research design and research tools

For the purpose of this study, an interactive qualitative research design was used; more particularly an interpretive design (Polit and Hungler, 1999). An interpretive

design is aimed at finding out how participants make sense of their personal and social world by focusing on their experiences and past events (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The interpretive research method focuses on understanding a phenomenon in a comprehensive manner. It aims at unpacking the meaning making practices of the participants. The researcher aims to find out the why, how and by what means people do what they do (Polit and Hungler, 1999). In this instance the researcher was interested in finding out what female Zulu students from UKZN felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman.

3.4 Sample

A sample is a subset population selected to participate in the study (Polit and Hungler, 1999). According to Polit and Hungler (1999), the general rule is to always use the largest sample possible. The larger the sample the more comprehensive it is going to be (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Smaller samples produce less accurate results because they are likely to be less representative of the population. Based on the questionnaire feedback received university students had a lot to say on how they understood gender roles, the researcher facilitated two focus group discussions on both campuses. Focus groups were useful because the researcher wanted to receive in-depth answers by creating an environment where participants were given the opportunity to interact in a discussion that would lead to the researcher receiving more data. This was done by creating an environment in which participants were able to listen to one another and add depth to each other's answers.

The eligibility criteria for this study needed participants who were:

- South African citizens.

- IsiZulu first language speakers.
- Registered female Zulu students who attended UKZN (Howard College or Pietermaritzburg campuses)

The researcher went out looking for female Zulu UKZN students at Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses. The researcher's recruitment strategy was that she identified African Zulu speaking females, approached them and asked them if they were willing to complete a questionnaire and participate in the focus group discussions. On the questionnaire, the participants were given an opportunity to select if they wanted to participate in the focus group discussions or not. If they were willing they were given an opportunity to fill in their names and contact details.

The researcher used Howard College because it was in close proximity where she worked and she knew where she would find students. The participants were between 18 and 25 years old. The researcher used Pietermaritzburg campus because this was where she was registered and she knew where she would find students. This is known as purposive sampling because the researcher went out looking for a specific sample. Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to select a sample based on the purpose of the study (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The aim was to produce a sample that was representative of a particular population (female UKZN Zulu students). For the following study, the researcher used purposive snowball sampling (Polit and Hungler, 1999).

For this particular study, the researcher went to Howard College and Pietermaritzburg Campus and distributed fifty questionnaires on each campus with the intention of

finding 6-8 participants to participate in two focus group discussions that were going to be held on both campuses. The reason behind using questionnaires was for the researcher to be able to identify key themes and patterns that will later be discussed in greater detail in the focus group discussions. The researcher aimed at finding out what female Zulu students from UKZN felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman by exploring gender norms that are associated with both sexes.

The researcher is a UKZN Zulu student, who knows other female Zulu UKZN students that were asked to participate in the study. These women were then given the opportunity to refer the researcher to their friends whom they thought would be interested to participate in the study. This is known as snowball sampling (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Snowball sampling is done through the help of participants who are given the opportunity to choose other potential participants (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Snowball sampling was useful because it led to a large number of participants who were able to participate in the study. This method was very useful because the researcher was able to locate specific participants who met the eligibility criteria through word of mouth (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The researcher was able to quickly find the targeted sample at a low cost (Polit and Hungler, 1999).

3.5 Data collection methods

Data collection methods or instruments refer to the devices that are used to collect data such as questionnaires, tests, structured interviews and checklists (Polit and Hungler, 1999). For this study, the researcher used self-administered questionnaires. A questionnaire was chosen with the intention of providing an efficient method of collecting data from a large number of people simultaneously (Rule, 2007). The

process of administering the questionnaires was simple because the format was standardized which meant the participants were able to fill them in quickly and were able to return them immediately. The researcher targeted a specific population (female Zulu UKZN students) to fill in the questionnaire with the intention of becoming participants in focus group discussions. On the questionnaire, the female Zulu students were given an opportunity to state if they wanted to participate in the study, they were given the opportunity to fill in their contact details. The researcher contacted the interested participants asking them when they would be available to participate in the focus group discussion. Based on their availability this is how they were grouped together.

The questionnaire resulted in the researcher receiving a broad range of feedback being collected within a limited time period, with limited cost (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The information was collected in a standardized manner which made it relatively easy to analyze as the participants selected from already existing categories. The aim of the questionnaires was for the researcher to identify what female UKZN students felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman. The questionnaires served as a starting point through which the researcher was able to get an idea of what students felt about the gender roles in Zulu society. The researcher used the feedback from the questionnaires as a guideline and starting point for the focus group discussions. The discussion was based on the key themes and patterns that the researcher identified from the questionnaire feedback. After the questionnaire feedback was obtained, two focus groups discussions were held on the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses. The aim of these focus group discussions was to get a deeper understanding of what female Zulu UKZN students felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman.

The focus group approach allows for open-ended discussions and for the participants to become the subjects of their contributions (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Therefore, the focus group can be defined as a discussion that is carefully planned and designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The general characteristics of the focus group are participant involvement, homogeneity of participants with respect to research interest and discussion focused on a topic, which is determined by the purpose of the research (Polit and Hungler, 1999). Focus group discussions were conducted with female Zulu-speaking students enrolled at the University of KwaZulu Natal Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus. It would have been impossible for the researcher to interview each and every single female Zulu UKZN student at UKZN. The reason behind choosing Howard College and Pietermaritzburg Campus as the area of research is based on the fact that these institutions consist of a number of Zulu-speaking students and is based in KwaZulu Natal. This is done with the intention that these students as a group could arguably be seen to represent the University of KwaZulu Natal at large.

At Howard College, the first focus group consisted of eight participants and the following focus group of six participants. The Pietermaritzburg campus first focus group consisted of eight participants and the second focus group had seven participants. In total the sample consisted of 29 participants. Focus groups are helpful when understanding nuances of people's attitudes, opinions and beliefs in order for the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of what female Zulu UKZN students felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman (Flick, 1998). Focus group discussions rely on the

interactions within groups to add to the information solicited by the researcher that was obtained from the questionnaires. (Polit and Hungler, 1999).

Focus groups were an effective method for the researcher to learn from the participant's views and opinions on what they believe makes a 'good' Zulu woman (Leininger, 1985). The focus group discussions were crafted with the intention of answering the research question 'What do female Zulu UKZN student feels makes a 'good' Zulu woman'. The researcher constructed semi-structured focus group discussions which began with a set of questions (see Appendix 4), but gave the researcher the flexibility to add additional questions based on the participant responses (Leininger, 1985). The reason being, the researcher wanted the discussion to have some sort of guide and standardized procedure in order to ensure that the same questions were asked for all four discussions. The semi-structured focus group discussion allowed the researcher to let the discussion go on if they were still on topic by allowing the discussion to have a natural flow.

As focus group protocol, which was determined by Goeveen (2011), the researcher used a guide in which to direct the discussion and not to control it. The researcher used a semi-structured guide that allowed freedom to guide the participants towards discussing what they felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman. The data that was collected represented the perceptions, meanings and interpretations of the participants (Polit and Hungler, 1999). The purpose of the semi-structured schedule was to establish themes and patterns amongst the participant's discussion responses allowing the researcher to gain a deeper insight on some of the issues that emerged (Polit and

Hungler, 1999). Focus group discussions proved to be advantageous for this study as the time to collect the data was limited (Creswell, 2007).

3.6 Data analysis

The main point in qualitative data analysis is categorizing and questioning. After the questionnaire feedback and focus group discussions were transcribed the researcher searched the data for emerging key categories. The researcher searched for repetitive themes in the questionnaire feedback that were later used to develop questions for the focus group discussions (these can be noted in Appendix 4).

As in focus group protocol stated by Flick (1998), a discussion guide and the instruments for coding the data were pre-determined. The researcher had pre-determined coding (themes) that were expected to arise from the data collected. The predetermined themes were transcribed. These themes were extracted from existing literature. Anticipated themes included characteristics for a ‘good’ Zulu woman and the characteristics of a ‘good’ Zulu man (as can be seen in Table 3). The researcher created tables (codes) for the predetermined themes and within the table created storylines that explained what each of the codes meant. These themes can be seen in Table 3.

<u>Anticipated characteristics of a ‘good’ Zulu man</u>	<u>Anticipated characteristics of a ‘good’ Zulu woman</u>
1. Breadwinner	1. Subservient
2. Provider	2. Passive
3. Independent	3. Subordination

4. Leader (He is in control)	4. Domestic chores/ maintains the household
5. Decision maker	5. Submissive (knows her place)
6. Dominant role	6. Supportive
7. Brave	7. Child baring/ raises children
8. Ambitious	8. Loving/caring
9. Strong	9. Strong
10. Head of the household.	10. Respectful

Table 3 – Anticipated Roles of Zulu Men and Women

All data pertaining to participant conclusions needed to be sifted out by the researcher and compared with the above traits. This was accomplished by using coding (Creswell, 2007). According to Creswell (2007), codes explain where and how patterns from within the data. Codes reduce by collapsing data into labels that create categories. The researcher grouped similar ideas from the focus group discussions under one heading, giving the label a descriptive label (code). The aim was to identify themes and patterns that kept reoccurring in the data (Creswell, 2009). The emerging themes were placed in correlation to the pre-determined themes that was taken from the already existing literature.

3.7 Limitations

Due to the time constraint of having to complete this dissertation in two years' time, the researcher was limited to having two focus group sessions per campus as a result the sample was limited. The researcher could only use women, if the researcher had more time, this dissertation could have looked at what Zulu men feel makes a 'good' Zulu woman and then compare their responses to what the women have said.

Due to the time constraint the researcher was limited to having two focus group sessions on each campus, if the researcher had more time, she would have opted to have follow up focus group discussions, as this would have resulted in obtaining wider responses from the participants. Due to the time constraints the researcher had to close certain questions in order to make time for all the questions that were set out to be answered by this research project.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter described the research design, data collection and data analysis and limitations of this study. These are the main points with regards to research design and methodology that were taken into consideration when carrying out this study. The next chapter will bring some important conclusions reached on the basis of the data collected by the means of data collection strategies that have been described.

Chapter 4 - Data analysis and discussion

4.1 Introduction

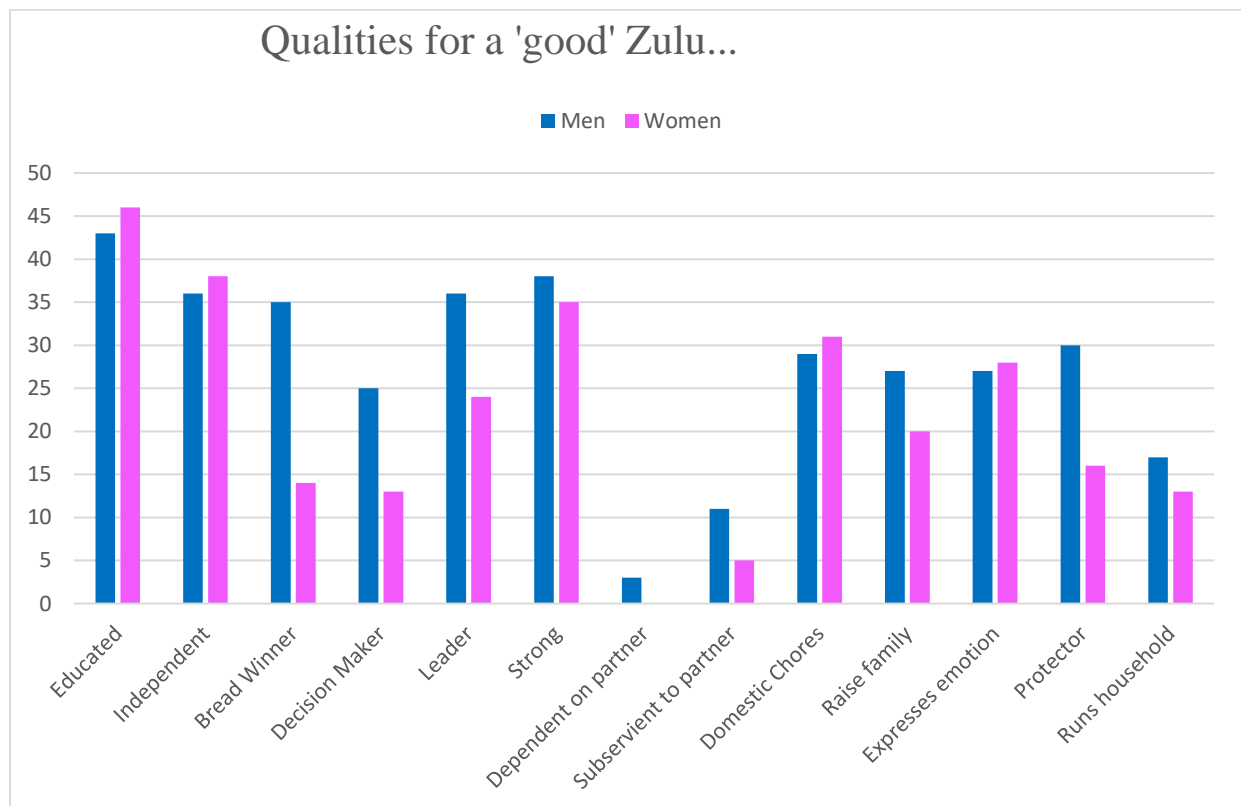
The aim of this dissertation was to find out what female Zulu UKZN students felt made a ‘good’ Zulu woman and if there were any key differences between women on different UKZN campuses. The aim was to compare what UKZN Zulu students felt makes a ‘good’ Zulu woman in comparison to what other researchers have looked identified as the characteristics of a ‘good’ Zulu woman.

As already established in Chapter Two, gender roles can be understood as those set of norms that communicate what is generally appropriate for each sex (Burn, 1996). These gender norms dictate traditional gender roles for men and women (Burn, 1996). From these gender roles certain characteristics are reflected of what it means to be male or female. Therefore, according to Burn (1996) gender roles are everything that an individual thinks, feels, and says that shows themselves and other people that they are either a man or a woman. Researchers such as Ngubane (2010), Robert (1998), Rudwick, and Shange (2002) all seem to agree that in order for a Zulu woman to be considered a ‘good’ Zulu woman she has to have certain characteristics and attributes that derive from Zulu culture. These include being kind, humble and nurturing. She needs to be able to do domestic chores, maintain the household and be subservient to her husband and in laws.

In order to test these assumptions data was collected through the use of questionnaires and focus group discussions. The researcher administered 50 questionnaires to female Zulu UKZN students at Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus.

4.2 Questionnaire data analysis:

The aim of the questionnaires was to determine what characteristics female students felt should be attributed to Zulu men and women. The following graph labelled graph 1 discloses how many students from Howard College selected each characteristic for what they think a 'good' Zulu woman and a 'good' Zulu man needs to be. The blue lines represent men and the pink line represents women. The students were given the option of being able to choose more than one characteristic for each question.



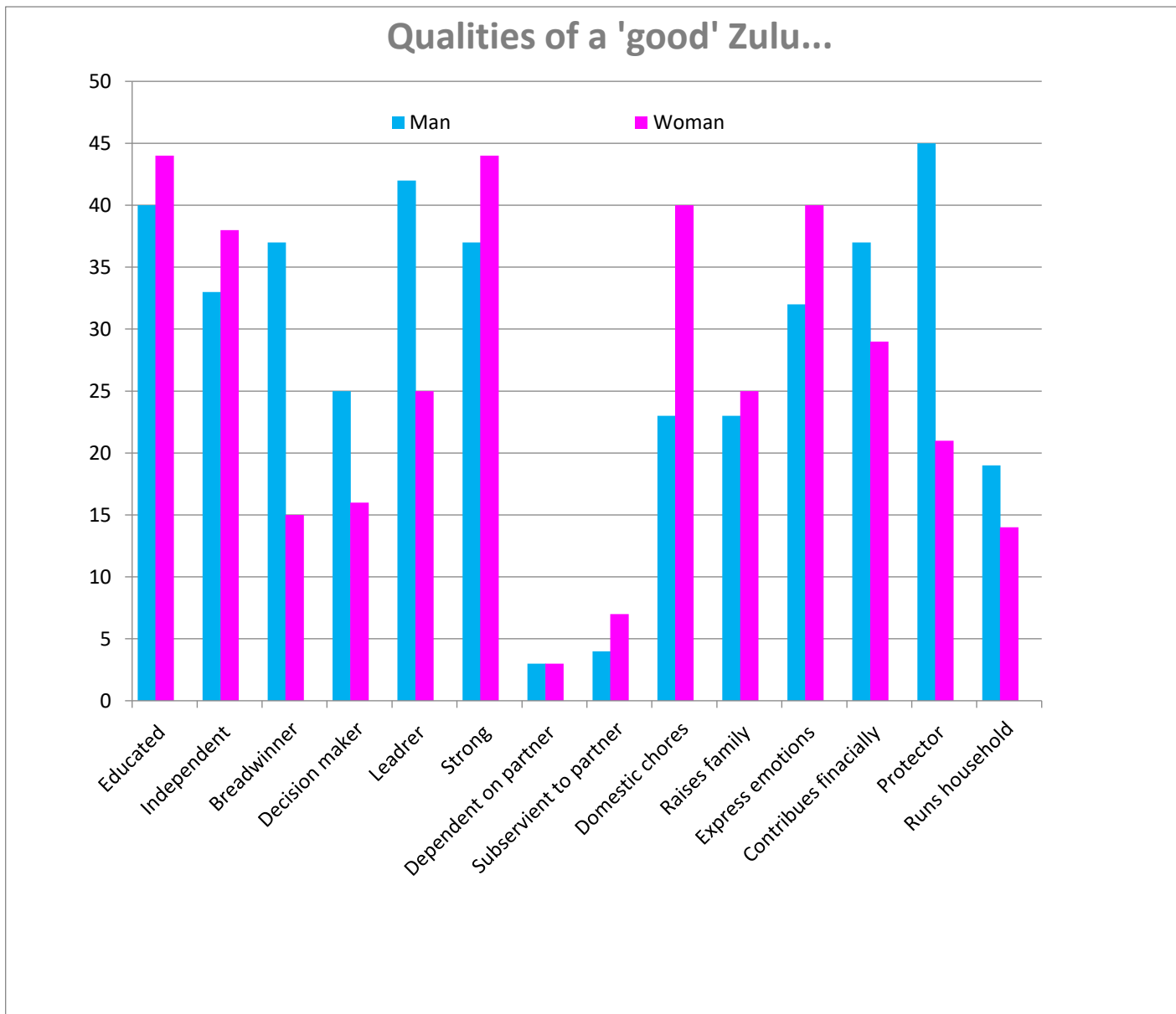
Graph 1

Using gender characteristics outlined by Crespi (2003), Burn (2005), Mpungose (2010), Robert (1998) and Shange (2002) participants were asked to tick which of these traits were most important when identifying a 'good' Zulu woman and a 'good' Zulu man. Overall, the findings

were quite similar, with most participants answering that most characteristics needed to be held by both men and women. However, two important findings appear to contradict other researcher's regarding gender roles for Zulu men and women. Firstly, it was established in Chapter 2 that Zulu women should be responsible for both the household and raising a family (Crespi, 2003; Burn, 2005; Mpungose, 2010; Robert, 1998 and Shange, 2002). However, findings from the Howard College campus showed that Zulu women were more likely to list this characteristic as part of being a 'good' Zulu man rather than a woman. As seen in Graph 1, 27 out of 50 participants stated that men should be responsible for raising the family, in contrast to 20 who believed that it was a woman's job. Participants understood the concept of raising the family as being responsible for making sure that the children needs are taken care of and they are raised in a loving home. Additionally, 17 of the participants believed that it was a man's job to complete the household chores in relation to 13 who believed it was a woman's role.

Secondly, while a small number of participants (5) believed that women should be subservient to their husbands, more believed that men should be subservient to their wives (11). Such findings challenge Shange (2005) and Robert's (1998) argument as these results point to a declined shift in the expectations of who should be in control. Additionally, none of the participants believed that women should be dependent on their husbands, while (3) respondents thought that a 'good' Zulu man should depend on his wife. However, 70% of the respondents also indicated that a 'good' man should be the breadwinner for a family, while less than 30% believed that it was a woman's role to be a provider. Therefore, these results highlight that Zulu women at Howard College believe that there are few characteristic traits, which can be assigned

to any particular gender, but they still believe that it is a man's role to provide for his wife and family.



Graph 2

The findings from the PMB campus were quite similar to those from Howard College, with most participants answering that most characteristics needed to be held by men and women. However,

there were some important findings that appear to contradict the established gender roles discussed in Chapter 2.

