ZULU MASCULINITY: CULTURE, FAITH AND THE CONSTITUTION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

LINDANI HADEBE

Supervisor: Dr Beverley Haddad

Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Theology (Theology and Development) in the Faculty of Human and Management Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

2010

DECLARATION

I, Lindani Hadebe a candidate for Master of Theology (Theology and Development) in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg hereby declare that: this dissertation is wholly mine except for acknowledged quotations.

Lindani Hadebe
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg, 2010.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on Zulu men's interpretation of masculinity in the context of changing gender relations in South Africa. It seeks to achieve this objective by taking into consideration the cultural and faith practices that influence the formation of Zulu men's masculine identities. The formation of masculine identities is crucially important especially with regard to the current gendering order of society where masculinity is often implicated in the violent acts and spread of HIV. However, this study seeks to show how the advent of the democratic transition in South Africa, especially with regard to the Constitutional values of 1996, has dismantled some of the dominant cultural and faith practices of Zulu men. There are number of types of masculinities including hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal which are in contestation and tension with one other. The current level of violence against women and children, substance abuse, famicide, HIV infection, reckless driving and crime are some of the outcomes of hegemonic masculinities in turmoil. The 'new way' of becoming men is non-violent, nurturing, and mutual in relationships, and committed to the principles of the South African Constitutional values. They represent an ideal type of being a man in South Africa that is admired by women who have lost trust in and fear men. However, the traditionalists perceive these characteristics of being a man as compromising their masculinity. Their response to change suggests that men feel disrespected in the home, community, and society are not favored by law, which now has high regard for women. In some sectors of society, women still experience "dis-empowerment" in the workplace and the home but do not necessarily project their anger on men. Instead, they join hands and challenge unjust structures, and fight to be valued as citizens in the state, home and society. Hegemonic masculinities have shown vulnerability to change which is often manifest in immature behavior, low self-esteem, uncertainty, and fear. This suggests that there is a struggle to come to terms with change in traditional masculine norms. This study has also shown that in religious institutions the gender hierarchy is evident in places of worship, images of God, understandings of Christ as man, liturgies, and use of biblical texts. Religious men tend to perceive themselves as representing and speaking on behalf of God with women relegated to submissive roles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Men's and Women's Network in South Africa who are passionate about gender justice work and scholars in masculinity studies with a view to transform gender relations and ensure gender equality. And to all the survivors of gender-based violence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter four: Understanding of masculinity in uMgungundlovu district

Chapter five: Analysis of study findings

Chapter six: Conclusion

Appendices

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and background to study

My motivation for conducting this study arises from my own experiences as a man. As a child I observed gender-based violence at home. My uncle used to batter my grandmother when he was drunk because she refused to hand over the property rights to him. She could not defend herself. I was not in a position to defend her either because I was still young. I realized that some men abuse their power to dominate those who are unable to defend themselves. The awareness and conscientisation acquired from attending theology and gender studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal motivated me to be passionate and pro-active about gender justice work.

Men's risky behaviour in South Africa [in particular] is often in the spotlight as a result of the escalating level of gender-based violence, crime, rape, alcohol and drugs abuse, reckless driving, and lack of social fathering. Men often appear as perpetrators of social ills. But men can be a solution to the problems identified if only they are mobilized for change towards gender equality. I am also motivated and curious about why, where, when and how masculine identities among the Zulu men [in particular] at uMgungundlovu, formerly known as the Natal Midlands, are constructed around culture and religious practices, gender rights and sexual orientation, and what their effects are.

Masculinity has been the subject of human sciences for the past two hundred years. Robert Connell states that 'it is clear from the new social research as a whole that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere. We need to speak of 'masculinities', not masculinity. Different cultures, and different periods of history, construct gender differently' (2000:10). Robert Morrell states that 'masculinity is also a term that refers to a specific gender identity, belonging to a specific male person. While this gender identity is acquired in social contexts and circumstances, it is 'owned' by an individual' (2001a:7). Issues of masculinity have been raised as a concern by the women's movement. Susan Rakoczy (2004:29-35) asserts that it was women's experiences during the 1920s to 1970s that raised serious concerns about men. It was unfair discrimination on grounds of gender and sex in the

private and public spheres that motivated women to assert themselves and defend women's interests. In the Western intellectual tradition these concerns included equality of treatment and opportunities, sexual division of labour, sexual politics, oppression, and patriarchy. These activities culminated in a theoretical revolution in the social sciences, which resulted in masculinity studies.

There are three theoretical frameworks that are employed in masculinity studies: psychoanalysis, sex roles theory, and social constructionism. Psychoanalytic theory focuses on 'how adult personality, including one's sexual orientation and sense of identity, is constructed via conflict-ridden processes of development in which the gender dynamics of families are central' (Connell 2000:7). Sex roles theory is 'understood as patterns of social expectation, norms for the behaviour of men and women, which were transmitted to youth in a process of socialization' (Connell 2000:7). Social constructionism 'key intellectual underpinnings are the feminist analysis of gender as a structure of social relations, especially a structure of power relations; sociological concerns with subcultures and issues of marginalization and resistance; and post-structuralist analyses of the making of identities in discourse, and the interplay of gender with race, sexuality, class and nationality' (Connell 2000:8). These theoretical developments contributed towards the rethinking of new forms of gender and the politics of identity in the wider society.

In the South African context the intellectual and political debate about the patriarchal norms embedded in the cultural and religious practices contributed to a new political culture awarded by the Constitutional Bill of Rights equality clause of 1996, which affirms:

> The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more groups, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Act 108 of 1996, Chapter 2, 9 {3}).

The culture of gender equality has contributed to new forms of gender and the politics of identity in the post-colonial era. The new forms of gender and the politics of identity focus on critically examining the patriarchal norms that are responsible for the general subordination of women and some men. For instance, in the past traditional men controlled fertility, land ownership, migrated to cities for work and were involved in chieftaincy which offered them status. Many chiefs, John Lambert highlights, 'many chiefs made great effort to allocate fresh

land to *abamnumzana* (homestead heads)' (2008:215) Traditional men were in charge of the private and public life. Now given the new political dispensation women have rights to hold any public office, own land, are sometimes installed into chieftaincy and are able to negotiate fertility with their partners. Radikobo Ntsimane (2006:29-40) asserts that in the African Indigenous Initiated Churches unmarried men and women are prevented from entering the priesthood. Now in some religious sectors women and unmarried men are being ordained into priesthood. Thus, conservative cultural practices and traditional understandings of being a man have come under pressure with a shift towards a culture of gender equality. This culture of gender equality is therefore causing a shift in gender relations as they have become democratised.

1.2 Research problem

This study seeks to examine Zulu men's interpretation of their masculinity in terms of their relationship to gender questions. It also seeks broadly to understand the reality of socialisation, peer pressure, and how men construct their identity in the context of changing societal expectations. In an attempt to address this problem, it would be prudent to ask the following questions:

- How is Zulu masculinity defined and re-worked from the pre-colonial period till the present?
- What religious practices from the Christian tradition influence Zulu understandings of masculinity?
- How does the Constitution shape a culture of gender equality?

1.3 Hypothesis

The transition to democracy in South Africa in the 1990s simultaneously ushered in changes to the existing gender order. This change in the landscape of politics in South Africa suggests that new initiatives were being made to broaden the activists' work to realize gender equality, the process by which fair and just distribution of all means of opportunities and resources between women and men will be realized in all spheres of political, social, economic and cultural development. These are reflected in the South African Constitution introduced in 1996, which has destabilized the traditional understandings of being a man. South African

men are now responding differently to the changes in gender relations which suggest that they feel their masculinity compromised as a result.

1.4 Objectives of the study

This study aims to determine how cultural and faith and/ religious practices influence Zulu men's understandings of their masculinity, and the extent to which the political culture as outlined in the South African Constitution, clause 9 of the Bill of Rights is (if at all) changing these understandings in the Umgungundlovu region, KwaZulu-Natal.

The study therefore pursues the following objectives:

- To determine cultural and religious values and beliefs that men uphold and if there is a difference in these values and beliefs between urban and rural Zulu men.
- To understand the role of a culture of gender equality as outlined in the Constitution in changing these values and beliefs.
- To make a contribution to the discussion on alternative masculinities.

1.5 Theoretical framework

Gender theories provide masculinity studies with a better understanding of how gender is examined and perceived in society. Connell asserts that 'to understand 'men' or 'masculinity' we must first have some idea of how to understand gender' (2000:17). Gender is a social construct of masculinity and femininity that is acquired in social contexts. It refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are influenced in our societies, our families and our cultures. Men and women are expected to conform to the expectations prescribed by our families, our societies and our cultures.

However, many men adopt an essentialist understanding of their masculinity. Connell states that 'in popular ideology (at least in the English-speaking world) masculinity is often believed to be a natural consequence of male biology. Men behave the way they do because of testosterone, or big muscles, or a male brain. Accordingly masculinity is fixed' (2000: 57). A typical example of the essentialist paradigm in South Africa is that of men who opt for polygamous marriages such as President Jacob Zuma. He believes that having more than one

wife is part of his Zulu culture. This indicates that culture is the way of life which is unchanging given widespread criticism of this pre-colonial practice. Feminists regard polygamy as undermining the universally human dignity of women. Men also who uphold male headship think in this essential way. In general, South African men perceive culture as unchanging. The high level of gender-based violence and HIV prevalence rate is an outcome of some men's essential ways of thinking about life. They cling to the old ways of what it means to be a man in order to protect their masculinity. Popular ideology limits the debate on masculinity because of its stance of biological determinism which is regarded as naturally given. In this way, issues of masculinity and culture are never questioned. The popular ideology of masculinity as a natural consequence of male biology denies us the opportunity to explore structures such as: culture, economy, politics, education, and technology in their relationship to masculinity. The social constructionists perspective attempt to explore masculinity beyond the essentialists understanding.

The social constructionists perspective attempts to broaden the debate on masculinity by focusing on how gender patterns are constructed and practiced given changes in the human phenomenon. Connell asserts that 'the relationship between personal life and structure constantly emerges as a key issue about masculinity' (2000:30). This suggests a complex and diverse understanding of masculinity. Connell (1995:77-80), the pioneer of masculinity studies internationally, demonstrates that men present themselves in everyday situations in different forms of masculinities such as hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is a dominant form of masculinity, which is often considered as the ideal understanding of masculinity within a society. Subordinate masculinity does not live up to the "ideal" of hegemonic masculinity, but it is defined and constrained by dominant understandings of masculinity. Complicit masculinity accepts the rewards of hegemonic masculinity, without defending the patriarchal system from which it benefits. It does not challenge the system that suppresses women and some men, but passively accepts the status quo. Marginal masculinity appears in exploited and oppressed groups. It shares many of the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, but has no power to act in society. Connell's social constructionist perspective of masculinity presents a universalist forms of theorizing masculinities which is inadequate in the South African context. Victor Seidler (2006: 37-38), critiquing Connell, suggests that his conception of hegemonic masculinities gives an impression that hegemony is universal. Robert Morrell (2001a:26-33) concurs that in South African society, for instance, there are many conflicting

definitions or understandings of what it means to be a man. Understandings of masculinity overlap and contradict with one another, and, therefore, it is difficult to say which masculinity is dominant.

Morrell (2001a:26-33) asserts that, in the South African context, men are responding differently to changing gender relations. This means that understandings of masculinity differ from one person to the next. Morrell (2001a:26-33) identifies three different ways in which men are responding in the current South African context: reactive, accommodating and progressive. In the reactive or defensive response, men have attempted to turn back social changes in order to reassert their power. This means that men appear to be viewing transitional changes "forced" by gender change as undermining their traditional ways of being men. One way of maintaining their power is to resist change by holding fast to traditionally constructed values that subordinate other men and women. Morrell asserts that 'in the second category of responses, some which are apparently traditionalist and might be considered defensive can in fact be understood as attempts to resuscitate non-violent masculinities' (2001a:29). He gives an example of the practice of circumcision amongst the African youth which has resulted in high death (Morrell 2001a:29). Morrell also asserts that 'the absence of any widespread male opposition to the improvement in women's positions and to the tolerance of gay men is possibly the most impressive testimony to the accommodating position, although misogyny and homophobia have far from disappeared' (2001a:31). He goes onto assert that the third category of response which is responsive or progressive is most obvious in a number of organisations currently working in the field of violence that condemn it and work for more equitable gender relations, domestically and publicly (Morrell 2001a:31).

Given the nature of masculinity, this study argues that the social constructionist approach is adequate for understanding the complexity and diversity of masculinity and for understanding how masculine identities are constructed in the context of changing gender relations.

1.6 Summary of Research findings

The study findings suggest that there are conflicting views about culture. The Zulu men who were interviewed for this research embraced the cultural values that protect and respect the dignity of human persons irrespective of gender or sex. The participants said a man is

someone who has respect, does not harm other people, and punishment was needed for those who harm women and children. The participants also said having respect and dignity would prove their role and revive moral values. On the other hand, the study findings suggest that the participants embraced respect and dignity of their cultural roots which promote and protect the individual status or patriarchy of a man over the household affairs. The participants stated that the status of manhood is conferred by having cattle, a house, and a wife and children so that in turn a man would be respected by one's peers. If one does not have a wife one would not be taken seriously by one's married peers, participants said. While on the basis of authority on which male power in the household rests, the study findings suggest that the participants were concerned with values or norms which guarantee that a man will have control over the household affairs. The participants said the man burns the incense because he is placed by the ancestors, while the woman is not allowed to because she is found unclean as a result of menstruation. This suggests that in the traditional Zulu society men are given socially privileged positions over women by fulfilling the gender-based roles of conducting rituals and providing resources. In as much as the participants showed conflicting views about culture they also struggled with the Constitution.

The participants stated women can now hold public offices in religious, social and cultural, and economic institutions which suggests women are now "non-discriminated against" as a result of the Constitution. On the other hand, the study findings suggest that the participants struggled with the promotion of equality between men and women. The participants said women are now disrespectful stating that this has resulted in a loss of respect and dignity and the authority of men especially in the household affairs. The participants also struggled with the promotion of equal employment opportunities stating it threatens their authority. The participants said it is worse if a woman is the one working because a man is disrespected and even expected to wash dishes. The participants also said a woman in any interview has an advantage over a man. The participants also struggled with gender rights especially with regard to access to justice and felt they were unfairly discriminated by the system. The participants said if a man reports a case of abuse by a woman the South African Police laugh at him. In general the study findings suggest that the participants felt their masculinity compromised as a result of the Constitution.

The study findings suggests that in the religious institutions men do not discard completely their traditional beliefs and practices; instead they see it as an element of continuity to

entrench binary views about gender relations that promote separate spheres. The seating arrangements and exclusion of women from leadership positions and discrimination of same-sex relationships were justified through religious men's interpretations of Scripture. This suggests that the participants gained the understanding of masculinity and femininity by the reading and interpreting of Scripture to show how men have abused God's authority. As a result women and gay men are excluded from the leadership positions because women are deemed unfit and gay men contradict what God created.

In sum, the study findings suggest that the participants struggled with the changing gender relations in the South African context through the clash of traditional and modern understandings of masculinity, or what it means to be a man. The participants perceived the Constitution as a resource that seeks to advance the interests of women in the home and workplace but struggled to accept its implementation because it threatens their respect and dignity and authority especially at home. The study findings show that men think and act differently in response to changing expectations of being a man in society.

1.7 Overview of the study

Chapter two theorises masculinity by critically examining the work of men's studies theorists, such as Robert Connell and Robert Morrell.

Chapter three seeks to understand the constructions of Zulu masculinity from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras and how they have been re-worked in modern society.

Chapter four presents the research findings of the fieldwork. It addresses a few areas namely, the influences on culture, faith, gender constructions awarded by the Constitution and general feelings about being a man in South Africa today.

Chapter five analyses the research findings and employs Connell's and Morrell's primary works in masculinity studies which have been instrumental in delineating the context in which men's masculine identities establish themselves in society.

Chapter six presents the summary of the study and concludes with the recommendations for activist work with men.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORISING MASCULINITY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter theorises masculinity by critically examining the work of theorists and exploring the ways in which this body of work has contributed to the understanding of gender. The work of gender studies has stimulated a debate by challenging the conception of a gender hierarchy, which has resulted in a crisis in the way some men relate to each other and to women. Gender hierarchy does not imply that masculinity is naturally given and fixed in structures and biological make-up, as presupposed by the essentialists, but is fluid and dynamic. Hence, theorists argue that the conception of gender hierarchy may not be found in all cultures, because masculinity depends on a particular milieu in which it is constructed. In the South African context masculinities overlap and contend with each other because of conflicting ideas of what it means to be a man. This chapter presents the debate around socially constructed ways of being human in the international and the South African contexts.

2.2 Changing understandings of masculinity

This section will introduce changing understandings of masculinity in the West and in Africa which have been influenced by the scholarly work of Robert Connell (1987; 1995; 2000; 2002) and Robert Morrell (2001) specifically in South Africa. Both authors show that masculinity studies lack a critical examination of the power relations in which gender is constructed. Connell (1995:77-80) is the pioneer of masculinity studies internationally. Connell (1987:191; 2001:34-35; 369-373; 2002:9, 76) posits that cultural, individual and structural factors are interdependent in human social relations. He uses culture to refer to customs, ideas, and social behaviour of a particular people or group and stresses the separation of roles in different cultures (Connell 2001:31). This is particularly evident in the separation between the public and private realms.

According to Connell (2003:255) structural factors refers to "world gender order". Connell (2003:255) refers to the world gender order as structural relationships that interconnect the

gender regimes of institutions and the gender orders of local societies, on a world scale. Connell (2003:255) refers to gender order as the way in which society selects and defines which ideas about gender should regulate social behaviour. It might flow from culture, religious, sport or human rights values (Getnet 2001). According to Connell (2002:53) gender regimes are regular set of arrangements about gender found in institutions, such as school or work, corresponding to the usual features of organisational life. Therefore Connell's (2001:34-35; 369-373) understanding of gender suggests that cultural, individual and structural factors are interdependent in human social relations.

Connell (1995:77-80; 2001:38-42) asserts that men present themselves in everyday situations in these factors, which are interdependent in human social relations, in four conceptions of masculinities: subordinate, complicit, marginal, and hegemonic. Within all four different notions of masculinity Connell tended to focus on the hegemonic type masculinity which he views as 'the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy; which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and subordination of women' (2001:38, 39). Connell (1995:77) regards hegemonic masculinities as dominant, aggressive, superior and violent compared to other masculinities in western society and many cultures. On the other hand however, Morrell (2001a:26-33) and Connell (1995:77) do not share the same view on hegemonic masculinity.

