CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PRACTICES THAT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST AMAXHOSA WOMEN: A CRITICAL STUDY OF SELECTED ISIXHOSA LITERARY TEXTS

BY

PHELIWE YVONNE MBATYOTI

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SUPERVISOR: Professor C.R. Botha

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DECLARATION

I Pheliwe Yvonne Mbatyoti, student number 200600881 declare that CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE AND FAMILY PRACTICES THAT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST AMAXHOSA WOMEN: A CRITICAL STUDY OF SELECTED ISIXHOSA LITERARY TEXTS is my own work, and that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

Student: Pheliwe Yvonne Mbatyoti

Signature:

Date: 30 June 2018
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother Mrs. Mbatyoti Nonani Nosipho Gladys for her unconditional support and motivation in all my endeavours in life. To my children I say follow your LIGHT.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks goes to my Supervisor Prof C.R. Botha for his tireless support and encouragement, during this long road to success, Sukwini you are a guardian angel in times of need. To my colleague, Dr Z W Saul, for his support during my studies.

Appreciation is also extended to Qhama, Phiwe and Siyanda for believing in my capabilities, Ozoemena Ababalwe, my grandchild you kept me company all the way, uThixo akusikelele.
ABSTRACT

In many parts of Africa, the cultural practices and customs that were in use over the ages are still largely in place today. Many of these practices discriminate against individuals and compromise their human rights, particularly the rights of African women. The aim of this investigation is to study customary marital practices among the amaXhosa in order to establish their effect on modern amaXhosa society. In addition, this includes other discriminatory practices, such as the diminished status of wedded women. Within the study, the social status of women before and after 1994 is dealt with as depicted in the selected texts. The study further determines the current social status of married women under the current dispensation and finds out whether the rights of married women are sufficiently recognised in the texts under discussion.

It is clear therefore that whilst Africa has made good progress on the political front, the same cannot be said for some of the cultural values that are still adhered to in the present age. This applies in particular to the rights of women in an African society. Globally, women and girls suffer the harmful and life-threatening effects of discriminatory traditional and cultural practices that continue under the guise of social, cultural and religious ceremonies. In the democratic South Africa, there is growing concern and awareness that some cultural practices are harmful to women and girls.

The study analyses a number of texts namely, novels and drama, that were published before and after the 1994 era in South Africa with aims and objectives being outlined in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 is devoted to the theoretical framework, which includes the general theory pertaining to the status of women, feminism and human rights. Secondly, it deals with African theory pertaining to the status of African women as well as their rights; finally, it reflects on the role of women in societies where traditional marriage customs are still in use. Chapter 3 analyses the depiction of customary marriage as a theme in isiXhosa prose before and after 1994. Chapter 4 examines the depiction of customary marriage in
isiXhosa drama before and after 1994 and focuses more on human rights elements. Chapter 5 summarises the arguments distilled from the analysed works. The researcher came to the conclusion that the practice of forced marriage does not occur in amaXhosa society only but it is also found on a wider scale on the rest of the African continent and beyond. The study was concluded with a set of recommendations that were made to combat the scourge of anti-feminism that is found in modern society.
AMAGQABANTSHINTSHI


Isifundo sihlalutya iqaqobana leencwadi ezizezi, inovel, nedrama ezipapashwe phambi kowe-1994 nasemva koko kweli loMzantsi Afrika ngenjongo zokuphumeza imigomo nemigqaliselo ethi idandalaziswe kwisahluko sokuqala. Isahluko sesibini sivandlakanya ingcingane yethiyori nequka ithiyori gabalala ngokwesimo sabafazi, impembelelo yokulwela amalungelo obufazi kwanamalungelo abasetyhini. Okwesibini, ihlahluba ithiyori yobuAfrika ngokupathelene nesimo sabasetyhini ekuhlaleni apho izithethe zomtshato ziseseluchochoyini ngokwamalungelo; ekugqibeleni, zibonakalisa indima
yabafazi ekuhlaleni apho umtshato usasetyenziswayo. Isahluko sesithathu siphenya isiboniso somtshato wesiNtu widrama yesiXhosa phambi nasemva kowe-1994 ze zigqale ngakumbi kumasolotya amalungelo abantu. Isahluko sesihlanu sishwankathela ingxoxo nedidiyelwe kumsebenzi ohlalutiyiweyo.

Umphandi ufikelele kwisigqibo sokuba isenzo somtshato onyanzelwayo asenzeki kuphela emaXhoseni koko sifumaneka ngokuthe gabalala kwilizwekazi leAfrika nangaphaya. Uphando luye lwaqukunjelwa ngotho lwezi ululo ezithe zaqulunqwa ukulwa imbatyulo yokungabinampembelelo yokulwela amalungelo abasetyhini efumaneka kuluntu lwanamhlane.
KEY WORDS

Customary traditional practices
Marriage
Men
Patriarchy
Society
Tradition
Women
Polygamy
ACRONYMS


ANC – African National Congress

ANCWL - African National Congress Women’s League

CEDAW - Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

CGE - Commissioner for Gender Equality

CRC - Convention on the Rights of the Child

ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR -Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

NAPPHR - National Action Plan for the Protection of Human Rights

RCMA - Recognition of Customary Marriage Act
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

During the previous century, the African continent gradually freed itself from the bonds of oppression and colonialism. The first country to gain its freedom was Ghana in 1957 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. This was followed by several other countries like Zambia in 1964 and Mozambique in 1975. Finally, South Africa was set free in February 1990 with F.W. De Klerk’s speech before Parliament, which culminated in the birth of a new democratic South Africa on 27 April 1994. For the first time in the history of South Africa, people were allowed to take part in a free and fair election process irrespective of the colour of their skin.

Even though all the African states were now politically set free from colonialism, the same unfortunately does not apply to the social and cultural freedoms enjoyed by the people who live in these countries. In many parts of Africa, the cultural practices and customs that were in use over the ages are still largely in place today. Many of these practices discriminate against individuals and compromise their human rights, particularly the rights of African women. In certain parts of Africa for instance, Malawi, Zambia, etc., even the brutal custom of female genital mutilation still applies.

Discrimination against women therefore, is still rife in post-colonial Africa. In North Africa for instance, Muslim women are not allowed to enter into mosques, whilst in most parts of Africa, women are not even allowed to enter into the cattle fold. It is clear therefore that whilst Africa has made good progress on the political front, the same cannot be said for some of the cultural values that are still adhered to in the present age. This applies in particular to the rights of women in African society. Globally, women and girls suffer the harmful and life-threatening effects of discriminatory traditional and cultural practices that continue under the guise of social, cultural and religious ceremonies. In the democratic South Africa, there is a growing concern and awareness that some cultural practices are harmful to women and girls. The rights of women and children are being compromised in particular, by
the existence of the traditional marriage customs that regulate marriage practices amongst the Nguni people. This matter came under renewed public spotlight owing to the sitting of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, where the validity of this custom was investigated in a formal, legal manner.

In ancient times, a forced marriage practice was a condoned cultural practice, although this was an abnormal path to marriage that targeted girls and women of marriageable age. However, it never allowed rape or even sexual intercourse with the girl until the marriage requirements were concluded (Koyana & Bekker, 2007:139-144). It is this custom, which is of major importance to all members of amaXhosa society today that is investigated in this study. Hence, the study’s focus on customary marriage in amaXhosa society, as depicted in selected isiXhosa literary texts.

1.2 The Research problem

It is commonly known that amaXhosa people in particular have recently emerged from a political environment, which was based upon suppression, discrimination and violation of their basic human rights. Today these people live in a democratic South African society where freedom of the individual is regarded as paramount. However, vestiges and remnants of discrimination still remain within amaXhosa society. One of these areas is that of traditional marriage and its accompanying implications for women’s rights. Whilst researchers such as Ndindwa (2012) and Koyana & Bekker (2007) have studied this matter before, there are still important aspects of this phenomenon that need to be investigated and explained.
1.3. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study is to investigate customary marital practices among the amaXhosa in order to establish their effect on modern amaXhosa society. In addition, this will include the investigation of other discriminatory practices, such as the lowered social status of newly wedded women, as well as prejudice against them in their professional careers. This investigation will be conducted through a critical analysis of a series of isiXhosa literary texts, with the main emphasis being on the depiction of female characters in these texts. The aim of this analysis will therefore be to determine the extent to which traditional marriage practices are depicted thematically in these novels and dramas. This study also wishes to determine the respective author’s views with regard to the presence of these practices within amaXhosa society.

1.4 Research questions

The objective of the study is to analyse a set of isiXhosa literary texts in order to seek answers to the following questions:

- Has the new dispensation made any significant change in customary marital practices as depicted in the selected texts?
- To what extent may the cultural practices as depicted in the selected texts be regarded as a true reflection of contemporary realities of amaXhosa society?
- Do human rights contribute to the continued existence and prevalence of discriminatory practices of customary marriage and the existence of the customary marital practices amongst the amaXhosa?
- What, according to isiXhosa authors, are the perceptions amongst amaXhosa women characters regarding these marital practices?

1.5 Research objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- What is the social status of married women before and after 1994, as depicted in the selected texts?
What is the response of women to the cultural marriage practices that they were subjected to, as portrayed in the texts under discussion?

Are the rights of married women sufficiently recognised and protected according to authors of the texts under discussion?

To find out what the current attitude of the community is towards marriage, as depicted in the selected texts.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This study will be conducted at two different levels. Firstly, it will be conducted within the framework of general literary theory. Literary theory may be described as a systematic study of the underlying principles that govern literature. A study will also be made of the various existential theories that informed the authors of literary works and which determined their societal views during the previous century as well as the early years of this century. This includes theories such as Marxist theory, Post-colonial theory, Feminist criticism and Gender studies. A brief description of the various theories follows below:

1.6.1 Feminist criticism

Feminist criticism focuses on how literature has represented women and relationships between women and men, drawing attention to how women have been marginalized and denied a voice of their own in much of canonical literature, and to how literature reflects society's prevailing ideological assumptions with regard to gender and power. [https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Feminism/Literary_Criticism](https://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Feminism/Literary_Criticism) (Accessed on 02/01/2018).

Feminist theory according to Moi (1983:83) is built around Showalter's concept of 'gynocritics', which states that women are judged according to their characteristics and behaviour. Kemp and Squires, (1997:108) define feminism as a struggle to end sexist oppression.
1.6.2 Post-colonial theory

Postcolonial theory provides a means of defiance by which any exploitative and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged. This is a theory that is capable of giving differences in times of writings in resistance; it is this theory, which can easily link two timeframes as it does with two political eras. It also seeks to account for the way that racism and that long-lasting political, economic and cultural effects of colonialism affect non-white, non-Western women in the world, https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/11814/RukundwaFormation(2007). (Accessed on 02/01/2018).

1.6.3 Marxist theory

Marxism is a system of thought developed by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and his followers which says that society’s classes are the cause of struggle and that society should have no classes, http://www.yourdictionary.com/marxism (Accessed on 1 January 2018). Marxist theory, according to Jardine (1992:68) is a literary approach that is premised on ‘gynesis’ which mainly focuses on the textual consequences and representations of sexual differences. These aspects, when coupled together render ‘gynesis’ as it offers models of ‘deconstructing power hierarchies and identifies the social construction of gender in society’ (Lockett: 2003:5-6). This Marxist strategy aims to rectify women’s omission from the constitutional mainstream through its knowledge about women who have been excluded by a masculine-dominated ideology. It is through this phenomenon that women were denied space of agency to assert themselves as well as access to self-defence and public space.

1.6.4 Gender studies

Brooker (1999:105) maintains that gender is a concept used for social, cultural and historical construction of sexual differences. In this view, gender tends to reinforce male authority over women.
As mentioned above, this study will also be based upon the framework of applied literary theory. In this regard, African literary theories will be analysed and applied to interpret the isiXhosa texts under discussion. This includes the work of recognised African scholars such as Ngugi, Amuta, Arndt and Anozi. The focus will specifically be on African literary theory related to the role and status of African women as depicted in African literary texts. This approach will provide the context for the critical interpretation of the isiXhosa literary texts under discussion.

1.7 Research methodology

This study will be based upon a critical analysis of isiXhosa literary texts, with particular reference to isiXhosa novels as well as isiXhosa dramas. The aim of the study, as pointed out above, is to investigate customary marital practices among the amaXhosa and to determine the extent to which this leads to discrimination against and oppression of African women. However, owing to practical considerations it will not be possible to analyse all the texts that deal with this matter. A selection of the most relevant texts for analysis in this study will therefore be made. This includes older texts that were produced during the previous century such as Jongilanga’s novel ‘Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko’ (1960), and Mmango’s drama ‘UDike noCikizwa’ (1982). The study will also focus on more recent texts that were produced towards the end of the previous century and the early years of the current century such as Mkiva’s text ‘UNongxokozelo’ (2006). These texts were selected as Xhosa authors that are highly recognised wrote them. The texts are generally regarded as good examples of isiXhosa literary texts that depict aspects of isiXhosa society in a successful manner.

The texts were selected because they portray social conditions during two different political eras in a most vivid manner. This firstly applies to the work of authors such as Mmango and Jongilanga that focuses on the socio-cultural conditions during the apartheid era and secondly it applies to the work of Mkiva that is based on the attitudes of people during the current democratic era. The aim of this particular selection strategy is to determine whether this process of political transformation has brought about any significant change regarding the attitude of members of isiXhosa society towards traditional practices, in particular towards those that discriminate against
women. That is why this study will be undertaken diacritically in order to identify the changes in isiXhosa society that could have taken place over a considerable lapsing of time. Research of this nature, must be underpinned by a clearly defined and formulated theoretical framework. This investigation will therefore take place in accordance with a clearly defined theoretical framework, as outlined above.

As already mentioned above, a selected number of isiXhosa novels and dramas will be analysed during the course of this study. The focus of this investigation will be upon the status and role of amaXhosa women as depicted in these texts. The study will be undertaken within the context of existing studies that have already been completed on isiXhosa literature, as found in the University of Fort Hare libraries as well as other libraries in the country. The extensive collection in National Heritage Centre for Cultural Studies (NAHECS) in isiXhosa literature will be consulted for the purpose of this study. Finally, the sources that are available on the internet and ‘Google scholar’ in particular will be accessed as part of this study.

It is important to note that all ethical considerations, as contained in the University of Fort Hare Ethics Policy, will be strictly adhered to during the conducting of this study. In order to comply with University’s policy on Plagiarism and Copyright Laws, all sources used in the study will be acknowledged, by direct quotation, in-text references and by listing the texts in the bibliography.

1.8 Outline of the thesis

The structural design of the thesis will be as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the aims and objectives of the thesis and sets out to provide background information and the rationale. It sets out the foundation of the study as a whole.
Chapter Two: Theoretical framework

This chapter consists of a theoretical discussion on the role and status of women in society. Firstly, this includes the general theory pertaining to the status of women, feminism and human rights. Secondly, it deals with African theory regarding the status of African women as well as their rights and finally, it reflects on the role of women in societies where the traditional marriage custom is still in use. Various literary theories, both at general level and more specifically at the African level will be examined in Chapter Two. Specific features of African literature will also receive attention in this chapter.

Chapter Three: The depiction of customary marriage as a theme in isiXhosa prose before and after 1994

In this chapter, various isiXhosa prose texts will be analysed in order to find out more about the views of the isiXhosa novelists about this important custom.

Chapter Four: Depiction of customary marriage in isiXhosa drama before and after 1994

The customary marriage custom, as reflected in selected isiXhosa dramas, will be analysed in this chapter.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Conclusions will be drawn, based upon findings that were made in the study. Recommendations will be made on means and ways of improving our knowledge and understanding of women issues, as well as enhancing the dignity of African women.
1.9 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the background of the study and stated why this kind of study had to be done. The research problem looked at the role of periods in the introduction of human rights after the liberation of South Africa when it comes to the rights of women. The purpose of the study was to investigate customary marital practices among the amaXhosa in order to establish their effect on modern amaXhosa society. The research objectives outline what is it that the researcher wishes to bring into light in the research about the acceptance and response of women to the cultural marriage practices that they were subjected to as well as the response of the society towards marriage as portrayed in selected texts. In this introductory chapter, it was stated that the aim of this study is to make a thorough analysis of certain aspects of isiXhosa literature. The main question to be answered in this study is whether the literary tradition shows any development regarding the depiction of traditional marriage practices in isiXhosa literature.

The study will also provide useful strategies aimed at the discouragement of traditional marriage practices and recommend alternatives to it in order to yield the desired results, as the condonation of this practice may often be attributed to a lack of information on the causative factors that lead to the continued existence of the practice and its ensuing consequences. Lastly, it is hoped that women and girls shall be armed with knowledge, as knowledge is the best weapon to dislodge such practices. It is trusted that this study will cast further light upon discriminatory aspects of the traditional marriage tradition as found in amaXhosa culture today. It will be significant because it will assist in the elimination of these practices from a human rights perspective.

It is trusted that the study will contribute to a body of knowledge on the phenomenon of traditional marriage and the strategies that may be followed to inform society about the role and impact of the practice of traditional marriage within the society. Furthermore, it is hoped that upcoming researchers in furthering research into women’s rights in the future may use the information that will be provided by this study.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the selected isiXhosa texts in this study. This chapter will, therefore, consist of a theoretical investigation into the status of women in society and their fundamental rights within the context of the Human Rights Charter (HRC). This Commission was established on 02 October 1995 under the Human Rights Commission Act 54 of 1994 and as provided for by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 200 of 1993. The first part of the chapter will be devoted to feminist theory and the role and status of women within the modern, universal, worldwide context. The discussion is based on theories such as feminism and radical feminism.

The second part of the chapter deals with the role and status of women within the African context. The investigation will focus on the status of African women within the domestic environment, with specific reference to traditional marriage practices in Africa and the position of women within the marriage custom. As indicated in the previous chapter, the study seeks to understand the traditional practices that are discriminative to women in general in the context of amaXhosa in the society as well as their portrayal in the selected isiXhosa texts. The literature review focuses on the concepts of customary traditional marital practices and women who are traditionally married in accordance with custom. The focus will be on amaXhosa society; but nonetheless, marital practices that are found in the rest of Africa will also be discussed on a comparative basis.

This part of the study focuses on amaXhosa people and seeks to critically explore issues and interests that are discriminative against women in traditional marriages with specific reference to customary marital practices. Wright and Manson (1983:2) reveal that the history and origins of amaXhosa has never been fully documented by
amaXhosa but only relies on oral forms of history of which most are in the form of izibongo that are communicated from generation to generation. According to amaXhosa tradition, these izibongo are usually performed during traditional ceremonies, especially during marriages (Hadebe, 1992:8).

2.2 Theoretical Framework
2.2.1 Introduction

This study is based on six theories namely: feminism, black feminism, and feminism in South African context, feminism in African context, radical feminism and Africana womanism. These theories will receive individual attention in the paragraphs below.

2.2.2 Feminism

Kemp and Squires (1997:13) regard feminism as a socio-political struggle the aim of which is to end all forms of sexist oppression. It normally refers to women whose involvement in the domestic domain is looked at as an expression of their exclusion from the world of masculine gender. It consciously implies all the sources of feminine oppression universally. Feminism has often been branded as a white embracing theory and a movement that does not see beyond Western societies. African feminist scholars like Molara Ogundipe-Leslie, the Sierra Leone feminist scholar, believe that feminism can also be applied in Africa to define the ambitions of African women. In the meantime, Guerin (1997) sets the goals for the feminist critics to expose patriarchal premises in resulting prejudices and promotes discovery and re-evaluation of female socio-cultural contexts. The critic, Filomena Steady (2011:101) is in agreement that feminism can be applied with success in the African context and warns that African feminists should be careful, even though she appears to be buying into racist discourse.

Some African scholars like the late Nigerian feminist Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti and Nawal el Saadawi in Julie Bettie (2000:1-35) argue that race and class issues are of greater importance than gender issues. Unequivocally they claim that black men and
women have to unite against white hegemony. In contrast, Ogundipe (1994:3) is of the view that:

Black men and women cannot unite around conflicting interests and across antagonistic classes to think that it is possible to be unintelligent and romantic.

Based on the above, it can be said that a fundamental goal of feminist theory is to analyse gender relations that are characterised by the dynamics of gender and sexuality as it strives to fight for the end of women oppression.

According to David (1986:8) the feminist ideology seems to be the major obstacle as most African women realise that feminism in essence is the struggle between husband and wife, brother and sister and the family at large. Hence, Achifusi (1987:37) sees marriage and housewifery as the only source of fulfilment and wonders if she should also be ashamed of discussing her role as a wife, woman, female and a mother and all the pleasures that accompany her as a human being. It is also stated that:

‘For every woman to ascribe her role, maintain her legibility in marriage, they have to avoid isolation by their counterparts, which is sometimes the main cause of restraint and talk about one’s relationship’ (Achifusi, 1987:37).

Ongundipe-Leslie (1994:10) insists that:

Women are shackled by their own negative self-image, by centuries of ideological exteriorisation of gender and patriarchal hierarchy; they react with fear, dependency, complexities and attitudes to please.

Referring to the quote above, one can easily discover that feminism is a tool that has been designed to change the existing mode of relationships between men and women, which are problematic in African society. Through feminism, should being a feminist impair a women’s prospect of finding a good husband or does it display her inadequacy
as a wife and motherly duties at home? Definitely, the answer is ‘no’, because such attitudes give an impression that the objectives of feminism are not understood yet in African society.

The word “feminism” refers to the political label that indicates support for the aims of women. It is argued by Moi (1986:205) that feminists often accuse male intellectuals of plagiarising with the ideas of women. Tamsanqa (2008) for instance portrays a male character by the name of Zwilakhe copying his wives’ idea that it was time for his son Gugulethu to be married as his peers were already married by that time. This plagiarism occurs without any kind of acknowledgement of borrowing, which can be regarded as a widespread patriarchal effort to silence the voice of women. Nevertheless, femininity according to Moi (1986:69) means ‘beliefs with an essence of femaleness’.

Moi (1986:209) further contends that feminism radically transforms women who are in struggle, while Ruthven (1984:2) and other feminist theorists believe that the phallocratic order of knowledge perpetuated in patriarchal society is exploitive. In contrast, Payne (1997:58) refers to feminism as an ensemblement of cultural forms, means and values that are associated with women. It is also mentioned that feminism deals with gender identity. Payne explains that in practice, women have been excluded and marginalised from culture.

The researcher understands that many African women were feminists even before the concept of feminism was introduced. In every sphere of life, one will discover that African women always believe in African traditions and customs, which in turn seem discriminative against them, but they are still proud of being black feminists in practice. African authors like Tamsanqa, Sinxo, Mqhayi, Mtuze etc. tend to depicts women characters as people who fight for the transformation of patriarchy knowing that women will act in a manner that makes them comfortable with the situation and for the benefit of their customs and traditions.
Although African feminism fights for the recognition of women and the general welfare of all the black people, it is also concerned with inequality of power between men and women. Nkumane (1999:25) for instance maintains that feminists are well aware of male power against women and distinguishes a factor that links feminism to black feminism, since feminism also fights for the attainment of black unity and recognition of powers for women.

The aim of radical feminism is to overthrow patriarchy by counter-playing the standards and norms of the gender roles and women oppression and re-order radicalism in the society. It delves into the roots and the point of origin of oppression of women in a patriarchal gender society. According to Drislane and Parkinson, (2002:59) radical feminism opposes legal systems in liberal feminism, as it plays anti-clockwise with the gender relations. It is still affirmed that radical feminism views patriarchy as a system of power that is based on the assertion of male supremacy that oppresses women in all aspects. According to radical feminism, the saying that goes ‘the place of a woman is in the kitchen’ clearly means that women have no say in a cultural institution. In some instances and to some female activists, the concept of feminism therefore goes over into radical feminism

2.2.3 Black Feminism

The term “Black feminism” was not widely used until the inception of the contemporary Black women’s movement in the 1970s. However, Black feminist scholars currently frequently apply it to a variety of Black women’s survival strategies and actions in the past, Nicholson (1991:241).

The term “feminism” deals with aspects of the past, which inform the current problems of black women that are emphasised by black feminism, (Giddens, 2009:61). It is further mentioned that black feminism also argues that oppression and sexism inextricably belong together, as ideas shared by black women provide a unique angle of vision on the society. Hooks (2000:89) discusses feminism and asserts that black feminism has manifested itself across many generations. It is still argued that
feminism never emerged from women who are powerless in thought. The term 'black feminist' refers to unquestioned reliance on black women and cultural framework.

Feminists from previous years used to focus on the challenging sexism and the chauvinistic behaviour of men in general throughout the societies. These feminists were generally uneducated, due to the African thought that says:

‘ukufundisa umntwana oyintombazana lilize’

It is worthless to educate a girl child.

This saying meant that most black women had minimal education. Some women, who were fortunate enough to receive education, were regarded as those belonging to the upper, affluent class and they demanded to vote. In the democratic pursuit, they demanded a vote for every woman, irrespective of race; this is one of the reactions against the patriarchal socio-political environment, as they wanted to fight against oppression of all marginalised women and those who belonged to the sub-cultural groups. Black women embarked on a request to ‘break the silence’ in the 1970s and in the 1990s they developed a ‘Voice’ which defined itself in voicing the cry of women collectively to represent women in dominant discourses, (Siziba, 2011:115).

Feminism is viewed by women of all races as an important part of human rights in the global political sphere. It includes women rights and emancipation, which are the patterns of feminist knowledge that women encounter everywhere. In America, feminism is often portrayed as something that is for white females only because they have already adapted to the American form of ‘apartheid’ that leads to some segregated institutions including feminist organisations, but in the true sense of the word, feminism is viewed by both black and white as the cultural property of women.

Some black women have directly challenged the struggle against women, which was controlled by the criteria of race and gender. ‘And Ain’t I A Woman’ was a campaign for first things first as it addressed issues of absurdity of female subjugation (Ntiri, 1997:83). The term ‘black feminism’ still disrupts a long-standing and unquestioned reliance on black racial solidarity in black political and cultural philosophies especially
in Black Nationalist and cultural pluralist frameworks. There are certain issues that are raised by black women with specificity to those issues that affect women only, and there has been an ongoing tendency of having less support from their husbands and the society. However, some black women suspect that there are motives of cultural and traditional oppression under the guise of ‘isiko lethu’ (our tradition). Based on this argument Lorde (1984:60) asserts that women still feel an element of rejection.

In agreement, Williams (1990:70) says the most disturbing aspect of current feminism is its separatism and a tendency to see culture as having more in common with women problems, especially black women in a customary traditional marriage context in all societies within the African context.

2.2.4 Africana Womanism

Hudson-Weems (1997:7) in her conference article defines the term ‘Africana womanism’ as an ideological concept that was created for all women of Africana descent which means that the concept is grounded firmly in African culture, Hudson-Weems, in her interview with Reed (2001), mentions that ‘womanism is to feminism as purple is as to lavender’. Achebe (1958) in the book ‘Things Fall apart’ pays recognition to Africana womanism thought but in a modified form. This is not about differentiation but speaking about the entire agenda, as Hudson-Weems does not buy the idea from Walker who modifies the form and mode and says that womanism is the same as feminism.

Chikwenye Ogunyemi is one of the champions who believes that Africana womanism best answers to feminism in the sense that women seem to understand positively what their roles in the society are as well as what the role of men in the ruling institution is. Almost at the same time, Walker and Ogunyemi came to decide about the use of the word ‘feminism’ which today entirely speaks to Africana womanism. Although their thoughts collide in many ways, the concept remains the same. Siziba’s (2009:44) views run parallel to those of the two pioneers and says that they both emancipate Africana women from black and white discrimination and is quoted as saying: ‘The most important point of departure is the African obsession to have children’.
Ogunyemi defines womanism as a conviction of a question of gender, which can be dealt with in context of gender issues that are relevant to women involving culture and economic issues. An Africana womanist will recognise that along with these traditional practices. When speaking of womanism, one may think that this is relevant to women in African context where older women often oppress younger women in their marriage settings. For example, when a young woman elopes or leaves the husband, she is expected to go back, in order to protect the wealth that has been brought to her home by the suitor, which means that there are substantive issues that need to be covered by womanism in the African society. It is believed that there is a vast need to develop a theory that is going to accommodate social differences of African women. Africana womanism is a family-centered ideology with an intent to uplift both men and women at the same time. ‘Collectivism’ is the concept that is still being recognised. The voice of women, in crying aloud for their rights is universal, as women have not received any special privileges in the patriarchal society.

2.2.5 Feminism in African Context

Feminism is broadly defined as the struggle for the liberation of women, and encompasses epistemologies, methodologies, theories, and modes of activism that seek to bring an end to the oppression and subordination of women by men.

The truth is most African women are walking down the isle of insecurity. Ongundipe (1994:10-11) maintains that women often hate speaking about their relationships in fear of being insubordinate and to ensure eligibility in marriage. It is further said that women are in a closet of their own negative self-image, which is coupled by reactions to their problems; this leaves them as women defenseless and living in fear to decide on their own.

Some Africans do understand that feminism is a struggle and women carry a duty to scale up their position and respond to issues that come their way. Feminism intends to overthrow the existing tides of war in most African societies. Africans are seen as Africans because of the African culture that they carry in themselves as well as their
thinking, they all know that out of nowhere came a saying ‘as long as you are black, you are an African’. Ongundipe (1994:218) is of the opinion that Africans do recognise the racial difference and assume that a person is necessarily African because of how he/she looks, while Reed (2001:170) concurs and states that:

Black symbolises a cultural milieu more than colour does, not all African women decently use the term ‘black’ but it is important to look at ‘black’ before applying the feminist theory.

Theorists see feminism as a social movement aiming at changing the status of women in the society as Achifusi (1987:40) says:

Feminism is a political view with an intent to change the power relation in question within the society for various areas of life as in gender division labour, leisure and culture and change in ruling system.

Based on the above quote, feminism seems to be a complex phenomenon as its definition raises many questions and doubts; to such an extent, that one would wonder if it really exists in Africa. The relevance of feminism is also one of the questions in mind as it raises the question in recognition of women in rural Africa. Some theorists define feminism by its etymological roots, which carries an ideology of women and a philosophy about women. *Femina* is the Latin word for “woman”, so, feminism may be seen as a concept that is foreign to Africa. Ongundipe-Leslie (1994) argues that indigenous African societies did not have strategies for correcting gender imbalances in their societies. It is also argued that it is not men that are enemies but challenges such as subordination and women oppression is the real enemy to be fought. This angle drives Ongundipe (1994:59) to suggest the following things to be expected from feminism:

Feminine conditions in Africa need to be addressed in societal development scenarios, as culture should not be mobilised to the advantage of men, women roles should not be neglected in any event.

The ‘Social Transformation Including Women in Africa’ (STIWA), is a political movement that gave African women a platform in the transformation of social issues
and it is generally referred to and used as *stiwanism*. Ongundipe (1994:221) as a newly minted equivalent for feminism advocated the concept stiwanism; it is derived from other languages like Greek, Swahili and Latin meaning ‘I’ and it stands for the concerns of feminists in Africa. Some African women seem not willing to be associated with feminism due to the reason that it is seen as a struggle that is reserved for white women even though it is not. Feminism is meant to include all women in struggle for women rights from the political point of view. Feminism in Africa seeks to liberate African women as it involves cultures and tradition. Sometimes it is even a healing utility for blacks across all gender lines. Kolawole (1997:28) is of the opinion that feminism maintains a traditional setup of African institutions in the completely African continent for women who are in the ideological sphere.

### 2.2.6 Feminism in the South African Context

The concept of feminism has existed long before it could be given a formal name. It exists as it has been introduced for the benefit of women especially black women who act differently from other women due to their unique cultural background and beliefs. Patriarchy has been abused simply to suppress women. Black women from marginalised societies are mostly uneducated and agree to take part in cultural and traditional practices, which enhance their illiterate thought patterns. In so doing they take things as they are and still assume that things are the way they should be, which often was oppressive societal expectations. In the past when traditional labour practices were still followed strictly, women were left at home to take care of the whole family and children; and of which this resulted in woman-headed families where women later became single parents, as it is the current situation with many families in the society.

Feminist theorists attentively look at the oppression of women whose strides of development are highly oppressed and deprived of education like taking a girl child out of school since she is going to get married; even her marriage is a collective, family issue that never gives her a chance to express her feelings and views about her future. Gardener (1991:202) argues that in South Africa gender subordination is a joint form of oppression that all females must fight. The oppression that women have been
exposed to under the oppressive country of South Africa is unbearable. That is why Nkululeko (1987:88) asks the question: can an oppressed nation engage in a struggle? Upon this question, the argument lies in indigenous dichotomy. If the integration of the oppressor and the oppressed rests upon the history of South Africa, then women researchers still have to fight for their rights and in so doing, they have to voice out loudly the clinical diagnosis for the society to re-amend the tradition. Based on this argument, women in South Africa still have to analyse and examine their role within the society. It is further argued that womanism is based on experience as women and it is the duty ahead of women to fight for their liberation in Africa. There is a need to have a movement that will cater for women’s specific cultural needs.

2.2.7 Psychoanalysis

Psychoanalysis is a psychological study of the social behaviour in human beings in a mental context using a specified technique to do so; it is also a method of treating some kind of mental illness and systems of psychology, Mntanga (2008:31). It further implies that this is the theory that plays a vital role in the analysis of literature that is normally based on human beings and their behaviours since the author and the reader both are psychological beings. An approach through this theory is mainly cored on the interpretation and can be used as a point of origin of knowledge as it affects the reader through exposure to the timeline of character minting and coining as a real person who can think in the reality of life.

The details of the content can be analysed by the reader who interprets the deeper meaning of the given text. The text may have a far different meaning from what is expressed in the text words, therefore it is the task of the researcher and the reader to dis-assemble and unweave the strings of the text in order to determine the possible meanings as the text unfolds. It is also argued that, though man creates textual characters, the author has all the power to give them life and that is where psychoanalysis starts working effectively with an intent to make the reader aware of the conflicts as well as defence mechanisms used to escape anxiety, (Kwatsha, 2002:22). This is in agreement with Freud’s theory, which maintains that women have the sense of winning and sense of success in fighting for what is rightfully due to them.
Freud’s theory deals with the functioning of the human mind, thus, as a researcher; there is a vast need to delve into the mind of a character who is a woman and the obstacles she encounters in society. Freud contends that a man's self-conscious behaviour represents his Ego and it is housed in the conscious portion of the human mind. It is highly endowed with judgement and reasoning and also has a freedom of choice to be ‘free’ and operates on the principle of ‘reality’. One of the functions of the Ego is to monitor and guide the Id, which is the home of the negative consequences. The Ego also satisfies the desires of the Id in relation to social norms and demands of the Super Ego (Kwatsha 1995:40).

Freud maintains that the human mind is composed of three sections namely: Pre-conscious, conscious and the sub-conscious mind. The subconscious mind constitutes the greater part of the mind and many times, it is unaware of the events of which one can only be aware of under certain conditions. In psychoanalysis, dreams and hypnosis fulfil this role. The conscious mind is highly concerned with the phenomena and events that one can easily be aware of and in the pre-conscious mind one is not immediately aware of events but those events can be brought into focus by the act of will. Freud further observes that the Ego resolves conflicting demands of the Id and determines the nature of individual personality and sometimes it finds means to resort to a ‘defence mechanism’ (Kwatsha 1995:45). When Freud’s theory is applied to isiXhosa society, it becomes evident that this theory shows that all human beings have social needs to be fulfilled.

In some of the authentic works like ‘Izango zothando’ (Manciya, 1985), ‘Love on the rocks’ (Sesinyi, 1981), and “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (Jongilanga 1982), some of the women characters’ needs are not satisfied and that prevents them from reaching their goals, for example to quench their thirst for education and be liberated from social oppression.

Theorists believe that women have to preserve the tradition of ‘umzi uyanyanyezelwa’ (marriage is not a bed of roses) and ‘ingcwaba lentombi lisemzini’/the place of woman is in the kitchen. These two phrases keep women resistant to oppression. Women are expected to be fashion-in-line for their husbands so that they can be proud to boast
about their wives to other men. This implies that the social rights of women are inferior to those of men. For the medieval philosophers, men and women are equal with regard to reason, and subordination of women arises from society. The belief that women lack capacity to exercise the power of human reason is a deeply rooted prejudice in African society. Philosophers like Kant (1990) believe that in feminist privileges patriarchy is based upon the obedience of man to a superior divine will. The act of primal obedience is attached to explicit desire for happiness for both men and women but it is not only women who recognise that limitations and sorrow are unavoidable in the society and so the objective is to live freely.

At some point, based on Freud’s point of view, the isiXhosa writers reveal that everybody is thwarted to an extent periodically, thus defense mechanism is used to release tension to a certain degree. Based on this argument, human attitudes represent different types of personality of human beings. Kwatsha (2002:22) contends that a girl reasons differently from a boy and in an emergency, she makes her own decision in a flash. It is further argued that: ‘from a cultural point of view, women can never exercise power invested in the position of men’. This influences the psychological ways of life. It is also pointed out that in all African traditions; older women have a standing principle of matriarchy over younger women in the society as they seem to have developed an attitude that resembles that of masculine gender oppression. In this, instance women have a duty to pass cultural traditional practices on from generation to generation in the form of oral tradition.