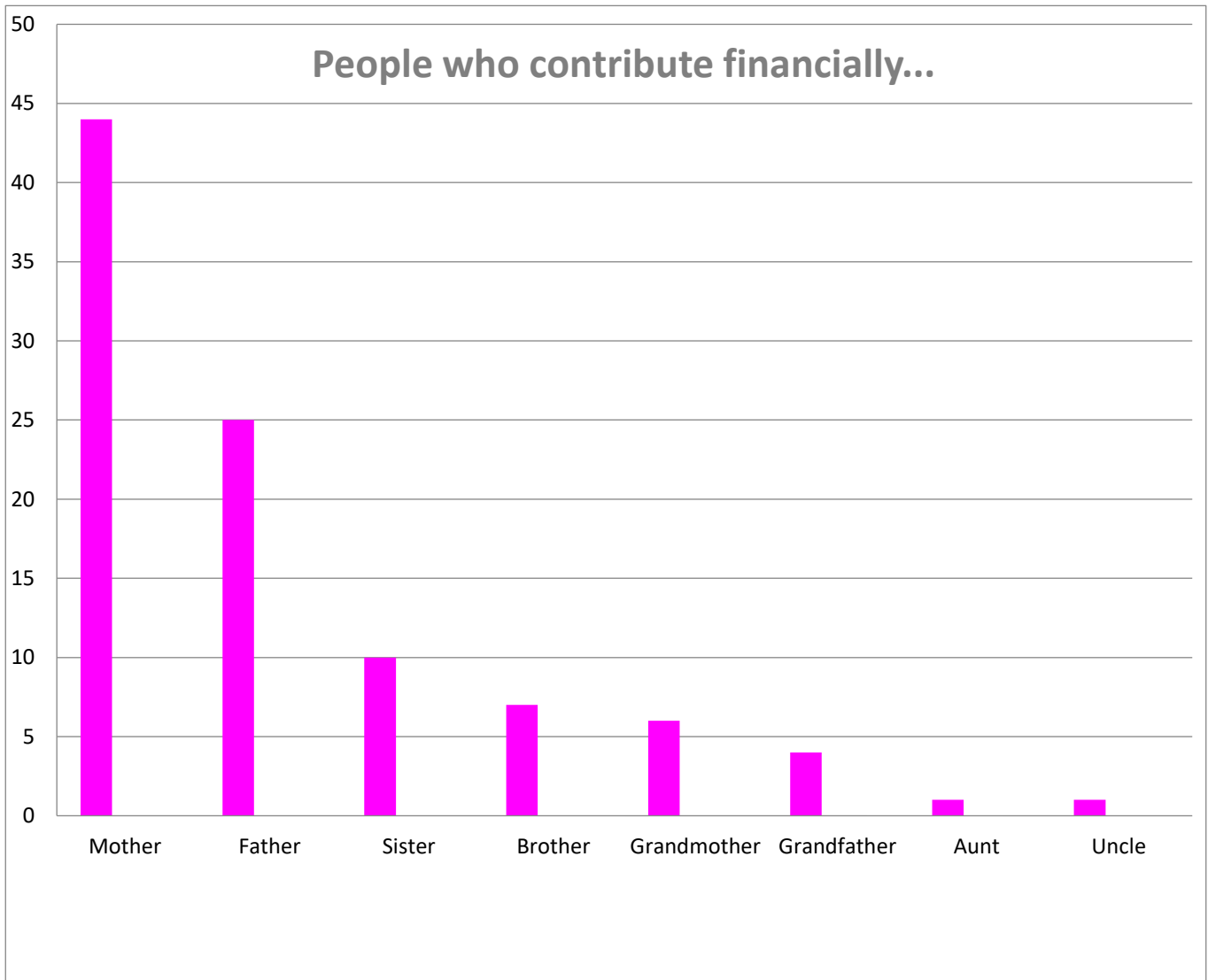
Findings from the Pietermaritzburg campus showed that more participants (25) agreed that raising a family and being responsible for the household is a women's job, 23 participants understanding contradicts Crespi (2003), Burn (2005), Robert (1998), and Shange (2002) as this shows that there is a shift of gender roles in the Zulu culture. Secondly, while a small number of participants (4) believed that men should be subservient to their wives, more believed women should be subservient to their husbands. Such findings agree with earlier research. Additionally, 3 participants believed that women should be dependent on their husbands, while another 3 participants believed that men should be dependent on their wives. Such findings contradict earlier work to a small degree as these results point to a shift in the expectations of which spouse should be depended on. However, these results highlight an interesting difference between Zulu women on the Pietermaritzburg campus and Howard College: PMB women tend to value traditional gender roles more highly than Howard College participants. This can be due to the fact that PMB students come from rural areas when compared to Howard College students who live in more urbanized areas. This is to be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Most of the students who filled in my questionnaires from both campuses said that they believe a man needs to be the breadwinner for his family; however, the same students stated that their mothers, sisters and grandmothers are the ones who are breadwinners at home. This interesting discrepancy was raised in the focus group discussions and will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

The researcher also identified that students from both campuses felt that women needed to be more educated and independent than men. Forty-six participants said from Howard College said that women need to be educated and only 43 said that a man needs to be educated. Forty-four participants from PMB said that a woman needs to be educated while 42 said that a man needs to be educated. Overall the researcher was able to identify that participants felt that individuals need an education, but woman need it more. The researcher wanted to find out the reasons behind this, and again used this information as a guiding point in the focus group discussion.

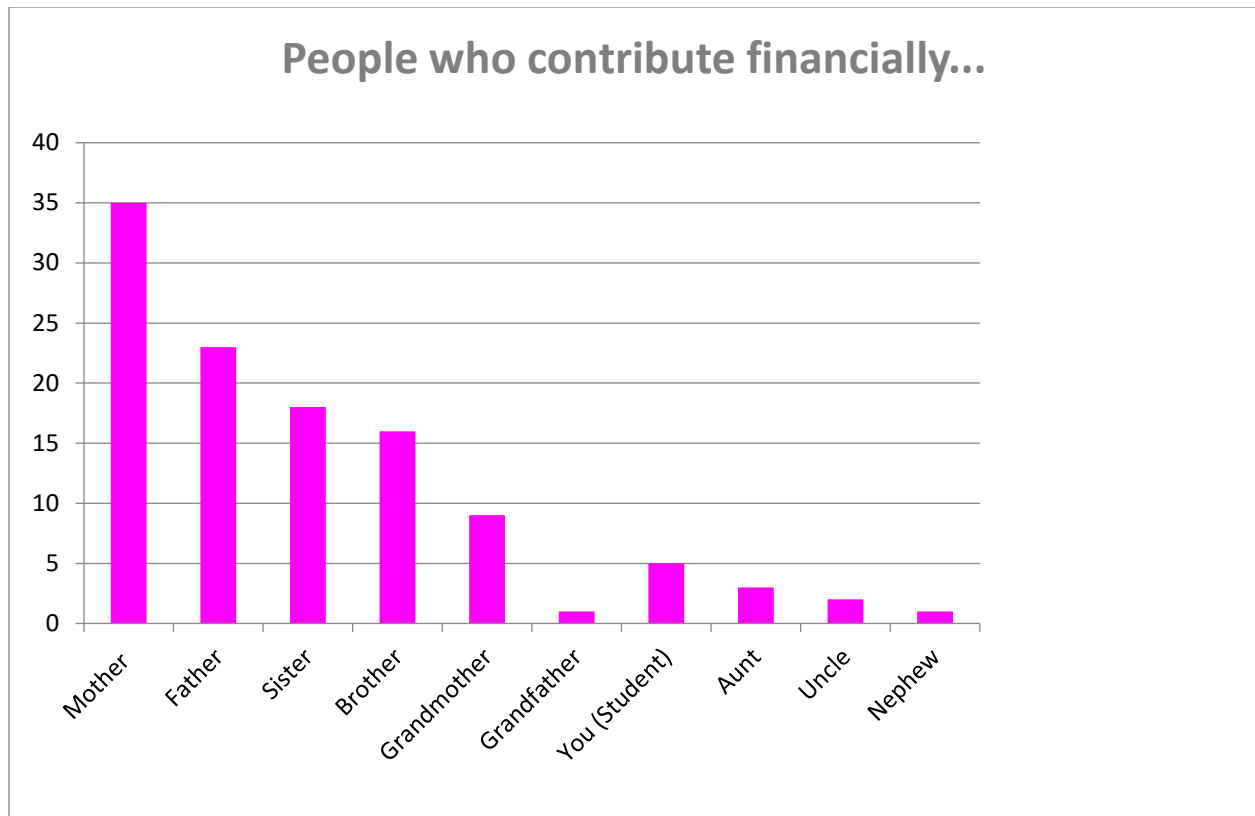
In terms of spouse dependence, a crucial element of gender roles according to Shange (2002) was not that important to participants. Three students from Howard College said that a man needs to be the one who is dependent on his wife, whereas no participants said that a wife needs to be dependent on her husband. As discussed in Chapter 2, the man is meant to be the provider to support his family as they depend on him and yet there was little evidence from participants that they thought a woman needs to depend on her husband.

One final characteristic which was highlighted continuously by participants was that of strength. Thirty-nine participants from Howard College felt that a man needs to be strong and 34 felt that a Zulu woman needs to be strong. In Pietermaritzburg, 44 participants felt that a Zulu woman needs to strong and only 36 felt that a man needs to be strong. This tells us that participants from Howard College felt that a man needs to be the one who is strong in the household whereas, participants PMB felt that a woman needs to be strong in the household.



Graph 3

Based on previous research by Crespi (2003), Burn (2005), Mpungose (2010), Robert (1998) and Shange (2002), men are considered to be the providers and the breadwinners in Zulu households. However, 44 out of 50 students at Howard College selected their mothers as the breadwinners of their families. Fathers were only considered a contributor in 22 cases while students claimed that their sisters were more likely than brothers to contribute financially to their households. Grandmothers were also listed more likely to contribute than grandfathers.



Graph 4

The pattern of results for PMB students regarding financial contributors to a household was similar to Howard College, as can be noted in graph 4. It was found that 35/50 students selected their mothers as the ones who were supporting their families financially. Fathers were only reported as being breadwinners 23 times and sisters and grandmothers out performed brothers and grandfathers. As was evident in the responses from Howard College, women are always leading in supporting their families financially. These results challenge previous findings as the focus group discussions were used as a tool to find out why women have become the breadwinners because this is a man's job.

4.3 Data analysis

4.3.1 Focus group Discussions - Introduction

In order to unpack the findings from the questionnaires focus group discussions were held at the University of KwaZulu Natal Pietermaritzburg Campus; the first group consisted of eight participants and the second of seven participants. Another two focus group discussions were held on the Howard College campus; the first group consisted of eight participants and the second of six participants. In order to analyze data, the researcher read the interviews and aimed to answer the research questions by pulling out what was important, linking it back to the literature review and looking for connections between the data and already existing literature. The researcher aimed to find information that was repetitive by trying to identify patterns and differences from the data. They were placed into different themes under the anticipated themes and new emerging themes that the researcher identified. The researcher transcribed the interactions and then read (and re-read) the transcripts and listened to the recordings. Initial ideas were noted down and placed into themes. This was done so the researcher could have a comprehensive understanding of the content of the interaction and familiarized herself with all aspects of the data in order to answer the main research question.

4.3.2 Gender roles and culture

<u>Anticipated characteristics of a 'good' Zulu woman</u>	<u>New emerging characteristics of a 'good' Zulu woman</u>
1. Subservient/ Submissive	1. Subservient (does this willingly)
2. Passive	2. God fearing
3. Subordination	3. Subordination
4. Domestic chores/ maintains the	4. Domestic chores/ maintains the

household	household
5. Knows her place Man- Head of the household Woman- Plays subordinate role	5. Knows her place Man- Head of the household Woman- Plays subordinate role
6. Supportive	6. Supportive
7. Child baring/ raises children	7. Child baring/ raises children
8. Loving/caring/ nurturing	8. Loving, caring, nurturing
9. Strong	9. Educated/ Independent
10. Respectful	10. Leadership qualities in the workplace.

Table 4– Anticipated Roles of Zulu Women and Emerging Roles of Zulu Women

As was reflected in the conclusions pertaining to my questionnaires, participants from Pietermaritzburg campus in my focus group highlighted that there were gender norms associated with Zulu men and women. Table 4 highlights the anticipated gender norms that were extracted from chapter two and the emerging gender norms that were extracted from the focus group discussions. Based on previous research by Crespi (2003), Burn (2005), Mpungose (2010), Robert (1998) and Shange (2002) a ‘good’ Zulu woman is submissive and plays a subordinate role in the household. She performs domestic chores and takes care of the household. She knows her place and allows the man to lead as the head of the household. A ‘good’ Zulu woman is a loving, nurturing, caring, respectful, strong mother. As seen in table four these were the anticipated gender norms. Participants from all focus groups had their own personal ideas of what they thought a ‘good’ Zulu woman is.

Participant 2 highlighted that when a Zulu man marries a woman, there is a certain level of expectation in terms of how he should look after his family. She stated that once married, he is expected to “either maintain the standard [of lifestyle] that your parents raised you or make an improvement” (Participant 2). All other participants agreed with this statement, emphasizing that the need to provide for one’s family is key to the expectations of a husband and father in Zulu households. Participants discussed how, as the head of the family, a Zulu man needs to be able to support his family’s needs, ensure that they are able to live comfortably and do not lack for anything. However, even though participants agreed that a man should provide for his family, there was a certain amount of resistance in terms of his authority. Participant 4, for example, found that Zulu men expect things to be done in certain ways within a household because he considers himself to be the one in charge, but she was reluctant in believing that a man should hold all the power, stating that Zulu men “are very patriarchal [...] and I don’t want somebody who will treat me like that” (Participant 4).

4.3.2.1 Submissive (knows her place) and God fearing

Interestingly students from Howard College seem more likely to accept gender norms even though many had implied differently in questionnaires. Participants from Howard College felt that a Zulu woman needs to be submissive to her husband, but she should do this willingly as a sign of respect for her husband as the head of the household. Participants felt that a Zulu woman needs to understand that she has a responsibility that was given to her by God to respect, submit and take care of her husband. Participants agreed that a Zulu woman has to be submissive because “the Bible states that somewhere in Ephesians, a woman needs to submit to her husband. I know that we have equal rights, but even in the Bible in Genesis 2, God created Adam and then

Eve. Then He said, Eve shall be his helper. God gave us the responsibility, He trusted us with this responsibility” (Participant 1). Interestingly, participants used the Bible (a western text) to reinforce traditional (Zulu) gender norms. Participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to abide by the rules that are set out by a western text even though they are South African Zulu women.

Participants from Howard College felt that Zulu women need to submit to their husbands regardless of their status, it is a woman’s duty to submit to her husband as the head of the family. “I think submissive is not being a slave, but doing it willingly. We are not meant to be equal, the Bible does not refer to Adam and Eve as being equal, but Eve was his helper. So you are helping your husband to be what God has ordained him to be” (Participant 4). It was evident to the researcher that participants from Howard College drew what is expected of women in relation to the Bible and western text. Interestingly, participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that is God fearing and lives her life according to what the Bible says, so it is not necessarily linked to traditional Zulu values per say. Consequently, it can be argued that ‘traditional’ Zulu values have become intertwined with values of Western religion, making it difficult to assess purely Zulu cultural traits.

Participants from Howard College felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be submissive to her husband willingly and participants from Pietermaritzburg campus agreed with this.

Pietermaritzburg students also felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be submissive and know her place. They agreed that they should be “submissive in the sense that that I know the man of the house and it is not that I allow him to walk over me, I know my place as a woman and he

knows his place as a man” (Participant 3). Participants from both campuses discussed that the man needs to know his place and play the dominant father role and the woman needs to know her place by playing the submissive mother role. One could argue that parenting roles are equal to gender roles.

4.3.2.2 Leadership qualities in the workplace

Participants from Pietermaritzburg campuses also agreed with Howard College participants by reinforcing that part of woman should be submissive to listen and communicate with her husband. She needs to respect and know how to step down and compromise in order for there to be peace at home. However, one of the participants from Pietermaritzburg challenged this view as she felt Zulu women are the only ones who compromise and submit. She felt that being submissive is one sided and is not fair as men dominate in their relationships and have their way. She argued that woman tend to agree with everything that their husbands say and are voiceless in their own homes. She felt that these women are being taken advantage of as, “she needs to always agree with everything all the time, that is today’s submissiveness and this is what I see”(Participant 6).

However, even though most students argued that women should be submissive in the home, participants from Howard College, also felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to have leadership qualities in the workplace. “We have come from a past of inequalities. We need to go into a place where we are empowering black women and getting them into leadership positions” (Participant 3). Participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent so that she can be able to dominate in the workplace and acquire leadership positions at work.

Participants felt that this does not contradict who she is at home. At home, she needs to know her place as a woman who is able to step down and submit to her husband, her husband is the head of the household and she needs to give him his place when she comes home. At work, she should be goal driven, ambitious, independent, successful, and a leader. “Your education is your back bone; education does not make you a better wife” (Participant 3). Participants explained that when you get home your place your degrees aside and perform your duties as a wife. This contradiction can be due to the different gender roles that students are exposed to in the public and private aspects of their lives. At home, they are taught that a ‘good’ Zulu woman occupies a subservient position within the household. These women grow up knowing the man is the head of the household and he is in charge of making all of the important decisions in the household. The woman is responsible for taking care of the household and raising the children. African women have internalized this mountain that Mickel (1979) refers to as African women’s own inferiority complex. Zulu women have internalized patriarchal ideologies and think that the only place they can make decisions is outside of the household in the working environment. This is why they believe that education does not make you a better wife. According to these students, what makes you a ‘good’ Zulu wife is playing a subordinate role to your husband.

4.3.2.3 Educated and Independent

All of the focus group discussions from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses emphasized that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated. She should be able to live the same lifestyle with or without her man. The husband should provide for his family because that is his duty as the man of the house but a Zulu woman should be able to carry on providing for herself if he had to die or leave her. This is why they felt that she needs to be highly educated. “I feel that I

want to be independent, I want to also depend on my man, but just in case he does not treat me right, I want to have something to fall back on” (Participants 5). The participants from Howard College explained that an undedicated woman is looked down on; she does not get any respect from her husband and the community. Participants felt that an uneducated woman depends on her husband to take care of her financially and this is when problems arise. “Let us be together because we want to be together. I should not be obliged to be with him because he works a better job and he is the one who takes care of me” (Participant 2). According to Mickel, (1979).

African women have six mountains on their backs (as discussed in chapter 2). Poverty/ class, lack of education, oppressive traditional practices, men/sexism, colonialism, racism and African women’s own inferiority complex. Oppressive traditional practices refer to certain traditional African heritage, which keep women in subjection. Once the men have paid *ilobolo* (bride’s price), they assume that they own women. This has led to Zulu women being exploited and abused. Participants are trying to break away from this mountain that African women face by educating themselves so that if ever they are being exploited and abused by their husbands they have the means to leave and go start a new life for themselves and their children. Poverty is the most oppressive aspect of African women’s oppression (Mickel, 1979b). African’s women poverty is linked to the poverty masses on the continent and it is a product of colonialism. The effects of colonialism can be seen in the educational, economic and social patterns of African women. Participants discussed this in relation to them seeing education as an escape from poverty. They feel that a Zulu woman needs to be educated in order to escape the mountain of poverty. Participants are trying to break away from their role in society being placed in a more dependent economic position.

Participants from Howard College explained that if she is so dependent on her husband to do everything for her, he begins to think that she cannot survive or live without him so he ill-treats her, abuses her and cheats on her because he knows she cannot survive without him. “If a woman is uneducated, that woman depends on her man, usually what happens is that man will take advantage of that woman” (Participant 7). By having a job and education a woman does not undermine her husband. The man is still the head of the household and the provider but the woman also contributes to their comfortable lifestyle by helping him out. “You can’t expect your husband to be paying for your children’s education, your cars, the bond and the children. We need to help each other” (Participant 4). Participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman also puts food on the table; she pays the bills and meets her husband half way.

Both campuses felt that in order for them to be taken seriously as women by their husbands and communities they needed to be educated. Participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated in order for her to gain her independence from being dependent on a man to do everything for her. Students discussed that their parents are the ones who are pushing them to further their education in order for them to be independent and not find themselves having to depend on their husbands like they did. “I think she needs to be educated because at the end of the day she needs to be independent. If you want to be independent, you need some sort of education so that you can build some sort of empire for yourself” (Participants 6). Participants explained the reason behind their parents pushing them to get an education is based on the fact that because their parents are uneducated they were forced to work as maids or to work in factories, earning a low-income salary. This led to their mothers being disempowered as participants explained that if you are uneducated as a young Zulu woman you are most likely to

find yourself being dependent on a man. They did not want this for their children so they made sure that they sent them to tertiary in order to ensure they are able to get higher paying jobs.

Participants from Howard College discussed that they do not want to depend on a man even if they can. Education is an important tool for the modern Zulu women to get a job and generate an income for themselves. Participants from Howard College discussed that a modern Zulu woman is educated, independent and self-reliant. Most of the participants stated that they are not traditional Zulu women. Being at university has changed their perception of what a ‘good’ Zulu woman is. Participants from Howard College felt that a traditional Zulu woman is voiceless and that is why they do not consider themselves traditional Zulu women. They discussed that education has given them a voice as Zulu women. They are able to express their views and opinions and challenge matters they do not agree with. Participants from both campuses felt that a traditional Zulu woman is naïve. She puts her husband’s needs before hers. “A traditional Zulu woman takes care of her husband to the extent that she takes out his under garments for him that he is going to wear” (Participant 3). Participants from Pietermaritzburg felt that a traditional Zulu woman takes care of everybody but not herself. They felt that she is taken advantage off. The researcher was able to identify a pattern here; both campuses felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent. The reason behind this is that they felt that an uneducated Zulu woman is dependent on her husband to do everything for her. Participants did not want this because they felt that men take advantage of women who are dependent on them and cannot provide for themselves.