Morrell (2001a:25) holds a view that it is difficult to say which masculinity is dominant in a society given the diversity of culture, race, class, ethnicity and histories that men in Africa share. Morrell argues that, 'in a transitional society such as South Africa, the question of which discourse is hegemonic is a complex one' (2001a:25). Morrell (2001a:26-33) shows that men respond in different ways to current changing expectations placed on men in the South African context: defensive, accommodating, and responsive. Men's responses to change have been influenced by the shifts in gendered / power relations in South Africa. Morrell (2001a:26-33) states that different notions of masculinity overlap with each other as a result of conflicting ideas of what it means to be a man. This indicates that all masculinities influence one another. This also means that different notions of masculinity vary based on the context of the people studied.

Morrell (2001a:7) and Connell (1995:78-80) share the same view that non-hegemonic masculinities developed outside the normative understandings of masculinity are de-

authorized, that is, do not have total control and authority. Connell (1995:78-80) regards subordinated, complicit and marginal masculinities as non-hegemonic because they often display non-violent characteristics. Morrell concurs:

> Generally speaking, these were masculinities developed outside the corridors of power. Minorities, defined in terms of race, class, ethnicity or sexual orientation, all characteristically understand what being a man means differently from members of the ruling class or elite and from each other too (2001a:7).

The debate suggests that there are different notions of masculinity, which are hegemonic and non-hegemonic. Different notions of masculinity interact and relate to one another in the everyday lives of people in a particular social context.

2.3 Connell's construction of masculinity

Connell (1987:191) presupposes that masculinity is a product of social construction that is forever being constructed in every context. According to Connell, 'to most people being a 'man' or a 'woman' is above all a matter of personal experience. It is something involved in the way we grow up, the way we conduct family life and sexual relationships, the way we present ourselves, and see ourselves, in everyday situations' (2002:76). Therefore the need to understand how one learns gendered behaviour is important. Connell posits that 'the new-born child has a biological sex but no social order and as it grows older society provides a string of prescriptions, templates, or models of behavior appropriate to the one sex or the other' (1987:191). These social prescriptions determine what is acceptable gender behavior and often in traditional societies the ruling class or kinship group determines what is acceptable gender behaviour. This implies that masculinity as a social construct 'is a form of identity that influences and shapes attitudes and behaviors, but it is also an ideology that represents the cultural ideals that indicate the expected roles and values that men must adhere to' (Leach 1994:1). Masculinity as a product of social construction can therefore be deconstructed and reconstructed in changing contexts.

The essentialists' assumption of separation of roles between sexes lacks a concrete examination of how gender patterns are constructed and practiced. Sylvester Rankhotha asserts that 'for example, the current division of labour between the sexes in societies is seen as a reflection of some underlying biological necessity, with society mirroring biology' (2002:12). Connell (2005:71) critiques that the separation of roles between the sexes in

12

societies fails to consider historical and cultural changes around the human phenomenon. On the other hand, Connell (2005:71) suggests that in order to make sense of masculinity, we need to concentrate on the processes and interactions through which males and females manage their gendered lives instead of attempting to define masculinity as a natural character type, behavioural standard or norm. As a result, Connell argues, 'in this sense, gender must be understood as social structure. Its is not an expression of biology, nor a fixed dichotomy in human life or character' (2002:9). He asserts that 'masculinities and femininities are produced together in the process that constitutes a gender order' (Connell 2005:72). This world gender order contributes towards the conception of masculinities as hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal (Connell (1995:77-80).

2.3.1 Hegemonic masculinities

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, which refers to a particular dominant form of masculinity, is used widely in critical studies of men to explore power relations, both among men themselves and between men and women. Connell (1995:77) understands this hegemony as dominant, aggressive, superior and violent compared to other masculinities, because it subordinates other men. Frank Barrett argues 'masculine hegemony refers not only to the various groupings of men and the ideals they uphold. It refers also to the process by which these groups and ideals form, the organizational situations and constraints that shape and construct these ideals and groups' (2001:79). Men embrace the hegemonic, for example, in stick fighting, physical work and rugby to prove that they are strong and warriors as one way to shape and construct normative ideals of masculinity. Hence men engage in such activities to demonstrate power. Connell suggests that, 'power is a social structure, which is concerned with control, authority and the construction of hierarchies between institutions and organizations and over and amongst people' (1987:102). The notion of hegemonic masculinities has been particularly useful for critiquing essentialist notions of male power and for pointing out that some men are more powerful than others. This indicates that men use control, authority, strength and being competitive and aggressive to demonstrate power, both among men themselves and between men and women.

Men for centuries have been controlling institutions to maintain dominance. Connell (2001:72) explains that over the last two centuries the market economy was dominated by men, giving them the power to dominate, and leaving women with less power to influence the

economy. This indicates that institutions of power, such as the labour market, have differential access to power and control over resources and their allocation, that is, about who gets what and how. According to John Swain (2005:20) men are placed by society in a position that uses features of the formal culture, which mobilises around a number of socio-cultural constructs such as control. The use of formal culture results in hegemonic identities, which subordinate other men and women. Connell (2002:71, 72) argues that the global movement of the emancipation of women has challenged men's control of institutions, an idea that is presupposed by the essentialists as fixed and given. Women entering labour markets in numbers has contested spaces, which have been dominated by men. Morrell (2001:4) states that the Beijing Declaration of Women of 1995 called for robust international political action for women to ensure that systems of domination and oppression are eliminated and that the rights and interests of women are promoted. Stephen Whitehead and Barrett argue that 'if masculinity is a structure of practice that provides resources for constructing identity, not all men have equal access to the same resources, nor all men seek these resources' (2001:18). This is because masculinity is something one 'does' rather than something one 'has. Men for centuries have used their dominance to control institutions but not all men are in control. Connell (1995:77-80; 2001:38-42) argues that there are some men who are subordinated, complicit and marginal and who represent non-hegemonic masculinities.

2.3.2 Subordinated masculinities

The power relations amongst men produce subordinated masculinities. Connell (2001:39; 2005:78) states that the most common example of subordinate masculinity in contemporary American and European society is that of homosexual men. Connell (2001:39; 2005:78) explains that gay men often do not live up to the "ideal" of hegemonic masculinities and are often subjected to name calling such as "sissies" and "nancy-boys". This indicates that the dominant group set the constraints for and define the subordinated group(s). Helen Wells et al (2006:20-35) highlights that there are two types of discrimination against gay men, namely heterosexim and homophobia. Wells (2006:20-35) states that heterosexism is reinforced in the media, religion, legal discourses, education and health care. For instance in some religious institutions gay men are prevented from priesthood because they do not represent characteristics of being a man, and often Scripture is used to discriminate against them (Anglican News 2005: 3). As a result gay men may not fully disclose their status or lifestyle

because of homophobia in religious institutions. Connell (2001:40) holds the view that homophobia results in self-denial because of the fear of being ostracized and abused and men that feel they have no value deny themselves dignity and in turn are subordinated by society.

The conduct and desires in subordinated masculinities are contradictory because some men choose to be subordinated. This means that some men could choose to remain subordinated instead of challenging and rejecting hegemonic masculinity, which gives an indication that subordination is not always imposed. Connell (2001:39-40) asserts that some heterosexual men are expelled from the legitimacy of patriarchy because they are found "not real men," and thus do not meet the normative expectations of what it means to be a man. In Zulu culture men that are not married and un-circumcised are regarded as "boys", which is a derogatory term. They are often prevented from sharing a meal with married and circumcised men. Swain posits that 'men who are subjugated by these differences have to work very hard at learning the appropriate peer group norms to be included' (2005:221).. This means that to be subordinated is sometimes a choice. Terry-Ann et al concurs that 'some men do choose to reject hegemonic masculinity, and subordinate and alternative masculinities exist within township culture, for example, that of the *isithipa* ("stupid man")' (2002:28). *Isithipa* often displays non-hegemonic characteristics and cling to non-violent values. Men's conducts and desires in subordinated masculinities present contradiction which might lead to acceptance of the benefits of patriarchy because some men choose not to challenge hegemonic masculinity that is complicit.

2.3.3 Complicit masculinities

Connell asserts that 'there are also masculinities which are organized around acceptance of the patriarchal dividend, but are not militant in defence of patriarchy. These might be termed complicit masculinities' (2000:31). These are shared norms (benefits) men gain from the subordination of women and some men. Connell highlights that 'masculinities constructed in ways that realize the patriarchal dividend, without the tensions or risks of being the frontline troops of patriarchy, are complicit in this sense' (2001:40, 41). This means that, for example, some men may support equal employment opportunities, but the mere fact that they benefited from an economic system that favours men over women, are complicit to the status quo. Connell states that "a great many men who draw the patriarchal dividend also respect their wives and mothers, are never violent towards women, do their accustomed share of the

housework, bring home the family wage, and can easily convince themselves that feminists must be bra-burning extremists' (2001:41). These men often do not challenge structures that subordinate other men and women because they are recipients of the benefits of patriarchy. Sallie Westwood argues, for example, that 'it has become a familiar call from politicians when they decide to resign from government; 'to spend more time with my family' is probably the most overused phrase in politics today' (1996:25). Thus Connell's (2001:40-41) argument suggests that complicit masculinities give an indication that some men are "ignorant" of oppressive structures of domination, but passively accept them as normative because they have benefited from them. This is part of the politics of masculinity, which indicates that men have always enjoyed being in control whether it is within religious or social or political or economic or familial and even cultural institutions.

2.3.4 Marginal masculinities

Connell states that 'there are also marginalized masculinities, gender forms produced in exploited or oppressed groups such as ethnic minorities, which may share many features with hegemonic masculinity but are socially de-authorized' (2000:31). Immigrants in any country might feel marginal, because they minorities. Connell states that, 'the interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race creates further relationships between masculinities' (2001:41). Class relationships render the man who has less or no resources marginal. In Zulu culture a man that has cattle, a wife, and children often frames masculinities through those that do not have these things. Men that do not have resources may always look up to those that have them and may share hegemonic characteristics. The current global volatility of the labour market, which resulted in massive unemployment of men, may make men feel marginal. This means that men who have benefited from the labour market might feel that the new legislative changes that empower women reduce their chances of employability. Connell argues that race relations may also become an integral part of the dynamic within masculinities:

> In a white-supremacist context, black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction. For instance, black sporting stars become exemplars of masculine toughness, while the fantasy figure of the black rapist plays an important role in sexual politics among whites, a role much exploited by right-wing politics in the United States. Conversely, hegemonic masculinity among whites sustains the institutional oppression and physical terror that have framed the making of masculinities in black communities (2001:41).

16

Connell states that these are some of the race relations that 'are not fixed character types but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships' (2001:42). Connell (2001:42-43) argues that a changing structure, for example, of inequality involving a massive dispossession of social resources often involves violence. For instance, the foreign policy of a country that allows immigrants to enjoy all privileges of its citizens might make some men feel marginal because they now compete for resources. Violence may erupt as a protest to sustain dominance. Gender forms produced in an exploited context, such as the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, is an example of the marginalization that some men feel.

Thus, the Connell's debate on different forms of masculinity may be adequate in understanding masculinity in the internationally level. In South African society which is constantly changing, his universally theory may not to be suitable. Morrell (2001a:26-33) argues, hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities seem not to be the carriers of the new values, which are contending with and overlapping over what it means to be a man.

2.4 Social constructionist theory in the South African context

Morrell (2001a:26-33) has used Connell (1995:77-80) to show how his theoretical framework applies to the South African context. Morrell asserts:

> The votality of change is important for two reasons. In the first instance it shows that masculinity can and does change and that it is therefore not a fixed, essential identity which all men have. Secondly, gender change reveals that men differ – not all have the same masculinity (2001a:4).

Morrell argues that 'gender change is a highly complex process and it occurs within individuals, within groups and within institutions' (2001a:26). Hence, Morrell (2001b: 12-13) argues that the individuals that have become bearers of hegemonic masculinity seem puny and quite unable to meet its strenuous gender demands and precisely who produces hegemonic masculinity is uncertain. Morrell argues that 'no one masculinity or group is likely to be the carrier of new values' (2001a:26). This indicates that all notions of masculinity appear 'non-hegemonic' that is, circumstances disallow them to reclaim dominance because of a gender change. Morrell states that 'South African men are confronting new material, political and social circumstances' (2005:xi). 'The state is the most

single agent of change' (Morrell 2001a:20). Morrell asserts that 'in times of transition the (and its citizenry) becomes involved in issues of masculinity whether it likes it or not' (2001a:21). Rankhotha (2002:x) concurs that the state in South Africa has forced men to re-examine gender relationships which are different from what they know and to embrace a new culture of 'gender equality, which is enshrined in the Constitution. This suggests that the Constitution is one of the instruments that culminated in a gender change. A culture of gender equality holds the state (and its citizenry) responsible to promote values that underlie an open democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom.

Devenish (1998:44-45) asserts that a culture of gender equality enshrined in the Constitution states that no one can be unfairly discriminated against on grounds of gender, religion, race, culture, marital status, origin and sexual orientation. Rankhotha (2002:x) concurs that "new ways" of being a man carry values that do not encourage dominant, aggressive, superior, and violent behaviour but affirm respect, tolerance, and mutual submission between men and women. This suggests that men are beginning to encounter other ways of being a man that are moving towards respect for Constitutional values, which contradict traditional constructions of masculinities. Thus the gendered context has shifted but the impact of the tension that exists between different notions of masculinity has re-surfaced. Morrell (2001a:26-33) explains a shift in context through different notions of masculinity in a way that is appropriate for the South African context by identifying three responses by South African men.

2.4.1 Defensive responses

In as much as there are transitions in gendered relations, some men have not welcomed these changes. Morrell states that 'in the first category, men have attempted to turn back changes in order to reassert their power' (2001a:26). Morrell explains the background to reactive or defensive responses to changes:

> In the political sphere, government was being 'taken over' by blacks; in the business world, affirmative action policies were 'giving jobs to blacks'; and in public spaces, gay men were openly flaunting their sexuality, a clear sign that the homophobic grip of hegemonic masculinity was losing its strength (2001a:27).

This suggests that some men have become vulnerable and insecure to changes. They are unable to sustain dominance through race, class and power relations. The South African context is beginning to reveal deep crises of identity. Past wages between blacks and whites were unequal; apartheid created separate development between races. In addition the migrant labor system created class divisions between rural and urban areas. All these factors and experiences were humiliating and undermined human dignity. These normative acts in gendered relations lie in past practices and are unfolding in the post-apartheid era of transition.

Men's reactive responses to change reflect the impact of the Constitution, which has now exacerbated a "crisis of masculinity". Crisis masculinity in South Africa is acted out in the private and public arenas to reinforce normative male ideals. Richter and Morrell explain that 'crisis masculinity is measured by, among other things, high rates of male suicide, changes in the gendered nature of work which challenges male hierarchical entitlement' (2006:7). The challenge to male hierarchical entitlement results in some men resorting to risky and violent acts such as crime, rape, murder, suicide, substance abuse, and reckless driving, as well as cultural and religious beliefs that legitimize patriarchy or reassert power and enforce the status. Tsak Niehaus highlights that 'men fantasize about the powerful identities that are inscribed in gender hierarchies and commit themselves emotionally to these identities' (2005:70). Some men commit social ills, such as gender-based violence. Morrell (2001a:28) states that some men long for the rural areas where they are respected and 'treated "like a man" by their partners because they find the life in the hostel as very difficult. These actions by some men suggest that men are faced with contradictions between traditional and new political cultural definitions of being men today. This indicates that defensive masculinity is an attempt to "endorse" the hegemonic type, which has many features of patriarchy and is not conducive for equitable gender relations.

2.4.2 Accommodating responses

In the second category, Morrell (2001a:29) demonstrates that 'not all men have responded defensively.' In South Africa, Morrell states, 'for township youth who do not look to 'tradition for their inspiration, there are other ways of rejecting violent masculinities which attempt to re-establish the power of men' (2001a:30). Instead they are accommodating of these changes. It appears that some men have opted to suppress their "male power" because

of a fear of gender rights that protect against the inhuman and degrading treatment of people and to move with times. Tina Sideris states that 'women's equal right to the entitlements of citizenship, legislation that defends the integrity of women, and the human rights discourse pose challenges to the legitimacy of men's privileged status over women' (2005:117). Morrell (2001a:4) concurs that political action called for in the Beijing Declaration of Women in 1995, other international declarations of gender equality and the South African Constitution aimed at promoting the rights and interests of women. 'It marked the moment moment when nations from all over the world committed themselves to accelerating and intensifying efforts to promote women's rights' (Morrell 2001a:4). This may have contributed to accommodating responses to change. Morrell states that 'the absence of any widespread male opposition to the improvement in women's positions and to the tolerance of gay men is possibly the most impressive testimony to the accommodating position, although misogyny and homophobia have far from disappeared' (2001a:31). This indicates that some men may cling to old ways of being a man, yet do not use violent means or try to reverse changes by being accommodating. Morrell's (2001a:30-31) second category suggest that some men's change of mind-set may have contributed towards the creation of progressive or responsive masculinities, which show characteristics of non-violence, involvement in traditionally feminine tasks, and peace making.

2.4.3 Responsive responses

Morrell states that, 'evidence of the third category of response, emancipatory masculinities, is most obvious in the gay movement' (2001a:31). The progressive or responsive stance, which sustains mutuality in men-to-men interactions, is mostly evident in the gay movement. Morrell highlights that 'in organizational terms, there are many examples of men attempting to challenge violent masculinities and, in so doing, develop new models of how to be men' (2001a:31). Morrell (2001a:31) asserts that these are men who challenge other men to take responsibility, condemn violence and work more for equitable gender relations. This does not imply that no heterosexual men are responsive. Research suggests that 'there are now supportive men that are open to considering 'alternative' means of expressing themselves that do not rely on virility and violence; they want to know about pre - and post - natal care' (USAID 2003:6). In this regard, Sideris conducted research 'in a remote corner of South Africa a group of men are negotiating more caring and equal relationships with their wives and children' (2005:111). Morrell (2001a:31) and Rankhotha (2002:x) state that some

scholars perceive this new way of being a man as appropriate in a context of gender-based violence and the HIV and AIDS epidemic. This new way of being a man presupposes that the mobilised men might stop engaging in risk behaviour and begin to put an end to gender-based violence by accepting all men, women and children as human beings with full dignity. This shift of mind-set by men is suited to improving relations, both among men and between men and women in turn ensuring equitable gender relations in society.