2.2.7.1 Linking Psychoanalysis and Literature

Psychoanalysis and literature seem to be inseparable although some people used to look at it as impossible and confusing. Today, psychoanalysis is of substantial value and highly recognised in literature. Wellek and Warren (1982:81) as psychoanalytic theorists assert that:

By psychology of literature, one may mean the psychological study of the writer, as individual type or the study of creative process or the study of psychological types and laws present within the works of literature or the effects of literature upon its readers.
It is further argued that characters in plays and novels are considered psychologically true. It is further maintained that the author is a specialist in recombination and making a new whole out of elements separately experienced. In agreement, Kwatsha (1995:101) refers to the words that Freud wrote in his last days, stating that:

The concept of the conscious has long been knocking on the gates of psychology and asking to be let in. Philosophy and literature have often toyed with it....

Kwatsha (1995:51) contends that the reason for the psychoanalysts to speak about literature is that it has everything to do with the language that is being used in the text. It is also declared that the unconscious is structured in the same manner as literary language and psychology can illuminate the creative process.

2.3 The Culture of Africans: The Role of Women
2.3.1 Introduction

African culture provides Africans with a unique ethos to be honoured and practiced by all Africans. Africans believe in their culture, which includes social values and practices as well as norms of a given society. Their culture is passed on from generation to generation orally as it is less documented. This is a history that is housed by the missionaries in their archives. During the period of colonialism in Africa, some Europeans displayed attitudes of being superior to Africans who are accompanied by and cushioned with an African influence. Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011:35) say ‘Africans were easily accepted by colonists as one of them, only on condition that all African culture and language was to be abandoned so that one becomes civilised’.

Griffiths, Meyers and Harvey (2006) look at culture as a mirror of the society as well as the sensor of the African route, which represents the African thought and values to be cherished by the given society. It is in this African society that men are seen to have control above women while women are made to understand the situation unconditionally. Men are often known to be dictators and not negotiators in the society and women in the society take this as a norm and a must that it is cast in stone.
2.3.2 Women in the Pre-Colonial Era

During the pre-colonial era there existed a complementary relationship between male and female social roles in the pre-colonial African societies (Siziba, 2009:135) and it is during and after colonisation that the downfall of African women from the position of power and self-sovereignty to becoming a man’s helper occurred. According to Ndhlukula (1980:1), the myth of creation states that in the beginning, the man came out of the reed (*ingcongolo*) and he was with his wife who was carrying a baby on her back and he was carrying a hoe with which he maintained his balance. Ndhlukula comes up with an explanation as to why African society is a patriarchal one as men and women were made to be traditionally married as per custom, where a woman as a wife would be a mother and a man to be a husband in an African society. Women are made to understand their vital role is the one of bearing children and nurturing the homestead.

It is the African custom to view marriage as a centre of existence where certain traditions like the payment of *lobola* must be recognised. Shober (2013) analysed the writings of a well-known black author by the name of Sindiwe Magona. In her writings, Magona depicts childhood life in the rural and urban areas of South Africa. The author mentions a feeling of desperation and abandonment in this country, which she compares with the oppression of female authors nationally and internationally. Shober also writes about Magona’s return from abroad back to South Africa and Magona concludes that women are still victims of the situation.

The author states that women writers were often marginalised in the colonial period. She mentions the work of Magona (1992) who wrote about the conditions and situations in apartheid South Africa where children were often forced to become adults before reaching actual adulthood. Those were the days where female children were forced to get married and sacrifice their educational ambitions. Some resorted to fleeing to the urban areas to seek jobs where they were virtually paid nothing. However, other women persevered, as they wanted to free themselves from the traditional practices in the rural areas.
According to Onyango (1984:56), the payment of lobola was in some instances never completed. This was done in order to stabilise the marriage, as men kept a life-time with their women in fear of being harassed for the payment of the remnants of the lobola. An anthropologist by the name of Michelle Rosaldo in Eisenstein (1983:111) asserts that:

The assignment of women to the domestic sphere and of men to the public was characterised in all societies. This was the thread that linked all known human societies from primitive to complex and that underlay oppression of women despite the variety of forms that this took worldwide.

Rosaldo maintains that despite all of the variations that could be observed cross-culturally in the roles assigned to the sexes, all cultures tend to distinguish between male and female gender and assign appropriate behaviours and tasks to each. Rosaldo further asserts that tasks and roles given to males and females give certain significance and importance to the African cultural marriage. Some women tolerate negative treatment when they first get married to their male counterparts because they expect long-term benefits and hope to exercise power over their sons’ future wives.

2.3.3 Women in South Africa

Women in South Africa have generally been regarded as less important, as most African traditional social institutions are male-centered and male-dominated. This has been taking place up to the 1990’s, as in some rural areas of South Africa a woman was expected to walk a few paces behind her husband in keeping with the traditional practices, hence a woman’s contribution to the society is normally either approved by or on behalf of men. In the 20th century when men left their homes for mining jobs, women were faced with dual gender roles of being mothers and food gatherers for their households. They bore so many traditional roles in the society as they had to guarantee the next meal and the general daily survival of their families. They also continued to join the workforce and they represented the larger percentage of the workers, although their wages were lower than those of men in the same work position,

In the 1930’s the Conservative Afrikaner Movement was organised by women in support of cultural preservation and the Kappiekommando was established to ensure traditional values. This organisation was named for its distinctive Voortrekker dress, which in turn caused young Afrikaners and youth to ridicule its members’ appearance and their militancy, Ngculu (2011:35-49). In 1943, the African National Congress Women’s League was formed and a few years later was able to organise more than twenty thousand women on a march to the Pretoria government buildings to protest against the pass laws and other restrictions. Based on this, women became a major source of resistance during this era as later, in 1954; the Black Sash was formed with the aim to demonstrate against pass laws. The resistance of women gave rise to more oppression on their side, pass-law restrictions were extended to include black women who were denied permission to stay more than seventy-two hours in urban areas. In 1994, free elections were held in South Africa and black women were elected to the National Assembly and for the first time a woman (Frene Ginwala) was elected as the speaker of the National Assembly.

2.3.4 Marriage

The marriage custom will be the main focus of the study because the work concentrates on married women and the constraints they live under. It further investigates the oppression of married African women who live under an iron hand of their husbands in the patriarchal society. Chabaya, (2007:237-247) discusses factors contributing to gender imbalance in positions of leadership in Zimbabwean schools; she also focuses on how cultural values, beliefs and practices contribute to persistent gender disparities in leadership. She again discusses various forms of feminism and how it influences societies in the distribution of gender roles. In contrast Oyeronke, (2003:59) makes a case that dominant Western feminist accounts on motherhood tend to reduce females to a mere gender category. Oyeronke presents women as the ones who are perceived as oppressed because they are subordinate to males, who are the privileged group and that leads to patriarchalisation. Meanwhile, Bowman (2003:38)
notes that women are still formally regarded, as akin to property in African customary marriage where marriage is still largely regarded as a property transaction in traditional communities in Africa. Bowman even mentions that the major impact of change is family disintegration. Monyane (2013:78) looks at the local, regional and international legal framework in order to assess traditional marriage constitutionality within the domain of human rights. He notes that traditional marriage violates children’s rights and substantially contributes to domestic violence. Girls are deprived of the right to choose whether to marry or not and whom to marry.

Traditional marriage perpetuates the cycle of gender inequality and may be found in different forms. Although women have to exist under these oppressive circumstances, they still maintain their inner power and potential moral strength within themselves, and that can be regarded as an original point of power and resilience. Jongilanga in his work ‘Ukuquhawuka kwembeleko’ (Jongilanga, 1982) carefully illustrates how women are able to maintain their strength under the heavy hand of men to an extent that men can easily manipulate their wives and daughters to obey a man’s wishes and desire like a commercial interest through forced or arranged marriage. When things fall apart in marriage, it is usually due to a chronic abuse of women by men.

Banks & Gee, (1989:159) found that culture and tradition are important factors informing national debates on popular understanding of human rights in South Africa. They define culture as the combination of human knowledge, beliefs and behaviours that are learned from the past and are passed on to future generations. Tradition often shapes culture as most of the tradition can be in the form of rituals and beliefs that are generationally passed through. Traditional marriage is one of such beliefs and customs that are still practiced by communities for periods spanning over generations. In agreement, Bennett (2004:15) is of the opinion that the recognition of culturally defined systems of law has become a constitutional right vested in groups and individuals with the implication, that the state has a function to liberate people, thus allowing them to participate in the culture of their choice, including a duty to uphold the institutions upon which that culture is based. In African thought, marriage is a focus of existence, a point where everyone meets the living as well as those not yet born.
Various groups of people make up a society, which is composed of families. A union of a man and a woman and children, which are born within the institution of marriage, forms a family. Both the husband and wife have free access to each other and this creates a form of sexual gratification when there are rules that forbid and limit sex outside marriage for spouses. This gratification strengthens the family ties and as the emotions are obliged to stabilise the society, the rules, which contain sexual activity in the family, prevent corrupt and disruptive effects on social order that may result if sexual drive was allowed to be free (Haralambos: 1988:331).

The function of the family structure is to control marriage so that illegitimate relationships do not occur. Traditionally, some men have only one spouse while others could have several relationships. An African man can marry in accordance to isithembu tradition, which means that he can have more than one wife, as he desires. A husband who is a sole breadwinner does most of the work but each of his wives has her own house for her and her children. There is a common household called undlunkulu to be shared by all women and children. The husband together with the family cultivate the same fields and share the produce (Mntanga, 2008:71). Mntanga (2008) contends that isithembu among African people is of great importance as it increases the number of children that are produced, as an African man will be remembered by the size of his offspring.

2.3.5 The Status of African Women in Marriage

According to Mashalaba, (2012:20) the amaXhosa custom does not take into consideration the wishes of a woman regarding her future husband and her family would normally decide for her. Women were made to believe that men are superior to them and because of that; men took greater advantage of women, especially in the marriage setting. Zastrow (2004) asserts the notion that despite the ratification of some agreements that condemn violence against women and the adoption of policies and appropriate legislation, there is still insignificant change in the lives of South African women in the post-apartheid era.
South Africa is still burdened with the reality of a complex social context when comparing rural and urban women and so this creates the need for effective implementation of modern legislation. In relation to this, Cock (1991:59) argues that people have been understood to show respect for cultural roles. To maintain this, there is a division of labour along sexual lines, which means that not only do men and women perform different tasks in accordance with the gender work force but also that labour is valued differently and remunerated in accordance with gender. The author further states that domestic chores of the amaXhosa female child are overshadowed in the rural areas by the herding chores expected of the male child which is one of the reasons why women are oppressed and have no say in customary institutions. This creates a discrepancy between sexes but it has been in existence for centuries. Men have the upper hand although there is need for equal status in all aspects in marriage. It is further argued that men expect the payment of lobola to be seen as a right for them to possess a woman who should obey every rule the men confer upon them since they are ‘mere objects’.

Some African women in marriage have forfeited all their human rights. Hudson-Weems (2001:3) advocates that a married woman is dependent upon and defined within the domestic territory. In the pre-colonial era, women would get married at an early age such as fifteen years where she hardly had a say and she was left with no choice but to go through the rites of the courtship since the husband is the provider for his own household.

Cock (1991:276) argues that life is defined with respect to cultural roles. To demonstrate this, there is a sexual division of labour, which means that not only do men and women perform different chores but also that labour is valued differently and remunerated in accordance with the gender workforce. It is also further maintained that as already mentioned above domestic chores of the amaXhosa female child are overshadowed in the rural areas by the herding chores expected of the male child. Mandela (1993: VI), comments as follows:

There are powerful cultural constructions associated with different roles of men and women in the amaXhosa society. These roles
have significant social consequences as they define parameters within which domination of women takes place.

Although customary marital traditional practices are more common in some parts of South Africa than in other places, the Eastern Cape has been noted as having a high prevalence rate and occurrences of harmful traditional practices. Virginity testing and traditional male circumcision have been observed as being common amongst amaXhosa. Despite the potential risk of causing potential harm to children, the Children’s Act allows for both virginity testing and male circumcision under certain conditions as set out in the Act (Mdazana, 2013: 22). In addition, it also makes provision for young women being kidnapped by a man and his fellows with an intent to bring the two families to a table of marriage negotiations.

In the past, customary marital traditional practice was condoned as a legal cultural practice. It targeted girls and women of marriageable age and it never involved rape or having sex with the girl until marriage negotiations are concluded (Koyana and Bekker, 2007:139-144). Although it is regarded as a legal practice, it is still regarded as an abnormal path that is followed, according to Western culture. Studies have defined culture as a coherent self-contained system of symbols and values that homogeneous people can reproduce over time, which provides people with a required signpost and meanings for behaviour and social relationships in the day-to-day living style (Wadesango, Rembe; & Chabaya, 2011:11). The above statement clarifies that culture is a social heritage, which includes all knowledge, skills, beliefs and customs that are available in the society, including the marriage custom

The practice of customary marriage all over South African country is immersed in negative perceptions with many bad influences in its wake. Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALES) once stated that ukuthwala is an old custom that is now practiced differently https://www.sahistory.org.za, (accessed on 10/10/2016), while Dr Mndende of Icamagu Institute says that abduction of a twelve or thirteen-year-old girl is not ukuthwala as it used to be known by amaXhosa, https://www.sahio.org.za (accessed
She further asserts that girls as young as twelve years of age are now forced to marry older men and in some other instances there is parental consent and because of the brutal practice, they are forced to leave school. This is not legal, as according to the Children Rights Act, it is said that sex between any man and a girl under the age of sixteen years is illegal. Secondly, in terms of the Schools’ Act, children must attend school up to the age of sixteen years. In the meantime, Section 30-31 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa: 1996 clearly provides for the rights of all citizens to participate in the cultural life of choice and freedom to engage in cultural practices of one’s choice. The Bill of Rights also contains provisions, which can be consistent with these traditions. Traditional marriage practices however, bring this right to participate in cultural practices in conflict with the right to equality and freedom of the individual. It is also in conflict with the universally recognised legislation on the prevention of Human Trafficking, abduction, kidnapping and having sexual relations with a minor, in terms of which it can be regarded as a human rights abuse.

Globally, women and girls suffer the harmful and life-threatening effects of traditional and cultural practices that are being continued under the guise of social, cultural and religious practices. In the democratic South Africa there is concern and awareness that some cultural practices are regarded to be harmful to women and girls. In the past, the customary marriage tradition originated from the tribe of amaXhosa; however, this practice has spread to other ethnic groups like the amaMpondomise clan, which adopted *ukuthwala* from the amaXhosa clans (https://www.sahistory.org.za) (accessed on 10/10/2016).

Mwambene, (2009:176) argues that traditional marriage practices like *ukuthwala* are outdated and expose women and children to sexual and domestic violence and he further indicates that the practice violates children’s rights. Mwambene concludes by stating that traditional marriage as one of the traditional practices intersects with oppression and manifests itself in the economic, social and gender inequalities that are based on patriarchal thinking. Ndindwa, (2012:120) asserts that democracy is regularly blamed for the perceived moral degeneration of South African societies with reference to sexual issues that are controversial. Women are held culpable because
of their gender but this perception does not only affect women but other men too who are involved in same-sex marriage and those who are involved in prostitution.

Anozi, (1981:101) discovered that literature as a work of art gives insight into reality by broadening one’s awareness of experiences of the human race. Anozi looks at literature as a performance, which is presented in words, while (Amuta, 1989:53) looks at Marxism as the symbol of dialectical conflict between drama of revolutionary opposites and a change of matter and man in motion. This theory is more relevant when one begins to understand and examine the relationship between literature, on one hand and contemporary African society on the other. Amuta (1989:53) asserts that Marx saw an artist as a vital agent in the shaping of social consciousness. He elaborates on the following features:

- The relationship between literature and the material base defined in terms of totality of the relations of production,
- The glorification of realism as a progressive form of artistic representation, and
- The relationship between content and form of art

Mpahlele (1992:150) states that all female emerging literature of good quality was subjected to the restrictive laws of Bantu Education before 1990. It is one of the tragedies of Africans, as conquered people, that what initially was a vigorous literary movement in African languages with an adult appeal descented into a writing that is published specifically for schoolchildren and is not particularly elevating. The author also concludes that the African writing activity does not incorporate women’s literary participation due to patriarchal attitudes. Grootboom, (1994:66) says that women were the hardest hit before 1994 in South Africa and argues that women had fled the professions and were concentrating primarily on their motherhood, as they were manipulated to believe that their sole significance in life was to bear children as this is in accordance with the African view of understanding.

2.3.6 Customary Traditional Marriages
AmaXhosa fall under the ethnic group of Nguni, which includes amaBhaca, amaZulu, amaMpondo, amaXhosa, and amaBomvana (Hellmann, 1931:121). Amongst the Nguni, customary marriage was regarded as a family matter other than a self-concern. It used to be determined by certain features e.g. To provide economic alliances, to create families and for women to perform all the domestic chores in the household. There are five types of traditional marriages. These marriages will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

2.3.6.1 Ukuthwala

The isiXhosa word ‘ukuthwala’ literary means to carry something, for example, a load (Pahl, 1989:334). To the South Eastern group of the African population ukuthwala comprises the removal of a girl from her home to the kraal of the young man’s father with a view to the commencement of marriage negotiations. In terms of the customary law, the girl’s father should be informed immediately of the girl’s abduction through a messenger which signifies the commencement of negotiations (Olivier, et al, 1995:15). It is further argued that some of the groups amongst whom this practice prevails, do not deem ukuthwala to be a delict and thus no damages are payable. Nevertheless, South-Eastern groups of the African population maintain that damages are always payable, but according to the other groups, damages are only payable if a marriage offer is not made, the young man’s family does not possess the required lobola or if the girl’s father refuses to give his permission. With all the different groups, the damages payable vary.

Other theorists do however not agree with Koyana and Bekker (2007:14) who contend that ukuthwala is a culturally legitimated abduction of a young woman whereby as a preliminary to a customary marriage, a young man will forcibly take her to his home. In contrast, Curran and Bonthuis (2004:151) describe the ukuthwala practice as an act of ‘abducting the bride’ or instance whereby a young girl is forced into marriage without her consent. In agreement, Bennet (2004:56) regards this practice of ukuthwala as a mock abduction or irregular proposal aimed at achieving customary marriage, while Shelley (2011:65) maintains that ukuthwala is viewed as a form of human rights abuse
since it violates the principle of freedom and autonomy of individuals and precludes the element of consent to ensure validity of the marriage.

Some champions like Wadesango, Rembe and Chabaya (2011:18) assert that *ukuthwala* is a practice found in South Africa, which violates the rights of young women who are forced into marriage without consent. Contrastively Maluleke (2009:16) sees *ukuthwala* as a facet of South African traditional heritage, which is mainly practiced by amaXhosa and in certain areas of KwaZulu Natal. Traditionally it was a practice whereby a girl would be abducted by a young man and his friends, following the previous covenant of a girl and a young man with an intention to compel the young man’s family to endorse the marriage. Today, *ukuthwala* continues to be known to exist in most rural areas of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal Provinces. It is clear that there is wide divergence amongst academics regarding the social acceptability of the ‘ukuthwala’ custom.

2.3.6.2 *Ukugcagca*

The isiXhosa term *ukugcagca* means an act of a woman to elope and to unite with another man. The term also applies to an unmarried woman who allows herself to decide to elope. (Tshabe & Shoba, 2006:571). This act of ‘*ukugcagca*’ differs from ‘*ukuthwala*,’ although they both involve a girl in the sense that in *ukuthwala* practice, the girl is abducted with her permission. Whilst, in *ukugcagca*, there is an intention on the part of an unmarried woman to run away from home with a lover and secondly there is an intention on the side of a married women to run away from her husband in order to unite with a secrete lover.

2.3.6.3 *Ukuhlolela*

The term *Ukuhlolela* applies to a situation where the parents of one of the marriage partners identify a suitable partner for their son or daughter based on negotiations and mutual agreement. In terms of this custom, the marriage may be annulled at any stage and generally, there is no intervention of outside authorities. This is where two families are at liberty to agree upon the terms that suit their children’s needs of such a situation.
This condition brings about no termination period of the marriage but the relationship is mature and motivated by the years of its service and existence. *Ukuhlolela* gains good definition by the endowment of offspring, which is the children, and payment of *lobola* (Mwambene, 2009:155).

Ndindwa (2014:54) clearly states that there is only one form of customary marriage that is common with amaXhosa and that is patrilineal marriage. A discussion of the formation and dissolution of this kind of customary marriage is going to be dealt with in the section on *lobola* and the society, (see para. 2.3.7)

2.3.6.4 Ukungena

The literary meaning of the term ‘ukungena’ is ‘to enter through an opening’ eg. A door, gate, etc, or into an enclosure, e.g. a room, a hole, etc, Mini & Tshabe (2003:531). *Ukungena* practice forms part of a male-dominated system of privileges and it is viewed as an epitome of a male-agreed decision when a man wants to own and possess a woman with a hope to preserve the inheritance of the family (Ntuli, 2000:10). Mtuze 2004:127 regards *ukungena* as one of the most repugnant customs in the African social system, which is not practised by amaXhosa and abaThembu, and is found to be common among Embo tribes. *Ukungena* occurs when a widow is required to marry the brother or any male relative of her deceased husband, in terms of which the widow is required to enter into a relationship with a husband without knowing whom she is entrusted with but the children remain known as those of the original late husband. She is given a few sticks to choose from and the stick she chooses will determine who the husband is. If in any case she refuses to marry one of the men selected, she is banished from her home and she loses the custody of her full inheritance.

In recognition of the Customary Marriage Act 120 of 1998 (RCMA), a customary marriage must be negotiated and entered into in accordance with customary law. As ‘ukungena’ has been a cultural practice, it is still practiced by some communities, and is highly respected by the family members and the community.
2.3.6.5 Isithembu

*Isithembu*, which is in English known as polygamy, is a common practice among amaXhosa and other Nguni tribes but was discouraged by the intervention of the missionaries who argued that polygamy and *lobola* were instances of human trafficking and they strongly suggested that people should not be allowed to practice these customs, Walker (1990:141). The Shona refer to polygamy as a custom of a woman having more than one husband or a man having more than one wife at the same time living in one homestead. For men there is no restricted number of women to marry but that is determined by the power of the man’s kraal content. The more wives a man has the greater esteem he receives from his fellows and the community, (Achebe (1958:21).

The number of women he married influences the dignity and recognition of any African man. All the wives owe their husbands sexual fulfilment as they all are ranged from the first to the last wife; on the other hand, a man has to make decisions on behalf of his wives for example, what to cook and how much to spend. In ‘Things Fall Apart’ by Achebe (1958), it is asserted that polygamy facilitates a man’s enjoyment. It portrays a male character Okonkwo who is the only person to enter the barn, as he is the one to decide what is to be cooked by his wives.

Mandela, (1993:101) comments about societal institutions where women and men have demarcated roles to play in the family, especially on cultural matters. It is further stated that these roles have significant social consequences as they define fundamental parameters within which the domination of women is mandated. Beal, Gelb, Stephen and Hassim (2005:89) affirm that political processes influenced cultural practices in South Africa, as culture plays a significant role in the gender debate. It is further mentioned that it is most unfortunate that social behaviours and intolerance seem to be used to vindicate some social traditions. They feel that there is a need to preserve and re-traditionalise culture.

Polygamy in Malawi is prevalent and this is demonstrated by a study conducted by the Malawi Human Rights Commission (2005:18) which clarifies the fact that polygamy is
still one of the most widely recognised traditional practices in all areas, as most of the women from Malawi are involved in polygamous unions. South Africa seems to have a lower incidence of polygamous marriages unlike other countries like Zimbabwe, where men often have more than one wife. In Kenya, a significant percentage of the population is in polygamous marriages while Ghana has 28 percent and Nigeria has 42 percent in polygamous marriages. Some South Africans are in favour and greatly support this kind of customary marriage and they say it must continue to be practiced (Govender, 2000:32). Kisaakye (2000:268) has also noted that there is great support for this practice, as voiced by a number of African women.

In all polygamous unions especially in patrilineal systems, women are expected to undertake the role of bearing children and have no custody over them. The same women carry a considerable burden of labour both outside and within the house, as well as in the fields where they work in order for their husband to prosper materially. In Achebe (1958:12), the main character, Okonkwo’s barns were bursting at the seams with grain that was produced through the hard labour of his wives and children, thus he was greatly honoured by the whole community and by the neighbouring villages.

In polygamous households, Henn (1984:286) observes that one man heads the family with several wives and unmarried male dependents or it can be a handful of married brothers and their sons with their children and wives. This represents a basic production and consumption unit in almost all societies, which is reflective of the extended family. Within this unit, each wife and her children form their own economic sub-unit, which is centred on a sub-kitchen and cows for milking to provide for the children.

In Africa, a man’s wealth is considered in terms of the number of dependents in his household. According to Mntanga, (2008:72) polygamy is intended to maintain all wives materially and minimise the number of unmarried sisters within the society in order to overcome the effect of ukungena (succession) after the death of a husband who is then taken over by his brother. Henn (1984:289) still contends that this practice provides for a widow to accept her inheritor as a husband and may still enjoy the inheritance of land of her husband’s family. If she refuses, she is forced to leave the
village of her husband and forfeit all the rights of inheritance as well as the custody over the children that have been weaned from lactation.

2.3.7 Polygamy and Social Health: Masculinity in crisis

It is often stated that masculinity is going through a crisis. Edwards (2006:2) argues that over the past four decades or so the critical studies of masculinity have highlighted this crisis. Edwards (2006:2) puts forth a three-phase or ‘wave’ model of critical studies of masculinity. The first wave, the sex role paradigm developed in the 1970’s, was applied primarily to direct questions of masculinity and covered issues around sexual roles, the socialisation of masculinity as well as the dangers men faced regarding their physical well-being (Edwards, 2006:2).

Immense criticism of the first wave by pro-feminist authors, who felt that masculinity politically, implied that there was some level of equality between the sexes, leads to the birth of the second wave in the 1980’s (Edwards, 2006:2). The sex role theory brought to light the hegemonic nature of masculinity (Connell, 1987:79) which was viewed as dominant and oppressive towards more “subordinate” men who at the time were largely black and from the working class (Edwards, 2006:2). Consequently, the second wave of the critical studies of masculinity is centered on power, and its complex and multifaceted connotations and implications about society (Edwards, 2006:2).

The third wave of critical studies of masculinity is relatively more complex than the first two waves. It is not easily defined and is found across disciplines, from media, cultural and fictional studies to even the social sciences (Edwards, 2006:3). It is influenced by post-structural theory, which is the study of objects, for example a text, and the systems of knowledge that influenced its production – with its common theme being representation (Edwards, 2006:3). Change and continuity are factors, which influence historical and contemporary masculinities, and identities discourse (Edwards, 2006:3).

Therefore, as highlighted above, masculinity discourse and conceptions have evolved over time. Masculinity studies were first shaped around men’s sexual prowess, and
later turned to men and the power or influence they yielded in society. However, in contemporary masculinity studies, masculinity cannot be aligned to one aspect or factor of society. Thus, as masculinity discourse has changed with time, so too should the social constructs and ideals of masculinity, especially regarding men and their sexuality. Because of the need to uphold the social constructs of masculinity, men are placed at greater risk of contracting and dying of HIV and AIDS. Because HIV/AIDS is largely spread through sexual contact, it is important to analyse what part masculinity and male sexuality plays in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Masculinity is socially and culturally constructed and as a result extra pressure is put on boys and men to be knowledgeable and experienced when it comes to the practicing of sex (Mane & Aggleton, 2001:25).

Gender socialisation leads men to believe that multiple sexual partners from the age of adolescence will bring about experience and knowledge (Gupta, 2000:3). Bongela (1993) in ‘Lwadilik’udonga’ also writes and portrays a male character with many wives in his homestead. This behaviour is reinforced by socially constructed terms, which are used to describe promiscuous men who are highly revered by the community and who have paved their way to the top, thus enabling them to earn dignity. This includes terms such as ‘player’, ‘Casanova’, ‘stud’, and ‘Don Juan’ (Smiler, 2012:101). These terms act as positive reinforcement and seem to applaud men for their risky sexual behaviour. This means that hegemonic masculinity does not recognise subordinate masculinities as possessing any socially structured power.

Hoza, (2009) focuses on the debate on the emancipation of women from the shackles of subjugation that prevent them from realising their full human potential. Hoza analyses a number of literary texts to show how women mount a relentless war against patriarchal stereotypes, which project women as second-class citizens. Hoza creates a pro-female counter-image that challenges the denigrated female image, as created by men and by a male dominant society. Siziba (2009:121) notes that during the colonial era in Zimbabwe the oppression of women was rife.

Marital conflicts, which take place in various forms, are commonly referred to in a contemporary society by the catch phrase ‘domestic violence’. These conflicts are
portrayed in a fundamental manner and blamed on women because marriage was viewed as a patriarchally based institution. Therefore, women were subjected to all forms of abuse both by the society and by the system. Siziba also asserts that orature is the bank of the society’s history and customs through which women can now express their views, Siziba (2009:121).

Women are often seen as losers, as Huisamen and Nosilela, (2010: 18) assert that traditional history is by its nature a subjective narrative, it is usually told from the point of view of the prominent and powerful writers who wish to maintain sovereignty, and the culture of power does not allow the defeated culture to be remembered. The losers do not have the means to write their stories, nor is there an audience interested in hearing them. Some traditional cultures and traditions can easily be dominated by the modern cultures and people will be forced to forget their past. Some of these traditions include genital mutilation, ukwaluka (male circumcision) and ukuthwala.

Connell (2000:125) believes that this behaviour began with what she terms the emergence of the “informal bare-foot HIV/AIDS educators” who took pride in their sexuality as well as in their education and the sharing of knowledge around HIV/AIDS with others. Connell (2000:126) believes that through these bare-foot educators HIV/AIDS prevention and education could reach working-class men, as it has done with affluent women and thus start a process of collective empowerment. However, over time, studies regarding the community and HIV and/or AIDS have fallen short with only 22 sub-Saharan African countries reporting on this cohort in 2012 (UNAIDS, 2012b:28). Another challenge is that very few countries acknowledge the inclusion of this cohort in their national AIDS strategies. As a result, it has become increasingly difficult to analyse and study the effects of HIV on men, particularly in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2012b:28). Furthermore, a study of migrant workers and mineworkers in Pondoland in the former Transkei by Moodie in the 1980s brought to light the inequality in structural power amongst men viewed as adhering to the ideals of subordinate masculinities (Moodie, 2001:297). These men lived and worked away from their wives and families for a long period and, as a result, illegitimate children were often born to mothers, which put these women at risk of being punished by their husbands, as is indeed the case in Tamsanqa (1982). These men became mineworkers just for
money, which would enable them to become respected men more rapidly back home by being able to pay lobola or to build a homestead in their villages (Moodie, 2001:306).

Polygamy is meant to illustrate a man’s masculinity and material wealth. At the same time, however, it exposes him to the risks of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). In this process, his female partners also become exposed to diseases. Therefore, there are those researchers who are of the view that traditions and customs such as polygamy need to be reconsidered urgently.

2.3.8 Patrilineal Customary Marriage Practice and the Role of Lobola

2.3.8.1 Introduction

In this section of the study, the researcher wishes to go into detail regarding the stages of lobola that are followed during the tradition. It is also in this part that she wishes to discuss the significance of lobola within the society that keeps this tradition up to date. The value of this tradition will also be visited and to conclude, the social status of lobola today will be looked at.

Mwambene (2008:136) is of the view that a customary marriage that is accompanied by the payment of lobola, gives the man all the privileges as he takes a woman to his own home / village, and the children that they are going to have also belong to the family of the father and his relatives. Women are expected to get married and live in the husbands’ home village, which means women can never inherit anything from their marriages. Mwambene further argues that the man in this marriage has to enjoy a superior status without any qualification. This form of marriage is governed by the payment of lobola where a man has the upper hand over his children and wife and this makes them all legitimate to the family as well as in the society. It is argued that traditional marriage practices can play a significant role in restricting the rights of women.
2.3.8.2 Lobola and Society

Mofokeng (2005) defines *lobola* as a mutual agreement the settlement of which is regarded as a prerequisite by the two family groups before the marriage ceremony, underlying the fact that there should be a transfer of property from both family groups in respect of the marriage practice. It is best to understand the significance of *lobola* and its significant role in the society as the missionaries viewed it as the exploitation of women. Missionaries saw *lobola* as slavery (Walker, 1990:100) but Mohamed (1998:49) is of the opinion, that *lobola* is a blood contract for marriage in indigenous African communities. *Lobola* is a sentiment and a requirement for customary traditional marriage. In contrast, it is very much important to note that in an African patrilineal marriage *lobola* remains a unique cultural symbol, as it underscores the fact that customary marriage creates a strong bond between the families of the husband and wife. In agreement, Koyana and Bekker (2007) see *lobola* and customary marriage as the bedrock upon which patrilineal society is based. It is further argued that *lobola* functions as a family protector of the wife and children in a household.

The missionaries’ strong resistance to this custom is clearly reflected in the circumstances related to the publication of Jordan’s ‘*Ingqumbo yeminyanya*’ (1958). This matter will then receive further attention in Chapter Three of the study.

Despite the fact that missionaries were opposed to customary marriages, this marriage continues to survive and exist. Thus, unmarried women also wish to be married in order to gain respect and acknowledge the significance of *lobola* in traditional marriages. Customary traditional marital practices reflect some values and beliefs that are still held by a certain community as customs and traditions that shape the thinking and behaviour of men and women as well. Some customary traditional marital practices can however be extremely harmful to certain individuals, with specificity to women. In agreement, Wadesango, (2011: 25) supports this notion that traditional marital practices can be extremely harmful by stating that:

Traditional attitudes by which women are regarded as subordinate to men including having some stereotyped roles such as family violence and abuse, *lobola*, *uzilo* and *ukuholwa* are seen as some kind of control over
women. In such instances, women are being deprived of fundamental freedom as human beings.

In the past *lobola* was performed and paid for in the form of cows, sheep, goats and horses but nowadays payment is also made in cash, which does not have the same significance and status within amaXhosa society. (Ndindwa 2012:151).

### 2.3.8.3 The social status of Lobola

*Lobola* is a long-standing traditional practice of amaXhosa. There are many important aspects pertaining to *lobola*, and in an attempt to know more and dwell well on the issues of *lobola*, one can easily say that it is an unmeasurable part of the history of amaXhosa. *Lobola* is looked at as one of the ancient practices of amaXhosa that developed from generation to generation, it is clear that when looking at *lobola* and the culture of African communities, one may say it is a historical community product of which it is vital to analyse some of the factors that really enhance the existence of the practice. At this stage, one may look at its intrinsic and extrinsic function of intent in the society as amaZulu have a saying that goes as:

Hamba uyongilandela Izinkomo kuloyamuzi

Go and fetch me cows from that home.

To be blessed with girls in a family was an honour because a man who is their father anticipated to becoming extremely rich because of their *lobola*. *Lobola* meant a kraal full of cows as it used to be made as payment through cows and so amaXhosa have a saying:

Ubuhle bendoda ziinkomo

His herds determine a man’s wealth

The minimum amount of cows to be paid for the *lobola* was ten cows and the eleventh one accompanied the consignment as a sign of honour for purity and virginity testing
by elderly women near *igoqo* (firewood pile) on the day preceding the wedding ceremony, this cow was named *intyatyambo* (bouquet) (Ndindwa, 2012:99). The issue of virginity amongst amaXhosa females will be dealt with in the latter sections. *Lobola*, as a traditional practice is cushioned by some views and reasons as it is the initial process of any marriage which makes it to be an honour to the parents and to the spouse to undertake responsibility of being a good husband and a future father, it also blesses the marriage with an African character.

2.3.9 Gender-Based Violence and HIV and AIDS

Many of the marriage practices referred to above give rise to malpractices such as gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is sexual, physical or emotional abuse perpetrated against an individual (mostly women) based on their gender which causes physical or psychological harm and humiliation and which perpetuates the subordination of women (Heise et al., 2002:6). Gender-based violence involves a number of different violations directed at women or girls, such as spousal abuse, sexual assault, and even murders that are the result of individuals who are forced into unwanted love affairs (Heise et al., 2002:6).