“Our generation has been drilled to believe that education is the way” (Participant 5). This is mountain Mickel (1979b) talks about, the mountain of poverty/class and lack of education. Because these participants are ‘born frees’, they are born in the post-apartheid era and have the opportunity of education. Whereas Zulu women did not, their mothers and grandmothers who grew up during apartheid and did not have the opportunity to go to school. They are the ones who have encouraged these participants to go to school and further their education. They explained that they do not come from rich backgrounds where they can be given money to start their own businesses or have parents who can support them financially. They come from nothing so they feel that they need to educate themselves so that they have a better chance of improving their situation at home. “We do not look at other things that we can fall back on but education. We think that in order to succeed we need to be educated” (Participant 4). Participants from both campuses felt that their education is their escape from poverty and being dependent on a man. “Education is important; I feel that we get educated to get a better job. Stability is the driving force because we want to be stable by the time we are thirty” (Participant 1). Participants felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman furthers her education so that she can be dependent on herself before she gets married. When she does get married, her husband will take care of the family finances but just in case their marriage does not work out, she can take care of herself and her children. Participants want to be independent but still aspire for marriage. This shows a conflict of identity mentioned in Chapter two by Chiang (2010) and Mickel (1979b) mountain of African’s women own inferiority complex. These Zulu women have conflict in their identities because culturally they are brought up to think that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one who aspires to marriage. Zulu women’s own negative self-image cultivated by centuries of being socialized as being the subordinate. This has contributed to African’s women negative self-image.

Participants argued that in order for a Zulu woman to be considered a ‘good’ Zulu woman she needs to be married and play her subordinate role. At school, they are taught from a Westernized perspective that women are strong, independent, career driven and ambitious. This is why these women are undecided as to which path to follow. They aspire for marriage but also want to be educated and independent women in the working environment. Zulu women have mixed identities, which are contradictory to one another. It is through the centuries of being socialized that these women have internalized Zulu patriarchal ideologies and Western ideologies.

Interestingly, Mickel (1979) suggest that these women should be educated and informed about their positions and why they are oppressed thus enabling them to make informed decisions as to whether they want to join the struggle for a better deal in the socio-economic political societies in African societies. The study selected to use female Zulu university students because Zulu culture does not value education for women so the researcher wanted to focus on how educated females understand gender roles. It is interesting to see that educated Zulu women feel that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that conforms to patriarchal Zulu customs and plays a subordinate role regardless of her being educated.

Based on the questionnaire feedback, the researcher found that most of the breadwinners who were financially supporting the families of students were women, but the students in the focus groups felt that the breadwinner should be a man and not a woman. Participants explained that there has been a shift from these gender norms due to the disappointments that Zulu women have faced from men. Men have not been fulfilling their duties and women have had to step up and take care of their families by performing the domestic and financial duties in the household. “Women have faced so many disappointments, this goes back to our grandmothers and great

grandmothers. Throughout all of these generations, we have learned to be independent based on what they went through. Women have had to learn to do things on their own” (Participant 1).

Participants from Howard College explained that husbands would cheat on their wives; fathers would not be able to provide for their families so they would leave home to look for work and this resulted in the women being left at home. Participants explained that because their mothers were so dependent on their fathers, the fathers would begin mistreating their mothers because of this dependency. Participants from the Pietermaritzburg campus explained that these men are ‘sugar daddies’ for younger women and explained that these old men you find in clubs paying young girls to party have wives at home, but know they will never leave because they are dependent on them. Participants discussed that this is what many Zulu women have faced or are facing in their families. Their mothers had to step up and pick up the pieces for the absent fathers. “What is happening these days is that women are the ones who are taking care of the household domestically and financially. The men are there for show” (Participant 2). Participants from both campuses agreed that so many of their mothers, aunts and grandmothers found themselves in situations where they are living double lives. They would go to work during the day in order to generate an income and insure that the family was financially stable. After work, they needed to come back home and ensure that the household is maintained and the domestic chores were done.

Participants from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses also pointed out that you find fathers who did not leave, but they were not fulfilling their duties or providing for their families either from outside you see a family doing well and you assume that the father is the one who is

maintaining that household financially by ensuring that the bills are paid and the children are sent to school. However, in reality it is the mothers who are paying for the children's school fees and ensuring that there is food, electricity and that bills are paid. These women make it seem as if their husbands are providing when in actual fact it is them. "You find that it is the woman who is pushing the man to look like the man to the outside world but she is doing what is expected of him" (Participant 2). Participants from Pietermaritzburg explained that even when women do the things that men should be doing like paying the bills, men still remain the head of the household and takes the credit for it. It is her duty to him as his wife not to tarnish his reputation by showing the community that she is the ones who is providing for her family. "She portrays him to be the man, but underneath the woman is the one who is running the household" (Participant 2). Participants explained that if she works and he does not then she has to come back home and give him the money as the head of the house. "You have the money, but when it is time to pay, you give your man and he will be the one to pay" (Participant 4). Participants explained that a 'good' Zulu woman puts her man first, she respects him enough not to make him look like he is not man enough to the outside world, this stays between the two of them and not even their children know.

One of the participants from Pietermaritzburg explained that for a very long time she thought that her father was the one who was supporting her family only to find out later that it was her mother. She explained to the group that her father left her mother because of this. "In most black families, you find that the woman is the one who is making the money [...]. With my situation, my mother also paid for everything for me and my dad ended up leaving my mom because of that. He felt that she had more power than he did, he was feeling threatened by her.

He felt that he needed to find another wife that was submissive, that was not making more money than him. It was not that she was not being submissive to him, or doing what was expected of her. He was feeling threatened by the fact that she was making more money. She was bringing more things into the household than he was. I feel like that made him feel like less than a man” (Participant 4). Participants from Pietermaritzburg explained that the one who has the money is the one who has the power and this reason behind when the woman is the one who is providing financially. She is meant to hide it from the outside world by making it seem like he is the one who is providing and he is the one who is in control.

Participants discussed that money is a form of power and control. A woman cannot display that she has the power to provide for her family on her own. This leads to the man losing his status as a man and the head of the house. She needs to respect her husband enough to cover up for him by pretending that he is fulfilling his duties. “This goes down to the fact that a Zulu woman should not have more power than her man. That is a Zulu man; he doesn’t believe that a woman should be more financially stable than he is” (Participant 1). Participants discussed that because of the gender norms that are embedded in Zulu culture, a man is considered to be the provider. He is the one who is meant to provide for his family. According to the participants, Zulu men do not believe that a Zulu woman should be the one who provides. When a Zulu man for whatever reason cannot provide for his family, problems arise at home. Participants explained that the man begins to feel like less of a man and starts to notice things that are not there. He begins to feel like the woman is not submitting to him and giving him his place as the head of the house. With some people, participants said, when that happens the man begins to notice little things that are unnecessary because he is feeling like less of a man. ‘The wife might come home with a new

microwave, the man will ask her why did you not tell me, I would have tried to buy it myself, knowing very well that he cannot afford it' (Participant 2). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity theory is a social-psychological theory, which aims to explain cognitions and the behavior of people with the help of group processes. The theory has to do with people becoming part of different groups and how membership of these groups influences our identities (as seen in chapter two). Social categorization looks at the way in which people put others and themselves into categories such as sex, gender, race, class status and ethnicity. Zulu women are a group of people who belong to the Zulu culture. Zulu cultural traditions and customs state that a Zulu woman is subordinate to her husband. Her duties involve maintaining the household and raising the children. The husband is the head of the household, the one who makes all of the important decisions and the provider of the household. It is his duty to make sure that his family's financial needs are met. According to the social identity theory, individuals achieve a positive self-esteem and self-enhancement if they are doing, what is expected based on their 'in-group' (Zulu gender roles). This is the main reason as to why these women who are providing for their families are hiding it from their communities. They are playing the role of the man and this goes against their cultural or traditional beliefs.

Participants from Howard College discussed that, "we have depended more on the men in the past and everybody is in the process of trying to correct the mistakes of the past" (Participant 3). Participants explained this is why their mothers have sent them to university in order to ensure that their future is secure. If one day their husbands decide to leave, they can be strong women who can pick up the pieces and take care of themselves and their families.

“We have been taught how to cook and clean so that one day when we get married, we know these things” (Participant 3). Participants from both campuses explained that their mothers want them to marry for love and not because they need somebody who can provide for them. Participants explained that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that enters into a marriage with the ability to provide for herself so that the man knows that even though he is going to provide for her, she has the ability to do it for herself. “Our parents are the ones who groom us to be independent” (Participant 3). Participants discussed that they have to go school. Their parents try to ensure that they send them to university to get an education.

However, even though parents want these students to go to university, participants also stressed that their parents want them to get married and to have children. “Our parents send us to school because they know that if your marriage does not work out, you will have something to fall back on” (Participant 3). Participants from both campuses explained their parents do not want them depending on their husbands like they did. Participants from Pietermaritzburg explained that their parents are trying to correct the mistakes of the past by sending them to school. They are breaking away from the stereotypical view that a young girl marries in order to ensure that she is taken care of by her wealthy husband. Education is seen as a way out of potentially abusive marriages. “You know the saying, when I have children; I want my children to have everything I did not have, that is what our parents are doing that is what women are doing” (Participant 3). Participants explained that their mothers did everything to ensure that their children received a better life and an education in order for them to be able to be strong, independent Zulu women though participants from both campuses felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that get marries and has her own family.

4.3.2.4 Perform domestic chores and maintain the household

As mentioned above, students agreed that there are social expectations for Zulu women to get married. They discussed that from a young age they are taught how to do domestic chores in the household such as cooking, cleaning and doing the washing so that when they get married they are ready for it. “Our grandparents ask us, when are you getting married, where will you get married if you cannot cook and clean” (Participant 4). Participants from Howard College explained that they are groomed from early childhood to become “good” Zulu women. “As a Zulu woman you grow up knowing that you need to do domestic chores and take care of the household chores, they are a norm” (Participant 4). They are brought up thinking that one day they need to make a ‘good’ wife. “If you are unmarried you are not a Zulu woman; you are not classified a Zulu woman” (Participant 1). They grow up being taught to aspire and to prepare for marriage.

Interestingly, the same applies for men according to participants “if a man is not married, they do not respect him as much as they respect a married man” (Participant 5). Most of the participants agreed with the gender norms outlined in discussions in Chapter 2. Participants felt that a Zulu man needs to be the one who is able to provide financial security and stability for his family. “He needs to provide!” (Participant 6). They all felt that it was the man’s job to ensure that his family was taken care of. “He needs to work hard, generating results, stability is number one” (Participant 3). Even though they feel that a Zulu woman needs to have the ability to provide for herself, they all seem to feel that the man needs to be the one who is providing for his family. He needs to fulfill his duty as a man even though his wife can also do it. Participants felt

that she can help but he must be the one who plays the dominant role in providing for his family. Participants from both campuses felt that as the head of the family a man needs be powerful in the sense that he is able to support his family has needs and make sure that they are living comfortably and are not lacking in any way. If he cannot do this, participants said that he cannot be characterized as a ‘good’ Zulu man. Participants felt that the man is the head of the family, he is in charge of the family and he dictates what will happen. A Zulu man is a man that provides for his family by ensuring that they are financially stable and are well taken care off.

“Traditionally speaking the breadwinner should be the man” (Participant 2).

Participants agreed that gender expectations for men and women still exist in the Zulu culture.

“I think we have touched on that earlier by stating that we as women we need to come back home, cook clean, take care of the children, take care our husbands and the household. It is hard being a Zulu woman” (Participant 2). Participants discussed that, “we are taught all of this at a young age so that we can grow up knowing how to do it for future reference” (Participant 4). “A man can leave you if you cannot cook in our culture” (Participant 1).

4.3.2.5 Child baring

Having children, as a Zulu woman is also very important, “because Zulu society does not consider you a ‘good’ Zulu woman without bearing children” (Participant 1). Women in Zulu society are meant to marry and reproduce. Women are pressured to get married and to bare children soon after they get married (Mpungose, 2010). “When you get to your late twenties, our grans start asking when you are getting married” (Participant 3). Women who are not married are still referred to as being girls and participants felt that Zulu women are under pressure to get

married. “If I have children but live at home they will never classify me as a woman. I will always be called a girl” (Participant 1). A Zulu woman is also expected to bare children for her husband soon after marriage. Participants agreed that this does not only apply to a traditional Zulu woman, but this also applies to a modern Zulu woman too. Participants explained that no matter how educated, independent and financially stable a woman is, she cannot break away from some gender expectations like becoming a mother.

“The community mocks you if you cannot have children. That is when your husband takes on another wife, as a second wife who will give him children” (Participant 1). “Having children as a Zulu woman is very important because they do not consider you a woman without children” (Participant 4). “If a couple is not having children, they never say the problem is with the man, it is always the woman who cannot have children” (Participant 1). This is a reason as to why Zulu men within the Zulu culture will then take on a second and third wife because he is looking to a wife that will have his heir (Mpungose, 2010).

Participants said that because of these gender expectations the Zulu culture is patriarchal. “You find that some of us grew up knowing traditional Zulu men, they are very patriarchal, you grow up and look at that and are like I don’t want somebody who will treat me like that” (Participant 4) and yet these participants felt the pressure to conform to many of the standards of Zulu patriarchy. Therefore, an effort to move away from some traditional practices agreed that they have opted to adopt a Westernized lifestyle to avoid some of the duties Zulu women often feel obliged to do. They feel that through factors such as education, the media, interaction with different people and different cultures they have become modernized Zulu women. “You are

going to have a man in your life, but deep down as an individual; you must always put yourself first” (Participant 2). Participants explained that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to do what is best for her, she needs to put herself first by ensuring that she is educated, she has a job and is able to take care of herself with or without a man. Participants explained that a traditional Zulu woman is naïve in the sense that she puts the needs of her husband first before hers. Participants from both campuses felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs put herself first and her happiness, she needs to be independent, self-reliant, strong and a dignified woman. They explained that they are trying to break away from the stereotypical roles of women depending on their husbands that have been assigned to women within the Zulu culture. They explained that they want to be strong women who work side by side with their husbands instead of following them. They feel that a Zulu woman needs to have leadership qualities, needs to be financially stable on her own in order to educate themselves and expose themselves to better work opportunities. According to participants, most of the characteristics that make up a traditional Zulu woman also make up a modern Zulu woman as they have been taught to her at a very young age. Participants emphasized that education has helped them to become independent young women who are empowering themselves. “We grew up in a westernized lifestyle; it is the way in which we grew up!” (Participant 1). They all grew up with some kind of westernized lifestyle, which influenced participants adapting this lifestyle. Rudwick and Shange (2006) have noted that there is a decrease of *ukuhlonipha* in urban settings, which one could argue is indicative of the more westernized lifestyle in South African cities. They suggest that young South African women challenge traditional patriarchal customs which position women in a submissive role and argue that under certain characteristics there is open protest and rejection of *ukuhlonipha* which is linked to a ‘western’ emancipated identity (Rudwick and Shange, 2006). “It is through education

that we have become modernized and have moved forward” (Participant 4). One important shift away from the traditional customs is that participants reject polygamy.

“It is rubbish! No matter how much women may say they accept their husbands taking on other wives, deep down they know that they do not accept this. A man can never love two women equally. Never. There is always going to be the one he loves the most. And if you give him girls and the other wife gives him a son, automatically he will love his son more than he loves the girls you have given him” (Participant 2). Participants from both campuses all disagreed with polygamy and felt that because of their education, the media and interaction with other people, they have found themselves in positions in which they question the legitimacy of polygamy, arguing that they would not marry into a polygamist marriage. Participants explained their exposure to Western culture, religions and ideologies. This has influenced their lifestyle they believe that one man is supposed to have one wife and are against polygamy. In Western culture, a man marries one wife and participants have chosen to adapt this into their lives. Even though polygamy is, a cultural custom that has been practiced in Zulu culture for years’ participants felt that they would not allow themselves to follow it. They explained that they fear diseases and the problems that arise when the husband has children outside of marriage. They felt that the husband would love other children over theirs. Participants felt that they have a choice unlike previous generations and they would not enter into a polygamist marriage. Education has given them a voice to speak up against things that women in the past could not. Participants felt that because they do not have to be dependent on a man they do not have to respect and practices traditional cultural customs such as polygamy. ‘I feel that polygamy is just another way of African men simply being bullies. Polygamy is unfair. I know

a friend of mine, she is very smart, and she has it all. I do not see why she has put herself into this position. The man is fifty something and she is in her early twenties and is a master's student. I feel she is a bright girl and I think she is blinded by the situation" (Participant 3).

Participants from both campuses agreed that even though they can choose to say no to polygamy, they cannot break away from other gender norms. A 'good' Zulu woman needs to be able to do domestic chores, she needs to cook and maintain the household. This does not change just because she is working and bringing an income into the household. Participants discussed that she is still a woman and needs to fulfill her duties. Participants explained that a Zulu woman needs to live a double life if she wants to work. Her household duties need to be done before or after she leaves for work. "Apparently that is the price of us women gaining our independence. If we want to work, you have to do the house duties and work professionally" (Participant 3). Consequently, Participant 1 refers to modern Zulu women as being "Superwomen!"

It was felt by participants that only a traditional Zulu woman would enter into a polygamist marriage while a more modern Zulu woman would not put up with a polygamist husband. Mostly, participants felt that such behaviour was drawn from traditional women's naivety. They explained that these women allow their husband to take on other wives as a form of respect for the man as the head of the household whereas they felt that more modern women knew better. As can be seen in table 5, most participants felt that traditional Zulu women and modern Zulu women share multiple traits, except for four important differences highlighted in red (Crespi, 2003; Robert, 1998; Pretorious 1998, and Shange 2002).

	<u>Traditional Zulu woman</u>	<u>Modern Zulu woman</u>
1.	Subservient/ Submissive	Educated
2.	Passive	Independent/ Self-reliant
3.	Subordination	God fearing
4.	Domestic chores / maintains the household.	Domestic chores/ maintains the household
5.	Puts her husband first (Knows her place)	Submissive/ submissive to her husband/ Knows her place
6.	Bares children/ takes care of her children/ unconditional love	Bares children/ takes care of her children/ unconditional love
7.	Supportive to her husband, children	Supportive to her husband, children
8.	Loving/ caring	Loving/caring
9.	Strong	Leadership qualities in the workplace
10	Respectful	Respectful
11.	Nurturing	Nurturing

Table 4

Participants felt that a traditional Zulu woman is devoted to being subservient and submissive to her husband by being passive in everything that she does (as seen in table 4). Whereas, a modern Zulu woman is educated, independent, self-reliant, God fearing and obtain leadership qualities in the workplace (as seen in table 4). “It is because we have become so strong as women, we have stepped up and it is through things like what you find that people from outside see how well a home is doing but it is the woman who is supporting that family, and not the man” (Participant 3). Once again, participants reinforced traditional gender norms from Biblical text:

“in Genesis 2, God created Eve out of Adams rib and then God said you will be Adams helper, so God already knew that Eve has been given the grace to take care of Adam and everything” (Participant 1).

According to participants being able to conform to cultural practices, gender expectations and gender roles that are laid out by Zulu culture, even though you are empowered, educated and independent, is what makes you a ‘good’ Zulu woman. “Just by you being educated doesn’t mean that you are going to be better wife. The moment I get married to a Zulu man, the degrees are placed aside. Even when you are a dating a guy, you don’t go around saying dude, I have a degree” (Participant 2).

Participants explained that as a Zulu woman being a wife and a mother comes first, when you get home you leave your degree aside and fulfill your duties as a wife and a mother. According to participants a Zulu woman knows her place as woman in the household and does what is expected of her, it does not matter how educated, independent or successful she is outside of the home. Participants explained that even though their mothers would come back and do everything for them, they were also taught from early childhood what is expected of them as Zulu women. They explained that their mothers taught them this for future reference, so that when they were married they knew what was expected of them. “With us was that we were taught how to do certain things (domestic chores) but mom just did everything. We were not forced to do it, I had to take out whatever would be cooked for supper out of the fridge, and mom would come back and do it” (Participant 3).

Interestingly, even though participants agreed that they would be expected to perform specific gender roles in the home, and they would perform these roles, they felt as if they were more independent than previous generations of Zulu women. “Education kills tradition in a way, it makes you become aware of the things that you were not aware of. But most importantly it gives you a voice. You start to see that maybe there is no need for a man; I can do things on my own. People are together, we get into relationships because of what we can benefit from each other or simply just for sexual pleasure. Men are teaching themselves how to cook; they are teaching themselves how to clean. Women are learning to fix cars. Women do not need men like they used too. The more you are educated, the more westernized things keep going; we don’t actually need each other” (Participant 2). Participants from Pietermaritzburg raised the point that education has opened their eyes to issues relating to gender inequality. Women are educating themselves so that they can find jobs and support themselves. They do not need to stay with their husbands if they are being ill-treated, abused or taken advantage of. Participants explained that by them being educated and being able to enter into the working environment it has given them the opportunity to leave an unhappy marriage whenever they need too.

Participants from both campuses were asked if being a university student at UKZN has played a role in making them ‘good’ Zulu women. The aim was to find out if they feel that being at the University of KwaZulu Natal has led to participants undermining or embracing their culture. Surprisingly all the participants said yes. The researcher had not anticipated that being at university and getting an education would play any role in what participants felt makes them ‘good’ Zulu women. Participants from Howard College felt “education has made them better women. A neighbor of mine told me that when you enter into marriage make sure that you are

educated because nobody can ever take that away from you. That has pushed me to study harder” (Participant 1). The majority of the participants felt that this is one of the main reasons (as to why) they are studying hard to graduate. Participants see education as a form of independence. They want to have something to fall back on when their marriage does not work. Participants expect that their marriage will fail. They all seemed to anticipate that one day this will happen and as a result, they are preparing themselves for that day. Participants explained that education has led them to become independent young Zulu women. “I have learned to be independent and to speak up for myself. As a Zulu woman, we are told to listen and to do this and that. There are set customs and norms that you need to abide by as a Zulu woman.” Participants felt that being at university has given them the freedom express their opinions and views. However, participants also explained that being at university led them to give into peer pressure and partake in things like getting tattoos, smoking and partying that a ‘good’ Zulu woman should not. “Ever since I got here, I have become a rebel” (Participant 4).