The progressive or responsive views might have set a precedence by which men could follow in post-apartheid society. Seidler critiques that 'different generations have different concerns, and even though it might be misleading to think that issues of gender equality have been solved or that we have moved 'beyond gender', we need to recognise the resistance young people can feel to being 'fixed' in relation to their gender and sexual identities' (2006:3). This indicates that in as much as there is collective liberating political action the activist work with men should not be "short-sighted". It should realize that there are some men who oppose gender reforms. Men who embrace gender reforms are needed today to reclaim a man's dignity that has been lost through violent acts.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the work of masculinity studies theorists. It has also explored the ways in which this body of work has contributed to the understanding of gender. The work of masculinity studies theorists explored the concept of gender hierarchy, because it has created contradictions and crises in the way some men relate to each other and to women. This chapter has also demonstrated that the concept of gender hierarchy is not naturally given and fixed in structures and biological make-up, as presupposed by the essentialists, but is fluid and dynamic. It is also not universal, because different notions of masculinity depend on a particular milieu in which they are constructed. In South Africa the different notions of masculinity are overlapping and contending because of conflicting ideas of what it means to be a man. This indicates that there is no likely version of masculinity that is dominant. Some men are reactive, accommodating and responsive to changes. The next chapter seeks to determine how Zulu masculinity was re-worked from the pre-colonial period to the present. This is crucially important for understanding the influences that contributed toward the construction of masculine identities through historical development. Current influences help

us to understand the changing nature of masculinity in the South African context, which is also discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

ZULU CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter theorised masculinity by demonstrating ways in which the work of men's theorists have contributed to an understanding of gender. This chapter seeks to understand how Zulu masculinity has been re-worked from the pre-colonial era till the present in an attempt to define what it means to be a man today. It also demonstrates that there are multiple factors that caused Zulu masculinity to evolve over time which suggest that it is not fixed, but is fluid and dynamic. There are now alternative masculinities that challenge traditional conceptions of what it means to be a man which are emerging in the post-colonial era.

3.2 Pre - colonial era: world-view, ethical values and homestead economy

3.2.1 World-view and ethical values

The Zulu people of KwaZulu-Natal are part of the group known as the "Nguni". According to Gavin Whitelaw: 'two to three thousand years ago in the vicinity of modern Nigeria and Cameroon, African farmers speaking Bantu languages developed a new way of life and spread gradually around the fringes of the equatorial forests into eastern and southern Africa' (2008:49). This phase is known as Kalundu, and ends around 1030. Whitelaw asserts that the second millennium known as 'the Blackburn phase dates from about 1030 to 1300 and represents ancestral Nguni-speaking farmers – the third language group to settle in what is now KwaZulu-Natal' (2008:53). This was followed by the Blackburn sequence, Mooi Park, dates from 1300 to 1700. The Nguni group is now made up of the amaSwazi, amaZulu, amaXhosa and amaNdebele. W. D. Hammond-Tooke (2008:71) and Whitelaw (2008:47-54) state that the Zulu historical information was obtained by constructing past identities from material culture such as a model of homestead organization called Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) and using oral tradition from the survivors of the Portuguese ship wreck of the 1500s and Nguni people (Whitelaw 2008:47). Hence, it is believed that the Zulu clan originated from the "reeds" which is a myth that attempts to trace the origin of human kind. Zulu is the

clan-name (*isibongo*) of the founder, *uZulu* ("the sky"). Mbongiseni Buthelezi (2008:25) states that the Zulu clan-name became widely known during the reign of inkosi (Prince) uShaka in 1816. John Wright (2008:71) concurs that the colonist writers labeled King Shaka as the ferocious and savage leader who directed amaZulu and name all the isiZulu speaking people amaZulu. The clan-name now refers to all who speak the language isiZulu and are considered to be religious and cultural in their approach to life.

Absolom Vilakazi (1962:87, 89) asserts that amaZulu believed in "*uNkulunkulu* (*the Great One*) or *uMvelinqangi* and ancestral spirits as mediators. Vilakazi states: 'The Zulu, in his indigenous religious system, speaks of *uNkulunkulu* or *uMvelinqngi* as the the maker of the earth and of everything that is in the world. If asked as to who created *uNkulunkulu* , the answer is that he was not created but emerged full-blown from the reeds' (1962:87). Vilakazi (1962:87-93) perceives religion as the way of life and has no formality; it is lived; folktales, myths, art, music, rituals, praises and dance form part of it. This indicates that in Zulu religious beliefs, religion and culture are intertwined. For instance, the ancestral spirits are regarded as mediators between God and man. Vilakazi argues that 'the idea of mediation, where the ancestral spirits (*amathongo or amadlozi*) are mediators between *uNkulunkulu* and men, is very imperfectly developed' (1962:89). He further argues:

> In all my experience as a Zulu, living among Zulu carriers of the culture, and in the field, I cannot remember a single instance when I heard a prayer by a traditionalist offered to *uMvelinqangi*. It always is to the ancestral spirits that prayers are made in cases of sterility in women, in cases of illness or when the cattle are dying unaccountably. In diagnosing the cause of the disease or misfortune, the diviner always discovers the cause either in witchcraft and socery and/ or in the anger of the spirits, not of uMvelinqangi (1962:89).

In my experience as an isiZulu speaking man, living among Zulu carriers of culture, the prayers offered to the ancestral spirits are one way of venerating them so that they can communicate our message to uMvelinqangi. The ancestral veneration and belief in *uMvelinqangi* offered amaZulu a practical way of life to address and overcome tribulations of the day. From this point of view, this was one way of understanding their universe and the life after death. Vilakazi explains that 'when a man dies, his *isithunzi* or shadow lives on as an ancestral spirit, so when people talk of *izithunzi zakithi*, i.e. "the shadows of our family," they mean the dead members of their lineage whose spirits are now their gods' (1962:88). This shows that the living and the living dead (ancestral spirits) are in contact with each other

and the body is the one that dies not *umoya* (spirit). The ancestral veneration was symbolical and conducted in ritual activities.

Hammond-Tooke (1974:352) asserts that Zulu traditional world-view was symbolical expressed in ritual activities. Hammond-Tooke (1974:352) states that rituals were classified into, namely: *ritual of kinship* and *communal rituals*. *Kinship rituals* were to the family-and-lineage. Hammond-Tooke explains that they are divided into '(a) life-cycle rituals, the sacralilization of important stages in the life of the individual, and (b) peculiar or contingent rituals, those performed in response to specific stimuli, in particular to illness' (1974:352). Hence, *communal rituals* are characterised by specific domestic spheres but in terms of life-cycle and health. Vilakazi asserts that kinship and communal rituals were also crucially important for the separation of boys from men and the transition of boys into men. Vilakazi explains that 'when a man has slaughtered an ox or a cow he reserves the fore-leg (*umkhono*) and the heart and lungs (*inhliziyo nephaphu*) exclusively for the men and the boys of the isigodi' (1962:81). This is done to mark the importance of age gap. A Zulu boy enters into a series of rituals before becoming a man such as the rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of incorporation so that he must be hardened into a man who will face difficulties with fortitude. The kinship and communal ritual activities were crucially important for the promotion of a good human relationship.

Zulu society's world-view and morality conceive *ubuntu* (spirit of a good human relationship) as a basis for ethical systems. Vilakazi, for instance, asserts that 'the *ilimo*, i.e work party, is also organized according to *isigodi* divisions, people of the neighbourhood generally co-operating and supporting one another' (1962:81). A spirit of a good human relationship was also emphasised through respect for seniors. Vilakazi (1962:73) states that respect for seniors is one of the fundamental values that determine the identity of a Zulu person. Vilakazi asserts that 'to *hlonipha* is to show appropriate respect for authority and seniority' (1962:73). Hammond-Tooke concurs that 'the virtues of a "good man" are, namely: respect for seniors, loyalty to kinsmen, freedom from suspicion of witchcraft, generosity, meticulous observance of custom, loyalty, kindness and forbearance' (1974:362). This indicates that elders were believed to be the teachers and directors of the youth. In my own village of u*Mbumbulu*, a young person is not allowed to sit down while an adult person has no place to sit. Hence, youth are encouraged to greet the seniors. Vilakazi (1962:73) regards

the community as the centre that shapes the individual ideas. So respect for seniors was significant, supervised and appraised by elders.

Vilakazi (1962:80) asserts that unnecessary disturbance or violent behaviour against any homestead or neighbourhood members was condemned. Vilakazi explains that 'for instance, a man who causes a disturbance in another man's home when there is no public function offends against the *umuzi* and its immediate head. His case would be taken to the courts by the kraal head and any damages would be due to the kraal head' (1962:80). This indicates that everyone was mindful of each other and harmonious living and solidarity was encouraged through human interactions. According to Vilakazi (1962:23-25) the homestead was central to the Zulu world-view and ethical systems because it controlled matters of land, marriage, inheritance and seniority, and kinship relationships, which were at the centre of the homestead economy.

3.2.2 Homestead economy

Vilakazi explains that 'the *umuzi* is a composite type of nuclear family in that it is a cluster of nuclear families which are built around the cattle kraal' (1962:23). Vilakazi (1962:23) asserts that *umuzi* was part of the other two categories of genealogical groupings, namely: *umndeni* (the "lineage") and *indlu* (the "house"). For instance, Vilakazi outlines various forms of *imizi* (homesteads):

> a) There are those which are denuded families of orientation whose inmates are the parents or the surviving one of them, whose children have founded their own families and live in their own kraal on the Reserve or in rented homes in towns. b) There are also extended families where a married man, usually the eldest son and therefore heir of the kraal (although not necessarily he) lives with his own nuclear family and his father or his mother, his unmarried sisters and brothers, some illegitimate children of his sisters or nieces and some other relatives of either the wife's or the husband's. c) Others are just nuclear families consisting of a man, his wife and their children. d) Finally there are joint families of the grandparents, both or one of who may still be alive; and their unmarried children, the married sons and their wives and children; the illegitimate children of the daughters and some other tertiary relatives (1962:23).

The constituent nuclear families were dependent on the head of the kraal, which was expected to grow the homestead economy. Vilakazi explains, 'each kraal has its fields, worked by its women and now its men also, there is or was no system of organizing a

national economy for the benefit of the Zulu people by means of taxes, etc. which would help create a national treasury' (1962:24). In each kraal the head of the nuclear family grew the economy through farming activities and the accumulation of cattle by receiving *ilobolo* (bride price cattle) from the bride's family. Hammond-Tooke states that 'for at least a thousand years, cattle have been the most prized possession in Zulu culture, one of the few goods of real value owned outright by individuals and the only form of capital' (2008:62). Janet Shope (2006:64-71) asserts that *ilobolo* forged a relational bond among families, which was a symbolic capital that provided a father with a source of status and respect. This indicates that the homestead economy did not only forge a relational bond among families but it was also a cultural traditional ideological domain where a Zulu head of the kraal attained male honour or status quo over a woman, that is, a symbol of power and authority. Mark Hunter (2005:143) asserts that the size of each constituent nuclear family's economy was linked to the kraal. In each nuclear homestead family the head of the household was polygamous, that is, he took several wives in order to build a successful homestead. This shows that *umuzi* was an indicator of man's strength among men and women who were subservient. Hunter (2005:146) states that if the household head was successful he would be called *indoda emadodeni* ("a man among men") as a sign of honour and respect. Central to the sustainability or success of the constituent families, was also the socialization of boys into manhood.

The socialisation of boys served as the preparation stage of becoming men (*abamnumzane* - household heads). Benedict Carton (2001:133), Sean Field (2001:215-216) and Anne Mager (1997:19-30) assert that circumcision, hunting, shepherding and stick fighting signal a transition from boyhood to manhood. Field states that 'here masculinity is associated with discipline and reason, whereas those who are uncircumcised fight without reasonable cause. Mager concurs with Mr G.B.'s description of circumcision, 'Circumcision and signal a change in personality, manliness and identity' (2001:216). In my experience as a Zulu, living among Zulu carriers of the culture, boys were expected to be good hunters and as shepherds were expected to milk the cows to provide milk and *amasi* to their fathers' homesteads. These activities socialized boys to be aggressive and respected especial among their male peers who failed to follow suit. Margaret Shaw states that 'at the initiation ceremonies marking the transition from childhood to manhood they are emphatically reminded that cattle-herding and warfare are the two spheres of masculine activity' (1974:124). This confirms that the transition from child-hood to manhood was marked by dominance, aggression, authority and power. Field asserts that 'boys and men from the same area kept in

touch with one another, providing one another with identity, support and protection' (2001:216). In my point of view shaping boys' masculine identity may have been important when they reached the stage of *abamnumzane* (household heads) because they were needed for household management, protection, and public leadership. Shope (2006:64-71) argues that the homestead economy and the socialization of boys into manhood, which was central in entrenching male supremacy, did not withstand colonialism, which introduced a new way of securing resources, which was different from the homestead economy.

3.3 Colonial era: the shift from homestead economy to new mechanisms of securing resources

3.3.1 Effects of commodification of homestead economy

The colonial era in South Africa began in 1497 when Vasco da Gama reached the east coast of Africa. Shope (2006:64-71) asserts that the homestead economy as the center of male dominance did not withstand external forces of change. As a result, Shope (2006:64-71) argues, South Africa experienced the effects of the commodification of cultures and the capitalist economy was imposed on isiZulu speaking people of Natal, which significantly differed from the homestead economy. Shope highlights that 'with the encroachment of colonial capitalism, a new mechanism of securing the resources (whether it was cash, cattle or consumer goods) to negotiate and wage-based labour system was introduced' (2006:67). This suggests that the shift from a homestead economy to a new mechanism for securing resources resulted in the evolution of a new Zulu masculine identity. Shope (2006:64-71) states that a man, as a result of the new free market economy, had to sell his cattle for cash to purchase goods from the colonists and migrated for work to the cities. Hence, the shift from a homestead economy to new mechanisms of securing resources not only polarized the homestead economy but also introduced a dual economy. This means that the subsistence activities survived to provide one sector (homestead economy) and on the other hand the white initiative introduced a market sector.

The dual economy, which polarized the homestead economy (the division of labour along gender lines), contributed to two broad camps, namely: rural life and workplace. Morrell explains, 'in its stead, the major configurations of masculinity which emerged as the twentieth century wore on were shaped by two major experiences and traditions. The first

was that of the workplace, primarily the mines. The second was rural life which became increasingly impoverished as more and more people were crammed onto smaller and smaller plots of land' (Morrell 2001a:13). The rural life was dominated by the chieftaincy, which controlled all access to land and the sexual division of labour and the urban-workplace was dominated by men. Liz Walker and Graeme Reid explain that 'diamond mining and gold mining, the backbone of the South African economy, was developed on the back of the migrant labour system. (2005:7). Walker and Reid (2005:8) also explain that single-sex hostels in mines and prisons were the world of men and of high risk at work and the masculine figure of the mineworker is an enduring symbol of bravery and fearlessness, yet it also represents the hard edge of poverty and exploitation. This indicates that the nationalist masculine identity was now divided into two broad camps, namely: the rural *umnumzane*, which was a "respected" man and the urban migrant labourer "boy*"*. Rural *abamnumzane* no longer perceived the migrant labourers as *abamnumzane* because they were associated with traditional driftwoods. Vilakazi explains, 'as an old man said to them: "they are people without addresses"' (1962:110). This means that the migrant labourers were considered as a "sell out" to the protection of the homestead economy because the migrant labour system created a mastered centered situation as opposed to Zulu cultural group appeal. The migrant labourers were also disconnected from their rural household and were exposed to urban life. This shows that the industrialists through the migrant labour system contributed to the polarization of the homestead economy, which resulted in several versions of masculinity. Vilakazi (2001:76-78) demonstrates how the different characteristics of masculinity unfolded among the Zulu labour migrancy. The division of labour along gender lines reproduced different notions of being a man among the Zulu people.

Vilakazi (1962:76-78) and Hunter (2008:567) assert that the influence of labour migrancy constructed characteristics of masculinity such as *igxagxa, abaqhafi or tsotsis, uswenka, isoka, isishimane* and *umahlalela* emanating from many impacts of secular Western cultural patterns on African kinship - based societies such as the migration of men to the gold mines and industry around late in the nineteenth century. Vilakazi (1962:76) explains that *igxagxa* is neither traditionalist nor Christian but he represented secular agents of change. *Igxagxa* left the rural life and migrated to cities and towns for work. Vilakazi (1962:77) asserts that there were also *abaqhafi* or *tsotsis* who used tricks to secure resources, such as pick pocketing in the streets around cities and towns. Paula Lalouviere (2002:2) asserts that *amagxagxa* and *abaqhafi* were marginal members of an emerging African working class who interpreted the

world for Zulu migrants in culturally innovative ways. I would also add that the idea of *uswenka* who emerged from the migrant labour system and was mostly found in hostels, some rural areas, and mission stations. *Uswenka* was characterised by good fashion taste, traditional music, and liked to compete with other men in fashion and music. Vilakazi (1962:76-78) asserts that the migrant labourers characteristics of masculinity represented the Western cultural tradition. Hunter (2005:142-146) asserts that there was also *isoka*; he could be a single or married man, a rural or migrant labour man and was characterized by having multiple sexual partners and represented the ideal of being a man in the Zulu cultural tradition. There was nothing wrong with being *isoka* among the Zulu men. Hunter (2005:389-401) states that *isoka* was praised as *isoka lamanyala* (men among men). In constrast, *isishimane* was a man too scared to talk with girls, which did not represent the traditional conception of being a man (Hunter 2008:567). Vilakazi (1962:76-78) notions of migrant labour masculinity suggest that there were other men who were informally employed and known as o*mahlalela,* which is a derogatory term used by men. For instance, the homestead economy represented the traditional way of work as opposed to labour migrancy. Rankhotha (2002:53) asserts that the masculine construction of different characteristics of being a man influenced the shift from the household-headship, to labour migrancy and that created tension.

Rankhotha (2002:53) and Carton (2001:135) show that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the shift from homestead economy to labour migrancy created tension between the homestead heads (subsistence farmers) and cash earning men and sons. Rankhotha asserts that 'although boys would typically labour for their fathers as shepherds, access to schooling gave them the chance to escape from household responsibilities' (2002:53). Hence, the household heads complained about youth who had lost respect for parents, drifted from cultural practices, consumed alcohol and cohabitated. This indicates that youth sought greater social independence from their elders as a result of schooling and migration to cities. In turn the youth cultural protest ignited tensions and rival understandings between those that defended patriarchy and cultural driftwoods. Carton asserts:

> The masculinity of urban youths, they implied, was volatile, devoid of 'respect' for patriarchal authority. They recited stories from Radio Zulu news programmes of how ANC boys and young men, 'the comrades' or 'amaqabane', prevented older men from going to their jobs during worker 'stayaways' and attacked the homes of KwaZulu homeland officials (2001:135).

This shows that forces of the migrant labour system disrupted Zulu masculinity, which was founded upon loyalty to cultural tradition, and in turn disrupted the Zulu homestead economy. Included in the shift from homestead economy to labour migrancy was also the missionary enterprise, which impacted on Zulu masculinity.