For instance, in a study conducted in Swaziland and Tanzania, girls between 13 and 24 years of age reported experiencing at least one incident of sexual abuse before the age of 18 (UNAIDS, 2012b:74). Bennet and Pearl, (1991:69), found that the practice of traditional marriage have many functions which are fundamentally connected to the family unit. Traditional marriage custom according to amaXhosa is a form of abduction that as mentioned earlier in this chapter involves kidnapping of a girl by a man and his peers with an intention to compel the girl’s family to enter into marriage negotiations. Bennett further asserts that traditional marriage was a condoned path to marriage that targeted girls of marriageable age, but lately the tradition seems to have changed and taken on another dimension. According to UNAIDS (2012b:74) gender-based violence, in addition to violating women’s human rights, is both a cause-and-effect of HIV transmission. The high risk of HIV transmission for women can be understood better when relating it to a study by Decker et al., (2009:57) of a sample group of 20,425 husband and wife-dyads which provided both intimate partner violence (IPV) data.
and HIV test results. The study found that one-third (37.4%) of the women experienced IPV and that 0.4% of the husbands and 0.2% of the wives were HIV infected. Compared with non-abusive husbands, abusive husbands demonstrated increased odds of HIV infection outside the marital relationship (Decker et al., 2009). The study also found that those men who committed IPV were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviours such as multiple partners, no condom usage, and sex with prostitute workers (Decker et al., 2009:98).

These studies, and numerous others (Dunkle et al., 2004; Silverman et al., 2007), show the extent to which violence against women is being perpetrated. Although, issues related to gender-based violence are not reported in their findings, it is important to note that they are related to constructs of masculinity as pointed out above. Therefore, social and cultural constructs of masculinity deter men from consistently caring for and looking after their health. In the event of illness, these constructs discourage men from seeking medical attention until it is necessary (Skovdal et al., 2011:11). HIV and AIDS are bodily states intimately connected to notions of health.

2.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of the selected isiXhosa texts in the study. This chapter thus, consisted of a theoretical investigation into the status of women in society and their fundamental rights within the context of the Human Rights Charter (HRC). Various theories were also discussed for benefit of the study. The five theories of feminism are characterised by the dynamics of gender and sexuality with the aim to fight oppression of women and they also carry a mutual fundamental goal of a political struggle in support of other women, they fight for inequality and power. All these theories focus on the oppression of women within the society. They all answer to gender issues. These theories were introduced to address societal development scenarios and seek to liberate African women and fight for the benefit of women due to their cultural beliefs and background. These theories also focus on and investigate the oppression of married women in Africa.
It was found that subordination of women is culturally enforced as they play stereotyped roles in the society, through such submissiveness some women end up in health care institutions where they are treated for sexually transmitted diseases. As much as women rights are being violated, they also suffer in violent homes where men often cannot take note of women’s interests.

The role of women in the society has already been dealt with, and it was found that though they have been treated as mere objects within the society during the apartheid era, in the post-colonial period of the democratic South Africa, women have been elected to high official posts. At some point, they possess leadership positions like being a head of a school. Women are becoming more resilient by the day and their rights are now gradually gaining more recognition but this happens so tediously. The traditional customs like marriage are also entrenched in some sections of the constitution of South Africa and are recognised but not much consideration is currently given to them, but there is a beam of light at the end of the tunnel.
CHAPTER 3

THE DEPICTION OF MARRIAGE AS A THEME IN ISIXHOSA NOVELS BEFORE AND AFTER 1994

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to identify the role and status of women, as depicted in isiXhosa prose. This study focuses on the role of women in narrative works as well as on the function of women in amaXhosa society. Some feminist authors and researchers argue that it is not only amaXhosa women that are deprived of the roles of leadership in the society but those in Africa at large and in other countries like Zimbabwe as well. Chabaya (2007:55) for instance, writes about gender imbalances in school management positions and extends her focus to how cultural values, beliefs and practices contribute to persistent gender disparities. Furthermore, Chabaya (2007:80) in her article discusses how anti-feminist sentiment influences the distribution of gender roles in the society. She concludes that women have been the victims of a patriarchal society for a long time.

For the purpose of this chapter, the researcher will intensively look at the tradition of hlonipha (language of avoidance) which is mainly instilled in women who are taught to be submissive and to accept the situation as normal. Hlonipha manifests itself in the form of language and dress in the society. In this chapter it will be argued that it is only married women who are expected to adhere to the hlonipha custom while their male counterparts are set free from it by the society and society rules.

The methods to be used to investigate this topic include the analysis of isiXhosa prose texts. It is not practically possible to analyse all the isiXhosa prose texts in this study. Therefore, a selection has been made of a limited number of texts that represent the pre-1994 era as well as the post-1994 era. The texts that have been selected are:
Although Jordan’s novel was published in 1940, the 2008 edition will be used for the purpose of this study. In a later section of this chapter, a brief introduction to the selected prose texts will be provided. This information plays a vital role in the analysis of these texts, two of which were written before the advent of democracy in South Africa whilst the latter was written post-1994. The intent of selecting these three texts is to have a comparative analysis that extends over an extended period of time.

The specific features of African literature as manifested in these novels will also receive attention in this chapter. Each of the features shall be dealt with separately within the context of the theory of the novel, with reference to their general characteristics, including plot and character. One of the more prominent features of novels is that they have common denominators like character delineation, as Nguna (1997:33) writes:

> Every piece of a novel you read and every drama you read scene by scene depends on the choice of the writer’s ability to create characters that hold a place in your memory.

This important aspect of the novel will receive special attention during the study of female rights as depicted in the Xhosa novels in this chapter.

### 3.2 The theory of the novel

#### 3.2.1 Introduction

It becomes clear that both the novel and the drama have characters, which play a very important role in both genres. For every novel, there is a story that is underlying. A story may be presented in the form of a novel or a drama depending on the preference of the
author. The purpose of this section is to provide a theoretical framework of the novel that will serve as the basis for the analysis of isiXhosa texts in this chapter. The purpose of this methodology is to determine whether the transition from the period of political suppression to the current era of political freedom, has also brought with it the desired degree of female emancipation.

3.2.2 Novel defined

A novel can be defined, as a long fictional story comprised of characters, events and actions that have a definite beginning and an eventual end. The novel has several subcategories that include historical novels, mystery novels and romance novels. A novel may be a stand-alone book or part of a series of novels, (Duka, 2001:79). At this stage, the researcher finds it quite appropriate to define a novel in accordance with the description provided by Mtumane (1995:9). Mtumane asserts that prose is subdivided into four sections namely, the novel, novelette, short stories and essays but a novel is found to be longer in length than the other sub-genres. Literary scholars define a novel in many ways. Shaw for instance in Mtumane (1995:6) regards a novel as a lengthy fictitious prose narrative that presents characters and portrays a series of events, while Lever also in Mtumane (1995) further looks at a novel as a prose work that represents a real life situation that is presented in the form of a plot. It is further asserted that the author who wishes to transport the reader to the world of the imagination creates a novel's world. The vehicle to this so-called world of imagination is through actions, characters, and events in a certain setting of a novel.

Based on the said observation, a novel may be described as a fictitious prose work that is in written form within the parameters of a considerable length and with an appropriate structure. In conclusion, Mtumane (1995:24) also describes a novel as a real world or an imagined real world with its own tensions and atmosphere with events or tensions and places. Therefore, a novel is an integral structure and can be seen as an integrated whole.
3.2.3 Characteristics of a novel

Duka (2001:121) is of the view that the main characteristic that all types of novels have in common is that a novel is written to entertain the reader. Every novel has a trigger, which is an inciting incident, which is intended to get the story on the move, this is where the seeds of the conflict are sown, and thus the problem is presented at a glance as the little flame which will brighten as the novel progresses. In every novel, the novelist propels the story by developing plots to engulf and engage the reader’s attention in following the protagonist’s well-being and fate throughout the story. The novel is saliently based upon suspense whereby the curiosity of the reader is aroused, so that the reader becomes immersed in the story. The modern reader will understand that the novel is not based on reality but remains a fictional story, which is so plausible that the reader becomes engrossed in it.

Novelists maintain the readers’ interest in the book by creating characters, events, places and things that mimic real life fantasy and experience. This stage is called the rising action. Through the actions of the characters, the story develops further with intent to build tension in the story. This can easily be confirmed in historical novels that draw readers from yesterday into greater comparison with today, whilst romance novels are every woman’s favourite with guidelines for their own marriage and love rekindled by it.

Duka (2001:15) says a well-written novel may reflect the objective reality of the society from which it originates, as the novel has something to do with the background of the author. It is further asserted that a typical novel depicts the real class of traditions and customs that are found within the society and brings about the resolutions on conflicting traditions. In certain instances, the traditional thought of a certain hegemonic group and age tends to agree but sometimes the views of the middle-aged generation are in conflict with those of the older generation. Based upon this notion, this can cause the turning point of the story. This is confirmed in the texts that are mentioned in the storyline below.
In “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (Jordan, 2008) the elderly group within the society finds it necessary that Zwelinzima must abide by the wish of his father that he should marry a Bhaca royal while he is against that decision and his uncle Dingindawo pretends also to be against that decision. If there is a way in, there is also a way-out. The consequences of rigidness came out in no time, as Zwelinzima wanted to marry Thembeka, a learned commoner girl who eventually became schizophrenic. He finally decided to resort to the wish of his late father. He instructed the men to bring the Bhaca royal girl if they know where to find her, since at that time, the commoner girl whom he married was already behaving like a lunatic, which in fact she was. The trusted routine of rituals and customs was not followed; thus, the consequences lead to great suffering for those involved.

3.2.4 The function and role of the author

The writing of the novel demands that it addresses the fears, confidence and faith of a reader. Novel-writing can be silencing, and destructive by crushing the real ambitions of a reader by portraying effects that the reader feels are not in line with him/her like conspiracy, feelings and incidents that make one to regret. Through the presentation of the content, the author is capable of being an agent to the reader and society, and actually be a ‘spy’ within the society, by reporting the actions of government to the readership. The author is at liberty to confront any social condition and situation on the focal point without being specific and by the use of figurative language in the text. The author can look at any condition among his readers and use imagination to bring about the idea due to his competence to tell the story to the reader, including his culture and background in creating his piece of work. Ideas that need to be brought to light are those that are in the mind, in emotions, in dreams and in the consciousness of the author and they all contain truths and social relationships pertaining to the African continent in particular. This kind of work of art can be looked at as an ideological attempt to convey meaning in an indirect manner from generation to generation and may contain a good formula for tolerance and the cultivation of an art of understanding (Duka, 2001:51).
The author, as an artist, aims at narrating a story (Mtumane, 1995:11) for enjoyment of the reader through the pleasure it presents and provides to the readership. It is further mentioned that one reads a novel for pleasure. We choose literature that provides entertainment and sometimes escape. However, our first motive of reading a novel is pleasure.

Lukens in Mtumane (1995:12) describes a novel as a rewarding piece of literature and regards it as a game of literature as it understands life. It is also said that the purpose of a novel that is written by a good author is to portray the ‘inverted world’ and make true sense of a well observed enlightened picture of human life in all its diversities.

Another function of the author is to let the reader find new ways of approaching life through the works and roles played by the characters to give a better understanding of life to the reader. Characters, as minted by the author play different roles, as Mtumane (1995:14) emphasizes that a novel can be conceived as the general sphere in which illusion in the form of inherent beliefs and ideologies, self-esteem, pretension, romantic desire and desire for possession meets reality.

To a greater understanding, the author can use combined approaches in his writings, be it cultural, anthropological or sociological as this is seen as a form of closure. Jameson (1981:216) regards the ideological process as an attempt to seal off the textual process from the social context that infuses it. The author merges and combines anthropological and sociological perspectives in content and this is regarded as strategies of containment. Combining the world of the text with the realm of the reader is an effort to reconcile the claims of the text, just to link the readers’ response with the day-to-day social ethics. For Sommer (2007:62), both feminist sociological and postcolonial narratology constitute a persuasive example of “contextualism” in the study of narrative fiction. Seeing its potential for the future place of the discipline, he argues on behalf of an “intercultural” narratology, which would “combine structuralist descriptions of textual features with cognitive insights
into narrative comprehension, within an overall interpretive framework of intercultural concepts”.

An excellent early example of such an encompassing narratological approach can be found in Jordan’s “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” which is governed by “three principles: ideological, historiographic, and aesthetic” These principles “join forces to develop a strategy of telling and of interpretation as an ordeal that enacts and distinguishes the human predicament” (Jameson, 1981:199). It is further implied that the sociological emphasis is on knowledge that centres on the limitations of man, with various narrative strategies “twisting the way to knowledge”. In addition, the reader is not entirely lost when it comes to developing a certain attitude towards characters and events. Thus, the reader’s orientation is helped by “the rule that complexity of representation is inversely proportioned to that of evaluation: the opaquer (discordant, ambiguous) the plot, the more transparent (concordant, straightforward) the judgment”. (Jameson, 1981:70).

### 3.3 Background information on the selected isiXhosa prose texts

#### 3.3.1 Introduction

For the purpose of this study as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the role and status of amaXhosa women will be investigated across two periods in the history of South Africa, namely, the period before 1994 as well as the period after 1994. The basic features of these periods were discussed in the previous chapter. Before 1994 women in South Africa were not allowed to live with their husbands who are migrant workers, instead they were offered only a few days for such visits. The duty of women around the home was to bear children and to perform tasks at home while their husbands were working at the mines. Women were seldom recognized as human beings, and often they were regarded as mere objects, but in 1994, people voted for a new dispensation. After those women were deemed free, although in reality their rights were still limited in some areas, for example, women were not allowed to do the same work as men and vice versa, as will be illustrated in this study.
According to Mtumane (1995), as quoted by Mbatsha (2012:26), the African novel can be regarded as a hybrid of African oral tradition and European literary forms. The Xhosa novel, therefore, may only be fully understood by critics who have a proper understanding of both of these traditions:

“For any critic to analyse an African novel successfully, it is imperative to understand the value of these traditional narrations as they may have an influence on the modern African novel.

Mbatsha (2012:26) is of the view that the Xhosa novel has been strongly influenced by the Xhosa oral tradition, with the areas of influence being the structure of the plot, characterization, theme, diction and literary style. It is also stated that:

The increasing encroachments of modern civilization have prompted quite a few contemporary Sotho writers to cast nostalgic glances at the more idyllic or picturesque facets of tribal life. Their purpose is partly antiquarian to preserve the memory of fast vanishing customs and institutions - and partly educational - to instil into the minds of younger readers, brought up according to the new-fangled ways, proper respect for the past and for the identity of their nation.

A critic such as Mtumane is sceptical about the use of western criteria to evaluate African novels and Xhosa novels in particular. Mtumane (1995:26) points out that:

…the inability of Western critics to criticise African creative works perceptively is because of their profound lack of knowledge about African cultural traditions coupled with an ignorance of the existence, nature and depth of the heritage of the African traditions.
The African novel is seen as a presentation of African oral tradition with European literary forms that is written by Africans for fellow Africans with African culture embedded in it. This view often leaves non-Africans unsatisfied when it comes to the evaluation of African novels, as African works may not fulfil the requirements of the European novel (Mtumane, 1995:27).

3.3.2 “Ingqumbo yeminyanya”: A. C. Jordan (2008)
3.3.2.1 The Publication of "Ingqumbo yeminyanya" (2008)"

“Ingqumbo yeminyanya” was first published in 1940 and the last reprint was completed in 2008 by the missionary house called ‘Lovedale Press’. As mentioned above, the 2008 edition will be used for the purpose of this study. The length of the “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (2008) is 242 pages. The text has been subdivided into five sections, each with its own heading that fittingly depicts the theme of each section. These themes are also divided into chapters, and each chapter has its own heading. The complete text consists of forty-four chapters. The novel was translated into English in 1980 by the author himself with the assistance of his wife, Phyllis Ntantala. Botha (1986:212) found that the number of chapters that appear in the English translation does not correspond with that of the original isiXhosa text. This means that the English text was subjected to certain degree of adaptation of the original isiXhosa text. Neethling also translated this novel into Afrikaans. It is not clear whether the number of chapters that appear in the Afrikaans translation corresponds with those in the original isiXhosa text or with those in the translated English text. This matter certainly deserves further investigation in the future.

The circumstances, under which this novel were published, are described by Professor Jeff Oppland in an article that was published in 1990. In this article, Oppland makes it clear that the publication of the manuscript was delayed due to differences between the publisher and the author. The differences were related to the fact that the book is perceived to lend support to traditionalism and the worshipping of the ancestors, which, the missionaries did not find acceptable since they did not recognise the concept of
ancestral worship. In addition to that, the book was also seen to undermine the status of women since it condoned polygamist principles and the fact that women had very little say in deciding whom their husband would be and the discriminating rules in the society. These important matters will receive full attention in the sections below.

These fundamental issues made the missionaries to be reluctant to go ahead with the publication of the manuscript, (Oppland, 1990:135-139). The publishing house wanted to see the conclusion of the novel in an altered version and with a different ending note. It was also suggested that it should reflect the triumph of evil over good, but the author refused to accede to all these views. All these reasons caused an unnecessary delay in the publication of this important literary text for something like three years, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3819327 (accessed on 10/10/2016).

3.3.2.2 Summary

“Ingqumbo yeminyanya”, (Jordan, 2008) is one of the most successful works in isiXhosa literature, dealing with the customs and traditions of members of the Mpondomise society. It is about Chief Zanemvula whose wife had difficulty in bearing an heir to the royal house. Finally, after many efforts she managed to give birth to a boy by the name of Zwelinzima who, due to hardship during his early youth was sent to Sheshegu near Alice to live with his uncle, Gcinizibele until he was old enough to become the chief. Zanemvula’s headmen pretended to take Zwelinzima to the sea as a young boy and on coming back, they gave a false report that the boy had died along the way. Zwelinzima was taken to Gcinizibele, his uncle, who took proper care of him and sent him to school. The elders of the tribe were of the opinion that there was a need for a real chief to lead and guide the Mpondomise society. The need would only be fulfilled if Zwelinzima could be brought back to reign as the amaMpondomise leader. The need is expressed in the following words spoken by Mphuthumi:

Bayethe, Ngwanya kaMajola! Silo sakuloVukuz’umbethe, esimpumlo Ingqongqo ngokweNgulube, Santywil’ eMthatha,

Bayethe, Offspring of the House of Majola!

Mighty creature of the blood of Vukuzumbethe! Tough snouted, even as the wild boar. It plunged into the Mthatha waters and tunnelled its way through the earth to emerge beyond the Xesi of Rharhabe: You, whose arm is gruesome from the spittle of Dingindawo’s dogs! Beware, Gcinizibele, lest mongrels snarl this excellency! Hail, worthy prince! Hail, Child of Kings!

The need for the appointment of Zwelinzima as a chief of amaMpondomise becomes apparent when his friend by the name of Mphuthumi pleads with him whilst seating him on a blanket that was already laid for him and covers him with a blanket. We find Mphuthumi saying the following,

yaphel'imihlambi kaZanemvula zizandawana namaxhwili; Kaz'uhlel'apha nj'uthi yaluswa yintengu na! ((p.33)

See Zanemvula’s flocks and herds ravaged by hyenas and wild dogs!
Why do you tarry here, Why do you linger, fondly trusting they are guarded by the drongo bird?

At the stage when Zwelinzima was called upon to return to Mpondomiseland, he was already well-educated at the University of Fort Hare and he also had a girlfriend by the name of Thembeka.
Zwelinzima, upon his return to take up the chieftaincy, was told that his father left him a dying wish that he must marry a Bhaca royal girl. However, Zwelinzima was in denial and married a woman of his own choice who was also learned, Thembeka Khalipha. Zwelinzima realised that the traditionalists were against his decision, and Nobantu (Thembeka’s) actions showed no respect for their traditions, they were strongly against that. Nobantu was so much against customs in totality, but at last the chief (Zwelinzima) had suffered the consequences of being rigid and became the victim of the situation too. He at last gave in and consented to enter into a formal marriage with the Bhaca princess. On her part, Nobantu could no longer stand the strain, she snatched her little son and ran towards the river where they both drowned. A few days later, Zwelinzima’s body was found in the same river as his wife’s.

3.3.2.3 The biography of A C Jordan

Archibald Campbell Jordan was born in 1906 in Mbokotwana administrative area of Tsolo district in the former Transkei, a son of an Anglican missionary. His family is from the amaHlubi people whose origins are in the district of Tugela in KwaZulu-Natal. He attended a local missionary school for his primary education before he went to St Cuthberts High School. He became a qualified teacher in 1923 and proceeded to Lovedale College in Alice with the help of a merit bursary, whereupon he enrolled at Fort Hare University in Alice for a BA degree, which he obtained in 1934, majoring in English and Ethics. His choice of subjects assisted him to make a significant contribution to humanity and to the teaching of language and literature, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3819327. (Accessed on 10/10/2016)

In 1938, the Department of Bantu Languages at Fort Hare hosted a winter school under the leadership and mentorship of Professors Doke, Lestrade and others who made a positive impression on Jordan’s life. This winter school motivated him to enrol for his MA degree in Bantu Languages (Linguistics) in 1943 (Kwatsha, 1995: 21).
In 1945 Jordan was appointed as a lecturer in the Department of African Languages at the University of Fort Hare. The PhD degree was conferred upon him in 1957 by the University of Cape Town for the development of a new method of teaching isiXhosa non-mother-tongue which he later published as a Xhosa manual, (Kwatsha, 1995:18). Married to Phyllis Ntantala, Jordan made an indelible mark in the minds of feminists all over the world. Jordan was an outspoken critic of the apartheid government’s racial policies. He left South Africa on an exit permit in 1960 and worked as a Professor in the Department of African Languages and Literature at the University of California’s Los Angeles campus. He later moved to the University of Wisconsin in Madison where he lectured until his death in 1968, (Gerard, 1971:83).

3.3.2.4 Jordan’s literary contributions

Jordan was an isiXhosa writer, a linguist, an excellent choirmaster, a teacher and an elected president of the African Teachers’ Association. During his years at Fort Hare University, he authored poetry that was published in ‘Imvo Zabantsundu’ the then newspaper that aired the Black people’s views, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3819327, (accessed on 01/05/2016).

Jordan authored ‘A critical study of Xhosa literature’, which was published in 1972. A year later, his translation of his wife’s work entitled ‘Tales from Southern Africa’ was published. He also wrote a collection of stories called ‘Kwezo Mpindo zeTsitsa’, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3819327. (Accessed on 2016/05/05)

In recognition of his literary contributions to South African literature, he was posthumously awarded an honorary doctorate in Literature by the University of Port Elizabeth in 2004 and in the following year, the South African government also awarded him the Order of Ikhamanga in Gold for exceptional contributions to literature, http//: www.sahistory.org.za. (Retrieved on 07/09/2015)
3.3.3 “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko”: DM Jongilanga (1982)

3.3.3.1 The Publication of D.M. Jongilanga's Xhosa Novel, “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (1982)

“Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” is an isiXhosa novel that was published by Lovedale Press, Alice in 1960. Although Jongilanga’s novel was published in 1960, the 1982 edition will be used for the purpose of this study. The novel is composed of 105 pages of content. The content is divided into eleven chapters and each chapter has a fitting title. For example, chapter seven has the title ‘Andinakube ndibuye umva’, Zoleka is so bitter when she thinks of going back to Xatasi family especially when she looks at her body that was severely beaten by her father, Zenzile. Her body was full of marks and wounds and cursed the day she was born and wished she were not born. She hated every day of her life. The title “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” is derived from the events in this chapter as Zoleka cuts the cord from her father by saying:

“akwaba ndandingazalwanga…” (p.59)

“I wish I was not born”

Zoleka’s knot of marriage is also cut in this chapter when Zoleka killed Zolile with an axe as confirmed on (p.65).
3.3.3.2 Summary

The novel is about the tradition of forced marriage and the complexities that arise when a girl named Zoleka kills her husband Zolile, whom her father, Zenzile had forced her to marry. Zoleka is forced to get married when she is left with only one year towards the completion of her JC level of study at Healdtown College near Fort Beaufort. She is full of hope that she will be allowed to return to school after the vacation, but at the most critical time of her life, her father, Zenzile was so greedy to get his hands on the lobola that his good friend, Xatasi, was setting aside as payment for his son’s bride. The number of stock that Xatasi was planning for lobola was so huge that it made Zenzile see his kraal overflowing with benevolence and blessings of having a daughter to marry his friend’s son. Zoleka is strongly opposed to marrying Zolile and her undying wish is to oppose Zolile. In spite of this, she remained submissive like any other child to her parents and she took part in the wedding ceremony.

She tried all she could to get her husband to reject her at her new home, but her in-laws thought she was still in denial, whilst her husband’s love for her grew day-by-day. She tried by all means to encourage her new family to read in-between the lines, using the non-verbal language which her in-laws failed to read and to comprehend. The last option, which was performed unintentionally, was murdering Zolile with an axe, and she was found guilty of murder and sent to a place of safety to be reformed in a juvenile centre. When the time came, she was sent to Gompo Institute in East London. She happened to think of her school lover, Zwelakhe just before the trial, she then wrote a letter to him, and he went all out to find her a lawyer. She was confined for three years at the institute and later she was released and allowed to find herself a job in Berea, a suburb of East London. This leads her to frequently see Zwelakhe who is already seeing someone else but who is still single. Eventually, the notion of ‘once a killer, always a killer’, led to a situation whereby she was later accused falsely of killing her lover Zwelakhe and since this was too much for her, she decided to commit suicide by jumping from a bridge into the ocean.
3.3.3.3 Biography of D M Jongilanga

The ImiDushane community near King William’s town, were led by three regents before Mpuhle took over the leadership. As one of the more recent leaders of the tribe was Chief Doyle Mpuhle Jongilanga ‘Ah! Vulindlela!’ played an important role in the party politics of the former Ciskei homeland. He became a Minister of Education and a Minister of Public works in the cabinet of President L. L. Sebe of the former Ciskei, (Mbambo, M. 2015).

Chief Doyle Mpuhle Jongilanga fell ill and during his illness, he handed over the leadership of the ImiDushane to his son, Mbuyiselo. It is very unfortunate that Chief Mpuhle Jongilanga and his son, Mbuyiselo both died in the same year. Mpuhle died in July 2002 and his son died in September 2002.

Nobhotwe, the better half of Chief Jongilanga and a dear mother to Chief Mbuyiselo Jongilanga lost two loved ones within a period of three months. She is currently acting as chief of the ImiDushane of Jongilanga. Jongilanga trained as a teacher and he taught in various schools in the Mdantsane area. (Mbambo, 2015).

3.3.3.4 Jongilanga’s literary contributions

Jongilanga, as a man of high calibre, wrote several works of literature, including dramas, novels, etc. In his writings, he managed to portray cultural aspects and gender, families and society and basic educational texts, some of which he wrote in collaboration with K B Tabata. His writings, in addition to “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (1960), which have been studied by various academics and researchers, are:

- “Ndiyekeni”, published in 1993 by Educum, is a play/drama where the author presents corruption as the central theme of this moving short drama, where Mawonga Loni’s moral degeneration, and love of women and alcohol, causes his downfall.
- “Ubuzuku Obungenanyanga” (1988), a novel
- “Apha Naphaya”, a series of short stories that was published in 1973
All the above are grammar books for different levels of education which means that the author has left an indelible mark on the lives of those who enjoy the fruits of his work.

3.3.4 “Yakhal’indoda”: S Mahala (2010)

The publication of Mahala’s Xhosa novel “Yakhal’indoda” took place in 2010 and the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press published the manuscript. The novel consists of 154 pages of content. It is divided into eighteen chapters and each chapter has a heading that reflects the content of the specific chapter. This Xhosa novel is the product of a Xhosa speaking author who honours his fellow citizens, it aims at giving the Xhosa people the content in their own language as he has been writing in English, and he wanted his fellow Xhosa speakers to taste his work of art. “Yakhal’indoda” is a translated version of ‘When a man cries’ which is regarded as one of the classics, it is read internationally and was published in 2010. Mahala himself translated his work into isiXhosa for the isiXhosa readership to read the novel in their language. It is very heartening for him; one of his goals at the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) is to encourage people not only to write in their own languages, but to read in them as well, [http://ukznpress.bookslive.co.za/blog/2010/10/18/siphiwo-mahala-reads-isixhosa-translation-of-when-a-man-cries-yakhal-indoda](http://ukznpress.bookslive.co.za/blog/2010/10/18/siphiwo-mahala-reads-isixhosa-translation-of-when-a-man-cries-yakhal-indoda) (Accessed on 30.05.2018).

3.3.4.1 Summary
The aim for Mahala to write this book is to portray the power of men in toying around with women whilst on the other hand it is also shown how women can play an important role in destroying the power and status of men in the community. Men see themselves, as champions in cheating women partners and women possess ‘that power’ to seduce a man. Men can be used for any purpose, be it good or bad, by women, and women can often succeed.

The book is about a family man who is caught between his flourishing career as a teacher and municipal counsellor in the township of Sekunjalo, and his overriding sexual interests. He tried by all means to maintain his status in the community, but his actions were unbecoming and compelling, and eventually led to his downfall. What follows is a trail of tragedy, occasionally humorous incidents and his efforts to regain his dignity and pride in the eyes of his family and the wider community.

“Yakhal’ indoda” is an uncompromising and engrossing novel from Siphiwo Mahala about the challenges of manhood in contemporary South Africa. It interrogates the dynamics of township life and the human and socio-economic realities of the most impoverished communities in post-apartheid South Africa. The translation was done by Mahala himself and Professor Ncedile Saule edited this work under the mandate of the University of KwaZulu Natal Press, (back cover of Mahala, 2007)

3.3.4.2 Biography of Siphiwo Mahala

Siphiwo Mahala was born in the former Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. He completed a BA Honours degree at Fort Hare University, and a Master of Arts degree in African Literature at Wits University.

In an interview with the “Sunday Independent Books” Mahala, said writing to him, is an offshoot of his own passion for reading, a habit that developed from an early age. Mahala grew up as an introverted child and as the only boy in the family. Books became his
closest companion. He was particularly fond of comics such as Superman, Archie, and The Bafanas from “Bona Magazine”. He graduated from comics and began to read indiscriminately - from the short stories of P.T. Mtuze to Shakespeare. Literary studies were a natural choice for him when he got to tertiary level. He published his first two short stories while doing a creative writing course at Rhodes University in 2001. He went on to do an MA in African Literature at Wits University in 2002, and published more stories that year. In the words of Es'kia Mphahlele, writing is an apprenticeship and to him, literary apprenticeship is a continuous process of intense reading and writing, http://www.cca.ukzn.ac.za/index.php/tow-past-participants/33-tow-2009/367-siphiwo-mahala-south-africa (accessed on 30/05/2018)

As a student of African literature, he immersed himself in the works of AC Jordan, Can Themba, Nadine Gordimer, Bessie Head, Njabulo S Ndebele and many other fantastic South African writers. Some had more impact on him than others and the influence of the likes of Ndebele and Themba is palpable in his writing. He experimented with Themba’s classic short story, “The Suit”, which celebrates its 50th anniversary this year. He is the Head of Books and Publishing at the National Department of Arts and Culture.

3.3.4.3 Literary contributions of Mahala

Siphiwo Mahala is the author of “When a Man Cries” (2007), a novel that he translated into isiXhosa as “Yakhal’ Indoda” (2010). “Yakhal’indoda” is a story of redemption with a rural setting. His short stories have appeared in numerous literary journals and magazines both locally and internationally. His short stories have appeared in several anthologies, including the Southern African Short Story Review (2002), “A” is for Ancestors” (2004) and “Words Gone Too Soon” (2005). He is the recipient of the 2006 Ernst van Heerden Creative Writing Award for his first novel, “When a Man Cries” (UKZN, 2007). Mahala’s short story collection, “African Delights”, was voted by Africa Book Club as one of the best books published on the African continent in 2011. He received the 2006 Ernst van Heerden Creative Writing Award for “Yakhal’ indoda’s English version ‘When a man cries’. Upon presenting the award, Prof Belinda Bozzoli remarked, “Yakhal’
“Indoda” offers vivid insight into the painful rhythms and experiential pressures of township life, while contriving to include flashes of dark or even slapstick humour. “Yakhal’indoda” is a story of redemption with a rural setting. Mahala is the Head of Books and Publishing at the National Department of Arts and Culture, (back cover of “When a man cries”, Mahala: 2007).

Mahala further states that writing short stories is liberating and it ignites his creative juices more than any other form of creative expression. However, contrary to popular perception, writing short stories requires a lot of discipline as there is no luxury of time and space. One has to develop a story line using very few characters, and every word used must be accounted for in order to develop a concrete and aesthetically powerful story. He experimented by collecting trilogies that are chronologically diverse but remain thematically and stylistically cohesive. Most important, he wanted to create a work of all times. As Njabulo Ndebele, in an interview with a representative of Centre for the Book, (06.05.2016) puts it: "It will outlive many of the social, political, and economic dramas of the time. The power of “African Delights” lies precisely there.” Of all the stories in this collection, the one which was the hardest to write was “Bhontsi’s Toe”, which was by far the most difficult story for Mahala to write for a number of reasons. It is a tragic story based on a real-life incident that left him traumatised for years. A childhood friend died in a similar way as Bhontsi in the story and as such, it is a childhood trauma that he grew up with and never dealt with at the time. The incident refused to forgive his silence. In an interview with Matyumza of Centre for the Book, Mahala also said, “I guess writing it was somewhat cathartic for me because I can now talk about it with less intense emotion. It is also what can be regarded as a story of friendship”.

3.4 Customary marriage as a theme in the isiXhosa novel before 1994

3.4.1 Introduction
The study aims at showing the discriminative nature of customary marital traditional practices that are aimed mainly at women. This aim binds the researcher to focus more specifically on married women, especially those in traditional marriages that are controlled by customs in the patriarchal societies. It is during the pre-1994 period that marriage was a prevalent theme in most writings by both amaXhosa males and females. This includes the oppression that married women had to withstand and to endure as a norm.

Women are often understood to be submissive characters which resulted in the denial of their rights and the ability to be fully recognised in their households. This has even led to a situation where even today the strength and power of women is still under siege. However, in some instances, for example in Sinxo’s “UNojayiti Wam” (1986) male characters are easily manipulated by their wives but pretended to be so rigid as to negotiate their viewpoint boldly in public in an attempt to illustrate that there was no fear of their wives. But in most instances there was chronic abuse of women by men which led to little respect at all for them.

Generally, it is more important in tradition as to who gets married to whom. Monogamous marriages for most black Africans is currently the accepted way of life. In the past however, there were different norms that applied. Achebe, (1958:68) for instance says that a man simply needed to get married, irrespective of how many spouses he had. In amaXhosa culture, some men can practice isithembu/polygamy irrespective of their power to serve and care for the family. This type of marriage provided a solution to problems of inheritance where a man would have multiple partners in one home. When the man dies the wives would have a claim to the inheritance, based upon the principle of hierarchy and the level of seniority within the marriage.

In the section that follows, the role and status of women in Xhosa society, as depicted in Jordan’s “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (2008) will be discussed.
3.4.2 Customary traditional marriage in “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (Jordan, 2008)

“Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (2008) is characterised by the depiction of customs, traditions, beliefs and society laws. The author portrays the rigidity of a male character who inwardly could not convince himself to enter into a second marriage with a Bhaca girl whom he hardly knew. If the chief could have agreed with the councillors and have obeyed the wish of his late father, then Zwelinzima would have made himself guilty of practicing polygamy. For argument’s sake, since the Bhaca princess also did not know the suitor, then obviously the practice of female abuse would have been introduced. The supporters of traditional culture are unaware of human rights and are uninformed about the laws. The law has its own manner of regulating customary traditions on one hand and preventing unlawfulness on the other hand. The law looks at traditions and customs from another angle and as such, defines them its own way. Customs and traditions can be practiced for decades and centuries but they need to be revisited as time passes by.

A critical study of “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (2008) has shown that Jordan has presented more than one perspective on the role of women in amaXhosa society within the context of marriage. These perspectives will be dealt with individually in the paragraphs that follow.

Jordan firstly presents a modernistic perspective of women in marriage in the amaXhosa society whereby it is shown how an unmarried woman decides to exercise her own choice with regard to the selection of a marriage partner. The details of this perspective will be dealt with in the paragraphs that follow. The specific aspects to be discussed here are as follows:

- Modern approach towards marriage;
- Differences within the society;
- Westernized marriage;
- Newly-weds and female attire;
- Opposition to the customs related to child birth;
The Inkwakhwa incident; and
Rejection of amaXhosa tradition

3.4.2.1 Modern approach towards marriage

Jordan (2008: 23) describes how one of the characters in the novel, namely Mthunzini, loved Thembeka secretly. Mthunzini and Thembeka met whilst they were students at Mthwaku. They were both sports fanatics as Mthunzini was one of the best cricket players and Thembeka was a netball player of the school. It was Mthunzini’s wish to marry Thembeka but Thembeka was unaware of this. Mthunzini used to go to Mthwaku to play cricket and soccer and when going there he used to go there with his friend by the name of Zwelinzima. This was the time that Thembeka frequently spent time with Zwelinzima. This was the time that Thembeka could not wait as she had long been waiting for this time to come. The author puts it as follows:

Yathi ingaphelanga iCawa elandelayo uMthunzini weva udaba olwamxhelayo lokuba uThembeka uthandana noZwelinzima Majola, umlingane omkhulu kaMphuthumi, (p.24).