Participants from Pietermaritzburg also highlighted the pitfalls of peer pressure, in the sense that coming to university has led them to dress and act differently. They explained that “people change in varsity; people see other people with weaves dressed in a certain way” (Participant 3) and they have to find ways of keeping up with these trends even if it is in the wrong way. Participants discussed that at home, as Zulu girls, they are taught the difference from right and wrong but when they get to University, they often ignore these teachings and take up habits to make them popular. “Some people come here without drinking and smoking but leave here doing all these things with no degree” (Participant 3). Participants explained that they were taught that a Zulu woman should not drink or smoke, but you find Zulu students influenced by peer pressure

to start these habits and end up dropping out of the university without obtaining their degrees.

Participants felt that education undermines tradition. They said that they begin to undermine their culture because education gives them a voice and they are able to speak up against things they do not agree with. They explained that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is expected to obey instructions and hardly voices out her opinions but “education kills tradition in a way it makes you aware of things that you were not aware of. But most importantly, it gives you a voice” (Participant 2).

Participants were asked if they thought that UKZN’s decision to make isiZulu a compulsory subject for first years would keep Zulu tradition alive among students.

Participants from Howard College agreed, “It all goes back to the University of KwaZulu Natal; they are trying to bring back a generation that embraces their culture” (Participant 1).

Participants felt that other universities across the country are doing it so the University of KwaZulu Natal should too. “The university of Free State also did this, they pushed for Afrikaans, why can’t we?” (Participant 4). Participants believed that the university understood that some students from rural areas are disadvantaged due to a language barrier and the university is trying assist them by making their mother language available as a teaching language. One participant from Howard College disagreed with this, “I disagree, we should have the opportunity to choose what we want to study, the university is trying to make money from us by forcing us to study IsiZulu. A module is R3000, how much will I pay if I keep failing this module” (Participant 4).

Surprisingly, no participants from the first group in Pietermaritzburg agreed with this decision because they felt that Zulu is not a universal language. “We all know it; we did it in high school as a second language. There is really no need for us to be doing it again. I think with isiZulu you

just need to know how to communicate and write it. You learn that in high school” (Participant 3). Other participants explained why the university is doing this even though they do not agree with this decision. “We all do not come from the same backgrounds; they are giving us an opportunity to ask our lecturers questions in our mother language” (Participant 3).

In the second group from Pietermaritzburg 6/7 participants said that they agree with the decision taken by the university. Participants explained that, “they teach us the basics, in psychology it made sense. The fact is, being a black psychologist you will not find white people or a white man coming to you see you. Black people are going to come and see you at your practice. I need to be able to communicate with you and understand what you saying to me. It is the same if you are going to Australia, you will need to conform to their language” (Participant 2). Participants discussed that when they enter different working environments, and they gave an example of psychology, they will need to know Zulu. “They are teachings us IsiZulu so that when we get to Master’s level in psychology, for example, and you want to do their research on Zulu kings and you have to go to them, what will you say if you cannot speak isiZulu. They are preparing us for situations like that” (Participant 6).

4.4 Conclusion

Participants from both campuses felt that education has given them independence and a voice as Zulu women. It has led to them becoming enlightened, independent and self-sufficient.

Participants explained that because of their education, being exposed to different cultures and people they are no longer traditional Zulu women, but are modern Zulu women. “Yes we are growing up modernized; we are taking western cultures and bringing it into our lives. As far as

saying that, yes I am a Zulu woman, but I will not stand for this and that” (Participant 1).

Participants felt that education has given them the opportunity to choose what they can tolerate and what cultural norms they can adhere too. Participants explained that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that is able to submit to her husband, bear children, take care of the family and perform daily domestic chores. They cannot escape from this as this is embedded in their culture. However, participants also explained that through education, they have been exposed to different ways of thinking and critical thinking and this has given them a voice. All the participants were against marrying into a polygamist marriage. They stated that even though this is part of their culture they choose to distance themselves from it and adapt a Western identity of one man, marrying one women.

Participants stated that they are able to choose what they cannot tolerate or do not want to associate themselves with and they are able to speak up about to their partners, unlike a traditional Zulu woman who has to adhere to everything that a man says. Education has given them the opportunity to dictate their personal preferences. “Why is it that I have to be submissive to a man? I can fix my tires; I can support myself. The more I embrace my independence the more I undermine my culture” (Participant 3). This participant is questioning herself because she wants to get an education and be independent, she also wants to get married one day but does not want to depend on a man. Participants argued that as Zulu women they have to conform to the gender norms set out by Zulu culture, if they are to be considered ‘good’ Zulu women who qualify for marriage. This means being submissive to their husbands, bearing children and maintaining the household, irrespective of what education or qualifications they have. This participant is saying that she does not want to depend on a man but she aspires for marriage.

Once again, this shows a conflict in identities from participants. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 - Findings and conclusions:

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to find out what female Zulu students from the University of KwaZulu Natal Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses believe makes a ‘good’ Zulu woman. The study explored academic literature, which outlined the expected roles of women in Zulu culture. The aim was to find out if female Zulu UKZN students felt that university life embraced or undermined their interpretation of a ‘good’ Zulu woman. Mpungose (2010) illustrates that there has been a drastic change in society regarding issues of gender; men are losing their dominant role within society and in the household. Women are contributing financially at home.

“In most black families, you find that the woman is the one who is making more money than her man. With my situation, my mother paid for everything and my dad ended up leaving my mom because of that. He felt that she had more power than he did, he was feeling threatened by her. He felt that he needed to find another wife that was submissive, that was not making more money than him” (Participant 4).

In order to collect the data, the researcher used purposive snowball sampling by administering 50 questionnaires to students from the Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campuses with the intention of finding participants to participate in four focus group discussions.

5.2 Gender roles and culture

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) individuals collective identity (which is collected through interaction with other people) becomes in their in-group. As seen in chapter two, the social identity theory states that the closeness in in-group membership serves as a function to boost an

individual's self-esteem by creating a sense of belonging, feeling wanted, loved and appreciated. According to Mpungose (2010), in Zulu society marriage is a very important institution. 'You can have five children, when you are unmarried and be called a girl' (Participant 1). In order for Zulu women to be seen as a 'good' Zulu woman, she has to be married. Participants explained that marriage is important in the Zulu culture. Zondi (2015) states that Zulu people are known for holding on to their cultural beliefs and marriage is an important component in this because it continues a man's lineage. The burden to sustain and keep the marriage going lies with women. Participants tended to reinforce these ideas explaining that there is a social expectation for Zulu women to get married. They explained that they are groomed for marriage from early childhood by their parents. Participants explained that from early childhood they are taught how to perform domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and maintaining the general running of the household in preparation for the day when they get married. Parker (2010) explained while people's views on gender may be slowly changing, communities are still facing pressure to behave in certain ways according to gender roles. This is especially evident with these women as most of them disagreed with many traditional elements of marriage, such as polygamy, they still face social pressure to marry. Mickel (1979a, 1979b) states that this still occurs today as Zulu women are still expected to adhere to oppressive traditional practices. These include the bride's price (*lobolo*), *ukuhlonipha* (respect), childbearing and subordination. Participants agreed that there are gender roles that are associated with men and women in Zulu culture and must be performed in order to ensure a successful marriage. One such role includes being submissive to their husbands as the head of the household. Participants discussed that a Zulu woman should do this willingly as a sign of respect for her husband. According to Ngubane (2010), the African culture continues to perpetuate the subordination of women. The wife needs

to be able to respect her husband by submitting and allowing him to make all the major decisions as the head of the household. This research found this statement to be true for as participants argued that the woman needs to respect her man and perform her duties, one of which includes submitting to her husband, irrespective of how educated she may be. One of the aims of this study was to test if this still applies with female Zulu students who are educated. The study specifically targeted educated Zulu females at the University of KwaZulu Natal. Interestingly, one of the main findings of the study is that the Zulu culture still does not value education for women. Marriage is seen as being more important than education. Zulu women are still expected to conform to gender roles irrespective of how educated she is. A 'good' Zulu woman is one that is submissive, maintains the household, bares children and is supportive to her husband. Zulu women are expected to conform to the patriarchal Zulu gender roles outlined by Zulu culture, regardless of their education and qualifications.

Interestingly, participants seemed more likely to accept gender norms, irrespective of them being educated. Mickel (1979) suggest that women should be educated and informed about their positions and why they are oppressed thus enabling them to make informed decisions as whether or not they want join the struggle for a better deal in the social, economic and political African societies. It is interesting to see that even though these Zulu women are educated they still conform to patriarchal gender norms of Zulu society. Participants agreed that a 'good' Zulu woman is submissive to her husband because in Ephesians, the Bible states that women should submit to their husbands. The researcher found this to be interesting because these are Zulu women who feel that they need to abide by the rules set out by the Bible (a Western text), to reinforce traditional Zulu gender norms. It is interesting to see that these women believe that the

Bible reinforces traditional Zulu gender norms that help them to become ‘good’ Zulu women. Participants are being influenced by Western identities and Western cultures. According to Moller (2006), it is through culture that individuals make sense of the world in which they live by shaping their identities to fit the norms of a specific culture.

An individual’s understanding of gender roles are formed through gender relations as they are passed down from generation to generation. Christianity has spread throughout Africa; this is an indication as to why participants feel that they can use the Bible to reinforce traditional Zulu gender norms, as most of the participants who participated in this study were Christians. Even though these Zulu women are Christians they are still expected to adhere to, traditional Zulu gender norms. The Zulu culture dictates that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that is submissive to her husband. According to Chaing (2010) part of the reason for this is based on the condition of global modernity (globalisation) that has led to anxiety and uncertainty around the definition of culture and identity (Chaing, 2010). These Zulu women are conforming to traditional Zulu traditions and gender norms but have adopted a Western identity as they are Christians. There are many more options and variety in identities and cultures, this leads to people incorporating other identities and cultures into their own identities and cultures. This creates an anxiety because it makes it difficult to define cultures and identities because cultures and identities are influenced by other cultures and identities from across the world, which are integrated into local cultures (Chiang, 2010). This is due to globalization, apartheid and colonialisation in South Africa.

Schalwyk (2000), in Chapter Two defined culture as being a contested term, which can be understood to mean different things by different groups of people. Culture can mean intellectual

and creative products such as literature, music, drama, art or the beliefs and practices of a society particularly the link between tradition and religion. Participants have integrated Western culture (Christianity) and Zulu culture. Participants reinforced Schalwyk's (2000) argument that culture is a contested term that is difficult to define. Participants reinforced this argument as they have integrated two cultures to form their own beliefs and practices. Nowhere in the Bible does it talk about Zulu culture, but participants argued that a 'good' Zulu woman is one that is submissive to her husband because in Ephesians it says this. Participants have incorporated two identities (Zulu culture and western culture) into their own cultural identity (Chiang, 2010).

Additionally, the findings of this dissertation also reinforced the importance of having children as outlined by Mpungose (2010). Mpungose (2010) explained that this is the main reason as to why Zulu households practice polygamy. However, while participants agreed that part of being a 'good' Zulu woman was to bear children, they were emphatic in rejecting polygamy. It emerged that participants felt that they were modern Zulu women because they have opted for a more Westernized lifestyle. According to participants, they discussed that being a university student has led to them being more modernized than other females who have not been introduced to a University environment. It is through the interaction with other cultures, being exposed to different ways of thinking (critical thinking) and having the opportunity to choose what they want that they are able to address issues pertaining to gender roles. Participants felt that other people their age who have not been introduced to the University environment do not think as they do. They have been exposed different ways of thinking and this has altered the way in which they understand gender roles. Education has given them a voice and means to break away from traditional gender roles. They have the right to choose whom they want to marry and have

children with unlike in the past whereby they Zulu women found themselves in arranged marriage or if they could choose their spouse, that spouse was a traditional Zulu man who expected his wife to conform to gender norms.

Based on all of these characteristics participants agreed that a 'good' Zulu woman is bound to live a double life just as was discussed by Parker (2010) and Luvuno (2004). Participants discussed that a 'good' Zulu woman comes back from work and does her domestic chores and the general maintaining of the household. According to participants, this is the price women have had to pay for gaining their independence. Participants explained that this does not change the fact that she is a woman and she needs to take care of her household regardless of her working professionally. Through Africa, women occupy a subordinate status and are discriminated on the basis of gender. African women experience sexism in both public and private aspects of their lives. (Mickel, 1979a).

Participants explained that education is their form of independence and helps lessen dependency from their husbands. Mickel (1979) explains (as seen in chapter 2) that African women have always depended on men. This is a product of colonialism and can be seen in a number of economic, educational and social patterns of inequality. African women have fewer employment opportunities due to fewer educational opportunities. This has led to men having attitudes of male social economic superiority. According to Ajayi (2005), South African women are becoming independent and career orientated. These women are not strictly conforming to gender roles. Participants agreed with this in stating that a 'good' Zulu woman is independent and educated. They explained that their generation has been drilled into believing that education is

their way of escaping from depending on their husbands. Participants explained that their parents (mothers and grandmothers) were not educated so they depended on the men in their lives to take care of them. If their mothers were working, the only jobs that were available to them were low income jobs, that paid low income salaries. According to (Mickel, 1979), this is the reason behind African women being vulnerable to all sorts of maternal abuse. The exploitation and the abuse of African women is due to the men paying brides price (*lobolo*) and being the breadwinners. This has led to these men thinking that they own women. Participants explained that this is the driving force for their mothers encouraging them to become educated Zulu women in order to increase their chances of finding jobs that would pay them high-income salaries. This would then result in them not having to depend on a man like their mothers did.

Interestingly, their mothers and grandmothers are also the ones who also taught them that a ‘good’ Zulu woman is one that is married. Participants were groomed from early childhood how to perform domestic chores as a way of preparing them for marriage. They grow up aspiring for marriage. At school, participants are taught that women (based on Western identities) are meant to be independent, educated, strong and can be career orientated. These are two conflicting identities and ideas have been instilled into participants from early childhood at school and at home. This has led to participants having conflicting identities. There is a conflict between what they have been taught at home and what they are being taught at school and this has led to participants having what Chiang (2010) refers to as being uncertainty and an anxiety in their identities.

Chiang (2010) argues that the concepts of culture and identity are highly debated. Part of the reason for this is based on the condition of global modernity (globalisation) that has led to there being an uncertainty around the definition of culture and identity. Because of globalisation different cultures are influencing other cultures across the world. Participants have been influenced by Western identities and so their way of thinking has been changed from the way traditional Zulu women think. Participants explained that a traditional Zulu woman is one that is passive, subservient, submissive and domestic. She is brought up to think that she needs to get married, take care of her husband and raise her children. This is all traditional women aspires to be in life, a wife.

Participants explained that, because they have been exposed to different cultures and different ways of thinking. They are no longer traditional Zulu women; instead, they are modern Zulu women. They explained that the difference between a traditional Zulu woman and a modern Zulu woman is that a modern Zulu woman is educated, independent, self-reliant and God fearing. One could argue that based on their education, exposure to Western identities, these women have been exposed to Christianity and Western ideologies and this why they have an uncertainty and anxiety in their identities. Being exposed to these ideologies has led to them being influenced and incorporating them into their daily lives. Participants explained that a traditional Zulu woman who has not been exposed to Western identities and ideologies aspires to follow tradition and become a wife. She does not challenge culture in any way and is a traditional wife.

A modern Zulu woman is career orientated and aspires to have a successful career outside of the household. One can argue that participants have become modern Zulu women because of their

exposure to other cultures and identities. Traditional and modern Zulu women also have similarities; they both aspire for marriage. They have been prepared for marriage from early childhood so they can perform domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of the children. Participants reinforced Ajayi (2005) argument in stating that a woman's job in African society is to bear children and to get married. Even though these participants refer to themselves as modern Zulu women, they still aspire for marriage as a traditional Zulu woman would. They still base their worth by their marital status. The aim of this dissertation was to focus on educated Zulu women with the intention of finding out how they understand traditional gender roles. Interestingly, the study found that even though these women are educated they still choose to conform to patriarchal gender norms.

It is interesting to see that participants feel that they have the freedom to become modern Zulu women outside of the household, but when they come back home they adhere to gender roles. One can argue that the Zulu society is still patriarchal because Zulu women have been given the opportunity to acquire leadership roles outside of the household but within the household, nothing has changed. The man still plays the dominant role and makes all of the major decisions, while the woman plays a subordinate role.

In Zulu culture a Zulu women is expected to be submissive and the husband is meant to provide for her, she is meant to take care of the household. She is not expected to be independent because that is expected from her husband. Once again, participants have been influenced by Western identity and as a result, participants argued that as a Zulu woman they can be independent, educated, career orientated and not depend on a man. This is contradictory as participants are

accepting gender inequality in their marriage (at home) but in the working environment participants argued that they have the right to be independent and occupy leadership positions. This is interesting because that they feel that at home they have to conform to gender roles within the household but in the working environment they can occupy leadership positions and break away from the gender roles regarding men and women in Zulu culture. One can argue that this is due to the influence of Western identity or Western culture that these women feel that they can occupy leadership positions in the working environment. Interestingly, even though participants agreed that they were expected to perform specific gender roles in the home, and would perform these roles, they felt as if they were independent than previous generations of Zulu women. One can argue that this is not entirely true because these women still feel that in order for a Zulu woman to be considered a 'good' Zulu woman; she still needs to conform to the patriarchal gender norms that are laid out by Zulu culture. Even though these women have gained their 'independence' in tertiary institutions and in the workplace. They are not completely independent if they still required to get married, bear children and live double lives in order for them to be considered a 'good' Zulu woman. These women are confirming to patriarchal gender norms of Zulu society without realizing it. The day these women are not defined by their marital status, whether they have children or not is the day that these women would have gained their independence.

It would have been interesting to find out what young Zulu men from the University of KwaZulu Natal felt makes a 'good' Zulu woman. If the researcher did not have a limited time constraint, this dissertation would have compared what both sexes felt about this issue. For previous research, the researcher would recommend that there is no time constraint to submit a research

paper because this would allow for a wider collection of data. If the researcher had not been working on deadline this would have allowed her time to look for more participants that would be interested in the focus group discussions and gather more data from different participants from both campuses.

5.3 Conclusion

According to Ajai (2005), in the traditional African society, from the moment a young girl enters into puberty she is viewed as a potential woman. She starts receiving lessons on social matters that relate to the duties of a wife to her husband and children. Participants reinforced this as they were groomed from early childhood on what is expected of them as Zulu women. Even though women are no longer just part of the private domain (family) but are part of public and political sectors, they are still expected to conform to gender roles. Rama in (Parker, 2010) stated that women are expected to live double lives. This dissertation reinforces this argument as women in the Zulu society are participating in their own oppression by conforming to patriarchal gender norms. Participants feel that a 'good' Zulu woman is one that is married and plays a subordinate role within the household, irrespective of how educated she may be. Even though participants added that, a 'good' Zulu woman is educated, independent and self-reliant; being a good wife seemed to be more important.

Mickel (1979) suggest that these women should be educated and informed about their positions and why they are oppressed thus enabling them to make informed decisions whether or not they want to join the struggle for a better deal in the social, economic and political spheres of African societies. This was the main reason behind the study selecting to use female Zulu students from

the University of KwaZulu Natal. The study aimed at finding out what these female students understand gender roles are and what they believe makes a 'good' Zulu woman. Participants seem to think that they are free from patriarchy unlike the previous generations before them. However, they feel that a 'good' Zulu woman is one that is married, bares children and plays is submissive to her husband before she is independent and self-reliant.

One could argue that Zulu women are not independent because they are conforming to patriarchal gender norms, irrespective of them being educated. Education has not freed them from their economic, political and social aspects of traditional life because they choose to continue participating in patriarchal gender roles. Participants are basing their self-worth on the adherence to these patriarchal gender norms.

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Submitted to the Department of Zulu, University of Natal, Durban.

Appendices:

Appendix 1 Questionnaire:

The following questionnaire was distributed to 50 students at Howard College and 50 students at the Pietermaritzburg campus.

- **Questionnaire:**

If you are interested in assisting me with my focus group, please fill in your contact information below. Please be assured that all of the information that you are going to be expressing will be kept private. Your name will **NOT** be used when compiling this research project.

1. What year are you studying?

2. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a ‘good’ Zulu woman must have? (You may circle more than one)

- ✓ Educated
 - ✓ Independent
 - ✓ Bread winner
 - ✓ Decision maker
 - ✓ Leader
 - ✓ Strong
 - ✓ Dependent on her husband
 - ✓ Subservient to her husband
 - ✓ Able to do domestic chores (cooking, clean and running the household)
 - ✓ She raises a family
 - ✓ She’s nurturing loving, caring (Expresses her emotions)
 - ✓ Contributes financially at home
 - ✓ Protector of her family
 - ✓ Runs the household
 - ✓ Raises her family
 - ✓ Other
- -----

3. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a ‘good’ Zulu man must have? (You may circle more than one)

- ✓ Educated
 - ✓ Independent
 - ✓ Bread winner
 - ✓ Decision maker
 - ✓ Leader
 - ✓ Strong
 - ✓ Dependent on his wife
 - ✓ Subservient to his wife
 - ✓ Able to do domestic chores (cooking, clean and running the household)
 - ✓ He raises a family
 - ✓ He is nurturing loving, caring (Expresses his emotions)
 - ✓ Contributes financially at home
 - ✓ Protector of his family
 - ✓ Runs the household
 - ✓ Raises his family
 - ✓ Other
-
-

4. Based on your understanding of feminism, what do you think the term means? (You may circle more than one)

Feminism is?