3.3.2 Impact of the Christian tradition on Zulu masculinity

3.3.2.1 Effects of modifications in roles between genders

Vilakazi (1962:137) shows how missionaries introduced a form of formal faith, which was unique from the Zulu people and set a precedence by which a particular pattern of life would influence change to take place, and in fact changed many of the basic behaviour and structural patterns. Vilakazi explains:

> Take, for example, the matter of religious duties in the family. In the traditional situation, the man is the priest of the whole family. He pleads with the ancestral spirits on behalf of all the people in the home. He sacrifices for them and in all religious duties he is responsible for the family. The Christian faith, however, makes every member of the family responsible for his or her spiritual well-being. The children are taught to pray and the women are also made responsible for their souls. But Christian women have assumed greater responsibility for the religious life of their families than the men. This is because the women have, on the whole, been more receptive of Christianity than the men. They see to it that children are baptized; they insist on their being sent to school; they are responsible for the conversion of the men into the Christian faith (1962:137).

The influence of Christianity indicates that the effects of modifications in roles played by men and women were constructed in opposition to the traditional separation of roles between genders. For instance in the above quote, Vilakazi (1962:137) explains that the traditional man performed all tasks related to the ancestral spirits on behalf of all the people in the home. However, in the Christian family every member is responsible for his or her spiritual well being. The children are taught to pray and the women are also made responsible for their souls. James Kiernan posits that the Zulu homestead heads were 'concerned with Christian subversion of women, giving them expectations which ill-benefited them for a return to Zulu society, and with the individualism it fostered in converts' (1990:18). This suggests that the homestead heads had a negative perception of Christianity because it challenged the kinship

system. This means that, for example, in the traditional home that was converted to Christian faith, roles between genders contributed towards equitable distributions of tasks as indicated in Vilakazi's (1962:137) explanation. Robert Houle (2008: 222-223) asserts that included in the new modifications in roles between genders that missionaries' taught was also a "Holiness theology", which sought to redefine what it means to be a *kholwa* (Christian) man.

3.3.2.2 Holiness theology

The Christian tradition introduced a "Holiness theology" especially among the Zulu men. Robert Houle points out that the 'Holiness theology represented an important tool in recasting what it meant to be an *ikholwa* man, and revivals offered the necessary revolutionary space to accomplish this transformation' (2008:222-223). This means that revivals offered to Christians what the kinship system could not provide. Houle asserts that 'so blessed, the *amakholwa* who adopted Weaver's message believed that, with careful vigilance, they could pursue sinless lives and achieve a state of grace that made all who underwent perfection 'brothers' and 'sisters' before God' (2008:233). Vilakazi (1962:97) concurs that a*makholwa* saw themselves as unique people, a new race, the true Israel, whose citizenship was no longer in the Roman Empire, but in the heavenly Jerusalem, which reflected values of a Holiness theology. Vilakazi (1962:31, 99-103) asserts that the Christian men were prohibited from polygamous marriage, ancestral veneration, carrying sticks, drinking and smoking. Hence, the male convert was expected to wear western clothes as a symbol of change, which was constructed in opposition to the traditional garments. This indicates that a Holiness theology was constructed in opposition to the traditional Zulu conception of being a man and attempted to redefine what it means to be a Zulu man. Vilakazi (1962:106-108) argues that this unique Christian way of life contributed towards the establishment of the mission stations by a voluntary moving away of Christians from the 'rule of the chiefs' to rule of the missionaries therefore contributing towards the tradition of separation and class.

3.3.2.3 Tradition of separation and class

Vilakazi (1962:94, 140-141) demonstrates that the Natal colonial administrators and missionaries collaborated in the establishment of reserves and mission stations. Carton states that 'such reserves protected communal rights to the land for indigenous family homesteads, which engaged in subsistence agriculture and livestock husbandry; and buttressed the rule of

chiefs loyal to the head of 'native affairs', Theophilus Shepstone' (2008:155). Hence, it supported the rule of chiefs loyal to the head of 'native affairs'. Vilakazi (1962:106-108) posits that the missionaries collaborated with the Natal colonists' administrators for the allocation of land to Christian families for mission work. The land for mission work was used to build schools, agricultural activities, churches and became a centre for "civilization" over the traditional rule. Christian convert families, Vilakazi (1962:106-108) argue that the two centres of power, that is reserves and mission stations, constructed masculinity around the tradition of separation therefore weakening Zulu cultural tradition and masculinity. The reserves and mission stations proved to be a hindrance in creating stable men-to-men interactions because it contributed towards class division among men.

Vilakazi (1962:106-108) shows that class division was visible in the tension among the a*makhosi* (prince), headmen and *amadoda angamakholwa* (Christian men). Vilakazi (1962:106-107) critiques that class division acted as an agent of dominant culture both on Zulu traditional and Christian men. For instance, Vilakazi (1962:106) states that there were traditional princes that is, the rulers of the land (*iziphathi mandla zomhlaba*) who dealt with administrative matters such as land, cattle, the dipping tank, and paying taxes. On the other hand, the Christian leaders, the "spokesmen" appointed by the people (*abakhulumeli babantu*), provided advice to the prince (*amakhosi*) (who sought it) on matters around their chieftaincy. This suggests that the spokesmen by the people (*abakhulumeli babantu*) were controlling both the reserves and mission stations because they were placed by the Native Affairs Department. The tension emerged, Kiernan explains, that 'Christianity made an overt assault on *lobola* (bridewealth), one of the lynchpins of customary relations, it was rightly perceived to destroy the African way of life' (1990:18). Hence, the marriage of a boy and a girl traditionally used to be organised by parents or kinship groups. Under Christian tradition, Vilakazi (1962:43) argues, that a boy was free to marry a girl without the permission of kinship groups. On the other hand, Christian daughters were not encouraged to marry the "heathen" boys. In contrast, Vilakazi (1962:43) argues, that the Christian men were not prevented from arranging marriages with any women / girls they choose. This indicates that Christianity undermined the kinship group appeal. Vilakazi (1962:106) states that leadership among *amakhosi* and *amadoda angamakholwa* Africans created the new *elite* who promoted individualism. Hence, the traditionalists critiqued the Christian leaders of being whites' servants and resulted in a feeling of alienation. Underlying class division, I would also argue, was perpetuated by the Christian theological tradition of dualism, which was hierarchical,

that is, made some superior and some inferior and therefore "endorsed" patriarchy among the Christian separatists.

The hierarchical model - superior and inferior - that prevailed within the Christian tradition, which was imported by missionaries to Africa, spoke to the African cultural context of the Christian separatists. Kiernan (1990:18) demonstrates that some Zulu Christian men broke away from the mission Church to establish their own mission as a protest against what they saw as the disruption of the kinship system. Radikobo Ntsimane (2006:29-40) has explored gender socialization within the religio-cultural dominant masculinities, in particular within the Zion Christian Church. Ntsimane (2006:29-40) argues that patriarchal cultures have not only placed men as leaders of institutions, but they also promote dominant masculinities within society. For instance, converted men practice dominion over women just as unconverted men do within the wider society. Hence, the religious and cultural dominant masculinities in the Zion Christian Church are supported or influenced by the reading of Scripture and polity, which place men as superior to women. This shows that the Christians separatist offered a platform in which the Christian traditional hierarchical model "endorsed" Zulu patriarchy. Kiernan critiques that although 'the Africans have embraced Christian beliefs and practices, the expectation remains that these will yield the same kind of result as was delivered by indigenous observance' (1990:21). This suggests that Zulu Christian separatists found meaning of their cultural practices and beliefs in the reading of scripture. This also shows that religious men do not discard completely their traditional beliefs and practices; instead they see it as an element of continuity. Thus their protest against the disruption of the kinship system did not make any difference because it, too, represented traditional values of separation and class among men. I would also argue that the influence of the Christian tradition of separation and class had an effect in the introduction of apartheid in South Africa.

3.3.3 Apartheid in South Africa

Apartheid in South Africa did not only reinforced separate development but also emotional, moral, social, and intellectual problems especially among the black men. Johann Kinghorn (1990:63-69) shows that the White conservatives who were the architects of apartheid used the Bible to justify discrimination of non-Whites. Kinghorn (1990:64) asserts that in 1948 the first exegetical document made by the Dutch Reformed Church pointed out that the tradition

of separation, was in accordance with the Scriptures. The Dutch Reformed Church exegetical document pointed out that the races are united in the unity of Christ and divided in physical communication of believers (Kinghorn 1990:64). This exegetical document imposed or reinforced apartheid through separate development by H. F. Verwoerd when he became prime minister in 1958 (Kinghorn 1990:6). Newton Brandt (2006:41-52), for instance, critiques that the urban migrant labour man was not regarded by his white male counterpart as a man but as a "boy", meaning that he was considered inferior to the white man. Hence, even a White boy would refer to a senior African man as a "boy". This is a derogatory name. Morrell (2001a:16) suggests that Africans were deprived of opportunities because Whites remained in supervisory jobs and continued to relate to black employees from a master or boss position. Black people were also prevented from swimming at some beaches and purchasing in some retail stores and sharing toilets with Whites. These harsh realities indicate that apartheid "devalued" human dignity especially of black man because of emotional, moral, social, and intellectual problems it caused. There are some Africans who benefited from apartheid policies. Vilakazi (1962:133) states that there were Africans called *amazemthithi* ("the civilised") that is "equal" to Whites, which is an awarded special status. Some were educated Christians and were perceived as conformists.

In response to apartheid policies, Zulu nationalism re-surfaced as a revolution because apartheid culminated in race and class, distinctions in later nineteenth century. Thembisa Waetjen and Gerard Maré asserts that 'partly as a response to apartheid's divide-and-rule policies, Zulu nationalism gradually was eclipsed by mobilisations around black solidarity' (2008:353). Morrell critiques that 'race and class are of major importance in determining how men understand their masculinity, how they deploy it, and in what form the patriarchal dividend comes to them' (2001a:10). Zulu masculinity and tradition became politicized and this was used to redefine what it means to be a Zulu man. Waetjen and Maré (2008:354) assert that the issue of ethnicity became the pivotal source of discord among other anti-apartheid organizations including the exiled members of the African National Congress (ANC) because of Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's (the IFP leader) public utterances. For instance, Waetjen and Maré (2001:201) assert that Prince Bulthelezi declared:

> We are a proud people…It is important for us to walk tall – to be men amongst men. We Zulus are a courteous and gentle people. We would live in peace with every man and be men amongst me. [But] when our manhood is subverted, when our dignity is

sullied, when our courtesy is despised, mistakes are made which are costly…We have shown our bravery in the past. We can show it again (29 May 1979, at Ulundi).

This is an affirmation of the hegemonic history of the Zulu people of KwaZulu-Natal, which were known for using violent means to reinforce nationalism and ethnicity. Morrell highlights that 'masculinity and violence have been yoked together in South African history' (2001:12). Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi's utterances point out to the politicized class and ethnicity conflicting understandings of what it means to be a man. As a result Zulu loyalty to cultural tradition was contested within the political affiliation, that is, between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC).

In the late 1970s tension emerged around what it means to be a man within the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC). Waetjen and Maré (2001:203, 204) state that the IFP "accused" the ANC of luring the young people and devaluing the Zulu culture. The tensions entered around political recruitment, which is shaped by two major key experiences: IFP ideal of manhood to clarify the moral superiority of its own construction and masculine dignity against the ANC. On the other hand, the African National Congress proposed to its members alternative views of militancy and what it meant to be a radical were proposed, each of which implicitly drew out a view of young manhood (Waetjen and Maré 2001:204). As a result, the ideologies of political recruitment of the IFP and the ANC gave rise to *amabutho* ("regiments") and *amaqabane* ("comrades"). In my experience in KwaZulu-Natal, living among the political activists, *amabutho* were associated with the IFP because of the carrying of sticks, shield and wearing traditional attire at the IFP public meetings. On the other hand, *amaqabane* were associated with the ANC. Thokozani Xaba states that 'in townships, 'comrades' took it upon themselves to organise 'defence committees' whose responsibilities included protecting communities from the state and the 'third force' (clandestine forces either armed and controlled by the state or operating with its tacit consent), as well as 'weeding out' state informants' (2001:109). The tension within the two political groups of recruits turned into violence because of the ongoing political intolerance during the early 1980s around KwaZulu-Natal in the rural and townships areas. Hence, 'the issue of manhood was a visible component in the political violence that emerged in Natal and the Bantustan ('homeland') of KwaZulu between supporters of Inkatha and the African National Congress (ANC) during the early 1980s' (Waetjen and Maré 2001:195). Thus the tension within the two political recruits left many young and old dead because of political

intolerance and contestation around what it means to be a Zulu man. In the early 20th century (1990s) Zulu nationalism and ethnicity, mobilized around what it means to be a man, did not withstand the transition to democracy in South Africa.

3.4 Post-colonial versions of masculinity: the era of democratization of gender relations

Post-colonial versions of masculinity are constructed in contrast to pre-colonial, colonial and apartheid eras, that is, they are committed towards the democratization of gender relations. Buthelezi states that 'post-apartheid South Africa is now being reconceived as a coherent entity. Print and broadcast media, political speeches and church sermons constantly promote the image of a rainbow nation' (2008:23). It also promotes non-violence and a caring society. In a short address given by Njongonkulu Ndungane former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, he states that:

> Those of us who care can no longer shake our heads from the sidelines. It is time for the good men of this country to take a stand. We need to show the entire world and, especially our women and children that we are not prepared to accept the intolerable situation that prevails. We need to actively promote a dramatic change in how our society operates (Engaging Faith and Society 2001).

From this point of view, Morrell (2001a:4, 18) asserts that there are two important things that shaped the South African context in the early 1990s: the importance of recognizing masculinity as a key aspect of gender and addressing issues of masculinity has become acknowledged internationally. The release from prison of Nelson Mandela and a transition period to the first non-racial elections was initiated. Morrell (2001a:4) asserts that in 1995 the Beijing Platform for Action took place. The government and international community recognized the need to take priority action for the empowerment and advancement of women and ensuring lasting gender equality. This platform for action became famous as a result of full participation of the international community, including the grassroots leadership. Lourens du Plessis asserts (1994:4) that in South Africa the talks for nation building in Kempton Park in 1991 through the process of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) contributed towards the new landscape of politics. South Africa saw the birth of democracy in 1994 when all the people of the country for the first time elected political parties of their choice which sealed the new political landscape.

The change in the landscape of politics in South Africa suggests that new initiatives were being made to broaden the campaign to realize gender equity the process by which fair and just distribution of all means of opportunities and resources between women and men would be realized in all spheres of political, social, economic and cultural development. A culture of gender equality is enshrined in the South African Constitution of 1996 which states that no one can be unfairly discriminated against on grounds of gender, religion, race, culture, marital status, origin and sexual orientation. This suggests that the landscape of politics in South Africa contributed towards the realization of equitable gender relations. Lourens du Plessis explains that:

> Unfair discrimination against, for example, a black woman could thus constitute unfair discrimination based on race and gender/sex simultaneously. To pay women lower salaries than men because 'wives are not breadwinners' is gender discrimination informed by a sex-role stereotype (1994:143).

From this point of view, a culture of gender equality seeks to ensure that women are not unfairly discriminated against on grounds of gender/sex (National Gender Policy Framework 2000). In broad terms, a culture of gender equality guarantees those discriminated against in the past and presently disadvantaged to be awarded preferential treatment so that genuine equality can be realized in society. Devenish (1998:48) asserts that a culture of gender equality seeks to promote values that underlie an open democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom. Hence, it seeks to create a conducive environment for all people where problems like violence and rape are openly discussed. At some very basic level 'all human beings have equal worth and importance, and therefore are equally worthy of concern and respect' (Barker et al 2004:23). This is seen as equal and full enjoyment of all rights and freedoms to exercise democratic rights. Devenish (1998:48) critiques that a culture of gender equality is superficial since it is premised on the simplistic assumption that all manifestations of inequality are deviant, and can be remedied effectively merely by treating all persons in an identical way. For instance, advancing the rights of disadvantaged groups may be perceived as limiting opportunities for those benefited in the past. A culture of gender equality guarantees equal employment opportunities between men and women to ensure that the imbalances of the past are redressed, which may be superficial in practice but is now evident.

The impact of a culture of gender equality is now felt by men in the expansion of women's work, which has disrupted men's position as the sole 'provider' (Hunter 2005:389-401). Hunter 2005:389-401) asserts that the high cost of *ilobolo* (bride wealth) prevents young men from marrying. The roles of men as the primary holders of public leadership as well as household heads are fragile in what is called "crisis masculinity". Deepa Narayan (2000:263) asserts that men now face job role changes, trapped between old-and-new-style roles, as households begin to be headed by women as a result of equal employment opportunities as well as economic volatility. This means that the women's gains and economic volatility are influencing a change in gender relations within the household. Liz Walker argues that 'but women's gains should not be overstated, as more women than men continue to live in poverty, greater numbers of women are unemployed, and generally women have a lower education status than men' (2005:164). In this regard, a latest census conducted by the Businesswomen's Association (BWA) in South Africa shows that women make up 52% of the population and 43% of the employed population. If you had 10 directors at a cocktail party, there'd be eight men and one woman sipping pina coladas and another woman trying to get a foot in the door (Parker 2009: 3). This suggests that women's gains in the economic sector are sometimes exaggerated by men who attempt to reconsolidate their patriarchal dividend that is shared values all men gain by subordinating women. It is too early to say that equal employment opportunities between men and women enshrined in the Constitutional culture of gender equality have been realized in South Africa. This suggests that a culture of gender equality is challenging unequal power relations between men and women and among men. The introduction of National Gender Machinery in 2000 in South Africa which is universally acknowledged to be a "best practice," and integrated co-ordination framework with clear lines of communication and accountability to implement a culture of gender equality in the state and its citizenry, has provided a comprehensive review of factors affecting women and men (National Gender Policy Framework 2000).