Then, before the end of the following week, Mthunzini received a piece of news that deeply wounded him, the news that Thembeka and Zwelinzima were lovers, Zwelinzima the bosom friend of Mphuthumi

Zwelinzima acted in a discreet manner when it came to his approach to Thembeka, he waited until the woman was filled with love for him, at this point, he saw that Thembeka’s heart was overflowing with love and she was ready for him. She knew that Zwelinzima was a chief by birth and so she could not manage to lose him. After Zwelinzima had
taken up the chieftaincy, Thembeka did not let go of him, instead she enticed him through letters so that he could not lose focus on her. One of these letters reads as follows:

Noko iincwadi endikubhalela zona andikholwa ukuba zisemnandi ngoku, kuba kaloku sewungumntu omkhulu; ezi mfekethwana sizibhalayo, thina abantwana, akunaxesha lazo…

Andazi nokuba mandithini na, wethu ukukubiza kule ncwadi---nokuba mandithi ‘Major’ nokuba mandithi ‘Mhle’ kusini na.’

(p.125)

“I'm afraid you won't my letters very entertaining, now that you are an important personage, you'll have no time for the trifles that we young people usually write about.’ ‘I do not know I should address you in this letter, whether to call you ‘Most excellent One!”

This tactic causes Zwelinzima to remain attached to Thembeka, to such an extent that he could not even listen to the older people when it came to talks about marriage. Thembeka never expressed herself explicitly in favour of the western form of marriage but her actions and decisions that she makes clearly show what her preferences are, namely that she is in favour of a modernistic approach towards marriage, rather than a traditional, African one.

3.4.2.2 Differences within the society

In the society of amaMpondomise, it is the prerogative of the society to decide whom the chief will marry but this time; Zwelinzima decided to take this task upon himself. Zwelinzima was expected to follow his late father’s wish of marrying a Bhaca princess but in denial of this wish, he tasked his uncle, Dingindawo to tell the traditionalists the following:
“MaMpondomise inkosi ithi mandinixelele ukuba izibonel’ intombi kaKhalipha”.

“Mpondomise people, the Chief bids me to tell you that he has decided to marry Khalipha’s daughter” (p.131)

The above news was brought to the people by Zwelinzima’s uncle, Dingindawo who was deeply influential upon Zwelinzima by pretending to support Zwelinzima’s choice of a marriage partner. It was a divisive note in Mpondomise land, as the traditionalists wanted him to have a traditional form of marriage as a chief. This disagreement between the traditionalists and the chief created a rift in the royal house. Zwelinzima trampled upon his father’s wish of marrying a Bhaca royal girl and insisted on Thembeka becoming his wife. The traditionalists were not satisfied by this act since they were not taken into consideration. Even Khalipha was sceptical about his daughter getting married to a member of the royal family as she knew nothing about traditions but his wife insisted that Thembeka be married to Zwelinzima (p.136). The society meetings were held but now Dingindawo suddenly appeared to be ashamed of Zwelinzima’s decision (p.139). The day of the royal marriage finally arrived.

3.4.2.3 Theory that supports Western form of marriage versus Traditional marriage

The traditionalists expected that the marriage would be conducted according to their traditional customs and norms but the wedding couple decided on a western type of marriage. The marriage ceremony took place at St Cuthberts church and was conducted by a Christian church minister. The couple were dressed in western attire, after the church service, the reception was held at St Mary’s and it was hosted on invitation by Sister Monica.

On the day, when Zwelinzima and Thembeka were getting married in church there were however, symbols of compromise augmented by incidents that occurred on the wedding day. Jordan says both modernists and traditionalists were there, this is confirmed in Qangule, (1974:121) people bought gifts for the royal couple; some people came by cars
and some on horseback; traditional and modern dancing was the feature of the day. It is also said that the horses of the traditionalists represented a temporary measure of reconciliation while the modernists formed a guide of honour for Zwelinzima and Thembeka on the wedding day. Qangule confirms that these measures were taken as a form of compromise in order to minimise the impact of the wedding couple’s decision to conduct their marriage in a western manner rather than according to traditional custom.

3.4.2.4 Newly-weds and female attire

Shortly after her marriage, Nobantu (Thembeka’s married name) began to behave strangely in Mpondomise land. Ever since Nobantu arrived, she never wore traditional attire such as a shawl, head-cloth, and any other item normally worn by newlyweds. She was supposed to have been visited by the Mpondomise ancestors but in vain. According to the traditionalists, she dressed inappropriately as if she was a youthful member of the family. The artist puts it like this:


“How could she even see him, Jola?” exclaimed Nxabane to Dingindawo. How could she, does she revere this house? The woman never had grace to wear a shawl. Instead, she adorns herself with colourful coats and has paraded in short skirts ever since she came here. While other married women cover their heads in a fitting manner, she wears a hat, or goes bare-headed as if she were a daughter of this House and not a wife.
Soga (1931) in Manentsa (2001:48) is one of the authors who expresses himself against Thembeka’s type of attire. She states that a pre-missionary newlywed-wife’s headdress should be like a skull-cap which was worn around the headdress, this is due to the fact that newly-weds must content themselves with the most demure and unassuming clothing.

3.4.2.5 Theory that supports western versus traditional childbirth

According to Western norms, childbirth is a private and intimate event that is normally only witnessed by the medical staff and the father of a child. The traditionalists however, believe that a child at birth must have a goatskin and the ritual of imbeleko is performed, but in Thembeka’s case no ritual was performed as she went to deliver in the hospital, something that is new to the society of MaMpondomise especially in the royal family. The traditionalists were sceptic about that (Qangule, 1974:88). This interpretation is also made by Qangule (1974:30), he states that when the traditionalists made another tactical move by mentioning that Zululiyazongoma, Zwelinzima’s son was born at a hospital and this left them unsatisfied, so they wanted Zwelinzima to have considered their needs.

According to the tradition, the child must be accepted by the ancestors and be born at home. An old man by the name of Ngxabane says the following:

“As for the child, what ritual ceremony has he undergone? Do we as much as know who the midwife was? Who was the first to touch the newly born baby? And what kind of a person handled the new-born child? Do you think, Jola that Majola would reveal himself to a woman who was surrounded by White People at her confinement, or come near the babe of the House of Majola when he was being kissed by all those pale-faced women? Do you think Majola is not ashamed by such an abomination?” Thus, spoke the old man. His hearers agreed that their ancestors must be kindled to wrath at the wanton disregard of sacred custom.

In this quotation, the last line reads as follows:

… angqina onke ukuba iminyanya iqumbile ngenxa yokulahlwa kwamasiko (p.155)

…. His hearers agreed that their ancestors must be kindled to wrath at the wanton disregard of sacred custom.

This line strongly resonates with the title of the novel “Ingqumbo yeminyanya”. This line clearly reveals the reason for the ancestors’ anger.

Some of Nobantu’s actions went directly against the traditions of amaMpondomise. For example, she one day together with her woman friend, Nomvuyo moved around the yard and on their way, they saw one of Chief Mhlontlo’s oxen along the foot path. Thembeka knelt next to it, and spoke to it, stroking it like a pet and put her child on it; this was one of the holy cattle in the history of the tribe whose ancestry could be traced far back in Mpondomise land. This became a habit for Nobantu to play with this ox and when she was told by men not to do so, she saw no reason to stop, as she loved it more than they thought they loved it. To the Mpondomise people, it was not about love for this ox
but she was expected to show respect / *hlonipha* for it, (p.156).

3.4.2.6 The *Inkwakhwa* incident

Traditional totem (Jola totem) and the *Inkwakhwa* incident:
The Mpondomise believed in the snake ritual in the form of *inkwakhwa* which they saw as a religious totem. As members of the Mpondomise tribe, Zwelinzima and Thembeka were expected to recognise and show respect for this totem. For example the author says:

> Wabuza uNgxabane kunina womntwana ukuba olu sana seluvelelwe
kangaphi na sisilo sakwaMajola,  
P 152

He asked the mother of the child had ever been visited by the Animal of the House of Majola

However, Thembeka declared explicitly that she would not allow a snake near her baby. Nobantu, as a westernised person showed no interest in the traditional totem of Jola, this is confirmed in her conversation with Nozihlwele in the presence of her friend, Nomvula (p 153). Various scholars have commented on this cultural phenomenon, one of them being Qangule (1974:8) who points out that Zwelinzima and Thembeka's marriage was threatened by traditionalists with superstitious beliefs, one of them being the belief in a filial link with the *inkwakhwa* (cobra). In western culture, there are no totems, while there is a Jola totem in the traditional setting (Jordan, 2008:152).

Nobantu's most extreme act was when she killed the sacred snake of Mpondomise people, *Inkwakhwa*, she ignored the tradition and the traditionalists were aghast. The incident is described as follows:

> …watsho wayithi-xhamfu-jwi-i kude loo nkwakhwa, wathabatha

usana lwakhe ekhala, wabaleka nalo ejikeleza egxwala, “Yhoo usana
Iwam! Usana lwam!" Wathi engekaggqibi ukuthetha uNdimangele wee
nqam, ejonge elusaneni oluleleyo, kwabonwa selesiwa ngedolo,
enqula ebonga. Amadoda aphosa amehlo emntwaneni, awa
ngamadolo enqula, encedisa lo mfo, abafazi babezithe gene iityali
nengubo zabo bubushushu bazambatha, balungisa neeqhiya, bathi
nyebelele bemka… (p.169).

... and seizing snake, she flung it far away, picked up the child, and ran
hysterically this way and that, still crying “My baby! My baby!” The
complainant suddenly stopped, looked at the sleeping child, fell on his
knees in an attitude of worship, and began to recite traditional praises
of the House of Majola. Turning their eyes and looking at the child, the
other men also fell on their knees and joined on the praises, and the
women who had let down their shawls on account of the heat, covered
their bodies, readjusted their head-cloths becomingly and moved away
quietly.

Nobantu had no time for customs and traditions let alone honouring the traditional beliefs
of amaMpondomise. When other women saw the sacred snake they pulled up their
shawls, had their heads well covered, looked down and finally sneaked away. Nobantu
did the direct opposite of all that. To the Mpondomise, this was the most loathed thing
that Nobantu did, and there was a lot of criticism on how she does things at Mpondomise
land, all her actions were quite radical to the traditionalists, even her close friend Nomvuyo
questioned her actions. Thembeka’s ignorance and recklessness resulted in her being
rejected and could cause her to be reprimanded by the in-laws. At this stage, Zwelinzima
took Thembeka to her parents’ home in order to save her life because there was a strong
possibility that family members and the society could attack her.

There is more isiXhosa literature that depicts women and customs in the society. The
depiction of a woman’s role in marriage in this novel which was written as early as 1930
is far ahead of its time, especially considering the fact that the author was a proud native
of a former Transkei region where people were greatly tied and attached to their customs and traditional values.

3.4.2.7 Rejection of amaXhosa tradition

A second perspective on the role of marriage in amaXhosa society that is presented here through the viewpoint of an unmarried Xhosa male character by the name of Zwelinzima, who is a young chief of amaMpondomise, is that of traditionalism. This perspective shows that, a woman is not allowed to select her own marriage partner and that it is the community or the family, which decides on such matters. From the beginning of this novel, the community expresses very strong sentiments that the chief should be married in accordance with traditional guidelines and protocols. These sentiments are based on the following two considerations, the first one being the dying wish of chief Zanemvula, concerning the marriage of his son Zwelinzima when the time arrives. He wanted Zwelinzima to have a Bhaca Princess as his wife. Although this was the wish of his father, Zwelinzima did not go along with it. He wanted to marry Thembeka, a girl of his own choice. His uncle Dingindawo pretended to support him in this matter. The author puts it as follows:

UDingindawo wangqina naye ukuba le ntombi ifanelekile. (123)

Dingindawo also conceded that the girl was suitable.

However, Ngxabane, who says the following, is opposed to this point of view:

… Inkosi ayinakho ukuzeka umntu omnyama iintombi zeenkosi zikho, (p.129).

…it is contrary to the custom for a chief to marry a commoner while royal girls are available.

Ngxabane confirms this perspective by saying the following:

“Although I am a withered old man, forgetting today what was spoken yesterday, there is one thing I shall never forget, and that is the dying–wish of this child's father. What do you think is the reason for my lingering in this life when all my peers are gone? It is because I have been waiting for this day, waiting until I have made known the dying-wish. …His dying wish: that his son, Zwelinzima should marry the princess royal of the Bhaca! … That is the Chief's dying wish”.

When the time was ripe, Dingindawo however, twisted things and encouraged Zwelinzima to marry anyone and not necessarily a royal girl from Bhaca land. Now, Zwelinzima was already fully convinced by Dingindawo’s views and found them suiting him about Thembeka. A meeting was then called that was attended by all the men. All the time in the meeting, Zwelinzima remained seated. He simply wrote a few lines contesting the late chief's wish and he left the meeting prematurely. The letter reads as follows:

“Ndothuke kakhulu ukuva ukuba ubawo wenza umyolelo onje, ndaye ndilusizi kakhulu kuba ndiziva ndingenakho konke ukuwamkela. Nceda Jolinkomo, uxelele ibandla ukuba ndazana nentombi kaKhalipha ndiseseLovedale, ndazimisela ukuyizeka. Ndiyawabongoza ke amawethu ukuba angazikhathazi, nam angandikhathazi, ngale nto, kuba isekho intombi kaKhalipha
andisayi kuze ndibizwe ngantombi yimbi, nokuba seiyekabani na”, (p.132).

“It was a shock to me to learn that my late father expressed such a dying-wish, and I am grieved to have to state that I find myself unable to abide by it. I therefore beg you Jolinkomo inform the council that I have known and loved Khalipha’s daughter since I was a student at Lovedale and have resolved to marry her. I make an earnest appeal to my people not to cause themselves or me any unpleasantness in this matter. For, as long as Khalipha’s daughter lives, I will marry no other woman, no matter whose daughter she may be.”

A serious dispute arose in the meeting, with Dabula being on Dingindawo’s side and supporting the proposal that Zwelinzima should marry Thembeka. Ngxabane looked like a fool in this meeting and as a result, the opponents to the late chief’s wish won and Zwelinzima married Thembeka according to Dingindawo’s support. Amatelandawonye were so upset because they wanted the late chief’s wish to be fulfilled in fear of the consequences that may follow for the chieftaincy and they believed in doing things traditionally. The traditionalists live strictly according to amaXhosa values and traditions, as defined by authors like Jordan.

The sentiments are based on the perception of Mpondomise that there was a strict convention that it is the community to decide about the marriage and not the couple who were to be married. The Chief finally gives in to the pressure by the community and says ‘Yizani naye’ (p.218). The traditionalists wanted Zwelinzima to enter into a polygamous marriage. It was felt that the community has finally achieved its goal for the Chief to marry the Bhaca girl as per the death wish of his father.
The third perspective of marriage is found towards the end of the story. Nobantu arrives at Zwelinzima’s place with indications that she was mentally disturbed at that stage but as scholars, it can be argued that there is no evidence to prove that, as it is not clearly stated in the text. She seems to be confused as people tried to take the child away from her in fear that she might harm Zululiyazongoma. She cuts the child’s hair with a knife in fear of *inkwakhwa*, and in this process, she even wounded him on the head. Her style of dressing was frowned upon and her relationship with the community was bad. When Zwelinzima saw her, in this state, he was furious and devastated but never lost hope for a better tomorrow. The author puts it like this:

Kwakulusizi ukubona uZwelinzima evuka yonke imihla kusasa aye kubona uThembeka. Intliziyo yayingancami, inkoliso yabantu iwuhlunguzela intloko nje lo mkhuhlane, isithi awunakuphila, yena wayesiya yonke imihla, enethemba lokuba uza kufika uThembeka enengqondo. Kodwa wayesoloko efika usenjalo, (p.229).

It was sad to see Zwelinzima everyday waking up early in the morning to check on Thembeka. His heart did not give up, most people doubted that she was going to get better; he went with the hope that he will find Thembeka in a sane mind. However, he arrived there with no sign of improvement in Thembeka’s insanity.

All this culminated in a tragic incident where Nobantu led her way to the river and drowned herself and her infant son. The incident is described as follows:

… wathi akubona ukuba uVukuzumbethe uyafinyeza waqhuzuka wahleka kakhulu waziphoza emanzini epethe loo mntwana. Qumbu! Wavela kwakanye yedwa, engasamphethe umntwana, waphinda watshona, (p.231).

…but the fleeing woman saw him (Vukuzumbethe), and, guessing his intention, she ran along the river bank, with a triumphant peal of
laughter, she leapt with her child into the flood. Only once did she appear above the surface. But the child was no longer in her arms. Then she vanished beneath the waters.

The outcome of this tragic incident is that Zwelinzima, Nobantu’s husband shortly afterwards also drowns himself in the river (p.240). The reason for this is that he could not bear the consequences of losing his wife and child, all this is because he did not follow the wish of his father. The traditionalists tried to convince Zwelinzima but Dingindawo confused him by his treachery. All this led to “The wrath of the ancestors” as the title reads in isiXhosa.

3.4.2.8 Jordan’s interpretation of the institution of marriage

Through the portrayal of the events referred to above, Jordan wishes to convey the message that the choice of a marriage partner is a task of the family and society to decide who marries whom and not that of an individual. In addition, Jordan says when such decisions are made; the woman must be prepared to submit herself to the rule, customs and traditional protocols that are in place in her husband’s community. There is an understanding that a woman can be modern, but if she is married into a traditional family, she has to submit to and live by the traditions without showing any preferences for modernization.

The manner in which the western value system defines marriage customs and traditions is not what the traditionalists say and how they look at them. Western values interpret customs and traditions their own way as much as the traditionalists interpret custom and traditions according to their own understanding and knowledge. African women are sometimes exposed to acts of forced sex, abusive living conditions etc. In the novel, when Zwelinzima finds himself in a position where it is expected from him to become engaged to a woman he hardly knew, as much as the woman also never set her eyes on Zwelinzima, they were both caught in a state of confusion.
After the *inkwakhwa* incident, it was expected from Thembeka to agree that her husband must take the second wife, which means that she will be engaged in a polygamous marriage in accordance with the requirements of custom and tradition. In order for Zwelinzima to satisfy his people, he agrees to the demands of the traditionalists and is found saying:


“I do not know where she is. You may bring her along if you know where she is. Bring the bride home”, said Zwelinzima not knowing whether he was dreaming or he was awake.”

As much as Zwelinzima wanted to satisfy his community, he was also in a state of confusion as to whether to follow the amaMpondomise traditions or to adhere to western norms. On the other hand the traditionalists were happy that he eventually agreed to marry the Bhaca princess though this was against Zwelinzima’s will.

Jordan assumes the viewpoint that in the patriarchal world there are rules that are not to be forsaken, like the requirement that the suitor should be willing to accept a wife that is preferred by the community. These words show that Zwelinzima wanted to enter into a compromise with the masses in order to escape their wrath as well as that of the ancestors. It is clear that this is not an easy decision for him. Zwelinzima puts it as follows:

“Nindinunusa ngomfazi wesiThembu endaweni yokuba nicele into eniyisweleyo. Loo nto ke indibonisa ukuba aninasicelo… “(p .205)

“You are forcing me into polygamy instead of asking for your needs. That shows that you do not have any request”.

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This shows that Zwelinzima was not in favour of a second marriage but he did not have any other choice but to accede to the wish of the masses.

The author feels at liberty to give recognition to some of the traditions that can never be discarded like forced marriage. Jordan explains this kind of situation in his work when he depicts a session when Dingindawo and his people went to see the royal family of the Bhaca and found out that the girl’s face was mutilated and so he pretended to be with Zwelinzima to marry a girl of his own choice as a learned scholar (p.89). The author maintains his artistic right to mint his characters and situations like polygamy which Jordan writes about in order to expose the disagreements that exist in the society. Jordan puts on paper that anyone who does not obey the ancestors is faced with consequences and punishment by the wrath of the ancestors. Nobantu became mentally disturbed because of her rejection of the ancestors. The author puts it as follows:

Lo gama uThembeka angqengqe ebhotwe ngokungathi akanangqondo…yamothusa waphantse wajuba uZwelinzima into yokubona uNobantu engamlindele (p.223).

While Thembeka was relaxing at the palace unconsciously…Zwelinzima was frightened by the fact of seeing Nobantu unexpectedly.

The local women were secretly talking among themselves outside the house. The quotation clearly shows how disorientated Thembeka is. In the patriarchal society, women are made to understand and accept the unreasonable conditions and roles that they have to play to the fullest. Jordan portrays women in the patriarchal society as living under a heavy hand of men where the ancestors act as judges of customary traditions. When the ancestors punished Nobantu, she remained mentally disturbed till death, death of herself and everything she has brought to this family, including her son.

In the patriarchal society the control tactics by some African men reflect their cultural expectations of the acceptability of women's abuse. It is evident that these men have an
upper hand on women as they (women) have to do men’s laundry, cooking and cleaning and agree to unprotected sex whenever the husband desires it, (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000:49). This also reinforces cultural expectations of women’s submission to such extreme patriarchal control by husbands. Women are made to see themselves as domestic slaves as they cannot leave the domestic chores as such, whenever the husband comes home, he expects to find her in the house. Abusive husbands culturally expect an obedient, dependent, subservient wife along with him being indominantly in control, as one of the manifestations of violence against women. Patriarchy always has to take place in a society under the guise of isiko (tradition).

Thembeka’s family as well as some members of the community were concerned about her future as a wife of the chief. The concern of the society about Thembeka who was a commoner, and who was educated in the missionary school and trained in Lovedale which is also a missionary college in Alice, are depicted as follows by the author:

Neengcina-masiko ezingooJongilanga zamana zidizizela, zisithi mhle lo mntwana, koko akanaso isidima nokundileka okufanele umfazi wenkosi. Kwabuya kwakhalima kwa-uDabula esithi “Yenzani kuhle, bafondini. Iyez'imini yobu buciko”…

“Noko lo mntwana ngathi unobuLungu kakhulu”. Aphethe kuthi “Kutheni le nto angasoyikyo singooyise, suke ancokole kuvele nelomhlathi, ngathi uncokola neentanga zakhe?” (p.136)

Even the great champions of custom, the Jongilanga’s found themselves undecided. Yes, she was beautiful, they admitted, but they doubted if she has sufficient dignity of bearing for a chief’s wife. Once again, Dabula had to intervene. “Do be patient, countrymen” he said. “The day for these wise remarks is till coming”.

“There’s too much of the white woman in the manners of this girl”, he said. “Why does she not overawed by us, who are her fathers? Why she laugh so freely as if she were chatting with her equals?”
The traditionalists saw that Thembeka knows less of their traditions and that she is more of a westernised woman than a traditionalist. Her manner of doing things as well as her behaviour was extremely different from other local girls of her age. The society of amaMpondomise lived in fear within it as the parents too were sceptical about the sustainability and resilience of the woman who was going to be married by Zwelinzima. In this state of uncertainty, Thembeka can be seen as one of the women who are not at ease to be submissive to their husbands, this createss anxiety amongst the members of the society. It is the principle of *isiko lethu* (our tradition) that defines the state and status of women.

When a member of an African community does not comply with the ancesteral wish then it is expected that something untoward would happen to her/him. This is confirmed by Wells (2015:28) stating that one percent of the people decided not kill their cattle during the cattle killing episode that took place in 1857. These people decided not to kill their cattle because the message was brought to them by a young girl by the name of Nongqawuse. It is believed that the decision that was made by these people angered the ancestors which resulted in the failure of the predictions that were made at the time. In some instances African girls are never expected to oppose the decision of their parents let alone to backchat the father as that may lead to wrath of the ancestors and a mythical saying that goes ‘amadiora will break your neck for you if you do not obey my rules’, Achebe (1994:28).

The African culture has experienced rapid change since the colonial invasion as each society has its own customs and beliefs that go along with the times. When Zwelinzima finally gave in to pressure to marry the Bhaca princess, all the traditionalists were in a good mood and gathered for the royal *lobola* ceremony. It seems as if Zwelinzima was not part of the excitement as the author puts it as follows:

UZwelinzima akazange abonane nokubonana naloo madoda…,
... "ndizimisele ukwenza nantonina enithi mandiyenze"

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Azibetha ke iinkomo amaqaba akwaNgwanya kwangaloo mini, evuya echwayitile kuba namhlanje kusiza unina oza kuwakhupha ebunkedameni (p.218).

Zwelinzima did not even meet his clansmen... “I intend doing whatever you want me to do”.

The traditionalists of the Ngwanya clan brought the cows for lobola as they were happily anticipating the arrival of their mother who will take them out of orphanage.

The intent of lobola is to give the daughter-in-law a value and recognition within the family. In other families one would find that the society comes together to have the lobola cattle collected and the rest will be brought to the royal kraal to create a true royalty for the new wife. It is wise to look at the people for whom lobola was paid for in the text.

The community had no hand in her lobola. When it was time for the Bhaca Princess who belonged to the royal house to become a wife, again lobola was put together by the community members who were long awaiting this time to come as, Zanemvula’s wish would come true. As a royal affair, the cattle were gathered into the royal kraal and at the right time, they were driven from the royal kraal to Bhaca royal family (p120).

The author, Jordan, through all these perspectives seeks to tell the reader how Nobantu conducted herself after the inkwakhwa episode. Nobantu’s mental state is described as follows:

Kwasa uNobantu ezolile, kodwa kucacile ukuba iingqondo azikho. Babenqandwa abafuna ukumthethisa kuba wayesuka athethe into ekude nento ebuzwayo….Yintando yeminyanya ebangela lo mfazi ukuba abe nje. Jordan (2008:228)
The next morning Nobantu was quiet but it was clear that she had lost her mind. People were prohibited from making conversations with her as her response was irrational. It is the wrath of the ancestors that bears to this condition.

After the inkwakhwa episode, Nobantu developed a serious psychological disorder, her husband sent her to her parents for safety and intensive care. She did not know whether she was at Mji ka or at Ntshi qo and was just confused. This observation of Nobantu’s mental state is confirmed by Qangule (1974:103) who puts it as follows:

The strain on Zwelinzima and Thembeka shows itself in A (sic) neurotic and infantilism, inertia and melancholia. Nothing seems to restore the meaning of life to them. There is loss of vitality, failure to integrate disparate elements.

As mentioned above, in fear of inkwakhwa she cut her son’s hair with a knife trying to protect him from snakes trying to lay eggs in his hair. In this state of confusion, she saw the cattle that were going to Bhacaland as dowry and she laughed, people looked at her and saw that she was confused. She walked a long distance from her parents’ place to Zwelinzima’s place instead of riding in a car as she was used to with her husband. Nobantu underwent a complete metamorphosis, and her life changed completely. She seemed to have accepted things that she could not accept in her normal state of mind.

Jordan portrays Nobantu as a female character whose life has changed in all aspects. She used to see herself as having a friend in Vukuzumbethe, a romantic partner and a husband called Major whose real name was Zwelinzima and a loving son. All these people became non-existent in her miserable state of mind.

Jordan’s views about marriage is that it is good to have a westernised marriage if one needs it, but to save one’s marriage it is vital to do it in a traditional manner as well, in
order to satisfy the traditionalists. When Thembeka got married to a member of the royal family, she happened to forget that she was no longer at a missionary school. She frowned upon all the customs and traditions that were the basics of Mpondomise society. At some point, she was not aware of the consequences that her attitude could have for the dignity of the royal family. According to Gordon (1990:17), it is implied that women from all races suffer severely directly and indirectly under the given structures of society and culture. It is not surprising that Thembeka’s behaviour of being ignorant to Mpondomise customs was the way it is. Her father has realised it long before that, his daughter is an ignorant character. The author puts it as follows:

Woyika le nto kuba wayengakholwa ukuba uThembeka uya kukwazi ukwendela komkhulu, kuba wayengazange ayinanze kwakudala into yokunonophela ubucukubhede bamasiko, (p.140)

He was sceptic about Thembeka and doubted if she would be able to be married into a royal family because she never bothered to respect the practical details of customs.

Thembeka, in her marriage ignored the most important customs. She disrespected the ancestors, which were of substance to the society, and people saw this as a strange act of denial of reality. She behaved and acted strangely towards the traditionalists and the ancestors as well, but as she was made to be aware of these things, she grew fears now that the traditionalists and the ancestors might retaliate forcefully against her and may eventually destroy her. The author wishes to show that Thembeka’s/Nobantu’s loss of contact with reality seems to be a punishment by the ancestors who never got any kind of respect from her ever since she got married to Zwelinzima. While she was still a student at Lovedale, she discovered that Zwelinzima came from a royal family, and it was her desire to be married to him. The obstacle to her wish was that she knew that royal families often shared marital relationships, which means that her lover could decide to be married to a member of another royal family and by doing so, prove her unworthiness because of her background as a commoner (p.118).
Even though Thembeka eventually got married to Zwelinzima, her fears accompanied her throughout adulthood where she began to act strangely and unacceptably in the homestead. This is confirmed by the following conversation between two women:


“Do you think she is well? It is as if she does not know her, she is not aware of her whereabouts. She does not know whether she is at Mjika or at Ntshiqo. That is the truth. This is shown by the fact that she does not bother herself about seeing her husband”… she just stays

The author comments as follows about Thembeka’s mental condition:

Inkosikazi yayixhalabile kuba okoko yafika yayihambahamba ngokomntu osephupheni apha phakathi komzi ngokomntu osephupheni, (p.226)

The wife was misbehaving ever since her arrival as she was wandering around the yard as if she was daydreaming.

The conversation shows that the community became aware of and were concerned about Nobantu’s mental state. Due to her mental condition, she exclaimed:

“Tyhini! Ezi nkomo zezi ziya kulobolela Inkosi?” (p.227)

“Wow, so these are the cattle that are the lobola for the Chief?”

The reality is that Nobantu behaved strangely, when she realised that Zwelinzima had given the traditionalists a go-ahead for the second wife and that created some kind of
conflict amongst members of the society. Nobantu was vehemently opposed to sharing a man with a Bhaca princess to be brought to her home.

Nobantu’s killing of *inkwakhwa* which the Mpondomise believed in is thought to have created an internal conflict within herself. Unfortunately, the author does not reveal her internal thought process comprehensively enough in order that this can be confirmed, (Botha, 1986: 152). The reader can only speculate as to the reasons for her strange conduct. She killed the snake deliberately instead of respecting it. She ran around in a state of madness and went to the river to commit suicide, her only child who was supposed to be the heir of Mpondomise was drawn into the river as Nobantu carried him on her back. There are however, those critics who are of the viewpoint that she did not intend to do herself or her child any grievous bodily harm and that the tragical drowning incident could have been purely accidental. Oppland, (1990:135) for instance, says the following:

> Once again, the revelation of her thoughts during this crisis moment would have served as confirmation on whether her actions were intentional or whether this tragedy was purely accidental.

According to Mpondomise belief, the chief should not be buried in a conventional grave but rather, he should be buried in water or in the river. Mpondomise ancestors led her to death while she was still irrational and feared that Zwelinzima betrayed her by agreeing to marry a Bhaca girl as a second wife in abeyance of the wish of his father, (p.218).

The researcher is of the opinion that Thembeka’s depressive mental state, which made her wish to go back to her mother’s womb, led to her death (p.231). She drowned in the river, which the researcher looks at as a symbol of the womb or entrance into the hut. The scene is described as follows:

> … waziphosa emanzini ephethe loo mntwana. Qumbu! Wavela kwakanye yedwa, engasamphethe umntwana, waphinda
watshona. ...kwabonakala ukuba makugodukwe zingafumanekanga izidumbu, (p.231).

... She threw herself in the deep waters with the child... *Qumbu!*
She appeared once without a child and became submerged again.
... It so happened that they went home without the reamins.

According to Jordan, a woman must live by the traditions of her family as well as by those of the husband’s norms. Being in denial to be an African and acting like a Christian can be like a poison to those who live according to the Christian values. African traditions followed Thembeka to the grave, irrespective of her mental changes that were brought about by the punishment and the wrath of the ancestors. Jordan seems not to be against the western marriage custom but he reinforced that the traditions of amaXhosa should be performed the right way for harmony’s sake.

Jordan is of the opinion that amaXhosa must always go back to the roots of their traditions and customs; it is further reinforced that those amaXhosa roots must be preserved with regard to marriage. The traditionalist must live by his/her traditions and customs. It may be concluded therefore, that Jordan is in support of customary marriage. An African woman’s freedom and right to the selection of a marriage partner according to her own, personal preferences and inner convictions, should therefore not be given any validity or recognition within society.

The fundamental question that arises and that needs to be dealt with here is: to which extent were Thembeka’s basic human rights recognised and respected during the events that were discussed above? From a positive viewpoint, it should be acknowledged that no restrictions were placed upon her regarding her choice of Zwelinzima as a marriage partner. The marriage negotiations, as well as the marriage itself, proceeded without any interruption, although there were those members of Mpondomise society who were seriously opposed to the marriage and to the manner in which it was conducted. In this
regard, her human rights and the right to have a dignified marriage ceremony, were duly recognised and respected.

The actual challenge regarding the recognition of Thembeka’s human rights arose after her marriage to Zwelinzima. In the paragraphs above it was shown how she was treated with anomosity by most members of the community and received harsh criticism for her style of clothing as a newly-wed member of society. She was also criticised for her total disregard of important customs and rituals, such as the inkwakwa ritual and eventually she had to flee from her home out of fear for her own life as well as that of her infant son. The most serious challenge for the recognition of Thembeka’s human rights came when she became aware of the fact that her husband had acceded to popular demands and agreed to enter into a polygamous marriage. This event was totally unacceptable to her as a Christian convert and as an educated, Westernised young woman and it culminated in the tragic death of Thembeka and her son.

The events that were referred to above, show without any doubt that there was gross violation of Thembeka’s human rights. She was not allowed to live her own life and make her own, independent decisions regarding her personal living conditions. She had to accede to the demands of the community and it was expected from her to take part in their heathen practices concerning the sacred ox of Majola, the inkwakwa ritual and polygamous marriage. Her own, personal convictions, beliefs and fundamental rights were not taken into consideration. It appears therefore, that Jordan in his depiction of these events, shows a lack of recognition of and respect for the basic human rights of Xhosa females. The manuscript of this book was prepared during the 1930s and the book itself received wide recognition and acclaim amongst members of the Xhosa community. Jordan’s views may therefore be regarded as being fully representative of the value systems that were in place during that particular period and which were widely recognised during the first half of the previous century.
3.4.3 Customary traditional marriage as depicted in “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (Jongilanga, 1982)

For the purpose of this study, the researcher aims to utilise the following three criteria in order to pinpoint the different viewpoints on amaXhosa society about marriage as depicted in “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (Jongilanga, 1982). To come to a clear conclusion, it is of importance to firstly look at the depiction of amaXhosa marriage as seen from the point of view of young amaXhosa women. Secondly, the depiction of amaXhosa marriage, as seen from the viewpoint of a young Xhosa man, and thirdly, the views of the community will be taken into consideration.

3.4.3.1 Xhosa customary marriage as seen from the point of view of amaXhosa women

In this section, the point of view of amaXhosa women will be presented through an analysis of the circumstances of a young Xhosa woman by the name of Zoleka. This includes as well, her sisters-in-law, her own sister and her mother. Zoleka Funca is the first born of Zenzile Funca and Kholiwe in Pirie location near King William’s town. Zoleka has a sister called Thandeka who is already married. Zoleka, according to Jongilanga is described as an introvert, a lonely character who is not good in making friends and making public speeches. She has her school boyfriend whom she met in Healdtown, named Zet Sonqishe whom she loves unconditionally (p.15).

The author portrays Zoleka as a young lady who is traumatized by a situation that made everyone else happy in the family to the extent that she could no longer have her beauty sleep. Because of her depression, she became absent-minded to such an extent that she could not hear someone addressing her in the same room, she kept herself in isolation. Her mother as a parent noticed this condition as Zoleka’s facial expression was sad. As a concerned mother, Kholiwe called Zoleka but she had no response until she went to her and said:

‘Wee Zol-. Zol!
As much as Zoleka could not tell Kholiwe the truth, she pretended to be sick but her mother thought she was already thinking of marriage, yes that was true but not true in the same sense and this caused her head to ache. As she was in deep thoughts, she could not sleep. Her sister, Thandeka also noticed unhappiness in Zoleka, and at night, they shared Zoleka’s point of view about her upcoming marriage. Zoleka was crying blood tears as she felt the pain inside herself because her right to be educated is denied by Zenzile. Her father, who is now being unreasonable, tries to protect his own economic interest. Zoleka puts it as follows:

“… ndichithe ixesha lam elingaka, kwale kunyaka wam wokugqibela kuthiwe mandilahle yonke loo nto? Oh! No! No! No! Ngewayengandisanga esikolweni kwakanye”. (p.9)

“…I have wasted such a lot of my time, and then in my final year at school am told to discard everything? Oh! No! no! no! then he was not supposed to have sent me to school in the first place”.