- ✓ 1. A movement that fights for the freedom of women
- ✓ 2. A movement that fight for the freedom of men.
- ✓ 3. Feminism is a belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes.
- ✓ 4. Feminist theory is a general movement to empower men and women 5. Worldwide.
- ✓ 6. The feminist theory a general movement to empower women worldwide.
- ✓ 7. One of the goals of feminism is to break patriarchy because feminists believe that patriarchy is the root cause of female oppression.
- ✓ 8. Feminists hate men.
- ✓ 9. Feminism looks down on women who want to live a traditional lifestyle (Feminism looks down on women who are housewives and mothers)
- ✓ 10. Feminists are unattractive women who cannot get a man.
- ✓ 11. Feminist are lesbians
- ✓ 12. Feminist think that women should not be feminine
- ✓ 13. Feminists reject marriage

5. Please can you indicate by circling the people that contribute financially in your family? (You may circle more than one)

- ✓ Father
- ✓ Mother
- ✓ Brother
- ✓ Sister
- ✓ Grandmother
- ✓ Grandfather
- ✓ Other
- ✓ You
- ✓ -----
-

Please can you indicate a day and a time that will be suitable for you to partake in a focus group meeting?

Name: _____

Contact Number: _____

Email address: _____

Age: _____

Campus: Howard College _____ Pietermaritzburg _____

Faculty: _____

Degree: _____

Majors: _____

Year: _____

Thank you very much for your co-operation! ☺

Appendix 2 - Questionnaire answers (Howard College):

The eligibility criteria for this study are that the participants need to be:

- South African Citizens
- IsiZulu speakers with a Zulu surname
- Registered female Zulu students who attend at Howard college

List of student names who completed the questionnaire that was distributed at Howard College:

1. Demographics of students who filled in a questionnaire:

The different ages of the students:

Age:	Students:
18 years	7
19 years	7
20 years	16
21 years	5
22 years	5
23 years	3
24 years	4
25 years	3
26 years	0

What academic year these students were doing:

<u>Academic year:</u>	<u>Students:</u>
<u>First year students:</u>	9
<u>Second year students:</u>	11
<u>Third year students:</u>	27
<u>Honours students:</u>	3
<u>Masters students:</u>	0
<u>PHD students:</u>	0

<u>College/ Faculty:</u>	<u>Students:</u>
<u>1. College of Humanities:</u>	47
<u>2. College of Agriculture, engineering and Science:</u>	1
<u>3. College of Health Sciences:</u>	0

<u>4. College of Law and Management studies:</u>	2
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2. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a “good” Zulu woman must have? (You may circle more than one).

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected them:</u>
1. Educated	46
2. Independent	38
3. Bread winner	14
4. Decision maker	13
5. Leader	24
6. Strong	35
7. Dependent on her husband	0
8. Subservient to her husband	5
9. Able to do domestic chores (cooking, cleaning and running the household)	37
10. She raises her family	20
11. She’s nurturing loving, caring (express her emotions)	28
12. Contributes financially at home	26
13. Protector of her family	16
14. Runs the household	13
15. Raises her family	21
16. Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Believer. • Puts God first • Open and communicates with her husband.

3. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a “good” Zulu man must have? (You may circle more than one)

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected them:</u>
1. Educated	43
2. Independent	36
3. Bread winner	35
4. Decision maker	25
5. Leader	36
6. Strong	38
7. Dependent on her husband	3
8. Subservient to her husband	11

9. Able to do domestic chores (cooking, cleaning and running the household)	29
10. He raises his family	27
11. He is nurturing loving, caring (express her emotions)	27
12. Contributes financially at home	32
13. Protector of his family	30
14. Runs the household	17
15. Raises his family	32
16. Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Puts God first • Must be able to respect other people.

4. Based on your understanding of feminism, what do you think the term means? (You may circle more than one.

Feminism is?

<u>Definitions given to students:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected it:</u>
1. A movement that fights for the freedom of women.	39
2. A movement that fights for the freedom of men.	31
3. Feminism is a belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes.	10
4. Feminist theory is a general movement to empower men and women worldwide.	34
5. The feminist theory is a general movement to empower women worldwide.	34
6. One of the goals of feminism is to break patriarchy because feminists believe that patriarchy is the root cause of female oppression.	17
7. Feminists hate men.	1
8. Feminism looks down on women who want to live a traditional lifestyle (Feminist look down on women who are housewives and mothers.	3
9. Feminists are unattractive women who cannot get a man.	1
10. Feminist are lesbians	0
11. Feminists think that women should not be feminine.	3
12. Feminists reject marriage.	0

5. Please can you indicate by circling the people that contribute financially in your family?
(You may circle more than one).

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Students who selected them:</u>
1. Father	25
2. Mother	44
3. Brother	7
4. Sister	10
5. Grandmother	6
6. Grandfather	4
7. You	3
8. Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aunt – 1 • Uncle - 1

Appendix 3 - Questionnaire answers (Pietermaritzburg Campus):

The eligibility criteria for this study are that the participants need to be:

- South African Citizens
- IsiZulu speakers with a Zulu surname
- Registered female Zulu students who attend at Pietermaritzburg campus

1. Demographics:

List of student names who completed the questionnaire that was distributed at Howard College:

The different age groups of the students that filled in a questionnaire:

<u>Age:</u>	<u>50 Students:</u>
18 Years	4
19 Years	3
20 Years	3
21 Years	9
22 Years	8
23 Years	8
24 Years	9
25 Years	4
26 Years	1
27 Years	1

What academic year these students were in:

<u>Academic year:</u>	<u>50 Students:</u>
<u>First year students:</u>	11
<u>Second year students:</u>	5
<u>Third year students:</u>	10
<u>Honours students:</u>	16
<u>Masters students:</u>	8
<u>PHD students:</u>	0

College/ Faculty:

<u>College/ Faculty:</u>	<u>Students:</u>
<u>1. College of Humanities:</u>	30
<u>2. College of Agriculture, engineering and Science:</u>	6
<u>3. College of Health Sciences:</u>	0

<u>4. College of Law and Management studies:</u>	14
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2. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a “good” Zulu woman must have? (You may circle more than one).

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected them:</u>
1. Educated	44
2. Independent	38
3. Bread winner	15
4. Decision maker	16
5. Leader	25
6. Strong	44
7. Dependent on her husband	3
8. Subservient to her husband	7
9. Able to do domestic chores (cooking, cleaning and running the household)	40
10. She raises her family	25
11. She's nurturing loving, caring (expresses her emotions)	40
12. Contributes financially at home	29
13. Protector of her family	21
14. Runs the household	14
15. Raises her family	22
16. Other	Students listed other characteristics like: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She needs to be understanding • She needs to be God fearing • She needs to respect other people

3. Please indicate by circling those characteristics that you consider a “good” Zulu man must have? (You may circle more than one)

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected them:</u>
1. Educated	40
2. Independent	33
3. Bread winner	37
4. Decision maker	25
5. Leader	42
6. Strong	37
7. Dependent on her husband	3
8. Subservient to her husband	4

9. Able to do domestic chores (cooking, cleaning and running the household)	23
10. He raises his family	23
11. He is nurturing loving, caring (express her emotions)	32
12. Contributes financially at home	37
13. Protector of his family	45
14. Runs the household	19
15. Raises his family	28
16. Other	<p>Students listed other characteristics like:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He needs to be patient • He needs to be a good listener • He needs to be God fearing • He needs to be himself

4. Based on your understanding of feminism, what do you think the term means? (You may circle more than one).

Feminism is?

<u>Definitions given to students:</u>	<u>Number of students who selected it:</u>
1. A movement that fights for the freedom of women.	29
2. A movement that fights for the freedom of men.	0
3. Feminism is a belief in the social, political and economic equality of the sexes.	40
4. Feminist theory is a general movement to empower men and women worldwide.	8
5. The feminist theory is a general movement to empower women worldwide.	33
6. One of the goals of feminism is to break patriarchy because feminists believe that patriarchy is the root cause of female oppression.	25
7. Feminists hate men.	0
8. Feminism looks down on women who want to live a traditional lifestyle (Feminist look down on women who are housewives and mothers.	1
9. Feminists are unattractive women who cannot get a	0

man.	
10. Feminist are lesbians	0
11. Feminists think that women should not be feminine.	0
12. Feminists reject marriage.	1

5. Please can you indicate by circling the people that contribute financially in your family?
(You may circle more than one).

<u>Characteristics:</u>	<u>Students who selected them:</u>
1. Father	23
2. Mother	35
3. Brother	16
4. Sister	18
5. Grandmother	9
6. Grandfather	1
7. You	5
8. Other	Students listed other characteristics like: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aunt- 3 • Uncle- 2 • Nephew- 1

Appendix 4 - Focus Group Discussion Guide:

Date:

Time:

Campus: Howard College _____ Pietermaritzburg _____

Researcher: **Sinenhlanhla Diana Ngubane**

Agenda:

- Greet the participants ☺
 - Offer the participants refreshments
 - Introduction (Introduce the research question, researcher and moderator)
 - Hand out consent letters to the participants to sign.
 - Icebreakers/ Opening Questions
 - Break
 - Ending Questions
 - Thank the participants and ask them if they have anything else to add.
 - Distribute Thank you Lollipops to everybody ☺
 - The End!
-

Focus Group Agenda:

Campus: _____

Date: _____

Number of attendees: _____

Research Question:

Being a ‘good’ Zulu woman? An investigation of UKZN Zulu female students’ self-perception of ‘Zuluness’.

Research questions: (Just to give you an idea on what my research is trying to achieve)

1. To explore academic literature, which outlines the role of women in the Zulu Culture?
 2. To find out what UKZN female Zulu students believe makes a ‘good’ Zulu woman
 3. To find out if UKZN female Zulu students feel that university life embraces, accommodates and / or undermines their interpretation of a ‘good’ Zulu woman.
-

• **Ice breakers**

1. Has everybody eaten today?

Please feel free to help yourself to anything while we are having this discussion.

2. Who here can say that they can cook and clean?

Let me see by a show of hands.

• **Opening Questions**

2. Let’s just say you ladies go on a date with a guy, who is going to pay the bill?

- **Leading questions**

Questions based on the theoretical framework:

2. When I speak of the terms ‘good’ Zulu woman.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one)

3. When I speak of the term ‘good’ Zulu man.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one).

4. What do you consider a traditional Zulu woman to be?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to possess?

5. Do you think that a traditional Zulu still exists in your generation?

6. Do any of you consider yourselves to be a traditional Zulu woman?

7. Most of all the students who filled in my Questionnaire at Howard College and PMB Campus felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent?

8. When I was reading the questionnaire feedback that I received from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus, I found that most of the breadwinners that were supporting the families of the students who had filled in my questionnaire were women. But when asked most of students who filled in my questionnaire from both campuses felt that the breadwinner needs to be a man and not a woman.

-why do you think that women have had to step up and become the breadwinner’s in their families, if society expects the men to be doing this?

9. Do you think that women are expected to live double lives?

Double lives = Working at home + Working professionally.

10. Does anybody want to get married here?

-Can I see by a show of hand?

-Why?

11. (a) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu bride needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

12. (b) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu fiancé needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

13. Would anybody marry into a polygamist marriage?

14. Do you think that there are social constraints for men and women to get married in the Zulu culture?

15. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with women in the Zulu culture?

16. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with men in the Zulu culture?

17. Do you think that being a university student at UKZN has played a role in shaping what you consider a 'good' Zulu woman is?

18. What do you think is the reason behind UKZN deciding to make IsiZulu compulsory for first years?

-Do you agree or disagree with UKZN

19. Is there anything that anybody would like to add?

Participants had nothing to add.

[END]

Appendix 5 - Focus group answers (Howard College Group 1)

Date: **13 August 2016 (Saturday)**

Time: **10: AM**

Number of participants: **Eight**

- **Ice breakers**

1. Has everybody eaten today? (Please feel free to help yourself to anything while we are having this discussion)

Participants started eating (socializing)

2. Who here can say that they can cook and clean?

Let me see by a show of hands.

- 8/8 participants said that they can cook and clean

- **Opening Questions**

1. Let's just say you ladies go on a date with a guy, who is going to pay the bill?

(The participants all shouted out that "the guy")

Participant 4: I think that it is the way that we were brought up, our parents taught us that the man is the provider. So he provides including when we go out on a date.

Participant 3: If he is the one who decided to take me out, he must pay! That's it!

Participant 2: I just think that, we have to help each other out. It should be half, half.

Participant 4: I think that it depends on your understanding, due to your finances and how well do you know one another.

- **Leading questions**

Questions based on the theoretical framework:

2. When I speak of the terms 'good' Zulu woman.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one)

Participant 1: For me, a 'good' Zulu woman has to be God fearing, a 'good' Zulu woman has to be submissive because the bible states that somewhere in Ephesians, a woman needs to be able to cook and clean. I know that it is a matter of, that we have equal rights but even in the bible in Genesis 2, God first started by creating Adam and then Eve. Then He said that Eve shall be his helper. I feel that God gave us the responsibility, he trusted us with, I feel that we should just be submissive but not in a slave manner. But in a way that you take care of everything. Submissive is obeying and it is being obedient.

Participant 4:

I think submissive is not being a slave, but doing it willingly because as participant 1 said, we were not meant to be equal the bible does not refer to Adam and Eve being equal, but Eve was his helper. So you are helping your husband to be what God has destined him to be. You as the woman are his helper, you do whatever you have to do for him to reach his goals, that is the reason why you are there. Everybody has that special someone that God has planned for him/her to be with. So I have that special someone because God knows that there is something in him that is going to help me achieve what I have to achieve and vice versa. So I think being submissive is obeying but not forced to obey.

Participant 3:

I think she needs to be educated and independent because you can be submissive even if you are educated. Submissiveness is, even though God created Adam and Eve, it is not everybody who agrees with that. I feel like as an individual you choose because you find that some women are educated, independent and they don't feel like they need a man. But you find that some women are educated and independent but they still want a man, they want to get married.

Participant 4:

I think it was how we were brought up, because maybe it is just my family and people around me but for example, let's say you keep coming home late as a girl. Your mom, no especially your grandmother will be like 'where will you get married' kind of a thing. If you don't want to cook as a girl, they will ask you 'where will you get married'. We grow up with the mentality, in some countries, I was watching this on television, if you do not have a man at a certain age, you are considered not to be a full woman. If you reach 30 and you are not married, there is something wrong with you, you need prayer and an intervention of some sort. We were brought up being told that as a woman you need to have a man by your side and whatever you are doing, you need to learn how to cook and clean. You need to groom yourself well because not exactly for a man, but it is the preparation to be a wife.

Participant 6:

Personally, I don't agree that a woman needs a man. I believe that that a woman can just be independent and live her own life just how she wants to live. I don't believe that you need to a man in your life in order for you to be considered a real woman.

Participant 2:

My mom is a single parent, so she does everything that my dad should be doing, if I want something she gives me. My mom does things at once for

me, herself and my daughter. Sometimes I ask her where is my dad because she does everything. Anything that needs a man, my mom will do. Anything that needs a mother, my mom will do. So I don't think you need a man to be strong or to do things for you as woman. From the point you get your period, you are considered a woman, as you are able to conceive. So I don't think a man is needed in the picture.

3. When I speak of the term 'good' Zulu man.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one).

Participant 1: Money! God fearing! Successful! Respectful! Respect binds it all. You can't be God fearing and you don't respect me and you treat me like crap. When you respect somebody you value them. You acknowledge the person. Respect is very important.

Participant 3: My number one thing is respect, you have to be respectful, even if I don't know that you are a God fearing man, but that respect characteristic is what draws me. I'm drawn by respect.

Participant 2: Not money! Not money! It's also respect and he has to be loving.

4. What do you consider a traditional Zulu woman to be?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to possess?

Participant 4: A woman that knows (okay we live in modern times right), okay at least I know my clan names, I know who I am, if I had to go to the farm (rural area) I am not going to be like, oh no this place is farm. I can adapt. Take me to the city, I will be a city girl. Take me to the farm, I will also adapt there as well.

Participant 3: I consider a traditional Zulu woman to be someone whose backwards, okay I wouldn't say backwards but it is somebody who will tell you that I am not into makeup, I am just natural. I don't wear pants; I wear skirts not because I can't but because I choose not to. Somebody who will say that I am not into weaves, it is not my thing. I am natural. I consider a traditional Zulu woman to be that way.

Participant 4: Can I just ask something, if I don't wear head gear, and I am wearing pants does that mean I am not a Zulu woman?

(Participants nod heads in agreement).

5. Do you think that a traditional Zulu still exists in your generation?

- 8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 3: Yes they do.

Participant 2: I am one, I am actually one. I still stick to my traditions, I still going back home to my hometown at least once a month. I believe in my ancestors and I still have to be around the yard to actually get lucky because my ancestors give me favor when I am around them. If I see something in a dream, I believe that somebody is talking to me. When I am at home (my home town), I need to wear my head gear and a skirt because I do not want the people to judge me.

Participant 8: I think I have it in me, it's what she was saying that I think I can be both, I can be a traditional Zulu woman and a modern woman, times are changing.

Participant 5: Yes! I am a traditional Zulu woman. Based on what the others have been saying, they still believe in their culture, I can relate to what they have been saying. I still believe that I have to go home and be there if any traditional work is being done

6. Do any of you consider yourselves to be a traditional Zulu woman?

Participant 1: I think I have some elements because I still like my farm side, I still like the whole rural thing, the whole vibe, cleaning, cooking. I really like that. I think being in the city has not changed me.

Participant 3: I agree with the cleaning and cooking. I can cook and clean all day, but I don't consider myself a traditional Zulu woman. I don't think that is traditional because anybody can cook and clean.

Participant 4: I think I am a traditional Zulu woman, don't be fooled by the weave, take me to the farm, if you tell me to go and fetch water, I will do it. If I have to start a fire, I will do it. If I had to be taken to the farm, I am not going to be like, I can't live like this, or this is too much. I will adapt. I will be fine;

it will take me a day or two but I will be fine. Plus, I can recite my clan names.

7. Most of all the students who filled in my Questionnaire at Howard College and PMB Campus felt that a 'good' Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent?

- 8/8 said yes they agree that a 'good' Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent.

Participant 1: Yes, I agree! Yes, we all want to get married, but I feel like as our grandparents usually say, we need to get married. It is the environment that we were brought up in, even at home they say 'who will marry you if you can't cook and clean' and who is going to want you, then you are like 'okay I will do it'. The whole traditional thing, even in the olden days, once you reach a certain age you have to go. I feel like you have some independent elements as a woman. You have to be educated, so that when you enter into marriage, you have something to fall back on (your degrees). Your entering into this marriage bit if things don't work out, because people change, you still have something to fall back on. Which is your education and nobody can ever take that away from you or your money.

Participant 7: What I have seen, if a woman is not educated, that woman depends on the man, usually what happens is that, the guy will take advantage of that woman. I believe that a woman should know that I am in a relationship/married but if things don't go well, you can go! Okay, not go, he needs to know that you are not depending on him. If you are, they take advantage, because you find that this person will beat you up, bring other women to the house because he knows that you can't do anything because you know that he is you all.

Participant 4: I talk too much, but I think that she should be educate because, listen I have nothing against housewives, they do a lot of work.

Participant 3: Yes! I would love to be a housewife, participant 4, but a housewife with an education. I would not be a housewife without my education. I have to be the one who is taking care of the possessions, if everything is provided for me, I would be a housewife.

Participant 4: I have nothing against housewives but I am not talking about the modern housewife. Traditional housewives that only have a matric certificate and

that is it. Like the olden day housewife, I think if you are that kind of wife, then your man will not respect you. He is not going to care, he will be like, she is always home. He is going to bring other girls, go out and sleep wherever because he knows that you are not going anywhere. She can't leave, she has got no money, each and everything anytime I buy it for her, cosmetics, I buy it. So the guy knows that she needs me and she is not going anywhere. Whatever I am going to do to her she will stay because she needs me at the end of the month.

Participant 3: I also think that as women if you are not educated, nobody respects you. It's easy for people to just say, 'you're a thug' and whatever. When other girls were in school, what were you doing. You just don't get that respect that you deserve as a woman, if you are uneducated.

Participant 4: I stand to be corrected, there is something that education teaches you, not sitting down in a lecture hall but there is this...

Participant 3: It's in the way you carry yourself as a woman.

Participant 4: The way you carry yourself as a woman is different from another person who has not been educated and has not been to school, or who don't have anything higher than a matric. It's the way that you carry yourself and the way you speak to people in public, that shows that she went to school.

Participant 1: It's those essays and referencing, they have enlightened me. I don't see things how I used to see them. I want to know more. Education makes you think of things in a broad manner.

Participant 5: Critical thinking!

8. When I was reading the questionnaire feedback that I received from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus, I found that most of the breadwinners that were supporting the families of the students who had filled in my questionnaire were women. But when asked most of students who filled in my questionnaire from both campuses felt that the breadwinner needs to be a man and not a woman.

-why do you think that women have had to step up and become the breadwinner's in their families, if society expects the men to be doing this?

Participant 1: Women have faced so many disappointments this goes back to our grandmothers and to our great grandmother, throughout all of those

generations we have learned that we have to be independent based on what they went through. Women have had to learn to do things on their own. Because most families, I bet as we are sitting here, only a few families have two happy parents. How many of you have two happy parents?