The National Gender Machinery is an initiative aimed at ensuring equality between men and women. Morrell (2001a:xiii) asserts that a New Men's Movement which is an ally to the feminist movement have yielded to an increased awareness. The mushrooming of Men's Forums around the country is an outcome of this effort for a culture of gender equality in South Africa. Men are now being challenged to change their risky behaviour. The media has painted men as abusers. Men who use violence do so to reconsolidate their fragmented notions of masculinity and are now challenged to re-think their position in society. On the

other hand however, some men who do not want to be implicated in violent acts are now mobilizing (Hadebe 2008: 6). Rankhotha (2002:x) asserts that men want to embrace a new culture of gender equality, which is enshrined in the Constitution. All these efforts suggest that a culture of gender equality has contributed towards a transformation of the private and public domains, which are now contested between men and women. Thus versions of masculinity are now exposed to a culture of gender equality enshrined in the Constitution that is different from the pre-colonial, colonial, migrant labourer and apartheid eras.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined how Zulu masculinity has been re-worked from the pre-colonial era till the present. It has shown that Zulu masculinity has been impacted by multiple factors of change that had caused it to evolve over time. Traditional Zulu masculinity was constructed around aggression, authority and the use of violence to mark manhood. The transformational changes of the 1990s have challenged the Zulu men's conceptions of masculinity, which changes some are now contesting. There are also emerging voices of change, which represent some men who oppose violence against women and children through the introduction the Constitutional culture of gender equality and other initiatives. Thus Zulu masculinity is fluid and dynamic and is not fixed. The next chapter will present research findings from the fieldwork conducted in the Pietermaritzburg area of the uMgungundlovu District, formerly known as the Natal Midlands. It seeks to understand how Zulu men define what it means to be a man from cultural, faith, and Constitutional perspectives in the context of changing gender relations in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNDERSTANDINGS OF MASCULINITY IN THE UMGUNGUNDLOVU DISTRICT

4.1 Introduction

The previous section demonstrated how Zulu constructions of masculinity have been re-worked from pre-colonial, colonial, and present times. This chapter seeks to present results of the fieldwork conducted in the uMgungundlovu District, formerly known as the Natal Midlands. Twenty research participants were sampled and out of these twenty, fifteen were interviewed representing a 75% response rate. Babbie and Mouton state 'a response rate of 50% is fairly good, while those of 60% and 70% are good and very good, respectively' (2001:261). They stress, however, that these arguments have no statistical basis and are hence used as rough guides for researchers. The research process and study findings for the face-to-face individual interviews are presented.

4.2 Context of the study

This study took place in uMgungundlovu district which includes the capital city Pietermaritzburg, of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The uMgungundlovu District has seven municipalities known as Mpendle, Mpofana, uMsunduzi, Richmond, uMngeni, Camperdown and Mshwati. It is situated about 100 kilometers west of Durban. The District is well known for its beautiful mountains, vegetation, and agricultural activities. KwaZulu-Natal has a population of 10, 5 million and is the highest in South Africa with the HIV prevalence of 15, 8 % (HSRC 2009). Women are more likely to be infected with HIV than men. One-in- three women aged 25-29, and over a quarter of men aged 30-34, are living with HIV (HSRC 2009). The uMgungundlovu district has the highest prevalence (45.7%) of HIV infections among pregnant women countrywide (African Relief Issues 2009). This means that almost every second pregnant woman in the district is HIV positive. The researcher lives in the District and is familiar with the milieu of the context. The major driver of the HIV infection is gender-based violence and inequality. Violence against women, including sexual violence, is very widespread in uMgungundlovu district. Rape and domestic abuse are reported daily in the local newspapers such as The Witness and Edendale News.

This is a reflection of patriarchy in KwaZulu-Natal in which some men believe that beating a woman is one way of showing manhood and demanding respect.

4.3. Research process

4.3.1 Research ethics

Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the Humanity Ethics Committee, University of KwaZulu-Natal in May 2008. The permission to interview the participants was obtained from them prior to the interview and it was made clear that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time during the interview if they felt uncomfortable. The interviews were audio-tape recorded once permission had been obtained through an informed consent process. The researcher embarked on this study with transparency, respect, honesty and integrity, and accountability. Assurance was given in terms of keeping the identity of the participants. The participants were informed that the benefits of this study would not be felt by them directly, but their participation would contribute to the growing body of knowledge on men's studies. It would also provide necessary information that would assist non-governmental and community organizations in mobilizing men's networks in civil society.

4.3.2 Qualitative method

This was an empirical research endeavour that employed the qualitative method. It did not use the quantitative approach, because its procedures are standard and the data is not in the form of numbers from precise measurement. The researcher collected data in the form of words from documents, observation and transcripts. Lawrence Neuman asserts 'qualitative researchers emphasize the importance of social context for understanding the social world' (1991:319). The researcher listened, observed and deduced themes, built relationships, and treated the participants as creative partners, not as objects. Neuman asserts the researcher 'must share the feelings and interpretations of the subjects being studied and learn to see things through their eyes' (1991:319). The qualitative research method directly addressed the social milieu of the participants.

4.3.3 Interview schedule

The interview schedule was guided by four open-ended questions. Open-ended questions are often considered less alienating and more 'democratic' than structured items (Mbilinyi 1992:62). They are used to allow people under study to actively participate and share their feelings and thoughts. Open-ended questions sought to understand how isiZulu-speaking men understand what it means to be a man as defined by culture, faith, and the South African Constitution, and other comments about being a man in South Africa in present times. The interview schedule was conducted in isiZulu and were audio-tape recorded, and later transcribed into English.

4.3.4 Study population

A study population is defined as the aggregation elements from which a sample is actually selected (Babbie and Mouton 2001:174). The population in this study comprised two categories of participants. The first category of participants was eight young men between 21 and 35 years old. The second category of participants was seven middle-aged men between 36 and 50 years old. Twelve men lived in a peri-urban area, two in a rural, and one lived in an urban area.

Initially, the researcher began with purposive sampling to choose the number of participants. Purposive sampling is appropriate when one has experience and knowledge of the subject studied, because the possibility of mistrust between the researcher and subjects is less (Mbilinyi 1992:60). In the context of this study, "knowledgeable" refers to persons who are in a position to articulate their understandings of Zulu notions of being a man. The population sample was selected out of the researcher's experience with isiZulu-speaking men. Twenty isiZulu-speaking men were sampled from the Men's Networks to participate in the interview schedule. The Men's Network were *uMphithi* and *Amadodana* (Christian young men). These Networks are opposed to gender based violence and work towards equitable gender relations in the urban, per-urban and rural areas of uMgungundlovu district. Ten men were selected from rural areas and ten from urban areas of this region. The researcher's hypothesis was that urban men are more likely to represent alternative forms of being a man which are both accommodating and progressive and have a greater awareness and engagement with issues of gender equality as outlined in the political culture reflected in the South African Constitution

of 1996. On the other hand, rural men are more likely to be defensive about their constructed masculinities and less engaged with issues of gender equality as outlined in the political culture reflected in the new South African Constitution. However, the size of the population did not turn out as planned which is the limitation of this study. Only eleven (instead of twenty) from the Men's Network availed themselves. The other nine participants could not turn out up at the scheduled interviews due to unforeseen circumstances. This was a limitation of the study which demonstrates that the researcher had no control over subjects to be studied.

The researcher then decided to employ the snowballing technique by asking the eleven men from the Men's Network to help him identify another nine men from men who were not members of the Men's Network to make a total of twenty participants. Only five men availed themselves from men who were not members of the Men's Network. In total fifteen men were interviewed in May 2008. Twelve men lived in a peri-urban, two in a rural, and one in an urban area. Thus it was difficult to make a comparison between urban and rural men. This was another limitation of the study. The researcher decided to focus on two categories of participants between eight young men from 21 to 35 years old and seven middle-aged men from 36 to 50 years old. As most men lived in a peri-urban area, both traditional and modern influences would be evident. The age factor became the determining feature in the study findings. The researcher's re-worked hypothesis was that young men would be more likely to represent alternative forms of being a man which are both accommodating and responsive. On the other hand, middle-aged men are more likely to be both defensive and accommodating about their constructed masculinities.

4.3.5 Interpretative analysis

The data collected from field work was analysed interpretatively. The purpose of interpretive analysis was to provide "thick description" that is a thorough description of the characteristics, processes, transactions, and contexts that constitute a phenomenon, as well as an account of the researcher's role in constructing this description (Terre Blanche et al 2006:321). This "thick description" is presupposed as close enough to the context so that other people familiar with the context would recognise it as true, but far enough away so that it would help them to see the phenomenon in a new perspective. The researcher perused the notes, identified themes, and checked these themes against the purpose of the study. Whilst

inducing themes the researcher coded data using coloured marking pens to highlight pieces of text by means of breaking up data in analytical relevant ways (Terre Blanche et al 2006:324-25). The themes were placed in a chronological order to help the researcher compare and re-check data. Interpretative analysis has been useful with regard to the participants' narrative accounts in order to understand and explain their social life.

4.4 Study findings

The first category of younger participants was coded A to H, and the second category of older participants was coded I to O for identification classification.

When participants were asked 'what influences from Zulu culture have defined who you are as a man?' two central issues emerged from the first category of eight participants 21 to 35 years old. Firstly, it was respect and dignity, and secondly the importance of rituals to mark sex differences.

Respect and dignity

All eight participants stated a man is the one who manages the affairs of the household, as the household head he earns respect and dignity. According to Zulu culture a man must have a house, wife, children, work, and cattle to preserve culture because one is not taken seriously if you are not married and are regarded as a boy, participants said. As a household head the following masculine characteristics are expected of them. B commented:

> A man should have cattle, work, wife and money. If you do not have all these things you are not regarded as a man. The society does not take you seriously. Married men will not discuss issues with you (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

G added,

> To have a traditional wife gives me respect and dignity. It marks the stage for manhood. You become a household head. You learn from other men that is, they shape you to become a man so that in turn you can be proud of yourself (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

Other participants said,

> A: A man makes decisions to demand respect (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

C: A man manages the affairs of the household (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
D: A man earns respect if he has work and a wife (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).
E: A man should have respect for his house, neighbour, and wider community (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
F: A dignified man has his own chair and special meat at his house (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).
H: A man has a special leadership role and allocates duties and cannot be questioned (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

Sex differences

Eight participants stated the requirements for attaining status pose a great challenge to them because a man is expected to perform tasks that mark sex differences. A man is responsible for burning incense in *umsamu* which is the place of the ancestors in the centre of a rondavel or a room which is regarded as "holy". On the other hand, a woman is not allowed to burn incense in *umsamu* and to enter a kraal, participants said. In their explanation as to why a woman cannot enter a kraal and *umsamu*, participants stated a woman is *buthakathaka* that is biologically weak as a result of the monthly menstruation cycle. Participants said rituals define what roles a man / boy and a woman / girl should assume in the household. A boy is taught while young what roles he should take such as hunting, shepherding, and stick-fighting so that he can become brave and these are a preparation stage for being a household head, participants explained. On the other hand, participants said a girl is taught to perform light duties. In their explanations as to why a girl is expected to perform light duties, participants said to mark sex differences. For instance, B commented:

> A man performs rituals that is, slaughter animals. Household duties are separated. I have not seen a woman slaughtering a cow. I was told that a woman is not allowed to enter a kraal. Boys and girls play separately. Parents play an important role in sex differences. Boys do outside work. Man do heavy stuff; woman easier stuff. If a boy is the only child at home he is forced to do domestic and outside duties (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

F added,

> Cultural practices define who I am. A man conducts rituals. Culturally a man has a special place called *Umsamu*. There are places for women and men. Men and women do not sit together. During a ritual ceremony boys would be given *iphaphu* (lungs of an animal). Boys would fight for it. Our socialisation has a greater influence. Meat is also separated. Men get a special meat. Men hunt in dangerous areas where a woman cannot enter (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

.

There was one central issue that emerged from the second category of participants 36 to 50 years old. It was authority over household.

Authority

All seven participants stated a man should have authority that is, to have rights to decide what his wife and children should do in the household because a man has power over his family members. Participants said a man can only have authority over his house if he is married. And a man is responsible for the separation roles between the sexes to mark his authority. On the other hand, a woman has no right to carry out rituals because a man is placed by ancestors to manage the household affairs, participants said. Participants pointed out that a man burns incense and slaughters a ritual animal on behalf of his family and he ensures that his family is fed. Participants also said a man makes sure that boys are educated on how to hunt, and look after the cattle which prepares them for manhood. And culturally a man should behave well and be a provider, participants said. Hence, boys emulate the behavior of their fathers and are expected to behave like them when they become household heads. Thus, according to the participants all these functions endorse a man's authority over his household. L commented:

> I am placed as a household head…who is a leader. The household head is a provider. I lay a foundation through discussion with the family. I am responsible for ensuring that the family is fed. These actions make someone a man who has authority over his family (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2009).

I said,
> A woman has no right to do what she wants because a man is the one who has the authority in the household. She is not allowed to burn incense. During the morning period and ritual activities a woman is not allowed to partake. A woman is not allowed to enter a kraal. A man will always be a head of the household. A woman is "weak". A woman is not allowed to stand before men and she has to bow down (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

K added,
> According to Zulu tradition culture does not change. You should have a wife and cattle to maintain authority. A man is responsible to separate roles between sexes. Men sit separately with boys. Boys prepare a meat for man (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

Other participants said,

J: A man will always be a household head. He has a right to make decisions (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

M: A man is someone who preserves culture. He should have a partner and be a provider. He should solve family issues through rituals (Pietermaritzburg 13th May 2008).

N: Without a wife and being economically matured you cannot have authority (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2008).

O: To have a wife, children and conduct rituals make one have authority over his family (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

When participants were asked: 'what practices from your faith have defined who you are as a man?' Two central issues emerged from the first category of participants 21 to 35 years. Firstly, the seating arrangements in church, and secondly the male leadership in church; both supported by Scripture and Zulu culture.

Seating arrangements

Six out of eight participants stated that the seating arrangements in church are separated. Participants stated women sit on the left and men sit on the right hand side in church and in a Zulu home. Asked why women sit on the left, participants said the seating arrangements are "confirmed" by Scripture and Zulu culture. Participants explained that in the Old Testament priests, Pharisees, and women sat separately in the Synagogue. In Zulu culture, participants explained women sit on the left hand side in the house to symbolize that they cannot protect the household and are not responsible for the total management of the household. Men sit on the right hand side in the house to symbolize strength and protection, and responsibility for the total management of the affairs of his household. A commented:

> The seating is separate in my church. Men sit together and women sit together and youth alike. This is done to socialise men and women and youth (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

B said,
> The seating is separated in my church. You cannot sit anywhere. Even if the church is full and a woman will not be allowed to sit with men (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

D added,
> We were raised in the home knowing that a girl and a boy have to discuss issues with their mother and father. That is why we sit separately in church. This allows

men/women and boys/girls to discuss issues separately (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

Other participants said,

C: Because of dress code men and women sit separately so that men cannot be distracted by looking at women's thighs (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

F: My faith has its own roots, which is far from the Jesus gospel. In the synagogue around 500BC there was a place for priests and gallery for Pharisees and women. Even in my church there is a place for men and women and youth. The highest place in church sits men in leadership. The seating arrangements determine that I am a male (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

G: Dress code is not a problem but women and men sit separately because God created Adam and Eve (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

H: Women and men sit separately according to their leadership roles in church (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

Two (D, E) out of eight participants had a different view about seating arrangements in church. Participants said seating arrangements in their church are mixed and women are regarded as good leaders. The reading of Scripture was regarded as oppressive for women. D commented:

Seating is mixed in my church. A woman can be accommodated and is not discriminated against (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2009).

E added,

A woman can preach to men in my church that is why seating arrangements are mixed (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2009).

Leadership

Six (A, B, C, F, G, H) out of eight participants said the Bible "confirms" God's intentions for men to be the leaders in church. The other two (D, E) participants did not comment about the leadership in church. Participants said in the Old and New Testament priesthood is reserved for men. Jesus was a male and appointed twelve males to be his disciples, participants said. Participants also stated women can preach to other women and not men. Asked why a woman cannot preach to men, participants said according to the reading in the Scripture in the New Testament a woman is not allowed to preach to men. Participants stated faith and Zulu culture are intertwined in church. A commented:

Jesus appointed male disciples. This confirms that males are leaders in Church. Jesus was a male. Christian culture and Zulu culture are intertwined (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

C added,

Man is the leader in church. A woman can read the scripture but not preach (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 208).

F said,

A woman is not allowed to preach to men but can preach to a women service. This is my church policy (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 208).

Other participants added,

B: A man is a leader in church and home (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).
G: We have not discussed gender relations in terms of what roles women can play in church. We allow women to chair the women's executive committee but men are still leaders (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).
H: Men are priests. Women sing in a church choir and lead Sunday schools. They do not have enough experience to lead. A religious man is someone who can endure hardship and solve problems (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

The second category of participants 36 to 50 years had one central issue that emerged. It was reading of Scripture as a basis for religious men to discriminate against women in church especially with regard to leadership.

Reading of Scripture

All seven participants said reading of Scripture is used by religious men to discriminate against women. Participants stated that God created Adam and gave him a mandate to lead in household and in church and made reference to Moses, Joshua and Jesus as male leaders who "confirmed" God's intention for men to be leaders. Asked why God appointed leaders such as Moses to lead, participants pointed out that it is because of women's health, that is menstruation. On the other hand, women are not allowed to sit together with men in church because of culture and God that created two distinct sexes. I commented:

In the beginning of creation there has been not a female leader. The Angels are males. It is because of women's impurity that prevents women from leading (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

J said,

We read in scripture that there is a difference between a male and a female. The Word of God will live forever. According to the reading of scripture in the Old Testament a wife is an assistant of a man (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

K added,

God does not allow a man to take authority from a woman as we read from 1 Corinthians. 14:33-34; 1Timothy 2:9, 10, 11. Men are leaders. Women lead one

another as we read from Titus 2:3, 4, and 5. Religion is autocratic and not democratic. It has its own Kings (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

Other participants said,
L: The priest is a man in church but I do not know the future plans for my church (Pietermaritzburg 13th May 2008).
M: Men do not acknowledge women. Men do not stick to their faith confirmation that is to accept one another as Christ accepts all of us. It might be that men have unresolved issues with their wives (Pietermaritzburg 13th May 2008).
N: If religious leaders try to mix women and men we receive mixed reactions. It is because in Zulu culture men and women eat separately, for example, men would eat together in one bowl and women in their bowl. That is why it is difficult to sit together in church (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2008).
O: Church practices "confirm" males as leaders (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

When asked: 'How has the protection of gender rights and sexual orientation awarded by the South African Constitution (in clause 9 of the Bill of Rights) influenced who you are as a man?' three central issues emerged from the first category of participants 21 to 35 years old. Firstly, it was non-discrimination against women, and secondly loss of respect and dignity, and thirdly relationship among same sexes.