Zoleka Funca has suffered greatly in her society and in her family under the patriarchal hand of her father who believes that for a young girl like Zoleka, there is no possible need for education. The author puts it in the following words:

UZenzile akazange ayibone kwaphela imfuneko yokufundisa amantombazana. Ukuba umntwana unakho ukubhala incwadi ibuye, akwazi ukufunda nokubhala igama lakhe yanele loo mfundo. (p.13).

Zenzile found it pointless to send girls to school. If a child can write a letter and a reply comes back, and she is able to read and write her name down that education is enough for her.
Based upon the above quote the researcher finds it hard to agree with Zenzile Funca about educating his daughter. In this regard Payne, (1997:58-9) argues that women have the same capacity for learning and right to be educated as men. As a researcher, it can be concluded that women really suffer because of the unfair demarcation of gender roles and a customary thought that is instilled in them that they should get married, stay at home, bear children and raise them. African women are made to suffer the pain of being in subordination to men. Kholiwe too could not oppose her husband’s decision even if she knew why Zoleka was in such pain. Thandeka tried to calm Zoleka reminding her that her circumstances at Zenzile’s house are the same as hers; the route that Zoleka is traveling at the time is the same route that Thandeka once walked. According to Thandeka there was nothing that was going to change, as Zenzile sees no value for girls to be educated. She puts it as follows:

“…kwaye isidanga abaxhentsa ngaso apha abantu sesokuba ayinamvuzo nangenelo into yokufundisa intombazana…notata, ke, akamsulwa kweso simbo”, (p.10).

“… the belief here is that there is no reward to send girls to school… even my father is not exempted from such belief.”

Having been forced to marry Zolile, Zoleka made it clear to her mother Kholiwe that she does not want to be married to Zolile. The author puts it like this:

“Mama!” wabiza unina uZoleka, “Ndifuna ukukuxelela namhlane ukuba andisayi kuze ndibe ngumfazi kaZolile naphakade. Utata angandibulala nje, ndixolele nayiphina into, ndizinikezele” (p.70)

“Mother!” Said Zoleka. I want to tell you today that am not going to be Zolile’s wife ever. My father can kill me I have succumbed to anything bar marrying Zolile.”


Zoleka’s right to freedom of choice and to freedom of speech are denied by Zenzile, who made her to turn into a murderer at the end. African life is made rich in traditions and customs, which causes men to wish to have more daughters as an investment. Looking at the economy of the family, the wealth of the household is more important than that of a female member of the household. Therefore, a woman did not have any say in the patriarchal society.

The day after the wedding, Zoleka (Nowethu) was doing her domestic chores at a very slow rate without talking a word with her in-laws. In the bedroom, she was at loggerheads with her husband as she hardly slept on the bed, and the lights were never put off at bedtime. She made all efforts to show the family that she does not want her husband but no one was able to read between the lines in Xatasi’s house. Zoleka refused to follow customs as a woman.

Zoleka, as the newly wedded wife to Zolile, could not see herself in Xatasi’s house. She felt nothing for the in-laws as well as for the husband. When she went to fetch water from the river, she took too long and this raised suspicion on the side of her sisters-in-law. The author draws the picture in the reader’s mind like this:


In the morning, she dragged her feet to the river. She delayed though the river was not far from home. ... “Maybe this woman is playing by the river. Since when is the river thus far?”

African women tend to show their disagreement with the circumstances through their actions but in the patriarchal society all their womanly efforts are seen as null and void and treated as mere silliness. The author says:
She struggled doing all sorts of funny things at her home where she was married, rejecting the attention of her boyfriend. ... but amaNtlane assisted by her parents forced her until she gave in. Even today she is still married. Therefore it is clear forsake the civilisation leave it and advise this woman. If she does not listen there is always a stick which is used to put a woman in her place in the Xhosa nation.

In this paragraph, the author Jongilanga exposes himself as a supporter of tradional values in the most extreme form. In this view, it is acceptable for women to be forced into marriage. If the woman does not cooperate, attempts should be made to convince her verbally. However, if the woman still will not cooperate she must be forced through violent means including physical assault to enter into the marriage.

At the new home, Jongilanga (1982) portrays a woman who tries by all means to escape but in vain. There is a clear tendency towards gender oppression and the denial for the opportunity for women to relieve themselves from the chains of patriarchy.

Ever since Zoleka arrived at the Xatasi home, it was her intention to irritate her in-laws. For instance, she played a good trick with her head cloth, instead of tying it up at the front she simply left it hanging over her head. The author artistically puts it as follows:

...ikhetshemiya uyiTHE wambu entloko, ibunzi liphandle, amasondo abo omane ephelele emqolo (p.27)
The headgear was put nonchalantly by her, with her forehead showing and the all its four ends were at her back

Traditionally amaXhosa newly-weds and elderly women in every family have to *hlonipha* through the correct dress code. The significance of *hlonipha* custom in traditional marriage setting is embedded in *ukuhota* practice, (Bongela, 2001:214). The newly wed becomes some kind of a slave for all the in-laws and she remains a foreigner to them. Bongela (2001:214) explains *ukuhota* or *hlonipha* like this:

Sithi isiXhosa sesenze le ndima incomeka kangaka yokwenza ihlumelo lendalo, siphambuke ngokudala iimpawu zokubonisa ukuba le ntombi asiyoyasekhay'apha, yeyasemzini kwaye ize ngokuza kusebenzela unina walo mfana yendele kuye, kunye neentombi zakhe.

Though isiXhosa has done a lot in developing a creature deviates by showing signs that this girl is not born in this home, she came here by marriage so that she can work for the mother of the young man she is married to together with her daughters or sisters to the young man.

The amaXhosa culture is such a reputable institution, because of the magnificent role it has played in society in accepting a natural addition into a family structure, yet it errs by creating taboos which reveal that it does not regard *makoti* as an automatic member of the family but a foreigner. She has come to work for the mother of her husband and her daughters, all these taboos are justified under the notion of respect. Bongela further asserts that *hlonipha* may come in different forms like language, dress, and types of food to be avoided, etc. in order to fortify *makoti* to be able to cope with all the challenges, hard work, commitment, and all the other responsibilities of marriage. From a traditional point of view, *Hlonipha* is never meant to enslave or to abuse anyone but to train her to be able to be a successful wife in marriage. It is through the *hlonipha* method that a woman is
tested on her patience, capacity to respect, her ability to take instructions, her amenability to changes and her sense of honesty

Women *hlonipha* in different ways and meanings in amaXhosa society. As mentioned above, *Hlonipha* comes in the form of dress, behaviour and language used in the household. William (2014:1) is of the view that the newly wedded Xhosa bride who is referred to as *makoti* dresses up in a manner that will always distinguish her from other women for example, a black cloth which covers the forehead. Jongilanga describes it as follows:

Kuthe kungekudala, wee gqi uZoleka ephethe isitya sokuhlamba. Wayehamba ngentloko ngoku, kungasekho qhiya. Wayenxibe ilokhwe yangaphantsi kuphela, ephele emadolweni, iingalo, isifuba, nemilenze iphandle (p.28)

Soon after that, Zoleka appeared holding a washing basin. She walked bare headed without a cloth. She was wearing only a petticoat, which was so short that it showed her knees, her arms, chest and legs were laid bare.

Traditionally, a *makoti* wears a small tartan shawl over her shoulders, long sleeved blouse, *ixakatho* (a cloth draped around the upper body), a scarf around the waist and *isishweshwe* traditional print, (Manentsa, 2001:48) To the understanding of the researcher, this is how Zoleka Funca was dressed on her arrival at Zolile’s family. This kind of dress represents a newly married woman and is still held in high regard. As a sign of cultural respect a woman keeps this type of dress until she has a first-born child in her new home then she can be promoted to another stage of dress as the family sees fit. Zoleka did not adhere to these prescriptions.

House chores are the day-to-day-functions that are performed in the house. Under well-known instances, these chores are divided between males and females. Things tend to
change immediately when there is *makoti* at home as all the house chores are allocated to her just to test her strength and endurance. She wakes up at dawn and is the last to go to bed, tired like a donkey. She was expected to prepare early morning tea, fetch water from the stream, do the cooking and cleaning all on her own without any assistance or appreciation. All this was expected from Zoleka by her sisters-in-law but their expectations were not met.

During the first few days, *makoti* is expected to pass behind the dwelling houses as a sign of respect of ancestors who are thought to be within the premises. These ancestors are presumed to be at liberty to stay specifically at the *inkundla* and at the cattle kraal (Bongela, 2001:42). Jongilanga describes Zoleka’s rebellious conduct as follows:

> Wathi dzu ebuhlanti engabhekabheki; ehamba ngokomntu ohamba elele. Wangena waya kutsho emthonyameni, wakha ubulongwe. (p.28)

She went right into the kraal without looking on the sides as if she was sleepwalking. She went in right through the old manure to fetch cow’s dung.

When the people saw her performing an act of extreme rudeness by not showing respect for the kraal, the in-laws became hysterical and wanted to beat her up. The hostile attitude of the in-laws soon afterwards motivated Zoleka to abscond from the Xatasi family. Mechanisms to escape the tradition were part of Zoleka’s plan. She tried to show her in-laws that she is against being with their (Xatasi) family.

Zoleka decided to cut the ties of oppression and leave her husband. She left on the darkest night, following the railway line in fear of people discovering her whereabouts and sending her back to the Xatasi family. She eventually reached King William’s Town where she stayed with a friend. When Zenzile discovered that Zoleka has eloped from her in-laws he decided to go and look for her in fear that he might be expected to return the
dowry. Eventually, Zenzile traced Zoleka in King Williamstown and forced her to go back home in a harsh manner by beating her severely and threatening to run her over with his horse (p.54).

Eventually, Ndodiphela, the neighbour, brought Nowethu back to the Xatasi family. From now on, she was just a human being within the yard; no one ever heard her voice in two days consecutively. She was performing all her chores at a chameleon’s rate. She was frustrated and living in a vacuum as she was just looking into the distance without knowing what she was doing. Her in-laws were making sarcastic comments about her but she took no notice of them.

On the third day, she performed all her chores as if nothing ever changed. After supper, she went to the room and looked for a weapon and found an axe. The state of being miserable came back to her again as the artist describes it as follows:

Ufike apho waguqulula efuna isikhali kodwa akabi nakusifumana ngaphandle kwengcangula yezembe eyayithiwe khatha emva kwebhokisi eyayilapho… (p.64)

Upon her arrival there she looked for something like a weapon but she could not find any except a well sharpened axe that was behind the chest that was there.

At this point Zoleka seemed to be in mental confusion or in a mentally disturbed state. No one knew what her plan was in the Xatasi family; she remained silent as the author reveals her state in the evening like this:

Waliphatha-phatha ithuba elide eyengezelza iinyembezi emi njalo…ubonakale elibuyisela ethatha ixesha lakhe elithe ntsho ngokungathi uyathetha ngaphakathi. (p.64)

She held it for some time tears rolling down while she stood there… She returned it cautiously looking at it as if she was talking inside.
Zoleka’s psychological state was getting worse by the minute. The author, as an omniscient third person narrator who knows Zoleka very well portrays her like this:

…wathi vu phezu komandlalo, wadwala evundlile… ngobo busuku akazange abuthi cwe ubuthongo. Waba nendawo yokuxhaxha wabila wayiloo nto. …yonke into elapha endlwini yaba ngathi kuye iyajikeleza. … Intloko yakhe ingathi ikhala amabhungane, iindlebe zisenza inzwinini (pp.64-65)

She sat on the bed, squatting… that night she never slept. She was shivering and sweating profusely. Everything that was in the room seemed to be going in circles. Her head was full of bad things and her ears were like she is hearing bells ringing.

At this time, these are indications that Zoleka is someone who is schizophrenic and any attempt beyond this time by herself to think rationally was impossible. She was like an animal and all the humanity in her was gone. She waited until Zolile fell asleep. With the axe in her hand, she murdered him. What made her to come back to her senses was the stream of Zolile’s blood; she saw the blood and cried out in order to seek help. All her frustrations of being forced by the traditions and customs of her family turned her into someone else.

When Zoleka had killed her husband, Zolile, she was arrested and charged with murder of her husband. She was convicted and sent to jail. All her past nightmares came back. The elements of life have conspired against her. At this time, Zoleka was in severe stress. She even wondered if she was born to live a life of misery.

Zoleka committed murder just to be with Zet, a man of her dreams and her soulmate. She once dreamed that she found herself at the edge of a river full of water. When she tried to cross, the stream swept her away. Zet, whose desire was to help her out, also fell into the deep water (p.13). This dream symbolises Zoleka’s incarceration in jail and Zet’s efforts to support her during this time. It also points ahead to Zet's demise and
Zoleka’s suicide because she was unable to accept Zet’s death. Zoleka committed suicide just after the death of Zet (p.105).

In spite of the vow not to accede to her father’s wish, Zoleka took part in her wedding ceremony at the local community church. Zoleka in church is scared to lie in front of the congregation, when *mfundisi* was marrying her to Zolile. When the time came for the bridal couple to lay down their vows, Zoleka did not declare explicitly that she accepts Zolile as her wedded husband. But through her body language, the pastor and the congregation assumed that she was giving her consent. The author portrays it like this:

Kuloo nyambalala ingako akukho namnye owakhe wamva esithi
“ndiya kwenje njalo”(p.20)

In such a huge gathering no one heard her saying ‘I do’

Inwardly Zoleka knew very well that she could not follow through as she already made her own decision about the situation. When a woman is a new member at her new homestead, she is instructed not to raise her voice when speaking to her husband, but to always be humble with due respect also to the rest of the in-laws. This condition gives men a mandate to discriminate against their wives. African authors depict women as door-mats who have to clean the husbands’s shoes and be submissive under all circumstances. This is confirmed by Wells (2015:45) who states that younger women after 1857 were forced to be married to elderly men. The author confirms the submissiveness that is expected from women in the church where the pastor tells Zoleka to be a woman in thought and in deed by saying the following:

“Umfazi ngumfazi ngezenzo. Zithi ke ezo zimbo nezenzo zobufazi akuphulukana nazo umfazi aphelelwe bubufazi. …Uze uzilindele zonke izilingo, kwangokunjalo nobuncwane bobomi; kuba emtshatweni sisebumnandini obuphahlwe ziintsizi neenzingo”, (p.20).
“A woman is a woman through her deeds. If she happens to lose those she loses the right of being called a woman. You must expect all trials and tribulations and all also the sweetness of life because in a marriage we have the sweetness that is surrounded by trials and tribulations”.

The pastor says all these words in order to prepare Zoleka for her future role and he also instills hope of change in Zoleka’s mind. In so doing the pastor shows that he is also from the patriarchal society, shows patriarchal thoughts and thereby abuses Zoleka in a subtle manner.

Zoleka on the other hand was known to be reserved and could be labelled as an introvert. This can easily be confirmed when the priest was marrying the couple, Zoleka could not speak but expressed herself through gestures that she made; crying or nodding in response to the priest’s words. The author puts it like this:

Uthe umfundisi ebiza elokugqibela, waphakamisa nje intloko, iinyembezi sezimngcolise kade, wabuya wayithoba ngokungathi uyanqwala, (p.20).

When the priest said the last word, she just lifted her head, tears were rolling down and she bowed as if she was agreeing.

It is not only the priest who thought of her to be responding positively to his questions, but also some of the people too. When they were given wise words, the priest warned Zoleka to be clear in that in marriage there is no deep-end or shallow beginning. In so doing, he was trying to prepare her for the sweet and sour times in marriage. The author expresses such fortification in words as follows:

…Sidubaduba amanzi olwandle olunzulu, singazi nokuba siya kufika na apho siya khona, siya kusinda na kwinkqwithelo
nakwisivube-vube samaza olwandle. Injalo ke indlela yomfazi ekwendeni (p.20).

... We are just walking on deep-sea water not knowing whether we are going to arrive where we are heading, or whether we will escape the wrath of the sea waves. That is the path of woman in a marriage.

It was as if the priest knew that Zoleka’s marriage was never going to be a bed of roses from the day it was agreed upon by the parents. Furthermore, the audience had its doubts and insecurities. On the way home some people were also querying the manner in which Zoleka behaved in church, they too suspected that Zoleka did not respond positively to the vows. This news was spread throughout the community and she became the laughing stock of the decade. Two women were heard saying:

_Uya kubuye uyive… (p.21)_

_You will soon hear of it …_

In fact, it became a reality that as time went by, it was heard. On the night when Zoleka murdered Zolile, it was heard clearly. People who could remember things of the past had obviously linked the slogan and the incident. It can be confirmed that if one forced a Xhosa girl into marriage like Zoleka it might end up in tragedy and disaster as in the case of the Xatasi family.

3.4.3.2. *The depiction of marriage as seen from the viewpoint of a young Xhosa man*

This section deals with the depiction of forced marriage in amaXhosa society as seen from the point of view of a Xhosa man. This discussion will focus on the view of Zolile Xatasi who has been selected to marry Zoleka Funca. Since Zolile was not a man that was familiar with females from a young age, he took no notice of them even in the community, and it was a known fact that he had nothing to do with girls. He wanted to abstain until he got married when the time was ripe, and until such time, he remained
Jongilanga portrays a lonely male figure by the name of Zolile, who depends on the mercies of the parents and forgetting his own role to play. Zolile was never a womaniser and was never engaged in any form of a relationship. Even when things fall apart in his marriage he keeps quiet as if things are normal but they are not. The marriage facilitators (fathers) ask him about the conditions in his marriage. There are things that he was supposed to have handled on his own prior to the meeting with counsellors.

Zolile is portrayed as a male who relies on the family for the formation of his own family. He has been given a wife without having asked for it, this is because he has never been involved in a relationship within the society. At some point during the negotiations, a member would ask if the suitor has ever been involved in any relationship, this is done to see if the man will be able to handle his own issues. A man who is an introvert like Zolile finds it difficult to take care of issues and make the right decisions at the right time.

The author describes him as:

Kude kufike ithuba lokutshata kwakhe nje wayengekabizwa nganto.
Wayelolu hlobo lwamadoda lusuke lunge ngathi luza kubethwa yintombazana ukuba lukhe lwazisholololo, (p.22).

Untill his marriage time he was still pure. He did not take any notice of girls.

In such a state Zolile was not able to handle Zoleka as she was more suitable for a man who is used to interact with ladies and have love affairs. He was a silent man who could also be categorised as an introvert. When he was together with his wife, he did not know what to say and how to say it or when to say it. This made him to be quiet most of the time in the bedroom, as Zoleka hated him more every day.

Zoleka’s conduct at Xatasi’s place made Zolile to grow fonder of her and he always hoped that in time she would be a better person. He also knew that when Zoleka has made up her mind she will love him as he loves her. The author puts it as follows:
Zoleka wanted a man who was romantically experienced.

Zoleka hated every minute that she spent in Zolile’s house to an extent that she could even spit in his face. He too, could see the hatred and cruelty in Zoleka’s face but he remained with a spark of hope within himself that Zoleka would change and love him as his wife. If Zolile was a man in love and not a traditionalist he would be able to handle the situation in good time, on the other hand, there was Zoleka who happened to find herself being with a man that was forced upon her by the family and the community.

Zolile’s view with regards to amaXhosa values and tradition are not explicitly revealed in the story. He never mentions explicitly whether he is in favour of the custom of forced marriage or whethere he rejects it. This is due to the fact that the author neglects to expose Zolile’s thoughts to the reader. He is minted to be such a flat character who obeys the instructions from his father, Xatasi, without showing his own views on this. In this regard the author has forfeited an important opportunity to identify the role of a Xhosa male figure within the society with specific reference to the custom of forced marriage.

3.4.3.3 Depiction of marriage as seen from the viewpoint of Xhosa society

This section deals with the views of members of Xhosa society with regard to the custom of forced marriage as depicted in the novel entitled “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (1982). The aim is to establish whether the actions of the character such as Zenzile meet with the approval of the society or not. Zenzile’s acts were supported by amaXhosa society as no one is against his decision when aligning his family with that of his best friend by the name of Xatasi. The community was in full support of Zenzile, and some of the community members were already regular visitors to Zenzile’s place. All the meals were being prepared at Zenzile’s place, which confirms that, the whole community was in support of the custom. This time the author pictures it like this:
Based on the above, it is clear that Funca has the support of the community. The Xatasi family are also looking forward to having a traditional event, not caring about the feelings of the partners that they are trying to unite. As such, Xatasi is highly supported by his whole family as they were looking forward to hosting the future bride, Nowethu as one of them. Moreover, the community was on Xatasi's side, when he was worried about the acts of Nowethu he went to his neighbour who advised him to call his siblings.

In church, everyone wanted to go and attend the ceremony in support of the two families:

Zakroza iinqwelo ukuya eCaweni, kukhokele amahashe (p.19)

The horses led the convoy of cars to the church.

The congregation also supported them, as the house was full of people attending the wedding. Ladies dressed to kill, and women paved the path of the bride with their shawls and blankets as if it was in Jerusalem in the times of Jesus. This shows all the joys of the congregation in the churchyard. The pastor also supported the event by leading the ceremony in church:

Wathi akungena umfundisi babe abatshati nabakhaphi sebethe dwe phambi kwesibingelelo (p.19)

When the priest arrived, the bride, the groom, and the bridesmaids were already seated by the altar

The support of the community for this customary marriage is therefore clearly demonstrated by these events. Kholiwe, Zenzile’s wife and Zoleka’s mother, generally
supports her stubborn husband’s actions to a certain extent. For instance, Kholiwe convinces Zoleka to marry Zolile, as it is the wish of her husband (p.59). However, when Zenzile was beating his escaping daughter, Zoleka who had eloped after the wedding, Kholiwe came in to rescue her daughter. Zenzile looked at Kholiwe with his red eyes and she already knew that she might also be given the same ‘medication’ as Zoleka. She could however not stand the pain of seeing her daughter Zoleka like this and she ran to call the neighbour who managed to stop Zenzile from beating Zoleka any further. Kholiwe helped Zoleka to walk to her room but her legs were stiff, Zenzile roared at them when he saw this. Zenzile did not care about the fact that he had hurt Zoleka badly but he wanted to take her back to her in-laws, Zenzile’s anger is portrayed like this:


“What the hell! I take care of the dog now it bites me? Who are you? Son of a bitch? I will show you I have not done anything as yet it is still the beginning.”

As mentioned above, Kholiwe, Zoleka’s mother supports her husband but only to a certain limit; she still cares about her daughter Zoleka. She does not tell Zenzile that she found Zoleka not feeling well. She makes a conversation with Zoleka but she is also concerned about Zoleka’s reluctance to co-operate with Zenzile. Kholiwe says the following: (p.59):

“Zoleka mntwan’am! Ndince S’khomo, nceda mna yiyeke le nto uyiithethayo. Uyayazi into yokuba ndikhathazwa yiimpilo. Andinakho ukuyimela le nto iqhubeka kweli khaya” (p.59).

“Zoleka my daughter please Skhoma, assist me by not saying what you have just said. You know that I have health issues. I cannot stand what is happening at this house.”
Kholiwe could feel that Zoleka was not keen to go back to Zolile but what can she do because she had to be in full support of her husband? On the other hand, she has to support her child who has been severely beaten by Zenzile. She even helped her child, Zoleka to stand up and go to her room.

The neighbour, Ndodiphela also supports Zenzile’s actions because he is one of the marriage councillors for the marriage ceremony. However, this support is only to a certain limit. He even alerts him that Zoleka has been beaten enough. Ndodiphela looks at Zoleka, and he feels sorry for her. At this point Zenzile feels some disappointment that his neighbour stops him in fear of the consequences that may follow the beating. Ndodiphela pictures it as following:

“Tshangisa! Uya kundixolela. Mna njengonozakuzaku weli khaya andinakusa umfi emzini wabantu” (p.57)

“Tshangisa! Forgive me. As a marriage counsellior I cannot take such a corpse to Xatasi family”

Zenzile was disappointed by Ndodiphela’s response which is intended to make him to realise that he erred by such severe beating. Zenzile felt that he has been betrayed by Ndodiphela. Finally, he instructs Ndodiphela to take Zoleka to the Xatasi family.

The discussion above shows that the family supports the act of marriage but to a certain point. In addition, the community including the neighbourhood can be in support of the traditional marriage but without the use of assault and abuse.

3.4.3.4 Final analysis of the depiction of marriage in “Ukuqhawuka Kwembeleko” (1982)

Every society has its own beliefs and customs that are as old as the society itself. In amaXhosa society it is a known fact that there are fixed norms and traditions that the people live by, for example, Soga (1989:69) expresses it like this:
Ukulobolisa yimvelo ekuvelwe ikho kwasenyanini, umakamrolele iinkomo umfo ukuz’umfazi amzuze, ibe ngowakhe ngewayo nesiko. Nomfazi lo ube nesidima kukuthi abe ulotyolwe emaXhoseni. Le nto ibimnika isidima emzin’akhe negunya emabangweni amaXhosa.

Asking for lobola is a must, a young man has to pay lobola for the woman so that he can get her so that she becomes his according to the custom. A woman becomes respectful if a lobola has been paid for her in the society of amaXhosa. This would give her respect at the house that she is married at so that she can claim all that belongs to it.

Based on the above this means that being a married woman for whom lobola was paid is a substance and a right in the families in Xhosa society in general. The researcher now wishes to determine the extent to which the principles outlined above by Soga above also apply to the specific community that Zoleka and Zolile are part of. The families of Funca and Xatasi agree with Zenzile with regard to his views on forced marriage as he was given a kraal of cattle and money which he used during the preparations for his daughter's marriage ceremony. When his daughters (Zoleka and her sister) had a conversation in their private room, they talked about the lobola that their father received. The discussion proceeded as follows:

“… uyaqonda na ukuba ikhazi lakho elihamba ngamanqina lineenyanga zilithoba lilapha? Kwelo khazi uyazi na ukuba ezintathu esixhenxeni zabuthisa, zafa ebusika? Uyazi na ukuba kwinyanga engapha kwale ifileyo kwafika eliphethwe ngesandla ikhazi, lasetyenziswa ekulungiseleleleni umtshato lo?” (p.11)

“…do you understand that your lobola has been here for the past nine months? Out of that, three of them died during the winter? Do you know about a month ago money was brought in as lobola and it is the one that has been used to prepare for this wedding?
Based on the above quote, it is an honour for every Xhosa man to have all his daughters married other than sending them to school. Having daughters in amaXhosa society is regarded as a blessing and an economic asset for most of men in order to gain dignity within the society. The community was not against the closer friendship of Xatasi and Zenzile as they were good old friends since their days in Cape Town. Once Zenzile and Zolile’s father were about to become in-laws, no one was ever surprised as the friendship was taken one step further. The artist gives the condition in words like this:

Yaba ngulowo umntu wathetha into enye: “itshomi ziyendiselana.”
Namhlanje ke babeze kukhelana imililo, balamane ngekhazisisitheke ke eso nesiko lakwaNtu. (p.17)

It became clear that everyone was saying one thing, “friends are improving their relationship by making their children marry each other”. Today they came to build and bond their households according to the tradition.

As mentioned above, the whole community supported Zenzile by attending the wedding ceremony. Young men also practiced the wedding songs daily while local children were also in agreement with Funca by being on his premises daily even before the wedding. Women were ululating and rejoicing with Funca and his family. On a daily basis the traditional pots were in the fireplace with melting fat dripping from the sides. All this means that Zenzile was well prepared for this ceremony and aimed at keeping the community happy as expected. The author puts it like this:

Wayentyentyeza umfazi engayekanga imini nobusuku: “yeyeyey-e!
Nguwo! Nguwo! Nguwo! Ngumtshato! limbiza zazinyinyitheka ngamafutha, kusophulwa enye ngenye, ... yaye imigido eyayivela kubamelwane nezalamane ifika ngokufika, (p17).

The woman did not stop ululating day and night. “It is a wedding”. Pots were covered with fat as they cook meat by another… and
there were presents which came from neighbours and relatives one after the other.

The people attended the wedding ceremony fully knowing that this is a forced marriage but instead of discouraging this kind of marriage, they supported and rejoiced with the Funca family. There were no voices to discourage this within the community.

As mentioned above, Zenzile exercised corporal punishment on Zoleka when she violated the wedding vows. Ndodiphela, as a marriage facilitator, supports him but only to a certain degree as he indicates that, Zenzile's actions might have legal consequences. It is only when this corporal punishment becomes extremely severe that Kholiwe and Ndodiphela show some concern and intervene on behalf of Zoleka.

This corporal punishment is witnessed by members of the community who came to see a spectacle, as the author says:

Ababesiya emilanjeni bazithula iinkonkxa nee-emele bakhe babukela, wathi obebiya wafana wema nelo hlalha abaliphethe wanga ubethwe ngumbane. (p.55)

Those who were going to fetch water from the river they put their tins and buckets down and watched, and the one who was doing fencing had to stand still with the branch in hand as if he was struck by lightning.

None of the spectators lifted a finger to stop Zenzile from assaulting Zoleka. The observations that have been made above show that there is enough evidence to come to conclusion that the views of this community sees nothing wrong with the tradition of forced marriage, and that the views of the community are fully aligned with those of Soga (1989) as quoted above. The actions of Zenzile therefore have all the blessings of the
community which points to the fact that young women in amaXhosa society do not have any rights with regard to marriage, as they may even be subjected to physical abuse by family members and this is condoned by the society at large. Some people are of the view that corporal punishment, which is a pillar for amaXhosa society families, was there since the early stages of life, but the researcher has not found this documented.

It can be concluded that the tradition of forced marriage is widely sanctioned and recognised in amaXhosa society, as confirmed by academics such as Soga. There are some young women such as Zoleka who opposes to this custom, but in general, traditional amaXhosa males are still enforcing the custom. The community seems to be in full support of the custom although there are some weak voices of dissent, such as those of Kholiwe, Nomatiletile and Ndodiphela. However, when one analyses the views of Tom as presented in the essay ‘Ukudlala’, (2005) a completely different picture emerges. According to Tom (2005), the partners involved initiate the possibility of marriage and the matter is left to be approved by the older people and the community as well. The elderly people help the partners in grooming life with each other by giving advice and plans on how things are done and how to go about in keeping the other one happy through gifts.

The youth is advised by its elder family members to iron out minor hiccups and they also help them strengthen their relationship with a member of the opposite sex by advising them on how to make a conversation with their partners, the terms that are used as a language in practice for lovers. The youth is also told how to place their trust in a partner. Tom finds it simple to explain that for the two partners to be living together in harmony as one, their affair should be the affair for everyone in the society, and it is for the family to give their blessings.

This kind of relationship that is depicted in ‘Ukugawuka Kwembeleko’ (2008) is against Tom’s convictions as he looks at the involvement of a girl with a young man being a
responsibility of the larger community where one is known with whom to be in love, Mtuze (2004:158) however, says children of any age are not allowed to show their love for one another in front of adults. According to Tom (2005) in the establishment of a relationship, parents are involved and the elderly sisters help to equip the younger girl on how to make a conversation with a young man, this can be called the transition stage for a girl to adulthood. Tom (2005) puts it like this:

Umfana ke ethethile nentombi, yaza yakholwa nguye, iyamvuma; ingakholwanga, ihle imbonise iintsuku zingayanga phi ukuba ayiyingene loo nto tu. …esiXhoseni umfana ethethile nentombi ngomhla wokuqala, uhle ayiyeke igodu ke engaxambulisananga nayo ngalo mcimbi. Andithi kaloku uyayazi into yokokuba kufuneka iye kuyiguqula noosisi bayo ekhaya le ndaba?, (p.3)

The suitor having spoken with the lass, and she’s satisfied with him, they share the same words; if not, she revokes him in no time. …in isiXhosa the suitor having spoken to the girl for the first time, he leaves her without any further conversation knowing that she has to go and discuss the matter with the older sisters.

Tom (2005:3) is well aware of the fact that every love affair is a major matter that needs good back-up from other individuals within the community. In short, the community plays a vital role in the foundation of the traditions and marriage. Tom reminds amaXhosa about the traditional values that were there in the olden days where there was a healthy relationship between a boy’s family and a girl’s family through the ties of their children. In this kind of relationship, when a girl is proposed to by a boy, it is their decision to have this relationship. They decide and let the parent embrace the love. The youth share the relationship with the greater community and families. At some point, one would find a girl giving a gift to the boy at Christmas time and in return, the messenger is given a return message also in the form of a gift to be given to the mother of the girl.
Jongilanga, on his side, portrays the relationship as something that is founded by the parents with their children being forced into the engagement. When a boy and a girl meet, it is assumed that they were never involved in any kind of a relationship before. The two authors contradict each other as they both have the same intent of uniting the youth until such time that they get married except for the forces involved which, in Jongilanga’s case, are the parents. One author portrays the parents as the initiators of marriage while the other one portrays the young couples as the ones who lay the foundation for a romantic relationship. Regardless of the basis on which the marriage is settled, some parties will always be dissatisfied with the cases at hand, which includes the parents, the community and the partners involved in the marriage.

The choice of a marriage partner solely lies upon the shoulders of the two lovers, according to Tom. In contrast, Jongilanga finds the choice as something that has to be determined by the parents and the family whilst the young woman has no say in this matter. Tom’s view on marriage therefore clearly contradicts those of Jongilanga and Soga. Tom (2005) looks at marriage from the viewpoint of the modern generation where the youth are allowed to make their own decisions and choices when it comes to marriage. This points to the showing of greater respect by Tom for the rights of females in modern Xhosa society.

Modern intellectuals such as Tom seem to be less in favour of forced marriage and support the rights of young people to exercise freedom of choice, with the full blessing of the parents and community. Forced marriage as depicted by Jongilanga undermines the human rights of African females and constitutes a gross violation of the universally recognised Bill of Human Rights.
3.5 Customary marriage as a theme in the isiXhosa novel after 1994

3.5.1 Introduction

In this section, the role of marriage will be discussed as depicted in Mahala’s novel ‘Yakhal’indoda’ (2010). The focus of the discussion will firstly be on Themba’s marriage to Thuli and the events that arise from that. Secondly, the focus will be on Themba’s extra-marital affairs and the effect that it has on his marriage. The aim of this discussion will be to determine the author’s views with regard to marriage in the modern post-apartheid era.

3.5.2 Themba’s pre-marital phase

Looking at marriage from the point of view of the westernised people and comparing this lifestyle to that of the traditionalists, things seem to be done through the shift of time and so people are seen to have changed even though the tradition is still the same.

The aim of this section is to analyse the views of a male character in this novel on the rights of amaXhosa women within marriage. Marriage is seen from Themba’s point of view, who emerged from the rural areas and has matured in the semi-urban area of Grahamstown. In this context, the urban lifestyle changes with time. This text does not appear to depict any traditional practices on marriage, but it depicts the westernised version of marriage in the semi-urban area of Grahamstown, which are different from the norms of amaXhosa in the rural setting. In this study, it will be shown that the western tradition of marriage is not a guarantee for the recognition of the rights of women to be preserved and protected by men in the society.

A farm boy who through difficulties on the farms was sent to Grahamstown to be with his uncle, aunt and cousin is Themba; he grew up well-protected by his traditional
background. His father was always with his friend called Jongilanga, the father’s right hand in all plans and resolutions that were made within the family. The author puts it as follows:

Kaloku ukuphunga oku kubonakalisa ukwamkeleka kulowo uhambelweyo. “Eh, mfazi khawenze into ephungwayo intanga yam ithobe unxano” (p.19)

Tea making for every visitor is a tradition. “Themba’s mother, could you please make tea for my peer?”

The people from Themba’s background are real traditionalists who share blood, sweat and tears. These people shared the good times and the hard times equally and helped each other in carrying the heavy loads of life. Actually, they share the traditional view that goes like this:

‘Umntu ngumntu ngabantu’

‘A person is person through other people’

Based upon this notion, a man of traditions mentored Themba after his father’s death; this man is called Jongilanga, a man who knew his parents more than anyone else. To Themba, Jongilanga is like a second father who knew the family before he was born and why he is the only child of his parents. Themba was born out of wedlock and his mother had attempted an abortion when she discovered that she is pregnant. However, this information was only conveyed to Themba when he was living in Grahamstown, and this is the time when he found himself in the same situation. It is the very same Jongilanga who told Themba that he survived an abortion attempt after his mother had taken medication to terminate the pregnancy. Themba was surprised and asked:

‘Undixelela ukuba umama wazama ukundiqhomfa?’ (p.36)
The story seems to have changed Themba's thinking about women, and to him all women lost their dignity, trust and love. He fell in love with Thuli, as he wanted to have his own children with her. He later married Thuli and they both were happy until such time that Thuli found Themba to be untrustworthy due to his involvement in multiple relationships and she decided to desert him.