- 2/8 participants said they have two happy parents at home.

It's a matter of living with disappointments, it is either the father cheated with another woman, and due to that, there are other children from outside the marriage. Our parents have faced so many disappointments that they have learned to stand on their own.

Participant 3: We depended more on the men in the past, the women got disappointed and everybody is in the process of trying to correct the mistakes of the men. The women are the ones who pick up the pieces and put things together.

Participant 1: Yes, disappointments of men cheating, having different children from outside their marriage and getting divorced.

Participant 3: Men failing to provide!

Participant 1: Men leaving after having a baby with you. Now you have to raise this child on your own. You find that you are happily married, then the man decides to leave you and so you as the woman say 'screw men'. Women have faced so many disappointments and this has led them to be independent. Most of these women were disappointed, when you try and figure out why they are so independent, why are they so hardworking, why do they hate men so much, for example feminism, I think it is due to the disappointments they faced.

Participant 3: Even though we are saying that we are young, we are taught how to cook and clean so that one day when we get married, we know these things. Yet the very same parents are the ones who groom us to be independent, you have to go to school. They always stress that you have to get married but you have to get your education first before you get married. Because they know that if your marriage does not work out, you will always have something to fall back on. I guess they do not want us to get disappointed as they were.

Participant 4: Personally they have put this mentality that get an education, by a house, buy a car, go out with your friends, if you want too, live life 'safely'. Live it safely because sometimes when you are married, things are going to change. You are not going to be able to go out with your friends like you used too as a result you are going to be unhappy for whatever reason in the marriage and then as a result you end up having regrets on your whole marriage because you did not study. You basically out everything on hold for that man. Our pastor wants said, there was this couple that he was speaking too, he asked the lady what are your goals, and the lady said my goal is to get married and papa said when you get married, that is I for you? Will this be your dream come true?

9. Do you think that women are expected to live double lives?

Double lives = Working at home + Working professionally.

Participant 2: Yes, because I actually think that I learnt that at a very young age, with how my mom was doing everything for us. She does everything for us, she used to clean, cook and then she would go to work. She has to pay the rent at work and at home (she is self-employed). At the time she was also studying a computer course, she was living three lives. It is not that you are forced too, but you don't want to be dependent on some. You don't want to get to an age, where you are like what did you do with your life. What did you gain from the double life? At some point as a woman you will be living a double life.

Participant 1: Well I know; I keep going back to the bible but I think that in Genesis 2, it talks about God created Eve out of Adams rib, and then God said you will be Adams helper, so God already knew that Eve has the grace to take care of everything including Adam. When God created a woman, he gave her the grace to multi task. Women type, eat, cook and make children, it all goes back to that we were born of Eve's nature and it all goes back to the fact that God trusted us to do so many things and take care of the man being one of them. Taking care of your family being one of them, cooking, going to school, washing, having babies and changing dippers.

Participant 3: Women do it all!

10. Does anybody want to get married here?

-Can I see by a show of hands?

-Why?

- 8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 4: Facebook said that I am getting married in three months! On the real though, I am a hopeless romantic, I would love to get married one day, to be with someone that I love, to be married to a man that fears God, respects me and loves me.

11(a) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu bride needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 1: She cooks!

Participant 5: She cleans!

Participant 7: She does the washing!

Participant 4: Makes babies!

11. (b) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu fiancé needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 4: Provider!

Participant 8: Money!

Participant 1: He has to take out the cows and everything, you cannot live on bread and water, at home I get everything I want, I cannot degrade, I am sorry!

Participant 4: You cannot marry me and change my life, all of a sudden it goes down?

Participant 8: Diet, by force even no!

Participant 1: Fasting by force even.

12. Would anybody marry into a polygamist marriage?

- 0/8 participants said yes to polygamy.

Participant 6: I don't like sharing.

- Participant 3: I need peace in my life.
- Participant 3: I'm too crazy for shit!
- Participant 1: I want my own and I hate competition, I feel like if you if you love me, I should not be competing to get your attention. If you love me, it should just be me and the fact that your considering another person means that you do not love me.
- Participant 4: God created Adam and Eve, not Adam and Eve and Madeline.
- Participant 2: I believe in ancestors and stuff, but it doesn't mean that I must stick to what they did. It doesn't mean that I must enter into polygamy. My daughter's grandfather has six wives. I don't think that I can stand for it. I am impatient, I get jealous easily and I am dangerous.
- Participant 1: I am not about this polygamy thing but guys don't you think that even though the Zulu culture is about submission, you must submit to your husband whether he is up for this or not. So I feel like If he had to bring somebody you have to submit, you are married to this person. I am not supporting it, but I feel like you end up live with it and living together.
- Participant 8: No, this polygamy thing, I don't like it, it is just an excuse to cheat.
- Participant 3: Yes, you want to cheat officially!
- Participant 1: I do not support it, but it all goes back to the fact that our grans were all about submission
- Participant 4: If you think about it they all lived in peace!
- Participant 2: Those six grans were all happy!
- Participant 3: Our grandparents were married for a long time, but I feel like it was not all good and happy times but to was due to the fact that they had left home. They were not educated; divorce was not even an option back then. Even if my husband decided that he wanted to take on a second wife, I would not be able to go home. What will I say to my parents? Most of these women were not supporting polygamy, it was the pressure from their families and society at large.

13. Do you think that there are social constraints for men and women to get married in the Zulu culture?

Participant 1: Yes!

Participant 4: As we have been saying, our grandparents ask us ‘when are we getting married’, ‘where will you get married’ if you can’t cook and clean? With our moms it is different, it is our grandparents who often say this. It is because of the disappointments they faced. As much as they are teaching us about being independent, they are not fully focused on us getting married now, they want us to go to school get an education and then get married. With our grandmothers and great grandmothers, it just about marriage.

Participant 3: I don’t think that anymore, if you look at the way things are nowadays nobody cares anymore, there is no pressure to get married. Everybody is just living life. If you say that you want to get married, people are like what? It is the complete opposite from what it was back then.

14. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with women in the Zulu culture?

Participant 1: Yes, as a Zulu woman you have to make babies, you have to be able to clean and cook. That is the reason why a man marries, it is to make babies.

Participant 4: If you don’t have babies, your mother I law will rip you apart!

15. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with men in the Zulu culture?

Participant 1: He also needs to make babies!

Participant 4: The gender expectation is not as strong, but at the same time, if a man is not married they do not respect him as much as they respect a married man. Back then, some people would get married for the sake of gaining that respect that comes with being married. If a man is not married, he is seen as weak, there are just some negativity attached to him because he is not married.

Participant 3: If a man is married and let's say he is out of a job, that's a big no! No! if you married him and he had a job and somewhere along the line he loses his job and you as a woman are working. Your independent, making your own money, you are the one who pays the bills and your husband is at home the whole day, it is like he is not a man or man enough.

Participant 4: The man must earn more than the woman cause if the woman earns more, she doesn't respect him as a man because she is the one who is putting food on the table. He is just paying for the DSTV. If the man earns more than his wife, the wife respects him more. If she earns more than she becomes the man of the house.

16. Do you think that being a university student at UKZN has played a role in shaping what you consider a 'good' Zulu woman is?

Participant 2: Yes!

Participant 1: Education has, yes. There is the other neighbor of mine who told me that when you get into your marriage. Make sure that you are educated because nobody can ever take that away from you. That has just pushed me to study harder. That has helped me to have some independent elements that I can fall back on my certificates. Some marriages do not work out people change. Because you cannot say your man is your own.

Participant 4: NEVER!

Participant 1: You cannot confirm a man. Your certificate is yours. Your job is yours.

Participant 4: Your degree won't cheat on you.

Participant 7: I live at res, and at res you meet different types of people from different places and when you live in one room, you end up talking about your backgrounds. You get to hear other people's stories and you learn through their experiences. There are certain things I would not know if I was not living with the people, I love with.

17. What do you think is the reason behind UKZN deciding to make IsiZulu compulsory for first years?

-Do you agree or disagree with UKZN

Participant 1: It all goes back to the university of KwaZulu Natali, they are trying to bring back a generation that embraces their culture, they are trying to bring back diversity so that other students can learn how to communicate in isiZulu.

Participant 2: Yes! Most of us do not remember where we come from.

Participant 3: Yes, so we do not forget our language!

18. Is there anything that anybody would like to add?

Participants had nothing to add.

END]

Appendix 6 - Focus group answers (Howard College Group 2):

Date: **13 August 2016**

Time: **13:00 PM**

Number of participants: **Six participants**

1. Has everybody eaten today?

Please feel free to help yourself to anything while we are having this discussion.

- Participants helped themselves.

2. Who here can say that they can cook and clean?

Let me see by a show of hands.

- 5/6 participants said yes they can cook.

Participant 6: I cannot cook; I am used to people doing it for me. Growing up we have always had a helper who would cook for us if my mother was too tired to cook. Most of the time I had extra murals and I lived in boarding school.

• Opening Questions

1. Let's just say you ladies go on a date with a guy, who is going to pay the bill?

Participant 2: The boyfriend needs to pay, it's life.

Participant 4: I think that both parties should contribute so that nobody has power over the other. We all want power.

Participant 1: The guy must pay! Because he is the man.

Participant 4: No man, that's being stereotypical.

Participant 1: I understand but I feel like for me he must pay.

Participant 4: No, I also feel she is just being stereotypical, but then does that mean in a way you are putting yourself in a disadvantage.

Participant 5: Independence!

Participant 4: Why do you need to depend on someone in order to get whatever.

Participant 2: No but, he must prove that in future he will be able to provide for me.

Participant 3: If I am getting into a relationship with this person, what do you have to bring?

- Participant 6: Yes! What do you have to bring?
- Participant 3: You can't get into a relationship with someone who just has a matric and you are a masters LLB student and you want to be with someone and all they can do is go and work at Pick'n Pay.
- Participant 1: I support participant; I realize that as a guy he must show you as the female that he is going to be able to provide. Fair enough, I will also study and get my masters, but he should be able to provide as the man. He is the one who is asking me out.
- Participant 3: To what extent does this providing go too? Does it go over and beyond these dates?
- Participant 1: Time will tell, for me if you are not going to provide. If you will not pay, I will not consider you.

- **Leading questions**

Questions based on the theoretical framework:

2. When I speak of the terms 'good' Zulu woman.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one)

- Participant 6: Educated!
- Participant 3: Independent
- Participant 2: Respects herself and other people.
- Participant 8: Responsible, God fearing, she needs to be able to clean and cook.
- Participant 4: She needs to be able to do chores.
- Participant 3: Also she needs to have leadership qualities because we come from a past of inequalities. We need to go into a reissuance where we are empowering black women and get them into leadership positions. And not have this stereotype that for example, prosecutors are a male dominated industry,

but only now are we trying to get women into being prosecutors. I feel that she needs to have that leadership quality where she says I can also acquire the same respect from you as a woman. We need to break away from the stereotype of being submissive.

3. When I speak of the term 'good' Zulu man.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one).

Participant 3: Strong!

Participant 4: My dad, he is responsible, he takes care of my family financially and by showing us love. He provides, he loves my mother, he loves us as his children, I am here today because of my dad, and he cooks.

4. What do you consider a traditional Zulu woman to be?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to possess?

Participant 3: Naïve! They think less of themselves and they sell themselves short.

Participant 4: They only listen to their men and clean.

Participant 3: Some of them are in such abusive relationships and they do not know it.

Participant 1: All of this goes back to the strong support system that you have, participant 3 you are more of independent, you want to make your own money and you do not want to submit to anyone. Whereas I am more of what the bible says, submissive and a bit of culture. It all goes back to what you believe in that molds you into what you are now.

Participant 4: We should also think of where we are going.

Participant 1: But does that make me of less than a woman? At the end of the day we are all going to be successful. Submission does not only relate to people who live in rural areas, when I get married I will be submissive.

Participant 3: Participant 1 is saying that be submissive to a certain extent.

Participant 1: Respecting your household and giving him his place as the head of the house.

5. Do you think that a traditional Zulu still exists in your generation?

- 6/6 participants said yes

Participant 4: We live differently than when how we did back then.

Participant 2: Right now black girls, do not have any values and moral. We are so focused on what social media portrays. Firstly, you need to have nice things, and you need to be better than everybody else.

Participant 3: I think we suffer from “what are people going to say syndrome”.

Participant 2: Education is not important anymore.

6. Do any of you consider yourselves to be a traditional Zulu woman?

- 3/6 participants said yes they are
- 3/6 said no they are not

Participant 1: Yes! I have characteristics.

Participant 6: Yes I do!

Participant 5: I am humble, respectful, I cook, I clean and I think she needs to have God and culture.

Participant 3: White people are uncultured.

Participant 1: Yes, I put God first in terms of direction and knowing what the end goal is. Culture is cooking.

7. Most of all the students who filled in my Questionnaire at Howard College and PMB Campus felt that a ‘good’ Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent?

Participant 6: I agree that she needs to be educated because at the end of the day she needs to be independent. If you want to be independent, you need to have an education so you can also build some sort of empire for yourself. You cannot always ask from your husband. Sometimes men will leave their

families because they cannot take care of their families anymore, so they abandon them and leave.

Participant 1: You can also start your own business if you are uneducated as long as you are stable.

Participant 3: That happens in one and two thousand people.

Participant 6: It happens my mom did that. My brother dropped out of high school in grade nine and started his own business. He is very successful, he has his own house and car.

Participant 2: There is this girl that I live with at res, she is currently doing her second year in Housing with me. In five years they will be married. What is going to happen to her later on, she will depend on the guy. I personally I am not happy for her engagement because she will not have anything to fall back on, if things do not work out.

Participant 4: Our generation has been drilled to believe that education is the way. We don't look at other things that we can fall back n but education. That is what we strive for because we think that in order to be successful, we need to be educated, that it what they preach at home.

Participant 1: Education is important; I feel that we get educated to get what a job. Stability is the driving force because we want to be stable by the time we are 30 years old. Whether you study for the job or whether by luck you get the job. At the end of the day we just want to be stable and have a permanent job, or a business.

Participant 4: For some people education is really needed but for some people they do not really need it as they come from homes that are finically stable they can just help then to start their own business.

8. When I was reading the questionnaire feedback that I received from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus, I found that most of the breadwinners that were supporting the families of the students who had filled in my questionnaire were women. But when asked most of students who filled in my questionnaire from both campuses felt that the breadwinner needs to be a man and not a woman.

-why do you think that women have had to step up and become the breadwinner's in their families, if society expects the men to be doing this?

- Participant 4: They have run away, they leave you with the child and then you have to hustle for your family.
- Participant 3: That is not always the case though.
- Participant 6: The reason why people say women, they are referring to their actual household, it is the mother who is providing and holding it down. They are referring to what they see at home, for example my sister left school and then took me to school. Whereas they are stereotypically thinking actually it should be the men. In most cases it should be the mother who loves more, she loves you enough to leave you without knowing what you are going to eat, if you are not working. No mother will go to work without making sure you have enough to eat. Sometimes you find that there are only four slices of bread left and my daughter and I wake up at night, its fine she can eat it, I will go get something or bread in the morning.
- Participant 2: I agree, and she right men do not know love as much as women do.
- Participant 3: It all goes back to that stereotype that is the men who have to provide. My mom and my dad were married at the age of 20, but when I come along my dad had to drop out of varsity and go find job but still have to support my mother, then I came. Because my dad had the mentality that I went to a farm school, my child can't also go to a farm school. It was all of those things that made him drop out of school. By allowing my mother to go back to varsity and study until wherever she wanted to help us. Because when my dad passed away, my mother could not really feel the effect us because my mom automatically picked up the pieces. Black people do not think of trust funds at such a young age, he did because he loved me so much.
- Participant 3: It is not always the case that the mother loves more than the father, personally my mother and I are not as close to how I was with my mother.

9. Do you think that women are expected to live double lives?

Double lives = Working at home + Working professionally.

- Participant 6: Yes, my mother for example she works at home, she works at work and there was a time that she was studying to further her education.

Participant 3: Yes, when my dad sent my mom back to varsity also to further her education, she would attend during the day and then come back home to clean and take care of us and the house.

10. Does anybody want to get married here?

-Can I see by a show of hand?

-Why?

- 5/6 said yes they want to get married
- 1/6 said sometimes (maybe)

Participant 3: I want to get married sometimes, but getting married out of community of property. People get married for all of the wrong reasons. I need to make sure that they are marrying me for all of the right reasons.

Participant 5: One day I wish to have children of my own, so that is why I want to get married. I do not want to have children out of marriage.

Participant 2: Yes, I want my children to grow up with two parents.

Participant 1: You cannot control it, life happens.

11. (a) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu bride needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 1: She needs to be educated, independent and enter her marriage knowing that if something happens she has something to fall back on.

Participant 3: As I mentioned before, she needs leadership qualities. She needs to be able to stand on her own.

Participant 1: The bible tells us that she needs to be submissive and respect her man as the head of the house.

11. (b) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu fiancé needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 1: Provider. As the man of the house he needs to provide for his family.

Participant 3: He needs to be like my dad, love his wife and children, he needs to provide and occasionally cook and clean.

12. Would anybody marry into a polygamist marriage?

- 0/6 participants said no they would not.

Participant 3: I feel polygamy is just another way of African men simply being bullies because polyandry will never be accepted in our culture. Polygamy is unfair. I know this friend of mine, she is very smart, she has it all, I don't see why she's put herself into this position. The guy is fifty something and she is in her early twenties, master's student. I feel that she is too bright, I don't know why, I think she is just so blinded by this whole situation. She is miserable, she is not happy and it's an arranged marriage.

13. Do you think that there are social constraints for men and women to get married in the Zulu culture?

Participant 3: Yes, that is why so many of the woman like my friend get into polygamy, they are forced by their parents to do it.

Participant 2: Yes, like my friend at res, she is only 20 but she is getting married at such a young age. We are led to get married

14. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with women in the Zulu culture?

Participant 1: Yes, domestic chores.

Participant 2: Cooking, cleaning taking care of home.

Participant 1: God fearing, God first.

Participant 5: Humble, respectful. Domestic chores.

15. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with men in the Zulu culture?

Participant 1: Money!

Participant 5: He needs to be able to provide for his family.

Participant 6: His family counts on him to make sure that everything is taken care of financially. That is why some men leave when they cannot do it anymore, they abandon their families.

16. Has being a university student at UKZN played a role in shaping what you consider a 'good' Zulu woman is?

Participant 3: No, I have because ever since I have moved here I have become a rebel and yes because I have learned to be independent and to speak up for myself. As a Zulu woman we are told to listen and to do this and that. There are set customs and norms that you need to abide by as a Zulu woman.

Participant 4: I think I agree with you; I tend to get involved in a lot of arguments at home because coming to university has made me open minded to things that I was not before. And also if you come from an uncultured family and you come here, you find these girls doing unacceptable things.

Participant 2: You find these Zulu girls who come from the farm, they start to notice that other girls have better clothes, weaves, who do makeup and then they date bachelors because they to keep up with the standards.

Participant 1: It all goes back to what background and home do you come from.

Participant 3: My personal example, when I moved to new res the environment I moved to was totally bad. The friends I had at that time were totally bad, as much as we come from cultured families, you can find yourself doing this and that, that you find here at varsity.

Participant 1: People get to varsity and change!

17. What do you think is the reason behind UKZN deciding to make IsiZulu compulsory for first years?

-Do you agree or disagree with UKZN

Participant 3: The university of Free state also did this, they pushed Afrikaans, why can't we do it?

Participant 6: Because they know a lot of people come from cultural areas such as KwaNdebele, they found these people might not be making it to

graduation because of language barriers. The university might also want other races to learn isiZulu.

Participant 4: I disagree, we should have the opportunity to choose what we want to study, the university is trying to make more money of us by forcing us to do IsiZulu. A module is R3000, how much will I pay if I keep failing this module, how much would I have payed?

Participant 1: Yes then you keep failing it.

Participant 4: Or you get a sub, which is R500? They are just trying to make money.

18. Is there anything that anybody would like to add?

Participants had nothing to add.

[END]

Appendix 7 – Focus Group Answers (PMB Campus Group 1):

Date: **21 May 2016**

Time: **10: AM**

Number of participants: **Eight**

• Ice breakers

1. Has everybody eaten today?

Please feel free to help yourself to anything while we are having this discussion.
(Participants helped themselves to the food that was provided).

2. Who here can say that they can cook and clean?

Let me see by a show of hands.

- 7/8 participants said yes.

Participant 3: I can cook to survive; I can cook to ensure that I eat.

Participant 2: I can cook everything!

• Opening Questions

1. Let's just say you ladies go on a date with a guy, who is going to pay the bill?

- 8/8 participants said that it is 50/50 (in the beginning)

Participant 7: The guy!

Participant 5: The guy!

Participant 1: The guy!

Participant 5: On the first day, the guy needs to pay.

Participant 2: So if this guy takes you to mall, he must pay for the cab and the date, no ways guys!

Participant 7: He is the one who has asked me out, so he must pay!

Participant 1: On the first date, he must pay for everything!

Participant 8: At least pay he must pay for everything then you pay for the cab.

Participant 4: On the first date he needs to pay for everything after a while I can start paying too.

Participant 6: When we love one another, get to know on another, only then can I pay.

Participant 7: If he asks me out then he must pay for everything!

- **Leading questions**

Questions based on the theoretical framework

2. When I speak of the terms ‘good’ Zulu woman.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one)

Participant 6: Respectful!

Participant 2: Strong, Independent!

Participant 6: Yes, strong that’s the most important!

Participant 2: She needs to be able to handle anything!