Non- discrimination against women

All eight participants stated the Constitution has liberated women from the traditional role of a man which discriminated against women. Women can now hold public office and are non-discriminated against and more opportunities are available for women than men, participants said. But participants said it will take a long time for equality between men and women to be fully realized because women were oppressed for a long time. Participants also stated in church there are now changes as a result of influences of the equality between men and women awarded by the Constitution. Women can be ordained as priests and serve Holy Communion, participants said. And also women can now burn incense and enter a kraal in the household. A commented:

The new political culture is good in terms of creating opportunities for women, for example, employment (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

B said,
It will take a long time for men and women to be equal because women have been oppressed before (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

D added,
> It has a good impact because it has created opportunities for women to be leaders in churches. In the past they were not given opportunities (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

Other participants said,
> C: Women can now play the same roles as men in the household and workplace (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2009).
> E: I applaud equality between men and women because women were oppressed and not given opportunities in the past (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
> F: Women can be president. But they should deserve it. Women have a potential to lead (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2009).
> G: In the past women were oppressed but the new political culture has given women freedom of expression. They can now express themselves and enter anywhere even in kraal and burn incense. They are now CEOs and DGs. These positions in the past were reserved for men (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).
> H: Women are liberated but there are jobs that they can not do such as digging the grave (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

Loss of respect and dignity

Eight participants stated equal rights between men and women awarded by the Constitution have resulted in a loss of respect and dignity. Equality between women and men undermines a man's "status" in the home, participants said. Asked why a man's "status" is undermined, participants said women can now ridicule her partner in front of children. Participants also said it is worse if a woman is the one working because a man is disrespected. A commented:

> Gender equality plays a role in bringing down the status of a man. To say a man is equal to a woman is problematic. For instance, if a man says I am hungry and a spouse might say me too, which shows that there is now no respect. It makes women "sit" on top of the man's head (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

B said,
> Now women abuse equal rights. 50/50 discourse has resulted in women being disrespectful. It has changed women from being receptive or passive. As a result there are now problems in relationships because of lack of respect (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

Other participants added,
> C: Equal rights between men and women are bad because women now can say whatever they want to say (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
> D: Women abuse Constitutional powers at the expense of men (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).
> E: If a man is unemployed he often is looked down by his spouse especially if she is working. It has made children disrespectful and women are part of it because they favour children (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
> G: Women should earn respect from men (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

H: Equality has not been achieved. If criminals knock at the door a man will be asked to open the door that is why a man should be respected (29th May 2008).

Same sex relationships

Relationship among same sexes was another issue that concerned the eight participants. Participants condemned relationships among same sexes awarded by the Constitution stating that God created humanity as male and female. God did not create a man who had feelings for another man, participants. According to participants' relationships among same sex is a form of "sickness" that can be healed. Participants compared same sex relationships with Sodom and Gomorrah where God destroyed the city and its people. A commented:

> I do not support gays and lesbians. There is a male and female. Cultural praises were for male and female. Even in the Bible there is no indication of gays and lesbians. Even the Bible does not support it (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2009).

D said,
> I do not support it and won't involve myself with gays because it contradicts God's creation (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

F added,
> As a Christian I do not support same sex relationships. My church says it is the downfall of values. Who will be responsible for reproductivity? My culture and family will not allow me to associate myself with a gay person. It will never happen in my life. I am church a leader (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

Other participants said,
> E: Constitution promotes same sex relationships but it is a challenge for me (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).
> G: We rely on Biblical faith and we speak of Christian faith and not of worldly Constitution. God created a male and a female. A woman will leave her parents and cling on a man not on another woman (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).
> H: Gays are mushrooming. They pretend to be women. This can be healed because gays are ruled by feelings. I can work with them but not imitate what they do (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

The second category of participants, 36 to 50 years raised one central issue. It was the fact that the authority of men was weakened.

Weakened authority

All seven participants said the Constitution has weakened the authority of men. Participants stated equality between men and women has to be looked at because it advances the interest

of women. Asked why equality between women and men advances the interest of women, participants said a woman has an advantage in an interview. According to participants once a woman is employed a man's authority is taken away especially if he is unemployed and has no total authority. As a result men are expected to do all kinds of work in the household and are now unemployable, participants said. K commented:

> Women have an advantage in an interview but men were also disadvantaged. Men have now authority in the household (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

L said,

> I have no clue of the Constitution but I would not allow a woman to abuse my authority, for example, by my washing dishes and cooking (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2008).

M added,

> Men are expected to do all kinds of household work and most men do not like it (Pietermaritzburg 13th May 2008).

Other participants said,

> I: I strictly follow the Church Constitution and not the worldly one which undermines men's authority (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).
> J: We should not allow politics into our faith. I am a church leader till Christ comes (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).
> N: We live by church Constitution and not by country's one which undermines man's position (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2008).
> O: Women have misinterpreted gender roles that is why a man is now undermined (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

When participants asked 'do you have any other comments about how you feel about being a man in South Africa?' One central issue emerged from the first category of participants 21 to 35 years old, namely moral regeneration.

Moral regeneration

All eight participants called for moral regeneration because of the growing number of women and children raped by men. Participants said some men who rape and kill do not deserve to be called "man". The reason given was that a man is someone who has respect and who does not harm other people. Participants said men need punishment as a result of their evil actions. Men need to break the silence and talk about issues, which concern their welfare, participants said. Participants further said men should be given the opportunity to prove their role and revive moral values. F commented:

We live in the 'dirty works' of democracy. We need to open discussions about the immorality of our democracy. We need to challenge patriarchy in a positive way. You cannot challenge patriarchy without knowing its root causes. Our culture upholds moral values (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

A added,
The government should retain moral regeneration because men behave like animals (Pietermaritzburg 24th May 2008).

C said,
I am disappointed. The president is failing to control the laws of the country and there is a high level of crime (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

G added,
We need to meet and discuss issues that concern us as men. We need to retrieve the indigenous way of discussing men's issues. The human rights have weakened moral values (Pietermaritzburg 30th May 2008).

The second category of participants 36 to 50 raised one central issue, namely unfair discrimination against men.

Unfair discrimination

All seven participants said the government is promoting unfair discrimination against men. The reason given was that men's power is taken away, because women have now more rights than men. As a result they are not free and live in fear because of the gender rights. Participants blamed the South African Police for being lenient to women who report cases of abuse against men. If a man reports a case of abuse by a woman the South African Police laugh at him, participants said. J commented:

The police respond quickly to women's claims. But if a man reports a woman you will be laughed at. They will say what kind of a man are you? I rather beat her and go to stay in jail rather than going in to the police and am laughed at. The lawmaker needs not to be biased (Pietermaritzburg 12th May 2008).

N said:
I feel depressed. My powers are taken away from me because of women's rights. I am left with a beard and trouser only (Pietermaritzburg 09th May 2008).

O added,
I feel undermined by the Constitution because it favours women and abuses men. It is better to be a prisoner than not because you are not free. Women have more say than men. It is a women's world! Something needs to be done. Men have no significant role to play (Pietermaritzburg 29TH May 2008).

4.5 Conclusion

The study shows that the participants use a combination of cultural beliefs and religion in the formation of their patriarchal understanding of what it means to be a man. These influences are still very strong in the men interviewed. They seem to feel their masculinity compromised as a result of the changes brought about in gender relations by the South African Constitution introduced in 1996. Men talked a lot about their struggle with this, which is seen as a clash between traditional religious and cultural views on the one hand, and progressive understandings of masculinity, or alternative understandings of what it means to be a man. The next chapter will present the analysis of the study findings using Connell (1995) and Morrell (2001) respectively.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF STUDY FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the study findings. This chapter presents an analysis of the study findings by using Connell (1995) and Morrell (2001) primary works in masculinity studies which have been instrumental in delineating the context in which men's masculine identities establish themselves in society. Study findings confirm the research hypotheses that the transition to democracy in South Africa simultaneously ushered in changes to the existing gender order. These are reflected in the South African Constitution which has destabilized the traditional understandings of being a man. The study findings suggest that the first (21 to 35 years old) and second (36 to 50 years old) categories of participants felt their masculinity compromised as a result of the Constitution. As a result the participants seemed to struggle with the changing social context in South African society through the clash of traditional and modern understandings of masculinity.

5.2 Culture and the Constitution

The first category of participants engaged with culture and the Constitution on the basis of respect and dignity, while the second category of participants engaged with culture and the Constitution on the basis of authority. Firstly, the study findings suggest that the participants distanced themselves from the use of violence against women and children to embrace the cultural and Constitutional values of respect and dignity of human persons irrespective of gender or sex. Secondly, the study findings suggest that the participants clung on their cultural roots, homestead economy, which buttressed individualist status or patriarchy over the household affairs and in turn earned a man respect and dignity from his peers. Thirdly, the participants upheld authority on which male power in the household rests. While the participants' engagement with the Constitution suggests that the roles of men as the primary holders of public leadership as well as household heads are fragile in what is called "crisis masculinity". This also suggests that the Constitution has destabilized Zulu traditional norms upheld by the participants.

In terms of respect and dignity of human persons, the participants said a man is someone who has respect, does not harm other people, and punishment was needed for those who harm women and children. The participants also said having respect and dignity would prove their role and revive moral values. This suggests that the participants upheld respect and dignity for the protection and promotion of a spirit of a good human relationship which spoke to their cultural roots that is the pre-colonial Zulu world view. The study shows that the Zulu pre-colonial world view upheld communal respect and dignity that valued human persons and disrespect of human persons was discouraged. This suggests that "alternative" ways of being a man that challenges traditional notions of violent masculinity emerged from the study findings. Morrell asserted 'in organizational terms, there are many examples of men attempting to challenge violent masculinity and, in so doing, develop new models of how to be men' (2001a:31). They challenge other men to take responsibility, condemn violence and work more for equitable gender relations. This new way of being a man presupposes that the mobilised men might stop engaging in risk behaviour and begin to put an end to gender-based violence by accepting all men, women and children as human beings with full dignity. Vilakazi (1962:80) asserted that unnecessary disturbance or violent behaviour against any Zulu homestead or neighbourhood members was condemned. This suggests that the pre-colonial Zulu world view which protected and promoted respect and dignity of human persons and the post-colonial respect and dignity of human persons enshrined in the Constitution was held by the participants.

On the other hand, the study findings suggest that the participants' clung on their cultural roots, homestead economy, which promote individualist status or patriarchy over the household affairs. The participants stated that the status of manhood is conferred by having cattle, a house, and a wife and children so that in turn a man would be respected by his peers. If one does not have a wife he would not be taken seriously by his married peers, participants said. While on the basis of authority on which male power in the household rests, the study findings suggest that the participants were concerned with values or norms which guarantee a man with control over the household affairs. The study shows that the pre-colonial homestead economy was a centre of male dominance over the household affairs. The participants accounts alludes to its values. The study findings suggest these traditional norms mark sex differences which "endorse" household head status quo. In the traditional Zulu society men are given socially privileged positions over women by fulfilling the gender-based roles of conducting rituals and providing resources. For instance, the participants said the man burns

the incense because he is placed by the ancestors, while the woman is not allowed to it because she is found unclean as a result of menstruation. This suggests that the notion of Zulu household headship which values respect and dignity and authority enforces male supremacy and dominance. These are cultural ideals that would influence a man to adhere to the expected roles and values as shown in the study findings. The participants understanding of culture is the one that is fixed in a string of prescriptions, templates, or models of behaviour appropriate to one sex or the other (Connell 1987:191). This suggests that 'in society people select and define which ideas about gender should regulate social behavior' (Connell 2003:255). The societal ideas about gender may put a lot of pressure especially on men because of a failure to consider cultural change. Morrell (2001a:28) stated that in this situation, men long for the rural areas where they are respected and 'treated "like a man" by their partners because they find the life in the hostel as very difficult. This indicates that some men demand respect and to be treated like a man to defend patriarchy. The study findings also suggest that the participants acknowledged the Constitution as instrumental in the protection and promotion of non-discrimination against women.

The participants stated women can now hold public office in religious, social and cultural, and economic institutions which suggest women are now non-discriminated against as a result of the Constitution. The Constitution holds the state [in particular] to respect, protect, promote and fulfil its obligation by promoting values that underlie an open democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom. The participants said women can be ordained as priests and serve Holy Communion in religious institutions. Women also have more employment opportunities than men. This suggests that the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution have unseated some of the structures that produce dominant masculinity. Morrell argued 'South African men are confronting new material, political and social circumstances' (2005:xi). This context compels men to embrace non-discrimination values. Rankhotha (2002:x) concurred that the state in South Africa has forced men to re-examine gender relationships which are different from what they know and to embrace a new culture of 'gender equality', which is enshrined in the Constitution. This suggests that some men may support women's advancement but the mere fact that they benefited from an economic system that favours men over women, are complicit to the status quo. Connell argued 'the absence of any widespread male opposition to the improvement in women's positions is possibly the most impressive testimony to the accommodating position' (Connell 2001:31). While masculinities may shift and change the study findings suggest that the participants

struggled with issues of equal employment opportunities because it threatens male hierarchical entitlement at home and the workplace.

The study findings suggest that male hierarchical entitlement which offered respect and dignity and authority only to men at home and the workplace is threatened by the promotion of equal employment opportunities enshrined in the Constitution. Participants said it is worse if a woman is the one working because a man is disrespected and even expected to wash dishes. This suggests that men who have benefited from the labour market system might feel that the new legislative changes that empower women reduce their chances of attaining household headship status. It also suggests women entering labour markets in numbers have contested spaces, which have been dominated by men. For instance, the participants said a woman has an advantage over a man. Sideris stated 'women's equal right to the entitlements of citizenship, legislation that defends the integrity of women, and the human rights discourse pose challenges to the legitimacy of men's privileged status over women' (2005:117). This is also evident in the evolvement of the Zulu traditional notion of the homestead economy to cash economy. This was further entrenched through the democratically transitional changes of the 1990s which unseated the existing gender order. As a result the participants now blame the Constitution for loss of respect and dignity and the weakening of authority which suggests that they are attempting to "endorse" the hegemonic type, which has many features of patriarchy and is not conducive for equitable gender relations.

Contrary to the Constitutional values, in the Zulu traditional society a woman is not allowed to debate or argue with a man because he is placed by "culture" or "ancestors" as the head of the household as it was "confirmed" by the participants. The participants struggled with the promotion of equality between men and women stating that has resulted in a loss of respect and dignity and authority of men especially over the household affairs. On the other hand, at some very basic level all human beings have equal worth and importance, and therefore are equally worthy of concern which suggest that a woman can now challenge the male status (Barker et al 2004:23). Morrell (2001b:12-13) argued that individuals that have become bearers of hegemonic masculinity seem puny and quite unable to meet its strenuous gender demands and precisely who produces hegemonic masculinity is uncertain which means no one masculinity or group is likely to be the carrier of new values. This suggests that the participants are limited to enjoy respect and dignity and authority afforded to them by the

Zulu culture but feel challenged and "forced" to rethink their position in society by the Constitutional equitable values.

The study findings also suggest that the participants have not felt free and lived in fear because of the gender rights that threaten their authority in the public arena. As a result they felt unfairly discriminated against by women. Participants critiqued the South African Police for being lenient to women who report cases of abuse against men. If a man reports a case of abuse by a woman the South African Police laugh at him, participants said. O commented:

> I feel undermined by the Constitution because it favours women and abuses men. It is better to be a prisoner than not because you are not free. Women are now more important than men. It is a women's world! Something needs to be done. Men have no significant role to play (Pietermaritzburg 29th May 2008).

As I stated the South African context is beginning to reveal deep crises of identity. I also argued that the gendered context has shifted but the impact of the tension has re-surfaced from "disappointed" men. The participants' expressions of insecurity should be taken seriously in the context of the high level of gender violence in South Africa. The study asserted that the challenge to male hierarchical entitlement results in some men resorting to risky and violent acts such as crime, rape, murder, suicide, substance abuse, and reckless driving, as well as cultural and religious beliefs that legitimize patriarchy or reassert power and enforce the status quo. Richter and Morrell explained 'crisis masculinity is measured by, among other things, high rates of male suicide, and changes in the gendered nature of work which challenges male hierarchical entitlement' (2006:7).

The participants' critique of the Constitution suggests that the roles of men as the primary holder' of public leadership as well as household heads are fragile in what is called "crisis masculinity". The study has suggested that Zulu loyalty to cultural tradition gave rise to a protest against social change in the later nineteenth century. Morrell also asserted 'masculinity and violence have been yoked together in South African history' (2001a:12). On the other hand, Zulu loyalty to cultural tradition mobilized around what it means to be a man, did not withstand the transition to democracy in South Africa, which suggest that masculinities are constantly breaking down and being recreated in the post-colonial era (Morrell 2001a:7). The study findings suggest that the participants perceived the Constitution

as a resource that seek to advance the interests of women in the home and workplace but struggled to accept its implementation because it threatens their respect and dignity and authority especially at home.

5.3 Religion and masculinity

The study findings suggest that in the religious institutions the seating arrangements and exclusion of women from leadership positions and discrimination of same sex relationships were justified through religious men's interpretations of Scripture. The participants said people in church are socialised through the seating arrangements which separate men and women. Through the face-face discussions with the participants it became clear that the patriarchs of the Old Testament had the strongest influence on their faith. Participants stated in the Old Testament priests, pharisees, and women sat separately in the Synagogue. The Synagogue was a 'holy' place for Jews. This was also a 'home' to Pharisees where hierarchical ideology was 'brewed' and 'transplanted' into the minds of believers in the name of God. This was part of socialization of religious men so that they would see themselves as better positioned to provide leadership overall to women and other men who are perceived as subservient, such as peasants, slaves and gentiles. Connell (2001:31) argued a belief in individual difference and personal agency accompanied the ideology of separate spheres, implying the separation between the public and the private realms. I also previously argued that the Christian theological tradition of dualism contributed to hierarchy that is, made some superior and some inferior in religious institutions. It infiltrated into the religious institution and was embraced by its believers.

On the other hand, the participants understood religious practices as a way of perpetuating traditional culture, often justifying patriarchal cultural and religious practices interchangeably as suggested in the study findings. Participants said the religious seating arrangements spoke to their Zulu cultural context. In Zulu culture, participants said women sit on the left hand side in the house to symbolize weakness; that is they are not deemed fit to manage the household affairs. Men sit on the right hand side in the house to symbolize strength, protection, and are deemed fit to manage the affairs of the household. This suggests that religious men do not discard completely their traditional beliefs and practices; instead they see it as an element of continuity to entrench binary views about gender relations that promote separate spheres. This also suggests that the seating arrangement deems women unfit

to hold key positions in some religious institutions. Connell (2001:40-41) critiqued some men are "ignorant" of oppressive structures of domination, but passively accept them as normative because they have benefited from them. This is part of the politics of masculinity, which indicates that men have always enjoyed being in control whether it is within religious or social or political or economic or familial and even cultural institutions. Thus justifying patriarchal cultural and religious practices interchangeably results in the women's exclusion from leadership positions. The study findings also suggest that religious men not only discriminate against women but against gay men too.

The participants condemned relationships among same-sex relationships awarded by the Constitution stating that God created humanity as male and female. Participants also compared same sex relationships with Sodom and Gomorrah where God destroyed the city and its people. The participants' arguments suggest that the reading of Scripture is used to condemn non-heterosexual characteristics. It also suggests that the rhetoric of gender equality and freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation is largely articulated, the underlying message is one that retains patriarchal relationships.' This suggests that gay men in same sex relationships still feel threatened as a result of cultural and religious norms, which regard heterosexual relationships as the only normative ideal. Connell (2001:39-40) asserted some men are expelled from the legitimacy of patriarchy because they are found "not real men," that is, they do not meet the normative expectations of what it means to be a man as the study findings suggest. As Connell (2001:39; 2005:78) stated the most common example of subordinate masculinity is that of homosexual men and explained that gay men often do not live up to the "ideal" of hegemonic masculinities. This confirms that the power relations amongst men produce subordinated masculinities. I previously stated the dominant group sets the constraints for and defines the subordinated group(s). Helen Wells (2006:20-35) et al stated heterosexism is reinforced in the media, religion, legal discourses, education and health care to produce subordinated masculinities. This suggests that religious institutions perpetuate power relations disproportionately and in this case heterosexism.