When Themba decided to relocate from the farm to Grahamstown, he still was unaware of the situation and conditions under which he was born. He was still under the impression that he was born in wedlock but sometimes wondered as to why he is the only child of his parents. His parents played a deaf ear on why he is the only child and they kept on telling him that it was good that he was their only child so that they could give him the best love and care he ever needed. Before leaving the farm, he still supported traditionalist thoughts towards marriage and the sexual roles of male and female. When Themba moved to the urban areas of Grahamstown his views on these matters changed quite drastically. This can be clearly seen in his first experience with his aunt Gladys (Vusi’s wife).

After the death of Vusi, his uncle, the boy grew into a man in a short space of time, because he had a sexual relationship with his uncle’s wife in spite of the significant age gap between them. The result of this relationship was that Themba became a young father whilst still staying with his aunt. The close personal relationship between them is described as follows:

_Yonke into yandishiya njengomntu ekukuphela kwakhe u-Anti_ 
Gladys anokumbalisa iingxaki zakhe kuye. Lingaki zakhe
Aunt Gladys had no one but myself, to share her problems with and her problems became my problems. (Mahala, 2007:14)

Themba, as someone from the rural area shared the element of humanity with Gladys and so they spent most of their time together. One night she took him out to a woman’s night gathering and he consumed liquor and became sexually stimulated and ended up in his aunt’s bed. The following day, having discovered himself in the aunt’s bed, he became extremely bitter towards her. Themba felt sorry for some of the decisions he made as a young man. He became sexually involved without it being his intention. In the rural areas, there is a saying that goes:

Ixhegokazi legusha lihlinzwa ngabafana. (p.13)

Love knows no age limit

This term is normally used by youth when they want to seduce elderly women. Some of the women who were Gladys’s peers winked at him but he was not interested in having relationships with older women and he was found saying:

‘Kodwa mna andizange ndibe nomdla kumakhosikazi athe qabavu’,
(p.13)

‘But I was not the type to fall for older women’.

Now Themba was in a kind of a vacuum and was not thinking straight and he seemed to be unable to resist Gladys’ approach. However, in the end Themba felt guilty. All Gladys’s peers were widows who needed a second chance to love and to be loved just
like her. Gladys as a woman from the urban areas, found it easy to have a younger lover irrespective of marriage or not. She stayed neutral towards marriage and was of the opinion that in the urban areas, marriage often carries no significance for some women.

Having discovered the bitterness in his aunt, Themba found out that Gladys has a boyfriend and that was creating more problems for Gladys in the house. Gladys placed all her hope and trust in Themba. Themba made time to listen to the story that caused his uncle to rest in peace as the loving aunt narrated it to him:


‘That murderer lied. He said Vusi was having an affair with another woman. I paid Jack to teach Vusi a lesson. And he killed Vusi because he says he was being defendant. That is why you see me with him. I don’t like him; I never liked him. (Mahala, 2010:16-17)

Themba realises that a crime has been committed and decides to do the right thing by reporting the female antagonist to the police but he first reported the matter to the elderly men in the family including his relatives as it is a requirement that matters such as these should first be dealt with by the traditional court of amaXhosa.

The rule in a traditional society is that a man must be strong. His father used to give him words of wisdom by telling him that a man is a man by glitching himself with the truth though it is hard to do so. The author puts it as:

“Kodwa ke ndazoxolisa ngamazwi katata athi, ubudoda kukumela inyaniso nokuba sele ikrakra kangakanani na (p.25).
“But I found solace in the reality that I stood for the truth even if it meant my integrity as a man would be questioned. (Mahala, 2007:25)

Theirba’s relationship with Gladys comes to an end when she is arrested and given a jail sentence. Through all the experience, Themba came out of a relationship with Gladys as a disillusioned man with regard to marriage and with regard to females in general. He assumed a negative attitude towards women in general.

3.5.3 Themba’s marital phase

This phase focuses on western marriage and not on a traditional one. Article 1, 2 and 3 of the 1964 Convention on Consent to Marriage, Convention on the Rights of the Child Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration state that no marriage shall be legally entered into without the full and free consent of both parties, (Ndindwa, 2012:101). Both of them in person as prescribed by law must express such consent. In the Westernised marriage, the partners involved make their choices to be together and so they are treated as adults. The researcher wishes to analyse a Westernised marriage as depicted in this novel according to the sections as presented in this text as follows: the urban influence in westernised marriage, the focus on marriage, marriage disintegrates, marriage and multiple relationships, and reconciliation.

3.5.4 Urban influence in westernised marriage

As times change, things also change, and this affected Thuli and Themba’s marriage and caused gradual disintegration when Themba is promoted to acting principal, which causes him to misbehave in the workplace (p.50). He also became more involved in community affairs, which led to his marriage being put under pressure. Themba was involved in many urban activities and he became very active and busy as a young and
vibrant man, his involvement in sport, being a school acting principal and being elected community counsellor (p.65). This modern lifestyle gradually deteriorated into a state of promiscuity as will be shown in the sections that follow. Themba as a young teacher, loved women who are his colleagues and this developed, as will be shown in the sections that follow into jealousy among themselves. This is a typical urban life style in which the young couple finds itself

Themba’s involvement in the community took the focus from his marriage to the community affairs like meetings that kept Themba an extremely busy man with less time to concentrate on his family as a young man. The marriage developed an invisible lacuna, which led to a situation that is not desirable. The man was very eager to serve the community more than his own family and we find Themba saying:

Ndandizimisele ukuqinisekisa ukuba abantu baseSekunjalo
bayawafumana amalungelo abo. (p.66)

I was determined that the people from Sekunjalo get their dues.

Being busy with the community affairs meant that Themba spends less time with his family. He was always in meetings where he met various faces and also women who stole his heart and meeting other people minimised his faithfulness towards his marriage. These developments become a threat to the stability of Themba’s marriage with Thuli. There were those who believed that if this marriage had been a traditional one, this disruption would not have taken place so easily because the extended family would be called in to attend to the problems and attempt to find solutions in due course.

3.5.5 The focus on marriage

When Thuli discovers that she is pregnant, she decides to go back to the former Transkei area where her daughter is born out of wedlock. After four years, Thuli and Themba became reunited and got married and they both set up a home in Grahamstown. The marriage is a westernised type of marriage because their parents and family had no say
in it. Thuli is not subjected to the normal traditions of a daughter-in-law that are followed in the amaXhosa society (p.32) including ukuhlonipha and ukuhota.

As a young couple Themba and Thuli spend a lot of time happily together, even taking more care of each other than whilst they were students in Alice. Every man feels proud when looking at his partner, to the extent that he may not even notice the developments in the woman’s body. Thuli went for a pregnancy test and discovered that she is pregnant.

Upon coming home, Themba was already there and Thuli broke the news:

“Ingathi usapho lwethu luza kwanda kungekudala. Ndinzima.”
(p.38)

“It looks like there’ll be a new member in the family soon. I am pregnant!”

The house was filled with smiles, the couple is waiting for an heir and Themba finds himself on cloud nine, he could not hide his happiness and he hugged Thuli with all his love. A first child to be born in wedlock, as the first-born was born way before marriage. He was so happy and he says:


‘What? Am I going to have a baby boy? I once said that my father’s name shall not perish.

Modern people have modern choices, including knowing the early stages of pregnancy before the child is born by making use of modern technology, such as establishing the sex of the unborn child. It is Themba’s wish to see his own children enjoying more privileges than he does, as he lives a middle class life as a teacher.

This was their first child in wedlock and the fact that they are so excited about this, shows that they are still respecting and honouring the traditional values concerning marriage and
amaXhosa customs. This serves as further evidence of Themba and Thuli’s respect for the traditional marriage custom, although their marriage is officially a westernised one. Unfortunately, for Themba, Thuli gave birth to a girl and not a boy but Themba accepted it. After the birth of their second born baby girl, Jongilanga invited one of his neighbourhood men to see and anoint the baby. This tradition can be interpreted as *imbeleko (afterbirth)*. This is supposed to be the task of the biological parent to perform but in this case Jongilanga is the only close acquaintance at hand and he takes over all the duties as a father. As friend and a neighbour to this family, Jongilanga knew this family from its roots, as we find him saying:

> Unyana kaGwebani uyayazi intlupheko, njengoko ebazi ubutyebi. Uyazazi iindlela zabantu bakuthi uyazazi nezo zabantu abamhlophe. Usuka entsokolweni kodwa ngumfo onezinto zakhe namhlanje. (p.62)

Gwebani’s son knows poverty as much as he knows wealth. He knows our ways, he also knows the ways of the white man. He has a very humble background and yet he is such a progressive man (Mahala 2007: 68)

It was Themba and Thuli’s decision to get married one day, but this happened only after Themba had finished his degree and got a job as teacher at Sinethemba. They got married as they had agreed before Thuli got her first-born daughter Nozizwe and Themba confirmed his promise by saying:

> Ndandisandul’ukuqala ukufundisa kwisikolo saseSinethemba. Ndandikhulile ndingutitshala ogqibeleleyo. Ndasifekisa isithembiso sam, ndamtshata uThuli. (p.32)

This was when I started teaching at Sinethemba School. I had grown up and qualified as a teacher and now I fulfilled my promise, I married Thuli.
Having married they lived together and focused on their marriage. They carried on as if their family and their children had the best parents of their time. These incidents show that this couple lives a dual lifestyle, as they stand with one foot in the westernised lifestyle and the other one in the traditional culture. They have not fully turned their back on the traditional amaXhosa culture yet. For instance, they performed an *imbeleko* ceremony for their second born daughter under the supervision of Jongilanga, who was their only close family member on Themba’s side.

3.5.6 Marriage disintegrates

As mentioned above, Themba is a busy man within the society; Thuli too is busy taking care of her children and her professional work as a social worker. In this household, there is not sufficient time to spend on marriage capacity building, instead Thuli was gaining weight day by day and her husband started to compare her with other women that he met in his line of work (p.101). Themba gradually became attracted to these women. Thuli, as a working class woman, was also dedicated to her work, which means that she spent less time with her husband. Her busy work schedule meant that she had less time to spend with Themba.

Thuli was unaware that Themba was cheating on her. At one stage, as a counselling social work practitioner, she had to deal with a certain case involving a young schoolgirl called Nosipho. During her consultations with Nosipho, Thuli discovered that her husband has been in a relationship with the young girl. She also discovers that Nosipho suffers from HIV/AIDS. She had to face the reality and confronted her husband by saying the following to him:

“Okokuba walala okanye akuzange ulale naye ayisenamsebenzi ngoku. Into ephambili kukuba akusekho kuthembana phakathi kwethu’. (p.102)

“Whether you slept with her or not is not the issue now. The main concern is that there is no health risk between us.”
Themba felt guilty and lost control of the situation as Thuli demanded him to go for a HIV test. He denied everything and saw no need for the medical test as much as he tried to convince Thuli not to be influenced by outsiders and said:

‘Kufuneka umamele kum – ndim umyeni wakho, (p.102)
Kanti uza kukholelwa bani xa ungenakukholelwa umyeni wakho?’
‘You have to listen to me I am your husband. Who are you going to believe in if you do not believe in your husband?

Themba could feel that he is losing control over his marriage and that it could be terminated soon. Thuli, on the other hand, is taking control of the situation and does as she wishes this time because she has all the evidence she needs to have to convince herself on what to decide on. Thuli tells Themba:

“Uya kukhetha ke phakathi kovavanyo olo nokuhlala wedwa kule ndlu kuba mna ndiza kuhamba nabantwana bam”. (p.103)
“You will have to choose between that test and staying alone in this house because I am leaving with my children”.

The fact that Thuli decides to leave the house without any further ceremony clearly shows that this is a western type of marriage. If it had been a traditional Xhosa marriage, the extended family members would have been informed of the situation and a family meeting could be convened. Themba, realising that Thuli does not intend to make any compromises on her marriage situation, mumbles and says:

‘Yeyakho ke leyo’ (p.103)
‘That is your own baby to nurse’

Now, the author makes use of symbolism to depict the situation in a most effective manner. After Thuli left, Themba remained at home alone. One day he picked up a stray dog, he felt sorry for it and let it into his house. He began to feed and attend to it. The
dog was infested with lice, which may be regarded as a symbol of the disease that Themba might have contracted from Nosipho. Furthermore, when Themba found the dog, it was eating its young one as she was standing beside a dustbin. This is a sign of the abomination that Themba has committed by having sex with his daughter, Nosipho unknowingly. The narrator puts it like this:

“Xa ndiyijongisisa ndafumanisa ukuba ixhaphe igazi. Emlonyeni wayo kukho injana. Tyhini, yinja etheni le itya abantwana bayo ndiyazibuza ngaphakathi’ (p.132)

‘When taking a closer look at it I find that it is covered with blood. In its mouth there is a puppy. O my God! What kind of a dog that eats its own I asked to myself.”

When the dog eats its own young one, it becomes a metaphor of Themba having sex with his own child, his own blood relative, as revealed by Themba himself at Nosipho’s funeral (p.148). The stray dog has been around the streets of Sekunjalo, and nobody ever took a closer look at it to see what is actually bothering it, but today, Themba takes a closer look at it as it has become his only friend in the house. The fleas, with which the dog is infested, are a metaphor of the disease in Nosipho’s blood. The reader is informed that this is a bitch, which in human terms is a female, and the metaphor goes like this:

Isisu senja sinambuzela ziintakumba (p.135)

The dog’s tummy was covered by fleas

Thuli’s predicament that she finds herself in, is typical of females from all spheres of African life who suffer under the norms of a society, which is characterised by abuse. Quite fewer females are ever seen to live free of abuse. Some women accept it and abide by it, as it is the society that decides on the norms although they normally benefit men and prejudices women. Based on the above notion, Thuli is devastated and has lost all the trust and love for her husband. This clearly demonstrates that some modern working class women are faced with problems in their marriages, just like housewives. Modern
marriages often encounter problems within the society, which normally lead to extramarital sexual relationships and eventually to divorce.

The modern marriage in Thuli’s case becomes confronted with a serious challenge, which, from an African viewpoint, leaves one wondering if this could have happened if their marriage was a traditional one. There are those who believe that in the traditional marriage such a disintegrative state would have been addressed before it is reached through the intervention of the siblings, the extended family and marriage counsellors (oonozakuzaku).

3.5.7 Marriage and multiple relationships

Most men adhere to male-orientated traditional norms within amaXhosa society, which benefits them, like having other relationships outside the official marriage where married women would be expected to be submissive to, (Ndindwa, 2012:99). Themba imagines himself to be younger and stronger than his true age allows him to be. As time goes by, this imagination becomes stronger and increases his desires for younger women. Themba had intimate relationships with women in various areas of Sekunjalo as he was seen as irresistible and socially influential. He was regarded as a powerful figure in Sekunjalo. He broke all the hearts of the women that he came across. He was attracted to his woman colleagues with whom he used to be a university student with; as a principal, he abused the power of being a school head. As a sports master, his eyes troubled him as he admired the netball players who were scantily dressed. These matters will be dealt with in detail in the paragraphs below.

Themba’s actions confirm the daily reports that appear in the South African media concerning sexual abuse by males towards females. Mahala wishes to show that modern African marriages are often fragile and tend to disintegrate due to infidelity by one of the partners. Therefore, this confirms the view that acts such as these would not
often be found in a traditional marriage environment where control measures are in place to ensure the stability of the marriage.

3.5.8 Reconciliation

Women who are abused in marriage normally have hope for a better tomorrow but that is not always the case at the end. It is something very rare for male characters to do introspection and realise their mistakes in abusive relationships. Introspection and retrospection is the most difficult thing for these males, especially if it means that they have to beg for forgiveness. In this novel, the author portrays that it is a rare occurrence for a man to take the first step in trying to make peace in marriage. Below is an excerpt where a man abuses a woman and later he decides to be a changed man and admits to all the wrongdoings committed in the form of female abuse:

‘Thuli, ndilapha nje ndize kucela uxolo…
(p.152)
Thuli, I have come here to ask for forgiveness… Please forgive me for all that I did to you. It has been a while that they are troubling me. I was unable to keep the truth from coming out. Please forgive me Thuli.

It took courage for Themba to decide to go to Thuli and ask for forgiveness. The fact that he was able to go and face the community during Nosipho's funeral service, shows that he is a changed character, a man who now knows how to convert himself. Themba makes peace with Sikade, his old political enemy and now he makes peace with Thuli. He opens his heart and cleanses his conscience and now he knows that repenting is a positive step to take. The worst is over and now it is time for a fresh start. Themba assures Thuli that he is now ready for reconciliation by saying:
“Ndiza kwenza yonke into othe ufuna ndiyenza ukuze ubuyele ekhayeni lethu” (p.153)

“I will do everything in my power that you want me to do so that you come back to our home”.

The point that the author wants to make is that marriage partners can still be reunited in marriage if the offender is prepared to repent for all his/her wrongdoings. Themba also agrees to accede to all Thuli’s requests, which although not stated explicitly, includes an HIV/AIDS test. Thuli on her part was willing to forgive her husband for his wrongdoings, as she is ready to return home with her children and give Themba a second chance to be a good father and a husband (p.200).

As a married man, Themba’s actions earlier in the story lead to severe forms of discrimination against women and exploitation of some modern amaXhosa women. This cuts across different levels of womanhood, including elderly women such as Gladys, the exploitation of women of his own age such as Thandy as well as the exploitation of girls of a much younger age, such as Nosipho. Since this novel was published during the post-apartheid era, it shows that women are still being discriminated against in contemporary South Africa, and there has not been much improvement in their social status under the new dispensation. The title of the novel, ‘When a man cries’, indicates that there is a feeling of guilt that urges him to share his experiences with the rest of the community.

As mentioned above, Themba discriminated against Thuli by having several affairs with women in Sekunjalo. Thuli, however was not prepared to accept this conduct unconditionally, she would only allow Themba back in her home if he apologises, which he did. Thuli’s conduct therefore, is that of a modernized African woman who does not subject herself to male abuse or to the demands of a traditionalist society.
3.5.9 Themba’s involvement in extra-marital affairs

In this novel, the author wishes to illustrate that it is not only Thuli’s rights which are abused as a married woman, but that there are also various other women who suffer under male abuse at different levels of society. The fact that these events take place within a modern environment which is free from most forms of traditional taboos and malpractices, does not indemnify African women from sexual abuse as well as other forms of abuse by African male persons.

In this section, the extent of Themba’s involvement in extra-marital affairs will be discussed. This matter has an important influence on his marriage and therefore needs to be addressed in detail.

3.5.9.1 Involvement with older women

As mentioned above in paragraph 3.5.2, when Themba moved to Grahamstown, he got involved with Gladys who is his uncle’s widow who later was sent to jail to serve a life sentence. He found himself drunk and found himself naked in Gladys' bed (p.14). Thuli was not in Grahamstown at this stage and therefore she was quite unaware of Themba’s sexual relationship with Gladys, but she would have been upset. Through this relationship with an older woman, Nosipho was born (p.124-125). The outcome of this sexual involvement was that Gladys was disadvantaged because she had an unwanted pregnancy. Nosipho was also disadvantaged because she grew up without her biological parents and her grandmother had to look after her. Therefore, Gladys and Themba’s irresponsible act led to a situation whereby two females are seriously disadvantaged.

3.5.9.2 Involvement with young women/girls

As a married man, Themba did not hesitate to become involved with younger women as he was a sports master who liked to coach netball. As a sports master, Themba liked to go to netball matches where he enjoyed seeing these young girls in short skirts. Nosipho
was one of his victims in netball. The girls became aware of this and eventually became afraid of him at school. One day, Themba called one of the young girls because he wanted to send her somewhere. However, the girl was hesitant to approach him. The author describes this incident as follows:

“Ewe, titshala!” Wasabela kodwa ethe qelele ngokungathi wowika inja eyaziwa ngokulum (p.107)

“Yes, teacher!” She responded though she was distant as if she is scared of a dog that is known to bite

These irresponsible actions of Themba meant that young girls became suspicious towards men. This could have a serious effect upon the relationships with members of the opposite sex later in their lives. As mentioned above, Themba used to go to netball matches as he liked to see the girls in their semi-dressed sports attire.

As mentioned above, one of the girls who drew Themba’s attention at the netball matches because of her physical beauty was Nosipho. One day Nosipho visited Themba’s office to lay a complaint regarding sexual assault by one of the family members at her home. Themba immediately recognised her as the girl who had drawn his attention at the netball match. He saw this as an opportunity to take sexual advantage of her. He requested Nosipho to go and buy something for him and to bring it to his house after school hours. When Nosipho arrived at Themba’s house, he had sex with her. This shows that Themba did not hesitate to have sex with women outside marriage, even with a minor. Nosipho was extremely disturbed by this act, and eventually she had to be taken for counselling that was performed by a social worker. This social worker proved to be Themba’s wife, Thuli. Thuli was extremely upset when she realised what her husband had done and she decided to confront Themba and eventually she decided to leave him.

3.5.9.3 Involvement with women in the workplace

The involvement with women in the workplace often develops into nepotism where people are employed according to the taste of the employer. In Themba’s school, he is
romantically involved with two lady-colleagues at the same time, the lady-teachers become involved in serious conflict amongst themselves and eventually the school principal had to intervene, (p.23).

Thandi is a young lady-teacher who is victimised by Themba and he exploits her as she wishes to apply for a post in his school (p.84). Thandi was so desperate for the teaching post and Themba regards this as his opportunity to remind her of their days at Fort Hare where Themba wanted to have Thandi as a secret girlfriend. Whilst he was in a relationship with Thuli, as a married man, Themba again did not hesitate to become romantically involved with women in the workplace. Themba promises to employ Thandi if she is prepared to have sex with him. He puts it like this:

“Ndiyamthanda umntu olandela msinya njengawe” ndatsho ngenjongo yokudlulisa omnye umyalezo ukulungiselela amangomso. (p.90)

“I like an understanding person like yourself” I said so with an intention to convey another message for the future

Themba’s promiscuity has a disruptive effect on the proper functioning of the school and creates many problems for his female colleagues in the school.

3.5.9.4 Involvement with women in local government

As a married man, Themba did not hesitate to enter into sexual relationships in local government. As a municipal councillor, Themba occupied a position of status in the society, which meant that women were willing to throw themselves to him. One of these women is Dolly, an attractive young woman who was a secretary to the municipal manager. She was also romantically involved with the municipal manager but as a new employee at the local municipal offices she soon becomes one of Themba’s sexual
victims. Themba even offers to pay rent for Dolly, as money was not a problem for him, in exchange for sexual favours. This money could be used to support his family and was not meant to be spent on leisure and girlfriends (p.80).

3.5.10 Final analysis of the depiction of marriage in ‘Yakhal’indoda’ (2010)

Mahala shows that Themba is in a modern marriage and not a traditional one. However, although it is a modern one, there are still elements of traditionalism that are present. Modern marriages are also subject to problems but these challenges can be resolved if there is willingness on both sides to repent and to save the marriage. This marriage took place during the modern post-apartheid era and that shows us that the partners can solve their problems in marriage without the intervention of the family in the traditional environment.

3.6 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to identify the role and status of married women, as depicted in isiXhosa prose. This study focused on the role of women as portrayed in three narrative works as well as on the general function women in amaXhosa society.

In this chapter, three novels were analysed, two of which were written during the apartheid era and the third novel was written during the post-apartheid South African era. The aim of the investigation was to determine whether the transition to the post-apartheid era has brought any transformation regarding marriage practices amongst amaXhosa. The first novel that was analysed here is ‘Ingqumbo yeminyanya’ (Jordan) which was written during the 1930s and published in the 1940s. The events depicted in this novel can be described as a fusion between the western and traditional customs, beliefs and social norms within the context of a patriarchal society.
The author portrays Zwelinzima as a ridgid character who is unwilling to enter into a second marriage with a girl whom he hardly knew. If the Chief had agreed with counsellors and if he had obeyed the wish of his late father, then it would have been tantamount to the practising of polygamy, which he does not support. His uncle Dingindawo pretended that he supports him in marrying Thembeka, who is a woman of his first choice. In the end Zwelinzima’s rigidness and unwillingness to adapt, causes matters to end in a catastrophe that leads not only to his own death but also to the death of his wife and his infant son. The author wishes to emphasize that African customs and traditions can be practised for decades and for centuries but that, they have to be revised and adapted as time passes by. However, the author also wishes to point out that modernisation should not be rushed but it should be implemented gradually.

The critical analysis of “Ingqumbo yeminyanya” (2008) in this chapter has shown that Jordan has presented more than one perspective on the role of women in amaXhosa society within the context of marriage. Jordan firstly presents the modernistic perspective of women in marriage of amaXhosa society whereby it is shown how a woman decides to exercise her own choice with regard to the selection of marriage partner. Zwelinzima never expresses himself explicitly in favour of the western form of a marriage but his actions and decisions clearly show what his preferences are. Thembeka is portrayed as a woman who did not abide with amaMpondomise customs and traditions, as she grew up as a commoner and went to missionary schools. Even in her thoughts, she was orientated towards western society. The amaMpondomise society expected from Thembeka that she should change and accept the traditional norms and practices. Thembeka however, was not prepared to do this and she clung to her western conditions. In the end, this is what led to her demise and it led to her mental instability as well as to her death through suicide after murdering her infant son.

In ‘Ingqumbo yeminyanya’ (2008), the author presents a modernistic perspective of the role of women in marriage in amaXhosa society whereby it is shown how a woman decides to exercise her own choice when it comes to the selection of a marriage partner. This conduct is looked and even frowned upon as something, which is very strange in
amaXhosa society. In the current, 21st century environment, the conduct of women such as Thembeka however, is well supported by section 30-31 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which provides for the rights of individuals to participate in the cultural life of choice and freedom to engage in cultural practices of their own choice.

The author of this novel is of the view that traditional norms must always be preserved even if it means the discrimination against people’s rights e.g. women in this case. He believes that traditions and customs are such strands in life that have to be given a way better consideration. If one side-linesthe such traditional norms, there are serious consequences that follow and may lead to possible death. Concisely, if one turns a blind eye and frowns on his/her customs and traditions the ancestors will make him/her suffer for the rest of his/her life. The author supports the view of movement from traditionalism to modernism but this must be done on a gradual basis, if it is done too fast, the society will revert and fall back to the classical form of traditionalism. Therefore, there is a need for compromise. Zwelinzima and Thembeka were not prepared to make any compromises and that led to their downfall.

The second novel that was analysed here is ‘Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko’ (Jongilanga, 1982). This novel depicts a young woman by the name of Zoleka Funca who is the first-born of Zenzile Funca and Kholiwe and who lives in a rural area called Pirie near King William’s town. The author describes Zoleka as an introvert and she has a school boyfriend whom she met in Healdtown by the name of Zet Sonqishe whom she loves dearly. Zoleka’s father Zenzile wants his daughter to be married to a young man called Zolile but Zoleka is strongly against this wish of her father. In the end, Zoleka finds herself in a forced marriage situation with a husband whom she does not know and whom she does not love and whom he decides never to accept. These events culminate in a tragic situation where Zoleka is physically assaulted by her father and where Zoleka decides to murder her husband Zolile in order to terminate the marriage.
Jongilanga wishes to emphasise the fact that the customary traditional marriage practice did not suit Zoleka, as she preferred to get an education and to be married to her lover, a man by the name of Zet. But nevertheless, he still remains loyal to amaXhosa tradition, which involves the custom of forced marriage. To a greater or lesser extent, the author wishes to illustrate how this practice of forced marriage can end up in tragedy and in the unnecessary spilling of blood.

The third novel that was discussed in this chapter is ‘Yakhal’indoda’ (Mahala) that was written during the post-apartheid era in South Africa. In this novel, it is shown how a young couple moves from the rural areas to an urban area. This relocation was made possible by the fact that the pass-laws have been abolished and therefore, African people now have freedom of movement in their land of birth. Themba moves into the urban area of Grahamstown from a farming environment near Grahamstown. Thuli moves to Grahamstown from a rural area in the former Transkei. When this couple unite in Grahamstown, they decide to get married in accordance with western norms and practices and not in accordance with traditional marriage conventions. Therefore, there is no sign of forced marriage in the life of this young couple. Whilst this marriage is a western one, this young couple still shows respect for the traditional values and amaXhosa customs. This is evidenced by the fact that they perform a traditional marriage custom during the time of the birth of their second born.

In this novel, the author wishes to illustrate that although this is a western type marriage, it is not without its challenges. Themba becomes involved in various extra-marital relationships with other women and even with pupils. His actions place a severe strain on the relationship between himself and Thuli, his wife. The situation becomes so bad that Thuli deserts Themba and she only returns back home after a long absence. In the end however, Thuli and Themba become reconciled and their marriage is placed on a firm footing once again. In this novel, the author wishes to illustrate and point out that western style marriages are not without their challenges and problems but it is possible for the marriage to survive if the role-players are prepared to work hard in order to become reconciled.
In this chapter, two novels were analysed that were written in the pre-1994 era where the practice of forced marriage was a prevalent theme. Both authors namely, Jongilanga and Jordan point out how the practice of forced marriage can end in tragedy and disaster. In both of these novels, the human rights of amaXhosa females are grossly disregarded. However, in spite of this, they still show support to a greater/lesser extent for traditional marriage practices, which in essence are discriminatory against women. This work also illustrates tragedy that occurs in this novel to disobedience that is shown by children towards their parents.

The third novel that was analysed here depicts conditions in the new South Africa where there is greater emphasis on human rights and in particular, on the rights of partners to choose their own way of life without interference of any outside parties or third parties. The author wishes to also show, that although these modern marriages are not without their problems, it is possible for these marriages to survive and for the couples to live a successful life.

Hoza (2009) is of view that the presence of gender imbalances in South African society continues to hamper women’s development and to feed on modern stereotypes despite the progressive developments and establishment of a modern democratic constitution. On this note, Mntanga (2008) concludes that marriage depends on the interest of its substantial contribution to women’s satisfaction. If the marriage is constraining and meaningless, it is the wife’s right and even duty to get out of it. Marriage should serve ‘one’s self’. Kula (2007:51) writes and concludes that marriage is based on love and not on whom; his view is that marriage is sentimentally based and says the heart leads the way. Love is not about wealth but it is a solidified agreement between two people who love each other.

Yekela (1989:23) finds marriage as something that is not necessary these days as females now have the right to own property. Marriage is something that makes no sense to the youth as the author puts it as follows:
This confirms that today’s youth is at liberty to live the way they want to and as their credit allows them to do. They have the right to financial loans and a right to own property, which means that they can live unmarried as long as they feel comfortable with that, *vat en sit*, is their motto until the time is ripe for marriage.

Tom (2005:4) finds it best if the family and the society allow it to be the decision of the partners to get married and the parents get the satisfaction of extending their blessings over the couple. Satyo (2001:307) argues that women are not submissive despite male dominance of some sort or another; women are in most cases in control of themselves and their worlds. AmaXhosa women are very strong and they are prepared to stand up and fight for their rights.

Mtuze (1998:150) asserts that amaXhosa women are no doubt aware of their restrictions under patriarchy; they are extremely accommodating and so big-hearted that they tolerate inequities, and concludes by saying the following:

The woman must take part in everything, even our coming government. In addition, the women must organize and march forward to fight for what they want. The women took part in everything during the struggle. They were there during the going to jail; they were there during everything, the women, so they must really be in the government themselves. Our men are not so selfish that they will refuse.
Therefore in the post-1994 era, there seems to be greater sensitivity towards the practice of forced marriage and the authors are looking at the alternatives of the marriage customs that are based on the recognition of women rights and then ensure the dignity and individual status of amaXhosa women.
CHAPTER 4

THE DEPICTION OF CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE AS A THEME
IN ISIXHOSA DRAMA TEXTS BEFORE AND AFTER 1994

4.1. Background to the study
4.1.1 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the role and status of women in isiXhosa prose texts. This chapter aims at portraying the theme of traditional marriage in the colonial era and after the liberation of South Africa in 1994 in isiXhosa drama texts. For the purpose of this study, a selection of two drama texts was made for the purpose of comparative analysis. One was written before 1994 and the other after this date. In addition to the latter, there is a third text that will be analysed here. This text deals with the portrayal of African traditionalists in a patriarchal society in Zimbabwe where forced marriages are also in existence. This text will be analysed here for the purpose of comparative analysis.

This chapter consists of various sections, firstly, the aim of the chapter will be presented and the methodology that will be used will be explained. This will be followed by a theoretical discussion of the specific features of the drama. Thereafter, the drama texts that have been selected for this study will be analysed in order to determine the manner in which the marriage custom has been portrayed in each of these texts.

4.1.2 Aim of this chapter

The aim of this chapter is to depict marriage as a theme in drama texts before and after the 1994 era. Since it is not possible, for practical reasons, to analyse many texts, only two texts will be critically analysed here. The texts to be analysed are “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982) and “UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva, 2006). “Love on the rocks” (Sesinyi: 2005) will also be analysed for comparative purposes. Through the study of these texts, the rights of various women characters in these texts will be studied to determine whether
they are being treated satisfactorily by their male companions or whether their rights are being prejudiced. These human rights will be analysed in these texts to determine whether they are still in practice after the 1994 era. The analysis of these texts will be undertaken in accordance with the literary criteria that will be formulated in the sections that follow.

4.1.3 Methodology to be used

The method to be used by the researcher to present the study is to introduce the features of drama including its structure and later to analyse marriage as a traditional custom in patriarchal society where men are leaders in the society. The main theme that is carried out in this study is contracted from ‘UNongxokozelo’ and ‘UDike noCikizwa’. The researcher makes a selection of drama texts that will be vital for the study since not many drama texts will be used to do so. Only two drama texts will be used, one of them was a publication way before 1994 era and the other one was published after the post-colonial era of South Africa. It is out of the two texts that the analysis of time is taken care of with an intent to see if the customs and traditional marriage practices are still in use and to determine whether basic human rights are being recognised. The analysis of these texts will be undertaken in accordance with the literary criteria that will be formulated in the sections that follow.

4.2 The origins of the drama

Duka (2010:44) defines drama as a unique, serious, intense, well plotted series of events which is designed to be acted out on a stage before an audience through a story of human conflict told through a series of related events. The word 'drama' has been derived from the Greek word ‘dran’ meaning ‘to act’ or ‘to do’. Blacker (1986:34) looks at the drama and says, “Drama is not life, but an imitation of life; an imitation not of men as such, but of action and life, of happiness and misery, not as states of being but as forms of activity.
Men are good, bad, happy, or sad in the things they do, or as in Hamlet’s case, are unable to do."

Sirayi (1993:46) looks at drama as having specific social and psychological goals that are of great importance to the African society. It is this literary tradition that Xhosa drama originated from. It is further argued that for every drama that is composed, there must be a plot, audience, theme, stagecraft and characters. These elements of the drama will be discussed in greater detail in the paragraphs below.

In seventeenth and eighteenth century theatre, European dramas were performed in rooms beautifully decorated, with many lit candles, so that plays could be performed at night as well. For the first time, women were allowed to perform female roles. (Kirszner & Mandell, 2007:1283). Centuries after the demise of the classical empires, the Elizabethan theatre in England was still influenced by the Greek and Roman drama tradition.

Western drama originated in Greece many centuries ago. Over the years, three sub-genres emerged. They are tragedy, comedy and satire. Tragedies presented the more serious themes. The Greek drama developed out of religious rites performed to honour gods or to mark the coming of spring (Kirszner & Mandell, 2007:1277). These dramas were often accompanied by music, dance, and verse, whilst making use of architectural and technical innovations. Interestingly, male actors were used initially to perform female roles (Kirszner & Mandell, 2007:1278).

The earliest types of drama that are found are the tragedy and the comedy. Kennedy (1991:97) describes a tragedy as "a play that portrays a conflict between human beings and some superior, overwhelming forms. It ends sorrowfully and disastrously and this outcome seems inevitable".

The western drama begins in Greek civilisation, where tragedies as well as comedies were staged during festivals. During the medieval centuries a new form of drama
originated in Europe that was based on biblical events. The history of the bible was dramatised in order to communicate a particular moral principle. The drama continued to develop during the renaissance period in Europe, up to the nineteenth century when it became dominated by the depiction of realism rather than romanticism (Cloete, 1992: 82).

During the course of the twentieth century, a number of drama types or sub-genres have developed. Saule (1988:3) provides the following insight in this regard:

Imidlalo iziintlobo ngeentlobo. Kukho eyokulinganiswa eqongeni, eyemiboniso bhanyabhanya, ekamabonakude neyeradio. Eyona iqheleke kakhulu yile yeqonga kuba kwasekusekekeni kobomi, neqonga lasekeka ngokunjalo
There are different types of drama. They are theatre, film, TV and radio drama. The most common is theatre as it was created with the creation of the universe.

Saule (1988:7) continues by saying:

Imidlalo yonke iyafana, yahluke ngeemfuno zelo jelo ubhalela lona.
Kumdlalo weqonga kufuneka waneze ezeqonga iimfuno…
Plays are similar. The difference is in the required standards of that type of drama. In theatre, one is expected to fulfil its requirements….