Participant 2: Streetwise! Vigilant!

Participant 2: As a woman you need to ‘hold’ it down for your family, men are very problematic.

Participant 3: Life in general is very problematic.

Participant 1: A home without a woman does not succeed, where there is no mother, it doesn’t succeed.

Participant 1: There’s this warmth that a mother has, the woman holds it down for her family.

Participant 5: Even in instances where you find that the mother is a drunkard, she still holds the house down, it’s amazing the way she takes care of her kids, man and household.

Participant 1: A woman is really needed at home!

3. When I speak of the term ‘good’ Zulu man.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one).

Participant 1: One that doesn't cheat (Loyal)

Participant 8: There is no such man!

Participant 1: Respects his woman.

Participant 3: Supportive, caring!

Participant 8: Not aggressive!

Participant 2: Men cheat, so we can't expect them not to cheat. We can only expect them to respect us by hiding the fact that they are cheating.

Participant 3: but we should not let that be the norm!

Participant 1: That is the reason behind men cheating. We always say cheat but hide it from me.

Participant 2: But don't tell then that.

Participant 1: But they know that is what we expect of them. He should not cheat at all.

4. What do you consider a traditional Zulu woman to be?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to possess?

Participant 5: Submissive, humble!

Participant 3: Submissive in the sense that I know the man the man of the house and it's not that I allow him to walk all over me, but I know my place as a woman. I know my place; he knows his place as a man. Not sexualizing or anything. By holding it down, that is a characteristic of holding it down. Being submissive because you can't always be high (angry), you can't always take things in an aggressive manner.

Participant 1: Caring!

Participant 2: She needs to be your typical caring mother!

Participant 3: Nurturing.

Participant 5: House wife!

Participant 3: Domestic chores, she needs to cook and clean.

Participant 4: As a Zulu woman you grow up knowing that you need to do domestic chores and take care of the household, chores are a norm.

5. Do you think that a traditional Zulu woman still exists in your generation?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to poses?

- 4/8 participants said yes.
- 4/8 participants said no.

Participant 6: Maybe 20% of these women still exist and 80% of these women are not. We are still Zulu women but the way in which we do things is not the same as before, in the past.

Participant 3: She is more modernized!

Participant 8: When she gets home from work, she still cooks, cleans and takes care of her children.

Participant 2: When the husband comes home he must also help out.

Participant 8: This also comes back to this thing that we are saying 50/50.

6. Do any of you consider yourselves to be a traditional Zulu woman?

- 0/8 participants said no.

Participant 1: We have adopted a westernized lifestyle; it is the way in which we grew up!

Participant 4: Even though you find that some of us grew up in the farm knowing traditional Zulu men, they are very patriarchal, so you grow up and you look at that and you are like no I don't want somebody who will talk to me like that or who will treat me like that.

Participant 1: It is through education that we have become modernized and have moved forward.

Participant 2: You learn a lot about feminism.

Participant 4: Teachers you how to be independent.

Participant 2: Feminism number 1, feminism is a certain way of thinking about life. It's a way of thinking about life. It's a way a woman perceives herself, not totally disregarding the man but she becomes independent. She is all about herself. Things have become so complicated because people why do feminist have families because they do not need a man.

Participant 8: I think feminism is all about rights by empowering the rights of women.

7. Most of all the students who filled in my Questionnaire at Howard College and PMB Campus felt that a 'good' Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent?

- Do you agree?

-Do you disagree?

-Why do you think that a Zulu woman needs to be educated?

-Why do you think a Zulu woman needs to be independent?

-What would happen if she were not educated or independent?

- 7/8 participants said yes.

Participant 4: Yes totally!

Participant 3: No, because I feel like I want to depend on someone, not necessarily because I need money or materialistic things. I just want somebody to depend on, because I know that you are there as a person I can depend on emotionally, you are there for me. I don't want to be that person who is always talking that I have my own. Nobody else needs to know to know that I have got my own, I own. I do not need to put it out there. I am educated, independent. I want that person to know that I need him there as a support structure. It's not wanting to be independent but I want to know that I can lean on someone.

Participant 3: You know why I'm saying this, it's because as modern Zulu women, we have that whole independent thing in our heads, it is making us sick.

- Participant 5: I feel that I want to be independent of course, I want to depend on my man as well but just in case he doesn't treat me right I want something to fall back on.
- Participant 3: But what do you fall back on?
- Participant 5: My own, I know I can stand on my own two feet.
- Participant 3: I know that I didn't disagree with that,
- Participant 7: She means that you do not need to emphasize your independence.
- Participant 3: I think that is our problem and that is a big killer in our relationships, everywhere you go. Whether it's your family, whatever. Maybe your parent is trying to correct and you start saying no, I don't want this mom.
- Participant 2: You work hard for what you have, so why not?
- Participant 3: boast?
- Participant 2: Not boast about, why not be that woman. Who doesn't need somebody to lean on?
- Participant 3: You can, but I just feel like I want a man present.
- Participant 6: I just realized that when you're educated you still need to know that, you need to know your place and give him his place.
- Participant 1: That is what it should be a woman needs to know her place.
- Participant 8: Independence is about respecting your husband; you can be independent and make him respect you. You cannot treat him anyhow but it is not about that. Be independent but respect your man. It is not that all women who are independent who are rude.
- Participant 7: Most of them!
- Participant 5: They are like, because I am independent, I do not have to respect him as much.

- Participant 1: What is needed is for you to be submissive.
- Participant 2: I find it very hard to be that submissive personally because I feel like in the way that we were brought up and what we have been taught at school. You can't be told by somebody else what you can and cannot do. Your decision should come from you, and whatever you want in life. It should not be based on somebody else, that is why I am saying that being submissive to a man, and I struggle with.
- Participant 3: I say being submissive, I see it as a form of compromise in any relationship you will have with another person. You have to have that line whereby you are compromising. There is no way forward, because I have this trait, let me step down a bit and calm down. I hear what you are saying but let us meet somewhere, share a common ground, it is not being dilly and I am not letting you walk all over me.
- Participant 8: Being submissive means somebody is going to be dominate and there is going to be the one who has to agree to everything and cannot say no. She must always say yes; I do not want that. Why can't she say no? She needs to always agree with everything all the time- that is today's submissiveness that I see, women do not have a no!
- Participant 4: As a traditional Zulu woman, that is the submissive woman you are going to be. There is no compromise. You agree with everything. It is not like we are modernized, there are still Zulu men. You still find Zulu men who are like, I am the man of the house and I want things to be done my way. I am one of those people who cannot stand being told what to do.
- Participant 3: It is for your own sanity!
- Participant 2: How many times are you going to compromise?
- Participant 3: No, he should not suppress my opinion. Let us meet, whereby if you do not like something, and then let us do it this way and I must also be okay with that.
- Participant 2: Is the guy really going to meet you half way?
- Participant 3: Well that is the question; if the one person is willing if he is not willing then you will see my crazy and he will not like it. It is not that I do not have a crazy side, I do but I am willing to see a way forward. If we are stuck in one place and nobody is compromising, then we are not going

anywhere. The woman needs to step down. It is not what I want to do, but it is what I can do in order for us to get along. Even though I am not comfortable with it, but I am willing to do it.

8. When I was reading the questionnaire feedback that I received from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus, I found that most of the breadwinners that were supporting the families of the students who had filled in my questionnaire were women. But when asked most of students who filled in my questionnaire from both campuses felt that the breadwinner needs to be a man and not a woman.

-why do you think that women have had to step up and become the breadwinner's in their families, if society expects the men to be doing this?

Participant 4: Because men are not doing it!

Participant 2: They are at Cubana popping bottles and buying weaves! They are buying clothes and paying girlfriends allowances!

Participant 1: For young girls who are as old as their daughters.

Participant 8: They are busy being blessers!

Participant 1: When we have children at a young age, we leave the fathers. Those fathers do not provide for their children- teenage pregnancy!

Participant 6: It barely happens for a man to leave his wife when married.

Participant 5: We can be married living together and the man does not do anything for his children.

Participant 1: Yes, that is very common. Men do not provide.

Participant 4: You find that a husband and a wife live together but the father does not provide financially.

Participant 2: Yes, you can find that the whole family lives together but the father is not doing anything for the family.

Participant 3: It is because we have become so strong as women, we have stepped up and it is through things like what you find that people from outside see how well a home is doing but the it is the woman who is supporting that family, and not the man.

Participant 1: Yes, because of the woman!

Participant 3: The community does not know.

Participant 5: Yes, the woman hides all that she is doing!

Participant 3: Yes, she hides that bullshit that these men are doing!

Participant 1: That is still submitting.

Participant 3: Exactly, another form.

Participant 2: The reason is because the community and your family will laugh at you as woman if you come back from marriage.

Participant 1: Yes, we African people are like that.

Participant 4: I do not have time for that, I will leave and go back home.

9. Do you think that women are expected to live double lives?

Double lives = Working at home + Working professionally

- 8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 1: Yes! Especially because she gets home and then she cooks, cleans and washes the man's clothes.

Participant 2: Then she takes care of the children too, as the mother you have too.

Participant 1: You are a Zulu woman!

Participant 3: Our parents did not want us to grow up differently from other children; they try by all means to give us everything they did not have. They do not want their children to grow up feeling like they did not have this or that. Whereas, next door the children are living better lifestyles and the circumstances are almost the same. Our parents try by all means to protect us and for us to live comfortable lives. You know that saying that 'when I have children, I want my children to have everything I did not have'. That is what our parents are doing, that is what women are doing.

Participant 2: It is but, I feel like I grew up in a home whereby my mom was living overseas at work and we lived with our helper. I only learned how to cook when I was 16, because we had this help who did everything for us. I feel like had my mother been there all the time, even when she was back, we still had this help. I feel like if she had been there focusing her time and

energy on us, I wouldn't do anything because there was always a helper. I always felt like mom, I could have been a better person, if things did not happen this way.

Participant 4: It happens, because I lived with both parents, but I only learned how to cook in first year.

Participant 1: I understand, at home we always had a helper living with mom and dad. But I learnt how to cook when I came to varsity.

Participant 2: You didn't have a helper?

Participant 4: Yes, my mom was doing everything.

Participant 3: My mom would come back home from work and cook, but came back from before her and she would do our washing too.

Participant 6: I learned how to cook in grade 8.

Participant 7: Same here!

Participant 6: Same here! But there was no pressure for me to get back home and cook.

Participant 8: Grade 11, but my helper taught me how to cook so that I knew how to do it, but I did not have to do it or was not allowed to do it. She was teaching me for future references.

Participant 6: Grade 6 or 7, all I was doing was my washing!

Participant 3: With us was that we were taught how to do certain things (domestic chores) but mom just did everything. No, we were not forced to do it, I had to take out whatever would be cooked for supper, out of the fridge, and mom would come back and it.

Participant 1: It has been 8 years without living at home, but I still do not cook when I get home and they still think I cannot cook.

Participant 3: I think it's because my step dad was never around and my mom did not like the idea of having us to come home back to cook and clean. And that is the reason why she would come back and do all the things that needed to be done.

10. Does anybody want to get married here?

-Can I see by a show of hand?

-Why?

- 4/8 participants said yes.
- 4/8 participants said no.

Participant 2: Yes. I want to have a family-something I can call my own. This is my house, my children and my cat. But I know that probably is not going to happen because I talk too much, but maybe one day. I want my own home that I will live with my own husband.

Participant 6: Yes! I want to follow in the footsteps of my parents.

Participant 4: Remember what participant 3 said about wanting to depend on someone, for me it's that. As much as I can do everything by myself, I want to have that person I can fall back on.

Participant 3: I feel like marriage legalizes things, this is the guy.

Participant 4: I want someone to call my own and he is going to be there.

Participant 2: When your husband is here, he is here.

Participant 1: If you are not married you are not a Zulu woman, you are not classified a Zulu woman.

Participant 5: Yes!

Participant 1: If you are not married you are not a traditional Zulu woman.

Participant 5: Yes, society in general does not see you as one. Even a boy who is not married, he will always be called a boy and not a man. Only when you are married will be called a man and woman.

Participant 1: You can have five children, when unmarried you will still be called a girl.

Participant 7: I do not want to get married, it is irrelevant. Why should I? I can have a family; I can have a house and live with my boyfriend. I do not want to get married.

11. (a.) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu bride needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 2: She needs to be submissive, she needs to be able to listen, and she needs to be able to step down. Communicate with her husband, even though I am not good at that.

Participant 5: Yes! Compromise basically

Participant 4: She needs to tell herself that she is getting married, it's her choice and she needs to respect her husband. She needs to be submissive. You can't be miss independent. Marriage is about both parties involved, you put your independence aside.

Participant 2: So when he wants sex he must get it?

Participant 7: Why get married? Yes. What's the purpose of marriage?

Participant 3: You have it all wrong guys, when you get married; you marry somebody who needs to understand that when she says she does not feel like it, she does not feel like it. You can't have a person who is going to force you, no. He needs mature enough to understand you when you like things and when you don't. When you're in the mood and when you are not in the mood.

Participant 2: If you are not okay today, he must understand that, it's cool.

11. (b) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu fiancé needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 1: No cheating!

Participant 2: Understanding!

Participant 4: Compromise!

Participant 6: He must know that his family comes first.

Participant 2: The only reason that you will agree to marry him is because he is the person who accommodates you.

Participant 3: Prioritize! And not accommodate me! He must know that my family comes first. He must get his priorities straight. It must be knowing that I come first.

12. Would anybody marry into a polygamist marriage?

- 7/8 participants said ye.
- 1/8 said maybe.

Participant 3: I would try it!

Participant 5: I think allowing it (cheating) is the same as marrying into it.

Participant 1: It is part of our culture, but in the world that we live in today, there are too many diseases. Nobody in a polygamist marriage does not cheat; they all do which means both parties have people outside of their relationship. You find that they end up bringing different diseases back home.

Participant 2: Why not use protection?

Participant 1: How man old people use condoms?

Participant 2: Which old Zulu man uses a condom that is older than 35?

Participant 1: Never!

Participant 8: Then you find that women who have side dishes (other men) get pregnant. Firstly, you are a Zulu woman, when you give birth the elders are able to see/ detect that this child does not belong to this family. Secondly, the eyes do not look like ours, they say and they conclude that no this child does not belong here.

Participant 1: And that is why I do not want to marry into a polygamist marriage!

13. Do you think that there are social constraints for men and women to get married in the Zulu culture?

- 8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 6: Definitely!

Participant 3: Yes, when you get your late twenties, your grans start asking when you're getting married

14. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with women in the Zulu culture?

- 8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 3: Cooking, cleaning, and taking care of children, domestic chores. We are taught all of this at a young age so that we can grow up knowing how to do it for future reference.

Participant 1: A man can leave you if you cannot cook in our culture. Having children as a Zulu woman is very important, because they do not consider you a woman without children.

Participant 8: If a couple is not having children, they never say the problem is with the man. It is always the woman who cannot have children.

Participant 1: The community mocks you if you cannot have children. That is when your husband takes on another wife, as a second wife who will give him children.

Participant 5: What they do when they realize that it is the man who cannot have children, and then the wife needs to sleep with his brother.

15. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with men in the Zulu culture?

-8/8 participants said yes.

Participant 6: He needs to provide!

Participant 2: What if he is not well off? You won't marry him?

Participant 7: What will do I with a broke man?

- Participant 2: If you get paid more than he does, then what?
- Participant 5: Then it goes back to how much do you love him?
- Participant 8: He must be able to provide!
- Participant 3: That is sufficient, if you are going into marriage for the right reasons, then provision is sufficient.
- Participant 1: If he works, it is fine. He needs to be working.
- Participant 8: Personally for the education is a must.
- Participant 1: Or he must be business minded.
- Participant 3: He needs to work hard generating results, stability is number one.
- Participant 5: He has to be financially stable and focused.
- Participant 3: This goes back to the standards you set for yourself as a woman right now I am still in varsity, will only date somebody who is on the same level.

16. Do you think that being a university student at UKZN has played a role in shaping what you consider a ‘good’ Zulu woman is?

- 8/8 participants said yes.

- Participant 6: Leaving for example eMsinga, and I get to campus (PMB), I see other girls wearing crop tops, I am also going to change because I want to fit in and then I end up living the same lifestyle.
- Participant 2: Yes, through education- feminist theories.
- Participant 3: I don’t necessarily think it is only that, yes it plays a role too but also the media, what we see on TV also impacts the way people change, being introduced to different cultures plays a role.
- Participant 7: It has not changed me, if you look at me on the outside (the way in which I dress), I’d say it has changed me.

- Participant 2: Sometimes it is not that you see a person and want to be like them or do what they are doing; sometimes it is growth, maturity in some ways.
- Participant 1: Yes a bit of both. Generally speaking, you come from home and you have been taught to do things, after 2 years of university when go home for the holidays you do not want to do any of the things they do anymore, you have out grown them.
- Participant 8: Can I just add something; I do not think varsity affects you positively, people change in varsity. People see other people with weaves, dressed in a certain way and bear in mind that we do not come from the same backgrounds and then you find people getting these things in other bad ways. Education wise it is good yes, but the environment affects us negatively.
- Participant 1: Some people come here without drinking or smoking but leaves here doing all these things with no degree.
- Participant 5: We get here and start wearing pants but we do not at home. Peer pressure!
- Participant 2: If you are a grounded person, you will not let these bad things get to you that happen here.

17. What do you think is the reason behind UKZN deciding to make IsiZulu compulsory for first years?

-Do you agree or disagree with UKZN

-Why?

- 0/8 participants agree with this.

- Participant 5: I think it helps with communication because we are in Natal.
- Participant 1: Language, so we all know the language. But we all know it; we did it in high school as a second language. There is really no need for us to be doing it again. I think with IsiZulu you just need to know how to communicate and write it. You learn that in high school.
- Participant 5: They are trying to allow for lectures to be able to switch between English and IsiZulu when they are lecturing, for those of us who do not know English that well. Personally, it doesn't make sense; I feel that it is going to cause a communication barrier.

Participant 1: Zulu is not a universal language and we do not need it.

Participant 3: We all do not come from the same backgrounds; they are giving us the opportunity to ask our lecturers questions in our home language. I do law and it is very complicated, so let's say I do not understand something that I have read, my tutor or lecturer can explain it to me in IsiZulu.

Participant 2: I did not come here to learn IsiZulu; I came here to get my degree!

18. Is there anything that anybody would like to add?

Participants had nothing to add.

[END]

Appendix 8 – Focus Group Answers (PMB Campus Group 2)

Date: **21 May 2016**

Time: **13: 00 PM**

Number of participants: **Seven.**

- **Ice breakers**

- 1. Has everybody eaten today?**

Please feel free to help yourself to anything while we are having this discussion.
(Participants helped themselves to the food that was provided).

- 2. Who here can say that they can cook and clean?**

Let me see by a show of hands.

- 7/7 participants said they can cook.

- **Opening Questions**

- 1. Let's just say you ladies go on a date with a guy, who is going to pay the bill?**

Participant 2: On the first date he must pay, but as time goes on and we are in a relationship, I would not mind paying. It's a 50/50 thing.

Participant 3: I can do full on and pay!

Participant 1: On the first date he will pay!

Participant 2: First impressions count! He needs to pay.

Participant 5: You mean that you guys are so dependent on the guy?

Participant 2: No! No! No!

Participant 3: It is not about dependency or anything like that. It is about that he needs to care enough to pay for the transportation and the date. I might find that I have R50 in my pocket, just to be safe.

Participant 4: The other thing, we let the guy pay for the first date because we want to see if this thing goes beyond the first date, will he be able to take care of me.

Participant 3: Stability!

- **Leading questions**

Questions based on the theoretical framework:

2. When I speak of the terms ‘good’ Zulu woman.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one)

Participant 3: Loving. She builds a household on her own without her husband because she is the one who supports the family in terms of taking care of everybody.

Participant 1: So you mean a strong woman.

Participant 4: You need to be a strong woman period.

Participant 3: Nurturing!

Participant 4: Raises children!

Participant 2: Respectful!

Participant 4: Dignified women.

Participant 2: I like the strong part, she needs to be independent!

Participant 3: I don't like the independent part, because when you are independent you are on your own, depending on your business, to me she needs to support her husband.

Participant 2: The reason why I am saying independent is because you are going to have a man in your life, but deep down as an individual, you must always put yourself first!

Participant 3: But that is the secret code!

Participant 2: As a woman you need to be able to handle yourself, just because you won't show him that you can do things for yourself doesn't mean that you can't.

Participant 4: Everything in the household is being handled by a woman, in a submissive manner.

Participant 3: That is why I am saying, it is a secret.

3. When I speak of the term 'good' Zulu man.

Please list the words that come to mind. (You can name more than one).

Participant 2: Please put this in bold, respectful!

Participant 4: They tend to forget that! He also needs to be loyal and patient.

Participant 8: Humble!

Participant 1: Financially secure!

Participant 2: Would it be too much if I said, confident, not egotistic but confident.

Participant 3: Not arrogant, a man's man.

Participant 2: He needs to be able to be able to back up his presence.

4. What do you consider a traditional Zulu woman to be?

-Can you give me a description of the characteristics and traits that you think she needs to possess?

Participant 2: Submissive!

Participant 1: One who can bear children!

Participant 5: One who can cook and clean.

Participant 3: Yes!

Participant 2: Voiceless!

Participant 4: Tolerant. A traditional Zulu woman always takes care of her husband to the extent that she takes out his under garments for him that he is going to wear.

Participant 6: She takes care of everybody!

5. Do you think that a traditional Zulu still exists in your generation?

- 4/7 participants said yes.
- 3/7 participants said no.