Therefore the study findings suggest that the participants used the understanding of masculinity and femininity by the reading and interpreting of Scripture to show how men have abused God's authority as a "gift" by upholding and selecting biblical texts that support their cultural oppressive norms to produce subordinated masculinities. Participants' made reference to Abraham, Moses and Aaron, and Jesus as the male generic understanding of

being a man which has been used to subordinate some men and women, both as members of humanity and as persons capable of exercising authority and representing God and Christ. The study shows that men for centuries have been controlling institutions to maintain dominance and the religious institution is one of those that religious men use to regulate social behaviour. This male generic understanding refers to the hegemonic type of masculinity which Connell critiqued as 'the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy; which guarantees […] the dominant position of men and subordination of women' (1995:77). From this perspective, it appears that religious men succumb to characters of males expressed in the biblical texts and scriptures to endorse hegemonic notions of masculinity as a divine form endorsed by God.

5.4 Conclusion

The study findings suggest that the participants embraced the cultural and Constitutional values that promote and protect respect and dignity of human persons irrespective of gender or sex. On the other hand, the participants embraced respect and dignity of their cultural roots that promote and protect the individual status of the man over the household affairs. The participants upheld authority on which male power in the household rests. The participants also perceived the Constitution as instrumental in ensuring that women have equal access to employment opportunities. On the other hand, the participants struggled with the promotion of equality between men and women and also through equal employment opportunity stating that this has resulted in a loss of respect and dignity and authority of men especially over the household affairs. The study findings suggest that in the religious institutions men do not discard completely their traditional beliefs and practices instead they see them as an element of continuity to entrench binary views about gender relations that promote separate spheres. The seating arrangements and exclusion of women from leadership positions and discrimination of same-sex relationships were justified through religious men's interpretations of Scripture. Therefore the study findings suggest that the participants struggled with the changing gender relations in the South African context through the clash of traditional and modern understandings of masculinity. This suggests that the participants were accommodating, that is passively accepted the current changes in gender relations in South Africa and did not act violently against them.

The next chapter will present the conclusion of the research and suggest key themes that emerge and need to be dealt with, as we move towards reconstructing masculinities.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the study

In chapter two the theoretical understandings of masculinity indicated that masculinity varies in the context upon which it is constructed, and is not fixed but changes over time. The society selects and defines which ideas about gender should regulate social behaviour and might flow from culture, religious, sport or human rights values. There are a number of factors which influence understandings of masculinity including family life, sexual relationships, and the ways men present and understand themselves. For instance, a boy is usually raised to understand what is acceptable and unacceptable social behaviour based on the dominant understanding of masculinity in a society. There are different ways by which men present themselves in everyday life. According to Connell (1995:77-80) there are four different types of masculinity: hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, and marginal. Hegemonic masculinity is a dominant form of masculinity, which is often considered the ideal understanding of masculinity within a society. Subordinate masculinity does not live up to the "ideal" of hegemonic masculinity, but it is defined and constrained by dominant understandings of masculinity. Complicit masculinity accepts the rewards of hegemonic masculinity, without defending the patriarchal system from which it benefits. Marginal masculinity appears in exploited and oppressed groups. The study has suggested notions of masculinity are not fixed but fluid, breaking down, and can be re-created in society.

In South African society the Constitutional Bill of Rights equality clause of 1996, which promotes gender equality, created a new political culture after South Africa gained independence in 1994. This culture of gender equity, or equality, and human rights, significantly influenced gender relations and continues to do so today. New and alternative ways of being a man do not promote hegemonic masculinity. Instead they promote respect, tolerance and mutual submission among men and women which as a part of this movement, are emerging in South African society. There are many conflicting definitions of what it means to be a man in South African society today. Morrell (2001a:26-33), a South African scholar in masculinity studies, argued that it is difficult to define a form of masculinity that is dominant, or hegemonic, within an African society because of its diversity in race, class and

ethnicity. There is no one understanding of masculinity that dominates the South African context. Morrell (2001a:26) stated that men respond to the changing expectations of what it means to be a man in three ways: defensive, accommodating and / or responsive. Men who have not welcomed the changes in gender relations are defensive. Men who are accommodating passively accept the current changes in gender relations and do not act violently against them. The progressive or responsive fosters men-to-men and women-to-men interactions. This "alternative" way of being a man challenges traditional notions of violent masculinity through an interest in traditionally "feminine" ideas of caring, and "emotional" and equitable relationships, especially in the domestic context.

In chapter three the study has indicated that in the Zulu constructions of masculinity there are multiple factors that caused Zulu masculinity to evolve over time which suggest that it is not fixed, but is fluid and dynamic. The pre-colonial world view suggested that the Zulu people believed in *uNkulunkulu* (the Great One) and ancestral spirits as mediators which was symbolically expressed in ritual activities. The Zulu people upheld morality which conceived *ubuntu* (spirit of a good human relationship) as a basis for ethical systems. A spirit of a good human relationship was also emphasised through respect for seniors and human persons. Vilakazi (1962:73) stated that respect for seniors and human persons are one of the fundamental values that determine the identity of a Zulu person. The unnecessary disturbance or violent behaviour against any homestead (*umuzi*) or neighbourhood members was condemned by the kinship group.

The homestead (*umuzi*) was a composite type of nuclear family in that it is a cluster of nuclear families which are built around the cattle kraal (*isibaya*). The constituent nuclear families were dependent on the head of the kraal, who was expected to grow the homestead economy. Vilakazi explained that 'each kraal has its fields, worked by its women and now its men also, and there is or was no system of organizing a national economy for the benefit of the Zulu people by means of taxes, etc' (1962:24). In each kraal the head of the nuclear family grew the economy through farming activities and the accumulation of cattle by receiving *ilobolo* (bride price cattle) from the bride's family. The socialisation of boys served as a preparation stage toward becoming men (*abamnumzane* -household heads). Boys were expected to be good hunters and as sheperds were expected to milk the cows to provide milk and *amasi* to their fathers' homesteads. These activities socialized boys to be aggressive and

respected especially among their male peers who failed to follow suit. These activities were preparatory stage for manhood.

The homestead economy as the centre of male dominance did not withstand external forces of change. Shope asserted that 'with the encroachment of colonial capitalism, a new mechanism of securing the resources (whether it was cash, cattle or consumer goods) to negotiate and wage-based labour system was introduced' (2006:67). This suggests that the shift from homestead economy to a new mechanism for securing resources resulted in the evolution of a new Zulu masculine identity. Vilakazi (1962:76-78) and Hunter (2008:567) asserted that the influence of labour migrancy constructed characteristics of masculinity such as *igxagxa, abaqhafi or tsotsis, uswenka, isoka, isishimane* and *umahlalela* emanated from many impacts of secular Western cultural patterns on African kinship-based societies such as migration of men to gold mines and industry around the late nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the shift from homestead economy to labour migrancy created tension between the homestead heads (subsistence farmers) and cash-earning men and sons. The homestead heads complained about youth who had lost respect for parents, and drifted from cultural practices, consumed alcohol and cohabitated.

Included in the shift from a homestead economy to a labour migrancy was also the missionary enterprise, which impacted on Zulu masculinity. Missionaries introduced a form of formal faith, which was different from the Zulu and set a precedent by which a particular pattern of life would influence change to take place and changed many of the basic behaviour and structural patterns. Firstly, it was the effects of modifications in roles played by men and women which were constructed in opposition to the traditional separation of roles between genders. Secondly, it was Holiness theology, which sought to redefine what it means to be a *kholwa* (Christian) man. The Christian men were prohibited from polygamous marriage, ancestral veneration, carrying sticks, drinking and smoking. Thirdly, the Christian way of life contributed towards the establishment of the mission stations by the voluntary moving away of Christians from the 'rule of the chiefs' to the rule of the missionaries therefore contributing towards the tradition of separation and class. Fourthly, the Christian traditional hierarchical model "endorsed" Zulu patriarchy that is, the Zulu Christian separatists founded meaning of their cultural practices and beliefs in the reading of scripture. The influence of the Christian tradition of separation and class had an effect on the introduction of apartheid in South African society.

Johann Kinghorn (1990:63-69) showed that the White conservatives who architected apartheid used the Bible to justify discrimination of non-Whites. The Dutch Reformed Church exegetical document pointed out that the races are united in the unity of Christ and divided in physical communication of believers (Kinghorn 1990:64). Apartheid did not only reinforce separate development but also emotional, moral, social, and intellectual problems especially among the black men. Morrell argued that 'Whites remained in supervisory jobs and continued to relate to black employees from a baasskap (master or boss) position' (2001:16). In response to apartheid policies, Waetjen and Maré (2008:353) argued Zulu nationalism gradually was eclipsed by mobilisations around black solidarity. Zulu loyalty to cultural tradition gave rise to ethnicity and nationalism as a protest against social change in the later nineteenth century. Zulu masculinity and tradition became politicized and used to redefine what it means to be a Zulu man. The politicized Zulu masculinity became evident in the late 1970s where the tension emerged around what it means to be a man within the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC). IFP "accused" the ANC of luring the young people and devaluing the Zulu culture. On the other hand, the African National Congress proposed to its members alternative views of militancy and what it meant to be a radical which attracted young men.

In the early 1990s Zulu nationalism and ethnicity, mobilized around what it means to be a man, did not withstand the transition to democracy in South Africa. Morrell (2001a:4, 18) asserted that there are two important things that shaped the South African context in the early 1990s: the importance of recognizing masculinity as a key aspect of gender and addressing issues of masculinity has become acknowledged internationally. The release from prison of Nelson Mandela and a transition period to the first non-racial elections was initiated. And also a culture of gender equality enshrined in the South African Constitution of 1996 which states that no one can be unfairly discriminated against on grounds of gender, religion, race, culture, marital status, origin and sexual orientation. It is these democratic processes that culminated in a new gender order. The impact of a culture of gender equality is now felt by men in the expansion of women's work, which has disrupted men's position as the sole 'provider' (Hunter 2005:389-401). Deepa Narayan (2000:263) asserted that men now face job role changes, trapped between old-and-new-style roles, with households beginning to be headed by women as a result of equal employment opportunities as well as economic volatility. While on the other hand, the mushrooming of Men's Forums around the country is

an outcome of this effort for a culture of gender equality in South Africa. Men are now being challenged to change their attitude and risky behaviour.

Chapter four presented the results of the research / fieldwork conducted in the uMgungundlovu District, formerly known as the Natal Midlands. The researcher complied with the ethical code of research involving human subjects. The study employed the qualitative method. Fifteen men participated in the open-ended interview schedule. The first category of participants consisted of eight young men between 21 and 35 years old. The second category of participants had seven middle-aged men between 36 and 50 years old. Twelve men lived in peri-urban settings, two in rural areas, and one lived in an urban area. The data was analyzed interpretatively. Each participant was asked four questions. There were three central issues that emerged from questions posed to the participants on culture. The first was respect and dignity, the second was the importance of rituals in marking sex differences, and the third was issues of authority. Three issues emerged from question posed to the participants on issues of faith and masculinity: the first was the seating arrangements in church, and the second was the male leadership in church, the third was the reading of Scripture. These ideas were supported by their interpretations of Scripture and Zulu culture. Four central issues emerged from questions posed to the participants on the Constitution: non-discrimination against women, perceived loss of respect and dignity by men, weakened authority and homosexual relationships. Lastly, two issues emerged from questions posed to the participants on the comments about being a man in South Africa today: moral regeneration and unfair discrimination against men.

Chapter five presented an analysis of the study findings. Study findings confirmed the research hypotheses that the transition to democracy in South Africa simultaneously ushered in changes to the existing gender order. The participants seemed to struggle with the changing social context in South African society through the clash of traditional and progressive understandings of masculinity. The participants distanced themselves from the use of violence against women and children to embrace the cultural and Constitutional values of respect and dignity of human persons irrespective of gender or sex. On the other hand, the participants clung on their cultural roots which buttressed individualist status or patriarchy. It also earned a man respect and dignity from his peers to entrench dominance in the household. The participants' upheld authority on which male power in the household rests. While the participants' engagement with the Constitution suggests that they acknowledged it as

instrumental in the protection and promotion of non-discrimination against women. On the other hand, the participants struggled with issues of equal employment opportunities because it threatens male hierarchical entitlement at home and the workplace. The study findings also suggest that the participants did not feel free and lived in fear because of the gender rights that threatens their authority in the public arena. As a result they felt unfairly discriminated against by women and their masculinity compromised because of the Constitution. The participants' critique of the Constitution suggests that the roles of men as the primary holders' of public leadership as well as household heads are fragile in what is called "crisis masculinity". Overall the study findings suggest that the participants passively accepted changes in gender relations but did not violently act against them.

The lessons learnt suggest that in the religious institutions the seating arrangements and exclusion of women from leadership positions and discrimination of same-sex relationships were justified through religious men's interpretations of Scripture. The patriarchs of the Old Testament had the strongest influence on their interpretation of religion and masculinity. They said in church they are socialised through the seating arrangements which are separate between men and women. Participants also said the religious seating arrangements spoke to their Zulu cultural context which means that they understood religious practices as a way of perpetuating traditional culture, often justifying patriarchal cultural and religious practices interchangeably. As a result the seating arrangement makes women deemed not fit to hold key positions in some religious institutions. Religious men not only discriminate against women but gay men too in turn to perpetuate heterosexism. The participants condemned relationships among same-sex by gay men, awarded by the Constitution, stating that God created humanity as male and female. Therefore the study findings suggest that the participants used the understanding of masculinity and femininity by the reading and interpreting of Scripture to show how men have abused God's authority as a "gift" by upholding and selecting biblical texts that support their cultural oppressive norms.

As I move to the conclusion of this study, the following section suggests key themes that emerge and need to be dealt with, as we move towards reconstructing masculinities. Firstly, there is a need to deconstruct traditional forms of masculinity. Secondly, there is a need to reconstruct hegemonic masculinities. Thus, before there can be a reconstruction of masculinities, deconstruction has to take place.

6.2 Towards reconstruction

6.2.1 Deconstructing traditional forms of masculinity

Deconstructing involves criticizing and dismantling the foundations of the dehumanisation of persons and patriarchy in order to reconstruct something new and humanizing. The findings from this study suggest that cultural practices build unhelpful boundaries between men and women and among men. They place women in an inferior position to men. As a result, findings suggest that cultural practices limit the active participation of women and some men in private and public spaces. These cultural practices also shape the dominant view of masculinity. For alternative forms of masculinity to prevail in society a bold and rigorous deconstruction of patriarchal hegemonic processes needs to take place.

In chapter three the study showed that the Zulu homestead economy was a centre of male dominance. The household head had the privilege in household affairs. He made decisions about the sexual division of labour. The study findings showed that the participants' upheld values of the homestead economy such as having a wife, family, cattle and house as criterion for being accepted as the household head. If one does not have some of these resources one would not be taken seriously, as outlined by the participants. However, respect, dignity and authority that support male individual status over household affairs are not always conducive for men's personal growth and equitable gender relations. These values or norms pose a great challenge, especially to unemployed men, because they put pressure on them and exclude or limit women's active full participation in the household and public affairs. The participants failed to understand that times have changed and culture is not static but dynamic.

The homestead economic values are contrary to the Constitutional values which promote and protect equitable gender relations. Crucially important, the post-colonial cultural values buttress equality and access to opportunities. The participants also failed to understand that one is a man irrespective of the values mentioned unless one embraces values of responsibility, mutuality, non-violent, care and love. South Africa needs men who can use their energy, wisdom, respect and dignity to overcome gender-based violence and the spread of HIV infection. This suggests that culture can be deconstructed and reconstructed to offer an alternative discussion for change in gendered relations. The activist work with men should tackle the values of the homestead economy because they emotionally abuse men in their

72

relations with each other as the study findings have shown. However, deconstruction of destructive forms of masculinities is not enough and there needs to be a process of reconstruction.

In reconstructing masculinities, those engaged in activist work with men should: 1) strengthen relationships between women and men, 2) promote equitable gender roles in the household, 3) orientate men about the South African Constitution, 4) engage religious leaders in gender justice work.

6.2.2 Strengthening relationships between men and women

The study indicates that Zulu culture does not strengthen relationships between women and men. Instead, it places men above women which limits the opportunity for men and women to better understand each other. The high level of gender-based violence and number of women infected by HIV in South Africa, is an indication of broken relationships that exist between men and women. The participants of the study indicated that they struggle to relate well to women. For them, respect and dignity and authority was emphasised as being key to relationships with women. These are traditional norms that often perpetuate dominant understandings of being men and lead to unhelpful and abusive relationships with women. Activist work with men should seek to create safe spaces to discuss how men and women could live peacefully and without fear of each other. The establishment of men's forums or networks throughout the country could provide such a space for men to reflect on their behaviour and attitudes towards women. Such forums and networks could develop programmes that strive to strengthen relationships between men and women such as non-threatening interactive discussions, retreats, marriage counselling, couples meetings, and joint campaigns. Men could be encouraged to make a pledge and share positive resolutions about their behaviour with one another. Role models of reconstructed masculinity could offer positive input to such forums and networks. Furthermore, activist work with men should strive to strengthen relationships between men and women using specific monitoring and evaluation tools in order for their initiatives to be measurable goals to work towards.

6.2.3 Promote equitable gender roles in the household

The study indicates that Zulu culture promotes the sexual division of labour. This ideology is embedded in the pre-colonial homestead organizational life which separated roles between genders. The study findings suggest that boys and girls are still socialised into the sexual division of labour. This indicates that boys and girls should be introduced to equitable gender roles before they reach maturity. Activist work with men should engage parents on equitable gender roles in the household. In turn, parents should introduce boys to household duties which are traditionally reserved for girls such as cooking, washing clothes, cleaning to demystify the sexual division of labour. Girls should also be introduced to work that is traditionally reserved for boys such as milking the cows, shepherding, cleaning the garden, and painting. In this way boys and girls would be exposed to different household duties and encourage a different view amongst girls and boys about shared values and labour. To sustain equitable gender roles in the household, an educational gender programme with boys and girls should be mainstreamed in the school activities. Boys and girls should be encouraged to share the same school routines such as collecting water, sweeping the class rooms, and cleaning the school yard to demystify the sexual division of labour. Thus, activist work needs to engage educators on this issue.