Originally, African drama was not fully recognized by European critics since there were rituals and rites that were performed. Sirayi (1993:18) quotes Dlomo by saying; “Dlomo writes about traditional African drama as what he calls ‘African tribal drama’. Tribal drama was accompanied by dancing and singing. The dances were rhythmic and expressive, the songs emotional and devotional. This was drama in its simple not classical or literary form. In African tribal drama, the actor was an “author”, “producer” and “performer” at the same time. Drama is a social art. Drama is the reconstruction, recreation and reproduction of the great experiences of people.” Sirayi (1993) continues by saying; “…. African drama
is a combination of narratives, tales, songs, dances, poetry, rituals and so on, which are performed before a gathering."

It has been illustrated that drama is one of the ancient, oldest and most established literary genres. It is therefore believed that African drama is to be associated primarily with African culture; its features and characteristics have already been identified and described by various scholars over the years. After most countries gained independence, factors arose that were influential to writers. These factors included the depiction of oppression, colonialism, racial conflict and segregation and these produced the themes mostly used by African writers. Jeyifo (2002:9), for instance, says: “…colonial domination remains a central dimension of modern African drama…”

Sirayi (1993:15) describes Xhosa drama as follows: “Xhosa drama in particular does not have all the features of drama as demanded by a strictly European definition of drama” while Jafta (1978:3) sees drama as imitation. Duka (2010:44) further says when one is looking at drama in action; the audience uses the mind and mental image in order to understand the act. In the meantime, Mkonto (1984:5) comments as follows on the origins of Xhosa drama: “Today the indigenous African oral forms are referred to as the traditional literature, the unwritten lore of the nation”. It is further implied that for every drama that is composed, there must be a Plot, Audience, Theme, Stagecraft, and Characters.

As “literature in action,” the stage drama brings a story to life before the eyes of the audience. Unlike most works of fiction that rely heavily on narration, the story of a play or drama is told through dialogue and action and it is integrated with the setting that the audience observes largely from scenery and props. Knowing about these elements can help one appreciate and discuss plays that can be seen and read in drama texts (Mbatsha, 2012:59).
4.3 The features of the drama
4.3.1 Elements of the drama

Ancient Greek drama contained structural divisions and these gradually evolved into a five-part structure in drama. By the 16th century, Five Act plays were the order of the day with any number of scenes in each act. A traditional play thus came to be a five-act play namely, exposition or introduction, character, plot, setting, theme, rising action, climax, falling action and denouement or conclusion (Duka 2001: 59). The various aspects of drama will now be discussed in the paragraphs below.

4.3.1.1 Character

Characters who are actors are various persons who act in a dramatic or comic production and work in film, television, theatre or radio in that capacity. The ancient Greek word for an actor (hypokrites) means literally "one who interprets"; in this sense, an actor is one who interprets a dramatic character. Characters do the act in the form of a dialogue (Duka, 2010:48).

Dialogue is a literary and theatrical form consisting of a written or spoken conversational exchange between two or more ("dia" means through or across) people. The words uttered by characters in a play form a dialogue. The dialogue reveals the plot and characters of the play. What is spoken must be suitable to the situation and the role of the character (Duka 2010: 56).

Things that are said on stage may take on greater worth or typical qualities than the same things said in everyday speech. Good dramatic speech involves a proper construction of words spoken in the appropriate context. It also involves saying what is not uninviting or what is obvious straight away. Good dialogue sheds light on the character speaking and the one spoken about, and aids in furthering the plot through an exchange between two or more characters and may take various forms. The dialogue reflects the theme. Duka (2010: 56) considers a theme as the soul of the drama if the plot were to be thought of as
the body. The same plots have been and will be, used many times; it is the theme’s treatment that supplies each effort with originality or artistic worth.

Most simply a character is one of the persons who appears in a play. In another sense of the term, the treatment of the character is the basic part of the playwrights’ work. Conventions of the time and the author’s personal vision will affect the treatment of a character. Most plays contain major characters and minor characters, protagonists and antagonists. The characters do their conversation on the stage.

4.3.1.2 Plot

The plot is composed of events that occur in a story sequentially. Normally the introduction of the characters at the beginning of the play gives the audience an idea about what the plot may be about (Duka, 2001: 45). This information will enlighten the audience as to why characters behave the way they do, and an incident may be expected to surface in the play, which will create a challenge for the main characters. As the action heightens, the characters encounter the problem and find themselves in trouble. The type of conflict in a plot may vary from one drama to the other but it forms the basis for the plot. The conflict leads the characters from one incident to another, unfolding the plot and increasing the suspense and excitement of the reader or viewer (Duka, 2001: 45).

The turning point of the plot is called the climax and that is when the outcome of the conflict takes place. The climax takes on several forms. It may for instance be a revelation of information or it may be a decision or an action. It is the point where suspense no longer exists. The plot is crucial for the success of a play.

4.3.1.3 Setting

The setting and time in a play tell us where the story happened and the time it occurred. The setting is very important because what usually happens in the play is influenced by
it. Visual components of a setting on the stage may be limited to, for example, a painted tree, a bridge, or a hut, or it could be more elaborative.

In the setting, the lighting plays an important role, for it shows an illusion of the time, like the time of the night i.e. ebosuku. Lighting may also be used to put the focus on an action or stress the importance of an event. According to Duka (2001: 60) costumes too are involved in the setting and are used to portray a character’s profession, status, ethnicity, age and so on. These can be simple writing materials like blankets, beds and so forth. Duka (2001:59) states that the effect created by the setting provides the mood for a theatrical spectacle. An audience is prompted to react by the movements or positions of the actors in a play. It can build up tension, trigger laughter, or shift the focus of the audience to a different part of the stage.

Duka (2001: 56) says in order to achieve this purpose, the writer communicates with the actors, directors, and the rest of the crew in the play by means of stage directions. He does this by means of short phrases, usually printed in italics and enclosed in parentheses or brackets. These directions describe the appearance and actions of characters as well as the sets, costumes, props, sound effects, and lighting effects. Stage directions may also include the characters’ body language, facial expressions, and even the tone of voice. Comments or remarks about the surroundings and when a character enters or exits are also made in stage directions. Thus, stage directions help members of the audience to understand the feelings of the character and the mood of the story.

Stagecraft refers to the surroundings and various props needed to promote the atmospheric effect of the drama. The stage creates its effects only partially because of, definite physical limitations. It is not possible for instance to depict a natural disaster such as floods realistically. The setting and action also tends to be suggestive rather than panoramic or colossal.
4.3.1.4 Theme

The theme which is distinguished in “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1958), is the love theme. It actually tells what the play means. Rather than merely stating what happens in the story, the theme deals with the main idea within the story. A theme has been described as the soul of the drama. Either the theme can be clearly stated through dialogue or action or it can be inferred from the entire performance (Duka, 2001:98).

Ngcelwane (1993:116) identifies different themes that are found within the modern Xhosa drama tradition. One of these is the historical drama. She says the following;

Kwimidlalo yezembali yesiXhosa siphawula ukuba kukho unxulumano phakathi kwenyaniso nomqwebo.
In isiXhosa historical stage plays, it is noticeable that there is a relationship between truth and fairy tales.

Plot and theme in drama should complement each other and should be synchronized to give a complete output.

4.3.2 Structural elements
4.3.2.1 Exposition

Exposition refers to the introduction of the play which provides important background information about the characters, setting, and the conflict they face or are about to face. It also may reveal an incident in a character’s past that has a bearing on the plot. The exposition leads the audience to follow through the unfolding of the story (Duka, 2010:61).
4.3.2.2 Rising action

Rising action is the second characteristic in the structure of a drama. The issue that is the cause of the conflict is identified. The parties that are involved in the conflict are also identified. The plot moves forward with further twists and complications in the conflict and reveals the presence of sub-plots in some dramas. The actions lead the audience toward high intensity, anticipation, and suspense (Duka, 2010:65).

4.3.2.3 Climax

Climax is the highest point of dramatic intensity and it represents the most intense moment in the plot. The questions and mysteries are unravelled at this point. It is a turning point in the play for the protagonist where things from then on will either turn out better or worse for him/her depending on the kind of play it is. Sandi (1993:106) for instance, describes the climax as “ummandla kazigqibo”

4.3.2.4 Falling Action

Falling action is the part where conflicts are more or less resolved and the play moves on to its end. In this chapter it will be illustrated how in “UNongxokozelo,” (Mkiva, 2006) concludes the content of his work by placing the focus on the habits of indiscriminate killing and physical abuse of women, which eventually triggers a full-scale war.

4.4 Brief summary of the selected Drama texts

As “literature in action,” the stage drama brings a story to life before the eyes of the audience. Unlike most works of fiction that rely heavily on narration, the story of a play or drama is told through dialogue and action and is integrated with the setting that the audience observes largely from scenery and props. Traditionally, drama is performed on stage before an audience, but nowadays, it can refer to a television show, a movie,
Broadway show, etc. therefore drama is an interactive act that is performed by actors live on the stage or in a book, (Duka:2010:54)

The following is a list of the selected isiXhosa drama texts chosen by the researcher for the purpose of this research:

- “UDike noCikizwa”: A M Mmango (1982)
- “UNongxokozelo” A K Mkiva (2005)

Each of these publications will now be introduced briefly in the paragraphs below.

4.4.1 “UDike noCikizwa” (A M Mmango, 1982)

“UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982) was published by Educum, it is a drama written about the African traditions and the changing times and how to accept change in traditions within the society. The aim of the author in writing this book is to show that women are capable of fighting for their rights.

The book is divided into six scenes and each scene has a small introductory line, which gives an insight of what is going to happen in the particular scene. The content consists of 85 pages. The book was published in 1982 by Bona press, which puts it in the same category as other classics like “Buzani kubawo” (Tamsanqa, 1958) where a similar theme is depicted. Mmango is one of the prominent isiXhosa authors; this proves his versatility as an author as well as his in-depth knowledge of isiXhosa culture.

In the introduction, the author mentions that life and times change rapidly so it is the duty of the people to think out of the box in order to maintain the changes.

In this drama, there is a young man by the name of Dike who is a teacher at Bhalasi, he has a romantic relationship with Cikizwa. Cikizwa is a well-known dressmaker at Mhlabamnyama. Her father is Sando whose wife is Nojoyini who is Cikizwa’s mother. Cikizwa is so bitter about her father’ proposal that she has to marry Mjongwa who is a local agriculturist.
The tension arises in when Cikizwa is forced to marry Mjongwa by her father, Sando. She becomes chronically sick until Sando discovers Cikizwa’s letter from Dike and he in turn writes back to Dike pretending to be Cikizwa. Dike and Sando meet on Dike’s way from town and Sando kills Dike. On the day of the wedding, the police came to arrest Sando for Dike’s suspected murder and upon his refusal to be cuffed he shoots and kills Mjongwa inside the church where the wedding was held.

4.4.2 “UNongxokozelo” (2006)

“UNongxokozelo” (2006) is about the social life, traditions and culture of Africans. In the introduction, the author clearly states that for no apparent reason there are no books written about this royal abusive story. The drama was published by Vivlia publishers, 2006, which places it in the same category as other dramas that were published in the new millennium. The importance of this drama is that it was published in the democratic period of South Africa and it will be interesting to establish whether the basic rights of amaXhosa women have undergone any significant improvement during this period. The book has 157 pages, and it is divided into four sections.

“UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva, 2006) is a drama about the chieftain-hood and the fellowship between the tribes of abaThembu in Idutywa and the Gcaleka tribe under the rule of chief Sarhili who is so much revered and honoured. The son of the royal Thembu’s by the name of Ngangelizwe was ordained as the chief of abaThembu and got married to a daughter of Sarhili the King of amaGcaleka. When Chief Ngangelizwe’s wife needed a hand to assist her with the children, she went back to her home to seek a lass who was from their neighbourhood. The conflict started when this girl (assistant) had a love affair and brought her lover to the royal home as he was also from the same village as Ngangelizwe. The Chief began to insult the girl and this did not end there, and he severely beat the girl until his wife by the name of Novili intervened. That did not stop him but instead he also beat Novili until he broke her leg. Things do not end there, one day Ngangelizwe beat Nongxokozelo to death and buried her without telling Sarhili. These events give rise to a war that is named after Nongxokozelo.
4.5 The depiction of customary marriage in the selected drama texts

This discussion will be sub-divided in the following sections namely, the depiction of customary marriage in “UDike noCikizwa” (1982), the depiction of customary marriage in “UNongxokozelo” (2006) and the depiction of marriage in a broader African context as portrayed in “Love on the rocks” (1981). Each publication will now be dealt with individually in the paragraphs below.

4.5.1 The depiction of customary marriage in “UDike noCikizwa” (1982)

Arranged marriage is one of the social aspects that clearly explains the status of women in literature written by male writers. These texts depict some male writers as discriminators against female characters. They use this custom to validate their arguments that marriage in African communities is an arranged undertaking and that females should accept this custom and stop playing the victim.

In some literary texts, a marriage is considered to have been arranged because these matches are with someone other than those who were supposed to be their future spouses. Ebel (1982:86) sees the patriarchal system, as it is commonly found in literary works written by men, as a system where female characters are regarded as merely peripheral. In this context, females are under the authority of their fathers or guardians, and later that of their husbands when they get married.

In isiXhosa texts such as the one selected here, female characters often marry spouses chosen for them by third parties, such as the father of the girl involved, or relatives of the prospective couple. There are little differences across the different African cultures regarding the extent to which the prospective bride herself has any say in the person she
will marry. In the isiXhosa selected texts female characters’ sentiments are not taken into consideration when these arranged marriages are planned. The key to this chapter is to show the manifestation of female characters as cultural victims who are oppressed through marital institutions in those literary works written by males. An example of this female plight can be drawn from the selected isiXhosa drama texts. Reference is also made to other isiXhosa drama works to unveil that it is not only specific individual male dramatists who have made a negative portrayal of the female character.

In “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982) the enslaving practice of arranged marriages in amaXhosa culture is questioned by some of the family members like Nomatiletile when she addresses her brother Sando who is the father of Cikizwa in a heated argument. Like most other female characters, Nomatiletile is angry about the brutality and the spiritual and emotional abuse that is directed at her brother’s daughter, Cikizwa.

In the argument below, Cikizwa’s mother Nojoyini, Nomatiletile and Nomazala are having a conversation about Cikizwa’s bad health ever since she was informed about getting married to Mjongwa. Nomatiletile sees that Cikizwa is unhappy about getting married and she tells Nomatiletile that it is only conscience that makes her to loose so much weight. Nomatiletile gets to know the reason behind her concern about Cikizwa who does not want to marry Mjongwa.

These three women do not see eye to eye concerning freedom and rights of women as according to Nomatiletile Cikizwa should have freedom of choice about her future, especially on marriage issues. Nomatiletile puts it like this:


Nomatiletile: *(furiously)* Understand Nomazala. As time passes by there is a desire for liberty.
In this scene, Nomatiletile furiously confronts her brother (Sando) about Cikizwa’s forced marriage. Their argument develops as follows:

Nomatiletile: Hi Sando! Kodwa uayiqonda le nto uyanzayo?
Nomatiletile: Hi Sando! Do you see what you are doing?
Sando: Yiphi?
Sando: Which one?
Nomatiletile: Le yokwendisela umntwana emzini engafuni?
Nomatiletile: That of forcing a child into an unwanted marriage?
Sando: Engafuni? Xa esazi ntoni ke yena?
Sando: Does she not want it? While she knows what?
Nomatiletile: Uyazi ke ukuba nanku engafuni.
Nomatiletile: Well, she knows, because she does not want to. (p.6)

The above quotation questions the cultural practice constructed by traditional patriarchs where female characters are treated as sub-human beings, persons who are not allowed to have an opinion. Gilman (1986:199) sees this victimization of females as being associated with the idea that males and females go through life as members of different sexes. This kind of attitude demonstrates that female characters are represented as lacking in intelligence, and being continually objectified and brutalized in their communities.

Showalter (1985:150) strongly believes that such cultural victimization of females in male writings projects the image of the societal mind-set and, as time goes by, it becomes very difficult to be changed. Male writers usually shape their female characters to serve a
specific purpose. This is in line with the unfair gender practices that one comes across, particularly with male writers, as can be seen in “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982). It seems as if Cikizwa is a slave who is not allowed to say what she does not like. Marshall, in Jarrett-Macauley, (1966:10) says, “Since slavery, the stereotyping of females, as being sexually denigrated, has been instrumental to their subordination”. Cikizwa becomes subordinated to her father's cultural views. Nomatiletile, who is Cikizwa's aunt, realises that this marriage is forced by Sando with an intent to gain commercial interest for himself; she then attacks her brother and further confronts him on his action of taking away Cikizwa’s freedom of choosing what she wants to do by saying:

Nomatiletile: Umenza ikhoboka xa ungvumeliyo ukuba acinge, aqiqe, aqonde njengokuba esitsho.(p.6)

Nomatiletile: You oppress her if you deny her to think; comprehend and understand as she claims.

The above phrase shows that Cikizwa is treated as a slave, because she is not allowed to make her own choices or decisions, even give a thought, or offer advice on her own arranged marriage. What is expected from her is to accept that she is not permitted to make any suggestions or choices. According to Saller (1994:59), females are not allowed to influence their father's decision on the issue of marriage. This gives the upper hand to men to negotiate their marriages without consulting the woman involved. The prospective husband, in some cases, often plays along and works together with the father since they know each other well. His feelings are taken into account when the match is being made, contrary to the case of the female.

In this drama, Cikizwa is involved in a romantic relationship with Dike but in spite of that, she is instructed to marry a young man by the name of Mjongwa. The author portrays him as a good young man who listens to his adults’ advice, while Cikizwa is portrayed as a female character who does not obey her parents. Aubrey (1991:49) observes the
traditional stereotypes of arranged marriages among the African communities, where the female has absolutely no right to veto a match made on her behalf.

In some African literary texts, female characters are often expected to marry the man of their father’s choice, as shown in “UDike noCikizwa” (1982), where Cikizwa is expected to marry Mjongwa who is her father’s choice. This literary work portrays Cikizwa as a female character who cannot object to or disagree with this traditional practice of arranged marriage, but she can only state her point of view. Ultimately, she is obliged to accept her father’s proposal.

Female characters’ views in male literary writings are seldom taken into consideration, and there is little respect for their dreams or ambitions. This shows that marriage is not the decision of those who will participate in this commitment, but it is rather a decision forced on them by their fathers. The female who is going to be married does not know the consequences of this commitment. Mjongwa, as male character, also shows his moral commitments. He is portrayed as a male of good character who obeys his parent’s choice and respects their cultural values by saying the following:

Mjongwa: Ewe, eyakho eyakhiwa gothando ayinakuma kakhle,
kodwa le yakiwe ngemvano nangemvumelwano
yabazali iza kuma. (p.23)

Mjongwa: Yes, yours which is built upon love, may not last, but this one is built upon agreement and the understanding of the parents will last.

The above statement shows how biased the writer is when he portrays Mjongwa as a person who is regarded as a good character by the local community since he understands the cultural values and customs of his society. Mjongwa shows confidence in the adults and trusts them, as people who can build a good foundation for his marriage. Cikizwa
tries to explain her feelings about this arranged marriage, but her father is adamant that he wants her to marry the man of his choice. She writes a letter to Dike, her lover, informing him that she cannot marry him, and explains her feelings on the unfairness of a marriage arranged by her father. In her letter, she expresses her feelings about the unfairness of the traditional custom towards females, which denies females the freedom of choice and expression. She puts it as follows:

Cikizwa: Dike wam. Kubi ukuphila kweli lizwe – ilizwe lamasiko, lezithethe nemithetho, izinto ezithi unenyama negazi nengqondo nje zikwenze ufane nesigodo somthi olinde ukubaswa.

Ndisitsho nje ndiva intlungu yokuthobela uMthetho katata, uMthetho ondiphanga bonke ubuntu bam, undenze ndibe yigusaha efuyiweyo, uMthetho ongqongqo katata undinyanzela ukuba manditshate no Mjongwa Ngqike, umfana wase Mahlungulu.

Onke amalinge am okuzama ukubonisa utata ukuba andifuni kutshata nalo mfana awe phantsi, ndibhala nje igama liyaphindwa ngeCawa ngomhla wesi – 6 apha kuDisemba.

Ndithi mandikwazise le nto, sithandwa, kuba apha emhlabeni andazi borni bumnandi njengobabathanda-nayo, ndaye andiboni mfana ndingafa naye ngaphandle kwakho Dike wam.

Owakho Wenene

Cikizwa (p.12)

My dear Dike

It is hard to live in this world of customs, the traditions and laws, things that though you are made of flesh, blood and brains make you look like a tree-stump waiting to be fired.

I am saying this because I am heartbroken at having to obey my father’s law – a law that robs me of all my humanity, and make me like a sheep in a fold.
My father’s law forces me to marry Mjongwa Ngqike, a young man of Mahlungulu.

All my attempts in trying to show my father that I do not want to marry this young man have been in vain. As I am writing, the bans are going to be called a second time on Sunday, the sixth of December.

I thought it best to let you know, my love, because in this world I know of no sweeter life than that of two people who love each other, and I see no other man with whom I can live, but would rather die, if I cannot have you, my loving Dike.

Yours lovingly

Cikizwa

This extract shows how Cikizwa feels about the general unfairness of some males, the customs that are against females and the cultural victimization of females. She expresses her feelings about the prejudiced attitudes of her society, which affect females severely. Her own father is forcing her to marry Mjongwa. The letter reveals her confused state of mind and how she feels about the discriminated traditions of her society towards females in a male’s world. It also indicates the strong bond between her and the lover of her own choice.

Sando, Cikizwa’s father intercepts a reply to Cikizwa’s letter from her boyfriend and he acts according to the information he has received from the letter, and he writes a letter in response to Dike’s letter (p.27). Cikizwa’s father subsequently decides to shoot and kill Dike (p.48), whom he thinks is the obstacle to his plan of proceeding with the arranged marriage of Mjongwa and his daughter. Cikizwa receives the news that her boyfriend has been killed and she decides to take her own life as well, by committing suicide. Before she takes her life, she expresses her disappointment about the unfair treatment that women get by not being allowed to make their own personal choices (p.83).
In this drama, Cikizwa’s status is relegated to that of a sub-human being who has no rights, merely because she happens to be a female. Cikizwa is portrayed in the literary text as being the culprit who acts against her father’s idea of an arranged marriage. Cikizwa’s attitude is inspired by the romantic relationship between Dike and his lovely Cikizwa. It motivates Cikizwa; it inspires her and gives her the willpower to oppose her father’s idea. She is spiritually brutalized by her father’s victimization of her because of what she believes in. Every female character should be portrayed as a person who has choices in matters which affect them, especially when choosing a spouse. Cikizwa’s emotional pain is a consequence of the negative cultural attitude shown by some males towards females. Her father’s determination to exercise his traditional right as the head of the family and to choose a partner for his daughter is the issue here. The writer has portrayed Cikizwa as being clearly Eurocentric in her mind-set, which may be expected from someone who has had a formal school education background.

It is observed in the selected isiXhosa texts that in the case of arranged marriages such traditional gender discrimination has caused immeasurable pain between fathers and their daughters. Forced marriages often leave these women with emotional and psychological scars that may even lead to females committing suicide. In this regard, Sando’s wife by the name of Nojoyini, who is Cikizwa’s mother, indicates that Cikizwa is suffering from anxiety and depression and this may lead her to suffer from insomnia and loss of appetite. Nojoyini puts it as follows:

Nojoyini: UCikizwa akonwabanga, kunjalonje iyamdla le nto, usuke waphela isiqu ngoku! (p. 5)

Nojoyini: Cikizwa is not happy; and this marriage is bothering her; she is now losing weight!

This quotation reveals that Cikizwa is suffering from endogenous depression. This is a form of depression, which comes from within and has clearly been caused by her environment. She is unhappy because her father has treated her as a material object or as a symbol to strengthen his image of power and status in his community. Reber
(1985:471) stresses that a psychoneurosis is nearly always caused by sub-conscious conflicts, which evoke anxiety. This may lead Cikizwa to experience depression, which manifests itself as sadness, irritable moods, or grief, which in turn may lead to weight loss. This literary work therefore depicts a female character that is coerced into acquiescence and a perpetual state of subservience to their male relatives.

In ‘UDike noCikizwa’ (1982), the author shows that under male supremacy a female’s status depends greatly on the male’s approval. In African literature written by males, female characters often do not have a say in matters such as arranged marriages. As in the case of Cikizwa, female characters who refuse to cooperate, are likely to be forced by their relatives in an attempt to persuade them to relent. The literary text under consideration indicates that the socio-economic status of families and such cultural depiction play a major role in the consummation of arranged marriages, as well as the denial of the right for female characters to accept the man of their own choice. A wealthy family, for example, would forbid their daughters to marry a person from a poor family background. Stichter and Hay (1995:109) have noticed that:

In other situations, the man or his family was deemed unsuitable because they were poor, they had come from a group with a low social standing, or they had a reputation of witchcraft, infertility or other problems. Sometimes it was her family that objected; sometimes the woman herself decided against the marriage.

It is clearly evident from the above quotation that there are various cultural reasons, such as poverty, witchcraft or infertility which are used as reasons for preventing female characters from choosing a spouse. Some writers such as Odetola (1983:3) show that marriage, then, is based on specific social circumstances. Odetola further mentions that in all cultures, endogamy and exogamy are important factors, which narrow the range of marital possibilities for individuals. Endogamy (Odetola, 1983:35) is explained as follows:
In general, there are norms or rules restricting marriage to members of the same group, tribe, village or other social groups.

The concept is used here to refer to the selection of a male similar to the female individual in that they are both members of the same broad social grouping and are influenced by the same general norms. One may want to marry somebody who is similar to oneself in such areas as ethnic background, religion and general social and economic status. Amongst the endogamous factors are propinquity, which refers to proximity and a common race, age, religion, education and occupation. Endogamy, according to Stichter and Hay (1995:101), means that economic status plays a major role in choosing the husbands for female characters in literary works. In 'UDike noCikizwa' (Mmango, 1982), Sando’s objection to the marriage of Cikizwa to Dike is based on Dike’s humble economic status, as compared to that of Mjongwa, who is portrayed as a good male character who is very wealthy. Cikizwa, as the female character, has no alternative but to abide by her father’s decision of marrying Mjongwa.

Potash, in Stichter and Hay (1995:83), points out that in some places and among some families, an arranged marriage can be used to benefit the father of the daughter concerned. In virtually all these selected texts, traditional marriages are confirmed by payment for the bride by the husband and his close relatives, to the bride’s father and his close relatives. The presumed beneficiaries are always men, especially the fathers of the daughters. This is more likely to occur in hierarchical literary texts with emergent stratification, where marriage can be employed to consolidate male characters’ power as opposed to that of the female characters. It is evident in the literary works that the quest for economic status encourages men to enter into arranged marriages with a woman whose father owns plenty cattle. African men often use customs as an excuse for their personal gains or for abusing women. Although it is very common in patriarchal society for a father to choose a man for his daughter, it is clear that all these literary texts are motivated by men’s love of wealth causing them to force their daughters to reject their boyfriends and marry the men they choose for them.
In traditional society, females are generally portrayed as commercial commodities in the selected literary works written by male writers. Female characters function universally as objects of every kind of economic exchange, both familiar and psychic. Far from being just one form of social organization among others, this suggests that the need to conform is the founding condition for all societies and most forms of literary works subscribe to this value, for passage into the social order. Such social order is assured by the fact that men assign women among themselves. This situation suggests that the economic exchange of females seems to be given a foundational status. Kang (2006:49) begins by stressing the asymmetry of the men versus the female character’s relation to exchange, whereby the female is the object of transaction and exchange exclusively among the menfolk. Female characters in these selected literary works are split by being primarily the objects, rather than the agents, of exchange.

Objectifications of females are to be seen as visible objects of men’s pleasure. Magar (2003:101) believes that females are not valuable to men in themselves for the intrinsic usefulness of their natures, but in terms of their value relative to other females or rather relative to the abstract scale of equivalence, which enables them to be so exchanged, like any commercial commodity. This is more likely to occur in hierarchical literary works written by males with emergent stratification, where marriage can be used to consolidate the power of men within the community. According to Dasgupta (2005:99), it is evident that economic status is the ultimate influential factor, which has impelled these males to arrange marriages for their daughters to marry a man with plenty of livestock.

Mmango in “UDike noCikizwa” (1982) suggests that young females become mere economic commodities, which will enable their fathers to collect as many cattle as they possibly can to fill up their kraals. Sando for instance, says the following about the possible economic loss that may take place because of Dike:

USando: Oo! Silungisa nje kukho izinja ezimana-nayo! Ndiza kuphulukana neshumi elinesihlanu leenkomo amashumi amabini eegusha
Sando: Oh! While we are trying to work things out, there are dogs that are causing problems! I will lose fifteen cattle, 20 sheep and a horse because of this idiot; it might happen that it does not have a mere chicken.

The above phrase highlights how female characters are portrayed as mere objects by men who exchange trade with the aim of acquiring more wealth out of their daughters. Cikizwa is portrayed as a commodity and a victim for the personal gain of her father. Men like Sando are depicted as people who are not concerned with the well-being of their daughters, but in reality, they want to satisfy their greed.

The following accusation that is made against Dike by Sando clearly indicates that he is not interested in his daughter’s happiness but only in his own personal gain:

Sando: Your honest love for Cikizwa is going to be the cause of me losing fifteen cattle and twenty sheep and a horse that I am riding, you dog!

The above extract shows that wealth and greed play a significant role in arranged marriages. Sando’s ill-treatment of his daughter is driven by his personal desire to get wealthy out of her forced marriage. In "UDike NoCikizwa" (1982), Sando’s sister Nomatiletile, voices her concern about Cikizwa’s mental health situation, which is aggravated by her father’s forced marriage that he has arranged for her. In a previous paragraph, it was mentioned that Cikizwa’s mother, Nojoyini, had also expressed her concerns about her daughter’s health. In this following statement, Nomatiletile as a
female character shows ignorance of her brother’s ulterior motives concerning Cikizwa’s marriage:

Nomatiletile: Ziinkomo ebezinani kakade ezi, ezi kubonakala ukuba kuza kuf'umntu ngenxa yazo? (p.11)

Nomatiletile: What is it with the bride’s wealth with significance of possible of deaths.

Some members of the family, especially Nomatiletile, disapproves of her brother’s actions in forcing her niece to marry a man that she does not love. This patriarchal authority, which is portrayed in these literary works, as one would expect, is very conservative in nature. It normally ruins and represses all the freedoms that promote a female’s individual interests above those of the patriarchal and the communal. Male writers generally support the practice of arranged marriages, which, in many cases, has the blessing of some female characters, especially that female character who perceives marriage only as a means of social mobility and material enrichment for their families.

When Nomatiletile discovers that Cikizwa is against her marriage that is being arranged by Sando she criticises Sando for his greediness for the bride’s wealth. A girl, as Cham in Jones, (1981:94) puts it, is similar to being sacrificed, like many others on the altar of materialism. Female characters in particular become victims that are portrayed in literary works written by some males and which is a demonstration of male power. Nomatiletile further criticizes the economic reasons behind the arranged marriage. Sando replies to his sister by showing his anger and determination that he is not going to change his mind because of Cikizwa’s pretendence regarding ill health. The author puts it like this:

Sando: Nina! Niza kundiphambanisa. Ukugula kwalo mntwana akusayi kundijika kwisigqibo sam, uza kutshata noMjongwa ethanda engathandi. (p.11)
Sando: You! You are going to confuse me. The ill health of this child is not going to make me change my decision. She is going to marry Mjongwa, like it or not.

The above statement shows that there is no sign of any consideration for Cikizwa’s health by some of her relatives. Rather, Sando is depicted as a strong male character who is determined that his daughter is going to marry Mjongwa, irrespective of the state of her health. This shows how female characters, such as Cikizwa, become victims of these arranged marriages. According to Pilcher and Wheelhan (2004:93), patriarchy means rule by the male head of a social unit, a family or tribe. It also refers to the elder figure who has power over others in the social unit, including other men, women and children. Feminists have used the term to refer to the social system of male domination over women. Ruthven (1984:2) contends that the task of the feminist critic is to expose the way in which male dominance over females constitutes perhaps the most pervasive ideology of amaXhosa culture and provides a most fundamental example of power domination.

In “UDike noCikizwa”, (Mmango, 1982) the practice of the custom of forced marriage ends in tragedy when Cikizwa takes her own life by swallowing poison deliberately. This incident will be discussed in detail in the paragraphs that follow.

4.5.1.1 Portrayal of female characters as being suicidal

Suicide is an event that occurs when one is intent on taking one’s own life and could be caused by various forms of depressive states. Though it is obvious that people may commit suicide for different reasons, the vast majority of those who complete the act do so during, or in the recovery phase of a depressive episode. Females who commit suicide are actually quite ambivalent about taking their own lives. Kernberg (1984:71) interprets
suicide as a substitute for a psychosis, which can be linked to an inability to tolerate reality and autoerotic regression.

Kernberg (1984) further sees suicide as an act of defence of the normal ego against the possibility of developing a full-blown psychosis. The irreversible choice is often made when people who are suicidal are alone and in a state of severe psychological distress, unable to see their problems objectively or to consider alternative courses of action. Carson and Butcher (1992:410) agree that most attempts occur in the context of interpersonal discord or severe life stress. Thus, the basic humanitarian problem of suicide is the seemingly senseless death of an individual who may be ambivalent about living or does not really want to die.

A second tragic consequence arises from the long-lasting distress among those who are left behind, as Shneidman (1969:249) puts it. The person who commits suicide puts his/her psychological skeleton in the survivors’ “emotional closet”. This researcher points out that historically, suicide is more common amongst female characters in isiXhosa literary texts. Female characters, in these literary texts, commit suicide more often than male characters and suicidal thoughts may show differing patterns of help seeking in females. Suicidal thoughts occur more frequently in young female characters, like Cikizwa and Nonjoli in Mmango’s “UDike noCikiwa” (1982). These females feel trapped in unwanted marriages, or are widows with low levels of self-esteem or social support, or they have experienced stressful lives, like Cikizwa. Satyo (2001:222) asserts that Cikizwa is confused in the sense that she wants to demonstrate her beliefs in tradition, but at the same time, she wants to be given freedom of choice in marriage.

The different age patterns of people who commit suicide or who harbour suicidal thoughts may be because suicidal thoughts and consequent impulsive actions are an indicator of women’s rapid mood swings and changes in the daily circumstances that surround some females in their hopelessness. Other contributing factors predicting suicidal behaviour in
females are suicidal ideation, lethality of past attempts, hostility, subjective depressive symptoms, having fewer reasons for living, as well as Morbid Borderline Personality Disorder. Studies about this condition suggest that the large effect of past suicide attempts by an individual at the risk of further attempts by an individual may be due to the earlier onset of depression. This may hamper the development of coping skills in a person such as Cikizwa, and so make her more vulnerable to suicidal behaviour. Kernberg (1984:62) emphasises the risk of self-mutilation from infantile disappointments for which others are blamed as in the case with Sando, who shifts the blame to women for being in support of Cikizwa’s unwillingness to marry Mjongwa (p.7). Satyo (2001:222) confirms that there are signs of African cultural influence in her character because she wants to follow tradition and not to defy her father’s wish. However, at the same time she cannot cooperate with her father’s wish to marry Mjongwa against her will.

In some literary texts, high rates of female suicide are found where a female’s status is low and their rights are restricted, for example, in Mmango’s ‘UDike noCikizwa’, (1982), where Cikizwa’s rights are violated by the cultural set-up which causes emotional pressure in undesirable situations. Furthermore, female suicidal behaviour is more common in literary texts in which females are socially discriminated against. It has been witnessed in “UDike NoCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982) that young female suicides often centre on experiences in which women have been humiliated, discredited, disrespected or unjustly treated in their close relationships. The specific event may be related to a chauvinistic attitude; for example, being forced to accept an arranged marriage. Gender and age-related norms militate against overt expressions of anger and other overt relationships. These female characters suffer in their bodies silently; they display the psychic injury and point the finger of blame at the wrongdoers, like Cikizwa who blames her father for the loss of her boyfriend.

The inability to conceive, combined with the desire for motherhood is also known to produce mental illness and homicidal tendencies. The author does not give a clear indication why female characters such as Cikizwa decide to commit suicide. The
character’s personal thoughts and motives are not revealed to the audience by means of monologue or soliliqui. This corresponds with the observation that was made in the previous chapter regarding the revelation of characters’ thoughts and inner motives in the isiXhosa novel. The study as mentioned above surmises that these females needed to have the freedom not to be with unwanted partners without any strings attached. These females do not deny this accusation. They find that their relatives interfere with their desire for pleasure and freedom thereby, justifying murder or suicide. All this is customary marriage borne because if the customs were to be practiced only where there is a need for them, then women would not be discriminated against in the manner that they are today. Quite often, the society gets wheels to propel this cruel nature of life due to the quest for commercial gain under the guise of customs.