Participant 2: Yes!

Participant 6: Yes! An example is Dr. Dlamini who works in the Zulu department (PMB campus).

Participant 3: I said no guys, I am in between here.

Participant 2: I will state my reason for saying yes. If you go to the residence that we as students stay at, you will find your typical Zulu girls that are dating Zulu guys that come from the farms. These girls have a farm background themselves, so for them it is okay to wake up early in the morning and breakfast for her man, while he is in the shower. She will literally be cooking, ironing his clothes and all he does it just wake up and shower. For these girls it seems okay to be waking up at 6 am in the morning. If the guy says baby I don't want eggs, I want a full meal, and she will make it for him. We take pictures of these girls in the early hours of the morning, busy cooking away in the early hours of the morning. These are educated young black women. These are people who have voices, who have opinions but you find that in the early hours in the morning they are slaving away. You find a man saying to them I don't want you wearing leggings anymore and she stops. I don't want you having weaves and she stops.

Participant 3: As much as that is the case, when it comes to modern like this, you find that how she is speaking; she is going to be voicing it out and saying no if she doesn't like something. One day she will wake up and decide that enough is enough. She is going to be like I am also educated, no matter how traditional she may be, or how intense her Zulu background is, but at the end something is going to click. She went to varsity and came back respectful; she will also have a change of mind.

Participant 2: You would think that, until you sit down and talk to them, they are not intending to change because they were raised and taught to be like that.

Participant 4: Well that is because, it also depends on your upbringing and your background. If you see your mother and father are doing this, you grow up and want to do it too. It happens unconsciously. I wanted to ask you guys, is it about being educated, when you go back home, does your situation change, do you treat your husband as an educated woman. Or do you become a Zulu woman at home?

Participant 2: The reason why I am saying educated is because when these girls are with their friends, they tend not to have a voice at all, they forget that they have a voice. It is not that they are stupid; they become zombies that are so transitioned that they get so used to this 'girlfriend' role that sometimes they need a friend to remind them that hey friend, you have a voice. For them it is like yes I have studied, but when my man says I want this, I have to leave everything that very same minute. When you start respecting your man more than you do your mother, it seems okay for them to do this. To them that is how it is supposed to be.

Participant 5: I'm saying that there are women who are like it is a 50/50 thing and there are women who still have a traditional mind set. They say when I am in a relationship; they wake up in the morning and make breakfast for their men, because they know that one of the days the boyfriend will too. He will also wake up and make her breakfast. I don't think they are totally traditional, in the sense that when a guy says jump they ask how high. It's a 50/50 thing.

Participant 2: The reason why I am saying this is because I used to have a friend like that, and her boyfriend never liked me because he knew how different I was from her. The boyfriend was like I am a bad influence; I was teaching her to voice out how she feels. The one day she actually realized was when she gained the confidence to kick him out. She found out that he had another girlfriend who was living in the same residence as her. The guy actually had the audacity to say to her I am now going to leave you for the other girl because she knows about you but does not ask about you. These guys want you to be okay with them cheating on you. That is why when she had the guts to leave, what did he say, it okay because this is all happening because of your new friends. They are the ones who have influenced you have a voice.

Participant 5: You are basically verifying my point, we are not traditional, and instead we are a bit of both.

Participant 1: Especially when you are in varsity, you become a bit of both for real. You meet different people and being interacting with them.

6. Do any of you consider yourselves to be a traditional Zulu woman?

- 0/8 participant said yes.

Participant 1: We are all both, but we are not fully traditional Zulu women.

Participant 3: In the sense that we are 70% modern and 30 % traditional Zulu women.

Participant 1: When I wake up, I need to cook for my man, clean the house and wash for him.

Participant 3: I grew up in a feminist error, it is more of I feel like, yes I know that I am supposed to wake up and make breakfast but the guy needs to understand that on a Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or sometime he better get up and make it for himself.

Participant 2: That is the thing that I was saying that, for me, I may have the fundamentals of doing what is expected of me as a Zulu woman, but on Saturday best believe I am not on that pot engine. There are certain days where I am going to ask him to massage my feet, surprise me sometimes. It's a 50/50 thing!

Participant 4: It is not conforming; you are not running way from the social norm too. There is no guy that will cook three times a week for you or everyday he makes you breakfast, no ways ladies!

Participant 3: There is!

Participant 2: A man that loves you more than you love him, really he will do it.

Participant 1: No he will not do it, three times a week.

Participant 5: Evert three months maybe.

Participant 2: You will be lucky if he does it for you in every three months.

Participant 4: You should take advantage of that!

Participant 7: I stayed at my residence and my boyfriend was always there. That guy really spoiled me, he understood that, yes I would wake up and make him breakfast, but then in the afternoon he would go and get me something to eat because he remembered that in the morning, I had made in breakfast.

Participant 2: If you find a man and from the beginning you tell him that babe, I can't cook and clean. I am not good at washing clothes and he says to you, I love you with your flaws. That guy will understand that when you do not want to do anything, when you don't make him breakfast in bed all the time, he will accept you, for you. He will understand that, my girlfriend does not like cooking, so I am not about to compare her to all these other girls who cook. I understand her and I accept her the way she is; I will cook because I know that is what she cannot do.

Participant 2: My boyfriend and I would always cook together, he was such a romantic. It was such a romantic relationship. I would be chopping onions and he is doing something else.

Participant 4: Is it about the romantic part of it or is it about the social norm.

Participant 1: When you get married to a Zulu man, he will not do all of these things, he expects you to cook.

Participant 2: If he doesn't they will say that you bewitched him.

Participant 3: We want a man's man. At the same time, we cannot expect these little romantic things. At the same time, you don't want a man that will force you to cook for him every single day but you want a man that you can't have. You can't have a man's man and a romantic man.

Participant 2: With a Zulu man from the farm, you will do the washing and you will cook.

7. Most of all the students who filled in my Questionnaire at Howard College and PMB Campus felt that a 'good' Zulu woman needs to be educated and independent?

Participant 4: Let's say you have three kids, they all need to get the best education money can buy, you can't expect your husband to be paying for you children's education, your cars, the bond and for the kids. We need to help one another.

Participant 2: When I say educated a sense of conversation. I can't talk to you and you don't understand what I am saying. But most importantly, not all of the time the man will always be more successful than the woman. In some cases, you will find the woman carrying the man and the household. You find that I got a better job than my husband. I believe that every woman needs a form of dependency. Let us be together because we want to be together and not because when I feel that I can't leave. I should not feel obliged because he works a better job and he is the one who takes care of me. When you date somebody you should always remember that you are an individual, you need to empower yourself. Together we build and empire, on my own I have my little company. That is why when you get married you must have your own secret bank account on the side.

Participant 3: What she is talking about is a modern Zulu woman. As Zulu women we feel that we need to be educated. An example a Zulu woman from KwaNongoma, if she is to find a man, education will not help you with anything. I say she needs to be educated so that she can be able to think for herself, no matter what happens she can think.

Participant 2: Your education is your back bone; education does not make you a better wife. It should be your back up when you leave.

Participant 7: Exactly what if h dies?

Participant 2: Just by you being educated don't mean that you are going to be better. The moment I get married to a Zulu man, the degrees get placed aside. Even when you are a dating a guy, you don't go around saying dude, I have a degree.

Participant 4: Would you date an unemployed guy?

Participant 1: No! I don't want somebody who is not working, but I can handle a guy who has a middle class job

8. When I was reading the questionnaire feedback that I received from Howard College and Pietermaritzburg campus, I found that most of the breadwinners that were supporting the families of the students who had filled in my questionnaire were women. But when asked most of students who filled in my questionnaire from both campuses felt that the breadwinner needs to be a man and not a woman.

-why do you think that women have had to step up and become the breadwinner's in their families, if society expects the men to be doing this?

Participant 1: Women have stepped up! Having children without being married has contributed.

Participant 2: Especially in a household where there is a man, when you look from the outside, the man is supposed to buy you the house when you have married him. When he married you, he agreed that he will take care of you; he said that I will either maintain the standard that your parents raised you at or make an improvement to it. But what is happening these days is that, women are the ones who are taking care of the household domestically and financially, the man is there for show. You find that your mother has never told you that that she has been paying for your school fees all these years. It seemed as if your father was paying, why because your even when you want something you have to ask for your father's permission. You will find that your mother says yes and doesn't mind you going to that party with your friends but she will ask you to go and ask your father first before you can go. You find that it is the woman who is pushing the man to look like the man. She portrays him to be the good man to the outside world but she is the one who is doing what is expected of him.

Participant 1: That is what a Zulu woman does.

Participant 2: She portrays him to be the man, but underneath the woman is the one who is running the household.

Participant 5: In most black families, you find that the woman is the one who is making the money than her man. With my situation, my mother also paid for everything for me and my dad ended up leaving my dad because of that. He felt that she had more power than he did, he was feeling threatened by her. He felt that he needed to find another wife that was submissive, that wasn't making more money than him. It was not that she was not being submissive to him, or doing what was expected of her. He was feeling threatened by the fact that she was making more money. She was bringing more things into the household than he was. I feel like that made him feel like less than a man.

Participant 5: With some people, when that happens the man begins to notice little things that are unnecessary and start causing problems.

The wife might come home with a new microwave, the man will ask her why did you not tell me, I would have tried to buy it myself, knowing very well that he cannot afford it.

Participant 2: What I hate about this is that I have money in my bank account; I can't go and buy a bag that I want for R500 because I have to respect and wait for the man to buy it for me. I am not saying that I won't be submissive, I will but sometimes there will come a point, or you will find that I have my own money in my bank account. Why can't I buy my child what I want, or send my child to the best schools, I have to consider my man's pay check.

Participant 1: This goes down to the fact that a Zulu woman should not have more power than her man. That is a Zulu man; he doesn't believe that a woman should be more financially stable than he is.

Participant 2: What happens when the child needs to go to school and you have the money to pay for your child to go to the best schools, but your partner cannot afford it?

Participant 4: You take the money; you give it to your man.

Participant 2: Which man will agree to take that money?

Participant 3: You will be surprised!

Participant 2: If a man cannot stand next to you when you pay?

Participant 3: That is why people have joint accounts, so that they can cover all that up.

Participant 4: You have the money, but when it is some to pay, you give your man and he will be the one to pay.

Participant 3: That is why you are meant to hide that it came from you.

Participant 1: So the rest of the world doesn't see.

Participant 2: When that wife is gone, do you understand that a man cannot do anything without a woman. They cannot pick themselves up. My uncle is going through that right now, he is suffering. His wife would always take care for him financially, now you find that he cannot afford the lifestyle that they were living. Before her passing, their kids would say that he is the

- perfect dad; we knew that underneath that whole situation, it was their mother who gave them everything that they had and not their dad.
- Participant 3: But to answer the question, the reason why women today, I have a friend, her father has money than the mother but the mother does everything because the father is useless. So it more of those women play the role you know. They are the mothers and the fathers even when the fathers are there.
- Participant 4: A mother can support the family without the father, but a father cannot do that.
- Participant 5: When it comes to responsibility, women are way responsible than men.
- Participant 3: It's true!
- Participant 2: Do you know how sad it is to be with a man that is just useless!
- Participant 1: What is a useless man?
- Participant 3: A man that is just good for one thing, sex!
- Participant 1: So you believe that there are guys that are just good for sex?
- Participant 2: Yes! He is here but the sex is good, you wake up and you are like this man is useless! Okay, like I know why he is here, but he is useless!
- Participant 4: A man that cannot provide!

9. Do you think that women are expected to live double lives?

Double lives = Working at home + Working professionally.

- Participant 1: Superwoman!
- Participant 3: Especially as working woman because at the end of the day. There is no such thing as a woman who works and comes back home and sleeps.
- Participant 6: No she does not sleep!
- Participant 1: She gets home, cooks does the washing and cleans the house.

- Participant 3: Apparently that is the price of us women gaining our independence. If we want to work, there is no such thing, nothing should not lack, you have to do the house duties and work professionally.
- Participant 3: In society if I cannot take care of home as a woman, I am not a woman. But the matter of the fact this is not true.
- Participant 2: What you are saying goes back to what makes a good woman, even a Zulu woman; in our culture and society as a whole it is the ability to do all the things that makes you a woman. Cooking cleaning, taking care of the household and your man is what makes you a good woman.
- Participant 3: Even women today, they will look down on other women who can't clean. Society will be like yes; she works a night shift but her house should still be clean. She is not the first to go through this.
- Participant 2: A person who has cancer or a person, who can't have children, just because they can't have kids, just because they don't have a breast doesn't mean they are not a woman. When you listen to people who express that and have gone through these problems, they start to think of themselves as less of a woman because they are constantly being reminded what the use of being a woman is.
- Participant 1: You are not considered a woman, if you cannot have children.
- Participant 2: A man will not marry you if you cannot give him children.
- Participant 6: They take your sister as a second wife, if he has already married you.
- Participant 1: I cannot have my sister sleeping with my husband.

10. Does anybody want to get married here?

-Can I see by a show of hand?

-Why?

- 3/7 said yes.
- 4/7 said no.

Participant 2: I want the day and not the life!

- Participant 6: In marriage, you live the life you want; if you allow the man to certain thing from the start he will continue doing them after you are married. If you shared phones before marriage you will share them after.
- Participant 6: If you are used to saying my phone is mine, once you are married you want to start sharing phones, that won't happen.
- Participant 2: You can have that while you are dating, but once you get married things change automatically!
- Participant 3: Sometimes you look at a couple and envy them, envy their love. I have a friend the boyfriend before they were married he would buy her nice bags, take her on vacations and treat her really well, the day they got married, two weeks later, she comes back beaten up badly. We ask her what happened and she says that I am not allowed to go out anymore.
- Participant 1: When you are married, there are things that you were doing before that you were doing that you need to stop!

11. (a) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu bride needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

- Participant 3: Tolerant! Women need to be tolerant.
- Participant 2: Patient!
- Participant 1: Loving!
- Participant 4: Unconditional love!
- Participant 2: Respectful!
- Participant 7: Submissive.
- Participant 6: I don't think so, if I ever get married, I will approach my marriage the same way that I approached my relationship. In know that if I approach it differently it will ruin our relationship. Things were perfect before we got married, why change it?
- Participant 7: When I get married, I do not want old women giving me advice want my friends, the one that I grew up with, the people that I know.

Participant 2: By default you will change, when I say by default you cannot tell me that when you are a married woman, you cannot go to parties with your unmarried friends like you used to. You can't go out every weekend anymore. You have a husband to take care of and a family you have to take care off.

Participant 3: I can't get home from work and make myself look pretty like I used too when we were in a relationship and I was just visiting. Now I have to get home to cook, I have to clean.

Participant 6: When it comes to marriage that is what ruins a relationship, change.

11. (b) If yes, can you give attributes that you consider a Zulu fiancé needs to possess if she is to enter into marriage?

Participant 1: Provide!

Participant 7: Stability!

Participant 6: He has to provide financially and emotionally!

Participant 1: I need to be able to depend on him and know that he has got my back.

Participant 2: He must always choose his wife and family!

Participant 1: He must be your back bone.

Participant 2: Acceptance!

Participant 1: Respect!

Participant 3: Respect is big guys, the ability to at least try and cover up the truth by lying just a little when you have done something wrong. If you know you are doing something wrong and when I find out, he must deny it.

Participant 2: As much as we women we say that we want the truth, we can't handle the truth. Once you know the truth you place a tracker on your man.

Participant 1: Breadwinner!

- Participant 2: Typically speaking, traditionally the breadwinner should be the man.
- Participant 6: This all goes back to power, for people who have studied history, is there a place where a woman is the president? It doesn't happen.
- Participant 3: Back in the day, a man's wealth was determined by the women he has, how many women he can provide for.
- Participant 6: Power and leadership. The man is supposed to be the leader, we women are supposed to follow.

12. Would anybody marry into a polygamist marriage?

- 1/7 said yes.
- 6/7 said no.

- Participant 3: I would give it a try; I don't mind sharing, either way we are sharing. I will just know which girl I am sharing him with. As long as I am the first wife, though.
- Participant 2: Why I sit okay for women to know where he is, when he is cheating?
- Participant 3: If I know that he has three women, I know for a fact that I am not going to cook, so I know there is a woman who will. She's there doing all the things I do not do. My aspirations in life are to travel the world, in travelling the world, I am going to be busy, I know that I cannot come back home and get aids. So I would not mind being in a polygamist relationship and know that he has another wife taking care of him.
- Participant 2: It's rubbish! No matter how much women may say they accept their husbands taking on other wives, deep down they know that they do not accept this. A man can never love two women equally. Never. There is always going to be the one he loves the most. And if you give him girls and the other wife gives him a son, atomically he will love his son more than he loves the girls you have given him.

13. Do you think that there are social constraints for men and women to get married in the Zulu culture?

- 7/7 said yes.

Participant 1: Yes, because I can have children but live at home they will never classify me as a woman. I will always be called a girl.

Participant 4: You can't stay with your brother's wife at home.

Participant 1: Yes, you need to go and live at your own house.

Participant 2: It depends; I come from a family whereby the women are the majority. They have taught themselves how to be independent and dominant. The men are there but the women are dominant. They are married, their husbands are there but they do not really have a voice. My aunt used to tell us there are no good men out there anymore. Date because you have to date, but honestly good men ended with your four fathers. They were willing to do manly things. At home marriage is like this, if it comes, it comes, if doesn't, it doesn't. There is no pressure.

Participant 1: If it were up to my dad, my sisters and I would not get married.

Participant 2: It is because they understand that marriage is not what it used to be, it's hard these days.

Participant 3: I am pressured to get married because I want my children to have the same father do not want them having step siblings because I know the hardships I went through when wanting to see my step siblings.

Participant 4: You can't have children in our culture outside of marriage or marriage.

14. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with women in the Zulu culture?

- 7/7 said yes.

Participant 2: I think we have touched on that earlier by stating that we as women we need to come back home, cook clean, take care of the children, take care our husbands and the household. It is hard being a Zulu woman.

Participant 3: Yes. No matter how tired you are you need to get home and do your wifey duties.

15. Do you think that there are gender expectations that are associated with men in the Zulu culture?

- 7/7 said yes.

Participant 3: He needs to provide for me and my children.

Participant 2: Financial stability and security!

Participant 5: The man needs to provide for his family as the head of the house.

Participant 1: He must respect his wife too.

Participant 2: Loving, caring and he needs to be a family's man.

Participant 6: He needs to love you more than you love him!

16. Do you think that being a university student at UKZN has played a role in shaping what you consider a 'good' Zulu woman is?

- 7/7 said yes.

Participant 1: Yes we are growing up modernized; we are taking western cultures and bringing it into our lives. As far as saying that yes I am a Zulu woman but I will not stand for this and that.

Participant 4: Education!

Participant 2: Education kills tradition in a way, it makes you become aware of the things that you were not aware of. But most importantly it gives you a voice. You start to see that maybe there is no need for a man; I can do things on my own. People are together, we get into relationships because of what we can benefit from each other or simply just for sexual pleasure. Men are teaching themselves how to cook; they are teaching themselves how to clean. Women are learning to fix cars. Women don't need men like they used too. The more you are educated, the more westernized things keep going; we don't actually need each other.

Participant 3: Why is it that I have to be submissive to a man? I can fix my tires; I can support myself. The more I embrace my independence the more I undermine my culture.

Participant 4: I undermine the Zulu culture

Participant 3: I don't get it actually; I was raised by a single independent parent.

17. What do you think is the reason behind UKZN deciding to make IsiZulu compulsory for first years?

-Do you agree or disagree with UKZN

- 6/7 students agree.
- 1/7 said they disagree

Participant 2: It makes sense!

Participant 3: It is the University of KwaZulu Natal.

Participant 1: We did it in high school. Why must we repeat it?

Participant 2: Not everybody!

Participant 1: They teach the students figures of speech and how to talk Zulu.

Participant 6: They teach them how to greet and how to make a conversation in Zulu.

Participant 2: They teach us the basics, in psychology it made sense. The fact is being a black psychologist you won't find white people or a white man coming to see you, black people are going to come to see you at your practice. I need to be able to communicate with you and I need to be able to understand what you are saying to me. It is the same if you had to go to Australia, you will conform to their language.

Participant 6: They are teaching us Zulu so that when we get to master's level in psychology for example and you want to do your research on Zulu kings and you have to go to them. When you go to them, what will you say if you cannot speak IsiZulu? They are preparing us for situations like that.

18. Is there anything that anybody would like to add?

Participants had nothing to add.

[END]

Appendix 9 – Permission Letters



3 March 2016

Sinenhlanhla Diana Ngubane (SN 210513643)
School of Arts
College of Humanities
Pietermaritzburg Campus
UKZN
Email: sinengubane92@gmail.com

Dear Ms Ngubane

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your postgraduate study, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Being a 'good' Zulu woman? An investigation of female UKZN student's self perception of 'Zuluness'".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by handing out questionnaires and/or conducting focus group discussions with female students on the Pietermaritzburg and Howard College campuses.

Please ensure that the following appears on your questionnaire/attached to your notice:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR S S MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

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Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville



Ms Sinenhlanhla Diana Ngubane (210513643)
School of Arts
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Ngubane,

Protocol reference number: HSS/0089/016M

Project title: Being a 'good' Zulu woman? An investigation of female UKZN student's self-perception of 'Zuluness'

Full Approval – Expedited Application

response to your application received on 03 December 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

Cc Supervisor: Ms Sandra Pitcher
Cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Nicola Jones
School Administrator: Ms Debbie Bowen-Blyth