6.2.4 Orientate men about the South African Constitution

The participants of the study struggled with the implementation of the South African Constitution of 1996, especially with regards to equality between men and women at home and workplace, and sexual orientation. They perceived the Constitution as compromising their masculinity. Activist work with men should initiate local, provincial and national programmes which offer forums for discussion about the Constitution which will assist in orientating men and boys into the ideology that lies behind the Constitution. It is important that activist work with men should seek out men and boys in schools, taxi ranks, religious institutions, bars, and sports field. Activities should be non-threatening and participatory to allow for open and frank debate. Mass media education through local newspapers, television and radio talk shows could play a crucial role in educating men and boys about the Constitution. Using arts such as drama, songs, dance, poetry and music could pave a way for men to be more open to share their views and fears. Billboards could also convey a message about the Constitution. Facebook and Mix It are some of the more important and popular

forms of communication that young men and women use to exchange information and build relationships. The more men and boys talk about the Constitution the better the chance of increasing their understanding and enabling a conducive environment for enhanced gender relations.

6.2.5 Engage religious leaders in gender justice work

The study findings suggest that in religious institutions men do not completely discard their traditional beliefs and practices. Instead they see the need for continuity with their tradition and so entrench binary views about gender relations which promotes separate spheres for men and women. This is reinforced by religious beliefs and understandings of scripture and thus activist work with men needs to engage religious leaders. Religious leaders influence the interpretation of scripture significantly. Face-to-face discussions with religious leaders that tackle issues such as sexual orientation, seating arrangements and women in leadership should be encouraged. In addition, religious leaders should be encouraged to initiate programmes such as men's fellowship. Men's fellowship activities should be closely monitored by trained religious leaders or members in gender justice work so that the activist work can translate into meaningful interventions. Religious summits should be organised that will explore different understandings of masculinity. This will assist in important and necessary paradigm shifts in gender relations.

In conclusion, this study has been concerned with the question of cultural and faith practices and the South African Constitution of 1996 and how any or all of these issues influence (if at all) Zulu men's understanding of their masculinity. The study findings suggest that culture and religion do significantly influence and shape men's understandings of what it means to be a man. The findings also suggest that the Constitution has destabilised dominant views of being a man such as discrimination of women against men, and the abuse of women. The participants indicated their struggle with gender rights, but there was some suggestion that there are emerging alternative constructive ideas about being a man in South Africa today. Most importantly, this study suggests that activist work with men should strengthen relationships between men and women, promote equitable gender roles in the household, orientate men about the South African Constitution and engage religious leaders in gender justice work. These activities could offer alternative constructive ways of transforming the current inequitable gender relations in South Africa.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

African Relief Issues. 2009. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa is HIV Hotspot.
http://www.Tumai-africa.blogspot.com.htm >13 February 2010

Alsop, R., Fitzsimons, A. and Lennon Kathleen. 2002. *Theorizing gender*. Cambridge: polity Press.

Anglican news. 2005. A newspaper for the Diocese of Natal 15 (2): 3.
http://www.anglican.co.za/archives.htm >15 February 2010

Babbie, E., Mouton, J. 2001. *The practice of social research* (South African Edition). Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Balswick, J. 1998. Balswick, J. 1998. *The Inexpressive Male*. Massachusetts: Lexington Books.

Barker, J., Lynch, K., Cantillon, S. and Walsh, J. 2004. *Equality: from theory to action.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Barrett, F, J. 2001. 'The Organizational Construction of Hegemonic Masculinity: The Case of the US Navy'. *(In* Whitehead, S. M. & Barrett, F. J.(eds). *The Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 77-97.)

Brandt, N, 'Masculinity and the Quest for Social Justice: Deuteronomistic and Apartheid Recollections', in *Journal for Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa,* Vol 12, No. 1 (2006). Durban, p.41-52.

Burnard, C. A. 2008. 'Masculinity and Drinking and Driving among male students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg'. Unpublished MSocSc Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Buthelezi, M. 2008. 'The Empire Talks Back: Re-examining the Legacies of Shaka and Zulu Power in Post-apartheid South Africa'. *(In* Carton, B., Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 23-31.)

Carton, B. 2001. 'Locusts Fall from the Sky: Manhood and Migrancy in KwaZulu'. (*In* Morrell, R. (ed). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 129-139.)

Clark, J, 'Looking back and moving forward': Gender, culture and constructions in South Africa', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.69 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company, p.8-17.

Connell, R. W. 1987. *Gender and Power*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. 1995. *Masculinities*. London: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. 1997. 'Men in the world: masculinities and globalization', in *Colloquium masculinities in Southern Africa*, 2-4 July, Vol.1.

Connell, R.W. 2000. *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. 2001. 'The Social Organization of Masculinity'. (*In* Whitehead, S. M. & Barrett, F. J. (eds). *Masculinities Reader*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. p. 30-46.)

Connell, R.W. 2002. *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. 2003, 'The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality', in *United Nations division for the advancement of women in collaboration with International Labour Organisation*, 21-24 October. Brazil.

Connell, R. W. 2005. *Mascuinities*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

du Plessis, P. 1994. *Understanding South Africa's Transitional Bill of Rights*. Cape Town: Juta & Co Ltd.

Fester, G, 'Some preliminary thoughts on sexuality, citizenship and constitutions: are rights enough?', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.67 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company, p.100-111.

Field, S. 2001. 'Disappointed Men: Masculine Myths and Hybrid Identities in Windermere'. (*In* Morrell, R. (ed). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 211-223.)

Devenish, D. 1998. *Commentary on the South African Constitution*. Durban: Butterworth Publishers (PTY) Ltd.

Getnet. 2001. *Masculinities in the Making of Gendered Identities*. Getnet Guidebook for Trainers. Bellville: Getnet.

Hadebe, L. 2008. 'Men who hate women who wear pants: Are attacks against women who wear pants because men feel insecure?' *The Witness:* 23, August 2008, p.6.

Hammond-Tooke, W. D. H. 1974. 'World-view II: A System of Action'. (*In* Hammond, W. D. H. (ed). *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.)

Houle, R. J. 2008. 'The American Mission Revivals and the Birth of Modern Zulu Evangelism'. (In Carton, B., Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 222-235.)

HSRC. 2008. *South African National HIV prevalence , HIV incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey*, Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Human Sciences Research Council (2009), South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, Behavior and Communication Survey, 2008: A Turning Tide Among Teenagers?.

Hunter, M. 2005. 'Cultural politics and masculinities: Multple-partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal'. (*In* Reid, G. & Walker, L. (eds). *Men Behaving Differently*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books. p. 139-156.)

Hunter, M. 2008. 'IsiZulu-speaking Men and Changing Households: From Providers within Marriage to Providers outside Marriage'. (*In* Carton, B., Laband, J & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 566-571.)

Kiernan, J. 1990. 'African and Christian: From Opposition to Mutual Accommodation'. (*In* Prozesky, M. (ed). *Christianity amidst Apartheid: Selected Perspectives on the Church in South Africa*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd. P.9-25.)

Kinghorn, J. 1990. 'The Theology of Separate Equality: A Critical Outline of the DRC's Position on Apartheid'. (*In* Prozesky, M. (ed). *Christianity amidst Apartheid: Selected Perspectives on the Church in South Africa*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd LTD. P.57-80.)

Lalouviere, P. 2000. *Restless Identities*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Lambert, J. 2008. 'Happy Are Those Who Are Dead': Crises in African Life in Late-nineteenth-century and Early-twentieth-century Colonial'. (*In* Carton, B., Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 214-219.)

Leach, M. 1994. 'The Politics of Masculinity: An overview of contemporary theory', in *Social Alternatives* 12(4):36-37.
http://www.xyonline.net/politicsofmsculinity.shtml > 20 February 2008

Mager, A. 1997. 'Stickfighting, youth and the construction of masculine identities in rural Eastern Cape, 1945-1960', in *Colloquium masculinities in Southern Africa*, 2-4 July, Vol.1.

Mbilinyi, M. 1992. 'Research Methodologies in Gender Issues'. (*In* Meena, R. (ed). *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Harare, Zimbabwe: SAPES Books)

Morrell, R. 2001a. ed. *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

Morrell, R. 2001b. *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal 1880-1920*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.

Miesher, S. F. Lindsay, L. A. 2003. *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa: Social history of Africa*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Narayan, D. 2000. Voices of the Poor; Can Anyone Hear Us? New York: Oxford University Press.

Ndungane, J.2001. e-Praxis-Engaging Faith & Society.
http://www.windows/temp/gw}00008.htm> 6 August 2001

Neuman, W. L. 1991. *Social Research Methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon A Division of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Niehaus, T. 2005. 'Masculine domination in sexual violence: Interpreting accounts of three cases of rape in the South African lowveld'. (*In* Reid, G. & Walker, L. (eds). *Men Behaving Differently*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books. p. 65-83.)

Ntsimane, R, 'Dominant masculinities within the Zion Christian Church: A Preliminary Investigation', in *Journal of Constructive Theology: Gender, Religion and Theology in Africa*, Vol 12, No.1 (2006). Durban. p.29-40.

Parker, F. 2009. 'Still a long way to go, girl, BEE in partnership with Metropolitan'. *Mail & Guardian:* 24-29, April 2009, p.3.

Peacock, D. Khumalo, B. MacNab, E. 2006. 'Men and gender activism in South Africa: observations, critique and recommendations for the future', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.69 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company.

Rankhotha, C. S. 2002. 'The construction of egalitarian masculinities in the Natal Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal'. Unpublished DPhil Dissertation. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Rakoczy, S, 'Religion and violence: the suffering of women', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.61 (2004). Durban: Agenda feminist media company, p.29-35.

Rakoczy, S. 2004. *In Her Name: Women Doing Theology*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Reid, G. and Walker, L. 2005. 'Masculinities in question'. (*In* Reid, G. & Walker, L. (eds). *Men Behaving Differently*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books. p. 1-17.)

Richter, L. Morrell, R. 2006. *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council Press.

Scorgie, F, 'A battle won? The prohibition of virginity testing in the Children Bill', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.68 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company, p.19-28.

Seidler. V. J. 2006. *Transforming Masculinities: men, cultures, bodies, power, sex and love*. New York: Routledge.

Sideris, T. 2005. 'You have to change and you don't know how!': Contesting what it means to be a man in a rural area of South Africa'. (*In* Reid, G. & Walker, L. (eds). *Men Behaving Differently*. Cape Town: Double Storey Books. p. 111-135.)

Shaw, M. 1974. 'Material Culture'. (*In* Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (ed). *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.)

Shope, J. H, '*Lobola* is here to stay': rural black women and the contradictory meaning of *lobolo* in post-apartheid South Africa', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity*, No.68 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company, p.64-72.

South African Government. 2000. 'South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality', in *The Office on the Status of Women*, Pretoria: Government Printers.

Swain, J. 2005. 'Masculinities in Education'. (*In* Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J. Connell, R. W. (eds). *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities.* London: Sage Publications. p. 213-225.)

Swart, T. 2005. 'In the name of honor: an exploration of the masculine culture of violence in the South African context'. Unpublished MSocSc Psych. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Terre Blanche, M. Durrheim, K. Painter, D. 2006. *Research in Practice.* University of Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.

USAID-Interagency Gender Working Group. *Reaching men to improve health for al.* Dulles and Virginia: Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health / Centre for Communication Programs, 15-18 September 2003.

Vilakazi, A. 1962. *Zulu Transformations: A study of the dynamic of social change.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Van Leeuwen, M. S.1993. *After Eden: Facing the Challenge of Gender Reconciliation.* England: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Waetjen. T. and Maré, G. 2001. 'Men amongst Men': Masculinity and Zulu Nationalism in the 1980s'. (*In* Morrell, R. (ed). *Changing Men in Southern Africa.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 195-206.)

Waetjen, T. and Maré, G. 2008. 'Shaka's Aeroplane: The Take-off and Landing of Inkatha, Modern Zulu Nationalism and Royal politics'. (*In* Carton, B., Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 352-361.)

Walker. L. 2005. 'Negotiating the boundaries of masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa'. (*In* Reid, G. & Walker, L. (eds). *Men Behaving Differently.* Cape Town: Double Storey Books. p. 161-180.)

Wells, H., Polders, L, 'Anti-gay hate crimes in South Africa: prevalence, reporting practices, and experiences of the police', in *Agenda empowering women for gender equity,* No. 68 (2006). Durban: Agenda Feminist Media Company, (20-28).

Westwood, S. 1996. 'Feckless fathers': masculinities and the British state'. (*In* M. Mac An Ghaill. (ed). *Understanding Masculinities.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Whitehead, S. M. and Barrett, F, J. 2001. 'The Sociology of Masculinity'. (*In* Whitehead, S. M. & Barrett, F. J. (eds). *The Masculinities Reader.* Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 1-23.)

Whitelaw, G. 2008. 'A brief Archaeology of Precolonial Farming in KwaZulu-Natal'. (*In* Carton, B. Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 47-57.)

Wright. J. 2008. 'Revisiting the stereotype of Shaka's 'Devastations'. (*In* Carton, B. Laband, J. & Sithole, J. (eds). *Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. p. 69-78.)

Xaba. T. 2001. 'Masculinity and its Malcontents: The Confrontation between 'Struggle Masculinity' and 'Post-Struggle Masculinity' (1990-1997)'. (*In* Morrell, R. (ed). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University Natal Press. p. 105-120.)

APPENDIX A

Individual interview schedule:

Name:_____

Age:_____

Rural / Urban:_____

Place:_____

Date:_____

Time-Start:_____   Finish:_____

1. What influences from Zulu culture have defined who you are as a man?

2. What practices from your faith have defined who you are as a man?

3. How has the protection of gender rights and sexual orientation awarded by the South African Constitution (in clause 9 of the Bill of Rights) influenced who you are as a man?

4. Do you have any other comments about how you feel about being a man in South Africa?

APPENDIX B

Imininingwane yokufakwa imibuzo yo-cwaningo:

Igama:

Umnyaka:

Emaphandleni / Edolophini:

Indawo:

Usuku:

Isikhathi: Sokuqala: Nesokuvala:

1. Ingabe iziphi izinto esikweni lakho lesintu ezibenomthelela ekukuchazeni njengomuntu oyindoda?

2. Ingabe iziphi izinto okholelwa kuzona noma ezenziwayo enkolweni yakho ezikuchaza njengendoda?

3. Libenomthelela ongakanani kuwena njengendoda isiko elimayelana nokulingana nokungacwasani elivela kuMthetho Sisekelo wezwe laseNingizimu Afrikha na?

4. Ingabe kukhona okunye ofisa ukukuphawula ngendlela ozizwa ngayo njengemuntu oyindoda eningizimu entsha yase-Afrikha?

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

School of Religion and Theology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Greetings!

My name is Rev Lindani Hadebe. Currently I am working on research focusing on how culture, faith and new political culture reflected in the South African Constitution have influenced Zulu men's understandings of their masculinity. This research will form part of my Masters dissertation and is titled: "Zulu masculinity, culture, faith and the Constitution in the South African context"

You are being asked to participate in this research by being willing to be interviewed individually. The interview will last about one hour each. With your permission the interview will be tape recorded, but in the written dissertation, your identity will be kept confidential.

While the benefits of this study will not be felt by yourself directly, your participation will contribute to the growing body of knowledge on men's studies. It will also provide necessary information that will assist non-governmental and community organizations in mobilizing men's networks in civil society.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you are also free to withdraw from the research process should you experience discomfort at anytime from the research. Such withdrawal will not have any consequences for you in the future.

Should you have any further queries, please make contact with the following people:

Researcher: Rev. Lindani Hadebe
Contact address: 170 Berg Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201
Telephone: 033-3420052

Supervisor: Dr. Beverley Haddad
Contact address: School of Religion and Theology, UKZN, Private Bag X01, Scottville, 3209
Telephone: 033-2606172

If you are able to participate in this study, please will you fill out the following declaration:

DECLARATION

I……………………………………………………………………(full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

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

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT ………………………………………………..

DATE ………………………………….

APPENDIX D

Isikole seze- Nkolo esizinze eNyuvesi yaKwaZulu-Natal, Umsunduzi-Pietermaritzburg

Iphepha mvume locwaningo

Ngiyakubingelela!

Igama lami ngingu Mfundisi Lindani Hadebe, ngenza ucwaningo olubheka ukuthi ngabe isiko lesintu, inkolo kanye nesiko lezepolitiki, elimayelana nokulingana ngobulili kanye nokungacwasani esilithola kuMthetho Sisekelo wase-Ningizimu yase-Afrikha, libenomthelela ongakanani endleleni esiqonda ngayo ukuba indoda ikakhulukazi njengamaZulu. Lolucwaningo luyingxenye yemfundo yami ephakeme.

Uyacelwa ukuba ube yingxenye yaloluewaningo ngokuba uvolontiye noma unikele ngesikhathi sakho ukuba uphonswe imibuzo uwedwa. Imibuzo izothatha ihora elilodwa vo. Ngemvume yakho ingxoxo izoqoshwa. Uma ucwaningo selubhaliwe imininingwane yakho izogodlwa ibe imfihlo.

Inzuzo yaloluewaningo ngeke izuzwe nguwe wedwa kodwa izosiza abantu abaningi ikakhulukazi labo abafundayo noma abadinga ulwazi ngabantu besilisa. Futhi lolucwaningo luzosiza inhlangano ezisebenza nomphakathi ekugqugquzeleni abantu besilisa.

Ukubamba iqhaza kwakho ngaphandle kwenkokhelo ngizokuthokozela. Futhi unalo ilungelo lokuhoxa kuloluewaningo uma uzizwa ukuthi awuphathekile kahle ngaloluewaningo noma ingasiphi isikhathi. Ukuhoxa kwakho ngeke kube nomthelela omubi esikhathini esizayo.

Uma unemibuzo ungaxhumana nalabacwaningi ababalulwe ngezansi:

Umcwaningi	:	Rev. Lindani Hadebe
kheli	:	170 Berg Street, Pietermaritzburg, 3201
Ucingo	:	033-3420052
Umeluleki womcwaningi	:	Dr. Beverley Haddad
Ikheli :	:	School of Religion and Theology, UKZN, Private Bag X01, Scottville, 3209
Ucingo	:	033-2606172

Uma uzokwazi ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo, siyakucela ukuba ugcwalise

Isifungo:

Mina……………………………………………………………………(Amagama agcwele) ngiyagcwalisa ukuthi ngiyakuqonda okubhalwe lapha futhi nesimo salolucwaningo. Ngiyavuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolucwaningo.

Ngiyakuqonda ukuthi ngikhululekile ukuhoxa kulolucwaningo noma ingasiphi isikhathi uma ngithanda.

Ungasayina lapha …………………………………………………..

Usuku ………………………………….