4.5.2 The depiction of traditional marriage in “UNongxokozelo” (A K Mkiva, 2006)

4.5.2.1 Introduction

Mkiva’s ‘UNongxokozelo’ (2006) was written after the liberation of South Africa where the provision for human rights was entrenched in the constitution. Human rights is supposed to have received recognition in all the societies of this country, but some individuals still live a traditional life in the democratic era where people’s basic human rights are not recognised. It is upon this recognition that a book of this kind was produced. This book is composed of 157 pages, and was published by Vivlia publishers.

Every society has its own norms that need to be followed by those within the society. Norms of the society are unwritten rules that are laid down by the society for them to be followed at all times. In Africa the major role players in the formation of these norms that can be called the societal rules are laid down mainly by men. The victims of such laws are mostly women who have to abide with the rules. In most African societies, there is a model of women being given no choice regarding the selection of a marriage partner but the society and the families conduct the arrangements unilaterally. It looks like something
that is cast in stone for black women to be forced into marriage without being given any choice in the matter (Ndindwa, 2012:44).

4.5.2.2 Forms of abuse against women, as depicted in “UNongxokozelo” (2006)

This section deals with forms of abuse as depicted in “UNongxokozelo” (2006), a drama that deals with a girl whose right to live as a human being and Ngangelizwe at his royal place is compromising her right to life. The reason behind this is the fact that the girl has a lover who was once caught red-handed whilst visiting Nongxokozelo by Ngangelizwe’s relatives. The reason why Nongxokozelo is not allowed to have a lover is that Ngangelizwe holds a grudge against her as his wife once allowed Nongxokozelo to go to a youth dance (umtshotsho). Ngangelizwe claims that he once told Nongxokozelo not to bring her lovers in his house (pp.85-86). Ngangelizwe swears not to forgive this kind of act of bringing lovers to his house. The author portrays this kind of ill-treatment of women as a normal practice in the society. In this drama, abuse against women is shown to take place in various ways. The following sub-sections have been designed by the researcher for the discussion of the extent of discrimination against women, as depicted in"UNongxokozelo" (2006).

- Forced marriage
- Physical abuse and assault of women by men
- Oppression of women by women

4.5.2.2.1 Forced marriage

Under normal circumstances women have the right to freely choose whom to marry, when they marry, or whether they wish to marry at all. Forced marriage occurs if a woman has not been able to make any of those choices regarding the choice of a marriage partner. This may be the case, for example, where a woman is faced with
physical pressure to marry e.g. threats, physical violence, and sexual violence or; emotional or psychological pressure that is exerted on her such as being made to feel like bringing shame to the family. The first instance, of abusing women in marriages starts with forcing a woman to get married. Forced marriage is defined by the Forced Marriage Unit within the National Department of Social Development in South Africa as follows:

Marriage where one or both people do not (or in cases of people with learning disabilities, cannot) consent to the marriage and pressure or abuse is used”. It is an appalling and indefensible practice and is recognised in the United Kingdom as a form of violence against women, as domestic abuse and as a serious abuse of human rights. The pressure put on people to marry against their will can be physical (including threats, actual physical violence and sexual violence) or emotional and psychological (for example, when someone is made to feel like they are bringing shame on their family). Financial abuse (taking your wages or not giving you any money) can also be a factor (Ndindwa 2014:101).

Forced marriage therefore often leads to physical and emotional forms of abuse of women by men in the society as will be illustrated below.

4.5.2.2.2. Physical abuse and assault of women by men

In the drama “UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva, 2006), the main character, Nongxokozelo is portrayed as a female who triggers the wrath of the chief. This starts on the day when she caught the chief with another woman in his house while the wife was away. Nongxokozelo keeps the secret as she is heavily warned not to breathe a word about what she saw. She puts it as follows:
Nongxokozelo: Wathi uMhlekazi ukuba iliso lam liyandikhathaza ze ndilikhupe, kungenjalo ukuba ndithe ndamhlazisa kungenzeka ndidibane nenyoka iphung’umhluzi… (p.87)

Nongxokozelo: The Chief heavily warned to hold my tongue, if not, the unforeseen may occur…

The quotation above clearly shows that Nongxokozelo did really see Ngangelizwe doing something that could lead to family violence. Seeing the Chief with another woman while his wife, Novili is also within the homestead could mean that Ngangelizwe is lowering the status of a woman.

This is not the only time that Ngangelizwe threatens a woman; he previously beat some of them near to death. He even beats his wife Novili (p.91); this man is brutal, so his own wife suspects that he wants to have a second wife in the house without paying lobola. His wife suspects that her husband’s act of beating Nongxokozelo mean that Ngangelizwe does not want Nongxokozelo to have intimate love affairs with boys of her age. One day Novili confronts her husband, Ngangelizwe, while he is beating up Nongxokozelo, who says:

Nongxokozelo: Yhoo! yhoo! Ndafa, azi baphina abantu…Yhoo, yhoo, nqandani bantu ndafa sisigebenga sendoda… (p.89)

Nongxokozelo: Yhoo, yhoo! I’m being killed, I wonder where the people are…Yhoo, yhoo, somebody please stop him, the murderer is killing me,
Nongxokozelo desperately needed someone to rescue her from the severe beating by Ngangelizwe. At this stage, Novili intervenes by saying to the chief:

Novili: Nanku umhlola, kanti ufuna angathandani? Ufuna athandane nawe ze kube kulungile? Ndithi khawuyibeke apha le nto uyifuna kulo mntwana….

(p.90)

Novili: Here is a spectacle, so you do not want her to be in love? Do you want her to be in love with you? You have to tell me what you actually want from this child…

Novili suspected that her husband wanted to have Nongxokozelo as a secret lover though it is not stated in the text. She comments as follows about Ngangelizwe’s aggression towards her:

Novili: Yhoo! Undiqqibile, uxolo mhlekazi mus’ukundibulala, azi abantwana bam baya kusala nabani na? (p.91)

Novili: Yhoo, yhoo! Forgive me my lord do not kill me, I wonder who will look after my children.

The above quotes clearly demonstrate that women, married or not, are often treated as victims to be assaulted for no good reason. Some husbands in the patriarchal society know no boundaries when it comes to ill-treating and beating women, let alone beating some of them to death and burying their bodies in secret graves, which means that women can easily be buried like dogs without responsible owners. For instance, Ngangelizwe killed Nongxokozelo and buried her without telling her family. This information is brought to Sarhili by a local man by the name of Sigidi like this:

Sigidi: Mhlekazi kuvakala ukuba umkhwenyana wethu uNgangelizwe umbulele uNongxokozelo wathi akugqiba wamngcwaba.
Your honour there is a rumour that our son in law has murdered and buried Nonxokozelo

Sarhili: Uthini na Mfondini? Yintoni le Undixelela yona?

I beg your pardon? What are you telling me?

Sigidi: Mhlekazi le nto yenzekile, kangangokuba ingundabamloyeni kulo lonke eliya lasebaThenjini. Abamelwane bathi bothuswa sisikhalo esikrakra kanye ngorhatya lwemivundla sisitsho ngasemlanjeni, kodwa bathi befika kwabe sekukhala ibhungane.

Your honour this incident is true to such an extent that it is an open talk in the Thembuland. The neighbours say they heard screaming in the evening but when they went to the spot the found nothing.

Sarhili: Kwaza kwathini emva koko?

Then what happened there after?

Sigidi: kwakusasa ngemini elandelayo lwavakala udaba lokuba uNongxokozelo uswelekile. Mhlekazi ngaphandle kwamathandabuzo kuthiwa uNgangelizwe umbulele lo mntwana.

Early the next morning it was announced that Nongxokozelo is late. This confirms that Ngangelizwe really murdered Nongxokozelo

Sarhili: Kucacile ukuba yinyani le sasiyixelwa yintombi yethu yokuba uNgangelizwe umphethe kakubi uNongxokozelo… (Pp.126-127)
It is clear that what our daughter has been saying that Ngangelizwe is ill-treating Nongxokozelo.

The fact that Ngangelizwe killed Nongxokozelo while Novili was still with her parents means that there is something that he wanted her to do and this was beyond her willingness but it is not explicitly stated in the text.

Non-verbal language is another form of communication that is used in the home, sometimes there are disagreements and that is where non-verbal language is often used in a home. This means that a warning could come in the form of gestures or looks. One day Nongxokozelo and Novili were talking about Chief Ngangelizwe’s attitude towards Nongxokozelo and the conversation proceeded like this:

Novili: Nongxokozelo khawundixelele yintoni le ibangela ukuba umhlekazi akuthiye kangaka?

Nongxokozelo please tell me what makes the Chief to hate you this much?

Nongxokoxelo: Ndiyavuya sisi uwubuze loo mbuzo, bendisoyika ukukuxelela unobangela wokuba ndibenetyheneba apha kumhlekazi ndambhaqa kade kakabini ekhapha umama uthile ekuseni bephuma kula ndlu alala kuyo.

I am happy that you ask such a question, I have been scared to tell you the reason why I am such a threat to the Chief, I saw him twice accompanying a certain woman, they were from his bedroom.
Nongxokozelo: Ndiyakuva ke sisi, kodwa uMhlekazi ukususela ngoko undijonga ngamehlo enyushu, khangokuba ndiyamoyika, (p.88)

Nongxokozelo: I hear you my sister, but the chief ever since looks at me with a threatening look, as a result of that I am scared of him.

This conversation shows that there was a non-verbal warning message behind the impression in Ngangelizwe’s eyes. The message of ‘should you dare to---’ is clearly conveyed to Nongxokozelo in this manner.

4.5.2.2.3 Oppression of women by women

Women, over many decades, have been taught to obey the traditions and customs of society. To obey and to be submissive are similar concepts in patriarchal society that seem to mean that women must overlook abuse in the interest of tradition and custom.

As much as Nongxokozelo goes to assist Novili as a child-minder and a domestic assistant, she was under obligation of doing things on instruction and mandate of Novili. As a domestic worker Nongxokozelo is expected to do all the domestic chores including taking care of the children of another woman. This was done in agreement with her parents who gave her away. This was after Novili had asked her husband for permission to send her mother Nondwe, to go and look for a helper at Sarhili’s neighbourhood. Nongxokozelo’s parents tell her to go and serve in Ngangelizwe’s house for the rest of her life. Nongxokozelo’s parents are subjects of Sarhili; this means that the parents are serving under the rule of Sarhili as well as his subordinates, so they have no choice but to agree with the appeal from the Sarhili’s house. Nondwe goes to Mpinga and Nofezile’s house and explains her daughter’s problem of being in
need of a helping hand, which is someone to look after Novili’s children. After Mpinga and Nofezile have discussed the matter together, they came to an agreement that Nongxokozelo must go with Novili. The negotiations proceed as follows:

Nondwe: Hayi Mawawa, into ebanga ndibe lapha ndizekuboleka umntwana oyintombazana aye kuncedisa intombi yam, le yendele komkhulu ebaThenjini.

No Mawawa, what brings me here is to lend a girl child to go and assist my daughter, the one who is married to the chief of abaThembu.

Mpinga: Ewe ndiyambona uNomkhafulo lo wayekhatshwe ngoduli ukuya apho ebaThenjini. Ngoku ke ufuna intombazana yokuncedisa luhlobo luni?

Yes I see Nomkhafulo the one who was accompanied by the youth to go to Thembuland. Now in what manner is the lass going to assist?

Nondwe: Bawo lo mntwana uza kujonga abantwana bentombi yam (p.56).

Father this girl will be my daughter’s childrens’ nursemaid

When a woman is newly married, there are certain things that are relatively new in her life such as parenting. In the amaXhosa society, it is something normal for a woman to carry a baby on her back, a load on her head and another child in the other hand. When she is travelling, this woman could be walking with a man who is carrying a stick across his shoulders, he is walking a few steps ahead of this woman and he even threatens to leave her behind if she does not keep up with him. This woman carries heavy loads but her companion walks freely. Western men often take paternity leave to assist the new mother, but in the traditional society, this does not happen. Therefore,
Novili is forced to go to her parents’ place to look for assistance. Novili’s mother, Nondwe, responds by discussing the matter with Nofezile who says:

Nofezile: Hayi ke Nkosikazi, ngenxa nje yokuhlonipha wena nekomkhulu lethu, siza kukuboleka intombi yethu egama linguNongxokozelo, (p.57)

Nofezile: No madam, as a token of respect to you and to our chieftainhood, we are going to lend you our daughter by the name of Nongxokozelo.

Nongxokozelo’s family decides on who does what as the parents give away their daughter for the benefit of their trust in the chieftainhood. Women decide on the fate of a girl to go and serve where they have never been. Women in the fact sold Nongxokozelo’s life for nothing as they say it is for the sake of the chieftainhood. In this matter, the girl was given no choice whether to go or not, but was mandated to just go and serve. Such women have to suppress their feelings since they were not given the opportunity to decide on their own as in this case of Nongxokozelo.

4.5.2.3 Rights of Women as depicted in “UNongxokozelo” (2006)

South Africa, like almost all African states, while undergoing constitutional changes since 1994, accepted international obligations that guarantee basic human rights. The international obligations to eliminate discrimination against women and children are grounded in the ‘International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women’ (CEDAW) and the ‘United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child’, which have also been strengthened by similar African regional conventions (Ndindwa, 2012). It is further implied that in South Africa, the majority of these rights are classified under civil and political rights in the ‘National Action Plan for the Protection of Human Rights’ (NAPPHR, South Africa, 1998:132-133). The Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing during September 1995, (United Nations

In "UNongxokozelo" (2006), it is clear that Ngangelizwe is unaware of these new policies and guidelines. The man is brutal when it came to women. This man finds it difficult to let things flow smoothly without being forceful towards females. When his wife Novili asks for his permission to go and look for a helper from her home, he tells her not to forget to brew him his African beer before she leaves. The author puts it as follows:

Ngangelizwe: Uncede kuyo yonke into oyenzayo ungayilibali ingqayi yam yotywala, ukwenzela ukuba ndiphelise isithukuthezi (p.53).

Ngangelizwe: In whatever you do, do not forget my beer-pot so that I do not feel the loneliness.

Novili is still submissive and ignores her husband’s assertiveness. Some women tend to take the problem personally and accept that they are the cause of the problem. Seeing that men often cross the line and know no borders in the perpetration of violence within their homes, it is important to look at the rights of females, as stated in the South African Bill of Rights, which is aimed at the combating of acts of domestic violence as depicted in the following scenes from the drama (Mkiva, 2006). Ngangelizwe even goes further than verbal assertiveness and he commits to acts of physical abuse against women. In this drama," UNongxokozelo" (2006), a verbal argument started between Ngangelizwe and Nongxokozelo. When Novili tried to intervene, her husband, Ngangelizwe, assaulted her. This scene is depicted as follows:
Ngangelizwe: Vula apha mntwanandini ungenasimilo, ndidikwe vuthu yile mikhubu yakho.

Open here you rude girl, I have had enough of your dirty tricks.

Nongxokozelo: (*evula ucango*) Owu yintoni Mhlekazi, ndenzeni ekuseni kangaka?

(Opening the door) Oh, what is the matter Chief, what have I done so early in the morning?

Ngangelizwe: Uthi ndenyeni, ndenyeni, akuyazi into oyenzileyo? Kutheni izinja zikhonkothe kangaka, ngubani lo ebelapha ngobu busuku?

You say ne..ne.. Don’t you know what you have done? Why are the dogs barking all night, who was here over night?

Nongxokoxelo: Hayi Mhlekazi khange kubekho mntu apha.

No Chief there was no one here.

Ngangelizwe: Kanti uza kuyichaza inyani, menemenendini lomntwana, imini inye yile. Ndiyabona ukuba akundazi kakuhle. (*p.89*)

You are going to spill the beans you liar this is the day.
I can see that you do not really know me.

It is at this point that Novili came in, she was very angry. The villagers also rushed to the scene after having heard Nongxokozelo crying aloud. Novili wanted to know the cause of the conflict, instead of the beating that was going to cause more harm than
good. The rights of these two women are highly violated in front of the villagers. It is displayed like this:

Novili: Hee wethu ndodandini yintoni le uyenzayo imbi kangaka? Umbethela ntoni lo mntwana,

Hey you what a nasty act that you are doing? Why are you beating her, what has she done

Ngangelizwe: Heyi wena bhedengundini lomfazi thula. Andithi wena uthe lo mntwana unelungelo lokuthandana?


Hey you hypocrite woman keep quiet. Is it not you who said this child is at liberty to be in love?

Novili: Here is a spectacle; by the way, you do not want her to be in love? You want her to be in love with you in order to be all right. Spill the beans as to what do you actually want from this child

Nongxokozelo: (*Elila*) sisi andiyazi into efunwa ngulo tata kum. Awu! Azi ndenzenina bawo? (p.90)

Nongxokozelo: (*crying*) Sister I really do not know what this man wants from me. Whaw! What have I done Lord?

The worst abuse is directed at Novili and everybody was ashamed though it is not clearly stated in the text. Instead of Novili’s husband being remorseful, he is more violent and he turns to Novili and says:
Ngangelizwe: Oo kuthe kanti uze kundigezela apha, masele ndibetha nawe lowo.

Oo so you are here to pull my leg, let me beat you too.

(Nanko embetha ngenduku yomnquma, bhuu bhuu, kwavakala isithonga). ... Nanko uMncotshe noMvulane bembamba uNgangelizwe ngenkani besohlutha naloo ntonga ambetha ngayo uNovili, kwathi kanti sele emaphule umlenze. (p.91)

(There he is, beating her up with a wild olive tree stick) bhuu, bhuu, bhuu (sound of the blows is heard)... Mncotshe and Mvulane are trying to stop him by taking away his stick with which he is beating Novili, but he has already broken her leg)

Some men have been abusing women to such an extent that the community becomes aware of the abuse. However, when a woman physically abuses a man, the community would not tolerate it. Therefore, violence by women against men is a taboo in the African society, but when it is an African man who is ill-treating a woman, everyone is silent or simply whispering about it. Sometimes men are under the impression that they can abuse women because of the honour of being in a leadership position, i.e. being a chief. The above quotes show that women are still subject to physical abuse by men and that they are submissive to the wrongdoings like assault and other forms of physical abuse by their husbands. The status and dignity of women is being dragged through the mud by the patriarchal African society. All this ends up in the violation of women’s rights that is caused by domestic violence being accepted as a norm within the African society.
4.5.2.4 The relevance of the domestic Violence Act of 1998 for the events depicted in “UNongxokozelo” (2006)

The Domestic Violence Act, 116 of 1998, was promulgated and put in practice in 1998 and it regulates the African traditional relationship within families and between men, women and children.

The (DVA) is an act that has been designed in response to the high incidence of domestic violence in South Africa and attempts to protect victims by making provision for the issuing of protection orders. The law recognises that domestic violence is not a private matter – it is a serious crime against the entire society. The extent of domestic violence amongst South Africans is depicted clearly in “UNongxokozelo” (2006). In the quotation below, Ngangelizwe’s brothers are discussing the injuries that were sustained by Novili when her husband attacked her. The discussion proceeds as follows:

Mongami: Silapha mkhuluwa ngenxa yesihelegu ekuthiwa senziwe nguwe apha komkhulu

Mongami: Elder brother, we are here due to an act of violence that you have committed here in the chieftainhood,

Mongami: Mkhuluwa kuthiwa wena ubethe uNovili wamaphula umlenze. Ingaba injalo loo nto?

Mongami: Brother it is a said that you have beaten Novili and you have broke her leg, is that so?

Mongami: Uthetha ukuba yonke le nto uyenze ngenxa yorhano?

Mongami: Do you mean all this is only caused by accusations?

Ngangeliwe: Ndingathi yena uNovili watakelwa ziintlantsi (p.96)

Ngangeliwe: I can say Novili was just burnt by sparks of fire.
The quotes above show that Ngangelizwe attempts to shift the blame for the violence from himself to Novili’s intervention during the argument between her husband and Nongxokozelo.

Despite the diversity of African societies, one feature shared by all of these societies has always been that life is organised around the family. Traditional kinship bonds were so strong that sometimes the actual family unit could not be easily identified within the extended family system. This implies that culture and tradition, as an integral part of a person, are widely upheld in black African communities and are expressed through the socialisation process (Mungazi, 1996:19). The African understanding of the meaning of the family is very different from the Western understanding. The African family operates along clearly defined lines as different roles are ascribed to men and women culturally (Mungazi, 1996:17).

In the traditional African culture, patriarchy is at the core of family life. Men generally are unquestioned heads of the family, as well as the leaders, authority figures and decision-makers. They are also providers, or breadwinners as well as disciplinarians. In the traditional African family and community women play maternal roles. Women’s responsibilities are mainly around the home, child rearing, cooking, household chores and socialisation involving training and education of children in line with family and community expectations (Mungazi, 1996:32). Women are therefore expected to be submissive.

Children are considered to occupy a very important place within the family and community. Everything of importance was structured around the purpose of seeking to ensure the welfare of children (Mungazi, 1996:30). Children were brought up to follow the pro-social ways of their elders. They were taught at an early age how to recognise these standards and to abide by them at all times because children represent the future and continuation of life. The entire community understood that the success or failure
of the families and that of the community depended largely on how well they discharged their familial responsibilities (Mungazi, 1996:22).

The arguments presented above by Mungazi are clearly reflected in the events that take place in the book “UNongxokozelo” (2006), where actions of males such as Ngangelizwe that discriminate against women’s rights are still alive and well in the New South Africa, despite the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996 which makes provision for equal status for all members of the South African society.

4.5.2.5 The status of women as depicted in “UNongxokozelo” (2006)

Novili raises her concerns to her husband who pretends to play a deaf ear. His rationale is that he still requires time to live freely just like before he got married, forgetting that women also have personal and social interests that they forfeit for the benefit of being married. The universal manifesto of human rights makes provision for all members of the society to have the right to participate in, contribute to and enjoy cultural and political developments. Women must have the right to do as men do culturally and otherwise. The discussion proceeds as follows:

Ngangelizwe: Yimibuzo enjani le undibuza yona Novili, undazi nje ukuba ndisengumfana andikawagqibi amalungelo obutsha bam? Kutheni ingathi ufuna ukuba ndibe ngundlezana nje? Hayi ayinakwenzeka kum loo nto, (p.43)

Ngangelizwe: What questions are these Novili, you definitely know the fact that I am still young and that I’m not done with my youthful rights? Why does it seem as if you want me to be a childminder? That cannot happen with me.
Ngangelizwe: Nkosikazi samkele isithukuthezi kuba mna ndisemtsha kwaye kusekude engqiniben, (p.44).

Ngangelizwe: Madam kindly accept your loneliness. I am still young and there is still a long way ahead.

Ngangelizwe: Novili yenza ngokubona kwakho, mna andinako ukungenwabi xa amathuba endivumela, (p.45).

Ngangelizwe: Novili have it your way, I cannot let go of my pleasures if time still allows me.

Soon after Novili and Ngangelizwe got married, Novili gave birth and she feels the workload in the house, as she had to take care of the baby on her own, her husband is out on the streets having a nice time. He addresses his wife in a rude manner when she seeks for his assistance.

Ngangelizwe gets tired of Novili’s complaints of being left alone at home. The man feels as if she wants him to stay at home all the time but that is not the case, Novili is just protecting her husband’s self-image and status from the councillors who repeatedly visit the chief in his absence. Ngangelizwe seems not to care even if Novili decides to go back to her parents if she feels like that. If a man can speak like this to his wife, then it is clear that the status of a woman is being trampled upon. If a man can be so unruly when speaking to his wife then his marriage and relationship would normally be unstable, but not in a patriarchal African society, where men can say and do as they wish.

4.5.2.6 Women as housekeepers

Immediately after the wedding between Novili and Ngangelizwe, the families are giving words of wisdom to the newly wedded woman. The whole community of abaThembu are
expecting a miracle out of Novili, as she had to sometimes, act on behalf of her husband and be there in times of need for the entire community. She is also expected to take proper care of her husband and convince him when it deems fitting.

When the author names the characters, normally this is to fulfil a certain purpose as well as meet the task that is allocated. At first hand, the author gives a description of the features of the character on paper in order for the reader to assume and to expect. One may think of Novili as a woman of sternity and dignity when she stamps her foot down stating that she is not leaving her home when Ngangelizwe is still out of order as a youngster and a rolling stone.

Traditionally, the workload given to a woman is to take care and to attend to the needs of her husband. It is a norm in amaXhosa society that after the marriage, the couple is given wise-words by the family. It takes place at Ngangelizwe’s place where the wedding was held. This comes in the form of ukuyala—giving words of wisdom) and name-giving ceremony, this tradition is done by the senior family members, the newly wedded is quiet and listening. The wise words are spoken as follows by Menziwa:

   Menziwa: Ntombi yasemaTshaweni, nanko unyana wethu simnikezela kuwe ukuba umkhulise, umcebise, umhloniphe, (p.41).

   Menziwa: Girl of Tshawe clan, here is our son we hand him over to you to nurture him, to advice and to respect him.

As a married woman, Novili is now given a task to take care of Ngangelizwe; she had to nurture him from his basic needs to major aspects as the family asks her to do so. In so doing, she had to walk hand-in-hand with him so that he becomes a dignified man of honour.
All the tasks that the husband or men need a hand with in the household are allocated to the woman to take care of. A woman is forced to mature and to take care of the husband and children when they come home. Writers like Sesinyi also have the same portrayal of African society as will be illustrated in the paragraphs below.

In this drama, one finds that, ten years after the dawn of the democratic South Africa, the local societies are not in line with internationally recognised practices of human rights yet. In these African societies, women are still under severe oppression in the patriarchal society. In the new South Africa, women are still largely subordinates of men.

4.5.3 Forced marriage in the wider African context

For the purpose of the study, the researcher wishes to bring on board a novel entitled “Love on the rocks” (Sesinyi: 1981). This is done to show that it is not only amaXhosa who are faced with a problem of deprived rights of women when it comes to the freedom of choice of marriage, but also wider African societies like Zimbabwe.

In the past, African parents used not to consider the reality of freedom of choice. The youth was forced to understand and obey their parent’s wishes. This tendency does not only affect amaXhosa but most black Africans. Parents have their own wish and youth also have wishes in life but these wishes may differ according to their lines of interest. Sesinyi (1981) confirms this in the Zimbabwean novel, where parents have an interest in a certain suitor because of his background and the status of the family. In cases like this, one may find that the parents do not fix their eyes on an individual, but on the family of their interest to suit their interest and forget about the partners.

A patriarchal African man wishes that his daughter could be married to a wealthy family in order for him to get reward for that in the form of brides’ wealth. Mothers on the
other hand wish that their daughters could marry and live happily and in harmony. In the meantime, it is the wish of most girls and young women to be educated in order to be independent, it is upon their independent choice to be married or not as Novili and Ngangelizwe decided on their own to get married (p.13). Sesinyi (1981:44) shows Moradi as a girl who is a student at a private English institution doing her A levels. To her father Mr Baruti, this was a detestable misuse of funds for an expensive education. It is further implied that in most middle class families in urban areas the abandonment of traditional values and norms is seen to be consistent with progress and enlightenment. However, some women are aware of their rights and are willing to fight for themselves, claiming their freedom, as (Mmango, 1982:5) reveals it:

Cikizwa: Ukucina, ukuqonda nothando zezinye zezipho umntu aziphwayo endalweni. Kodwa mna apha ekhaya andinakusebenzisa nesinye kuzo!

Thinking, knowledge, understanding and love are some of the gifts that a human being is gifted with in creation. However, myself, here at home cannot use any of them!

In traditional African society, it is the prerogative of the parents to arrange their children’s marriage. This is also confirmed by Sesinyi (1981:120) in a conversation between Pule and his uncle who is the champion in arranging Pule’s forced marriage. Boots is Pule’s uncle and he drives the conversation like this:

My dear boy, your affairs in the city are your own. However, when it comes to who should be your wife, we are very much concerned, and that is where we come in.

During the time that Pule was away from home to work in the city, the family and the community have made a choice for his marriage. The family is now happy to discover
that Pule is now an educated man of high calibre and still they have to force him to get married to someone with whom he hardly had a romantic relationship.

Sometimes when the African children are still young, a strong relationship is built between these two families and the children in the end seal the agreement on their own. This is not about a desire to satisfy the wishes of the parents but because they are already prepared, even for this choice by the society and one would hear others saying that they did not expect that it would one day become a reality. Normally, one of the two families is richer than the other one. The tendencies referred to above, are clearly reflected in literary texts that have been produced elsewhere on the African continent.

In the Zimbabwean novel, ‘Love on the rocks’, (Sesinyi, 1981) for instance, Patrick’s parents wanted him to marry a young beautiful lady by the name of Moradi, whose father, Crawford Baruti was once a man of dignity who worked in the colonial government in South Africa for fourteen years. He once visited Britain and had joined in discussions between the former colonial masters about the future of the former Bechuanaland. He was constant in his views and had a clear-cut policy regarding the welfare of his family. Moreover, he is a principal of a school, which gives him status in the society.

In Africa, the procedure to initiate this kind of arranged marriage is that both families and parents meet for discussions, irrespective of the wishes of either of the partners. The parents ignored the fact that Moradi was pregnant with another man’s child. They still denied that love is the basis for every marriage but insisted on saying the girl shall learn to love the suitor as she was just acting childishly. The mother convinces her daughter to get married by asking her if she would like to get married (p.58). Moradi felt a sudden bitterness. She could not understand why her mother would conspire with
her enemies (p.59). The very sight of Patrick filled Moradi with disgust. She could not stand him (Patrick), the forced marriage suitor, and her anger grows.

Based on the above citations, it becomes clear that the woman really did not want to be married to the suitor in question. The parents could not bear to face reality, and as a result, mothers were used to convince their daughters to get married irrespective of the daughter’s preferences. This shows that forced marriage does not only occur in amaXhosa society but also in the greater African societies as well. For a comparative analysis on the traditions and customs in amaXhosa society one may find that it is not only amaXhosa society that experiences challenges with antiquated customs, but this is also reflected in the greater African societies, for example in Sesinyi’s ‘Love on the rocks’ (2005), these obsolete traditions are also clearly reflected in the Zimbabwean context.

The events in Sesinyi’s novel clearly show that forced marriage involves a situation where one or both spouses feel pressured to the point where she/he agrees to be married, only because they do not have the choice to say no. In other words, the spouse would not have consented had the pressure not been exerted on him/her. Women and girls often describe a ‘feeling’ or just ‘knowing’ that they could not say no to a marriage, and that if they did, there would be some kind of consequence e.g. being shunned or ostracised, being told they have brought shame on the family, and even being physically harmed.

In the novel “Love on the rocks” (1981), different forms of pressure are put on Moradi to marry Patrick against her will. This includes threats of violence, and cases of actual physical violence as Mr Baruti beat his wife and his daughter, Moradi. Due to this abusive act, her daughter actually lost her foetus (p.82). The pressure that is put on the daughter could also include inflicting emotional and psychological harm. In such instances the child is being made to feel that the family is being let down, she is being
a bad child who transgresses cultural or religious norms, or made to feel that one is bringing shame on the family by rejecting a future wife/husband. Cases of emotional and psychological abuse can also include close family members who make threats of self-harm or even suicide, or attributing a family member's illness to the refusal to agree to their wishes. Abuse can also be financial and this can include withholding wages, money or support.

The qualities that parents look for in a man are not always what the young woman is looking at. With young people, ‘money can’t buy love’ and everyone has the right to be educated. If parents look for status in a man, then young women might look for something else, such as dignity, independence and approach.

Parents can go out of their way just to convince a girl to see the need to get married. In the novel ‘Love on the rocks”, Sesinyi (1981) for example, Mrs Baruti tries to convince Moradi that she will come to love Patrick as he has all the money and education and he is quite handsome in a manly way’ (p.60). It is the right of every mother to convince her daughter where there is a point of disagreement between the daughter and other family members like her father in this case. She is trying to ease off the pain of forced marriage to her lovely girl. She even convinces her to see qualities that her husband seems to like about this suitor.

4.6 Universal rights of women

Coming to the universal rights of women, it is an obligation within all societies to eliminate every form of discrimination against women at the (CEDAW)’s conference (2000) discussion on the role of women in the society (Ndindwa, 2012). Based upon this imperative, not allowing women to decide for themselves amounts to discrimination and a violation of their basic and fundamental human rights. Mr
Baruti, in the novel referred to above, was not prepared to listen to his daughter regardless of the fact that she was pregnant because he wanted her to be married to the family of recognised people who are of high status. Moradi was exhausted of the pressure that was exerted on her. She even tried to commit suicide and in the end, she suffered a miscarriage (p.82). She could not live her own life without her parents pestering her to forcefully get married. Her right to make her own choices was ignored by her father who looks at Moradi as a rebellious girl who defies his authority (p.83). Section 9 of the South African Constitution guarantees equality to all members of the society as the opportunity to make choices does not depend on gender. Customary traditional marital practices however still rule in favour of men and therefore they need to be dealt with in order to eliminate discrimination against women in the society. This discrimination is being forbidden by the South African Constitution, which makes provision for the recognition of women’s human rights to advance the equality of genders in this country. In so doing, it comes with the rationale to ensure the following:

- Equality of all members of society;
- Cultural practices are subjected to the norm of equal rights;
- Knowing women’s rights as an integral part of human rights and
- Education and empowerment of women

The recognition of the universal rights of women also creates an urgent need for the abolition of the denial of the right to education, as found in many African societies. The section on children’s rights in the National Constitution clearly states that all children have the right to education. By giving them education, the future is considered to be more promising for them as it is said to be the key to many unopened doors and wider avenues in life.

When a woman is uneducated, there are many barriers that stand in her way. Brenda Fassie, a well-known vocalist once sang a song entitled “Black president” where she expresses a wish that people must be given good education. Her song mentions the fact
that her opposers knew that and said, “Shoot them before they grow”, which means that if a woman is educated, she will know more and if she is uneducated she knows less which is for the benefit of the patriarchal system of oppression. In Sesinyi’s novel, Moradi’s father threw her out of the house irrespective of her studies at the university although a child who is under twenty-one has a right to a home, Moradi was fiercely denied that right (p.86). African women play a vital role today, and this type of discrimination is not acceptable and should not be allowed. This work seeks to explore the degree to which some Africans fail to consider women issues, particularly marriage and customary traditions pertaining to marriage.

The discrimination against women conveys a message that women are not of equal worth as men. Where women under indigenous law are already a vulnerable group, this further offends their dignity. The perception of marriage undermines the status of women to the extent that they cannot take care of their own choice of whom to marry and when, irrespective of who gets what in the form of lobola. Men still have that perception that lobola be paid for the bride for his kraal to be bursting at the seams with the livestock from the groom’s family. However, if a young woman refuses to participate, she faces the wrath of her family. In ‘Love on the rocks’ (Sesinyi, 1981), Mr Baruti for instance, threw Moradi out of his house and he even disowned her (p.87). When Mr Baruti threw out his daughter, he experienced no opposition from his wife who was dumbfounded at that moment, but the girl went to pack her things and gave him his wish. Eventually, peace prevailed above the storm, and all ended well. Moradi eventually got the blessings to get married to Pule, the man of her dreams.

In the paragraphs above, it was argued that the custom of forced marriage is not confined only to amaXhosa society, but that it is also practiced widely across the rest of the African continent. It is however, evident that this phenomenon is not only found in Africa, but that it is also prevalent in other parts of the world. A recent newspaper report that appeared under the heading “UK mother jailed for duping daughter into forced marriage abroad” https://www.news24.com/World/News/uk-mother-jailed-for-duping-daughter-into-forced-
marriage-abroad (accessed, 23/05/2018). This shows that it is not only African men who practice forced marriage but women too. The rationale behind this act is economic alleviation. It was reported that the custom of forced marriage is still practiced in the Eastern countries like Pakistan and that sexual intercourse with girls under the age of sixteen is practiced as a custom in that country. It is also stated that this practice is also found in the developed countries such as Britain where a mother was given a jail sentence of four years and six months for bequething her daughter to an older man, sixteen years older than the girl.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter was introduced with a discussion on theoretical aspects of drama and in particular Xhosa drama. This was followed by a brief overview of the background of texts that were discussed here.

The aim of this chapter was to depict marriage as a theme in drama texts before and after the liberation of South Africa where the norms of the African society were still clung onto by cultural institutions, it is these African institutions that planned and implemented the unwritten rules of society. After 1994 customary marriage and family practices that discriminate against amaXhosa, women were expected to have received proper attention and their status was to come under revision because of the inauguration of the new constitution of South Africa in 1996.

Since it would be impossible to consider too many drama texts, only two texts were analysed here. The first one is “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango: 1982) which was written during the apartheid era. The second one is “UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva: 2006) which was written after 1994. Through these texts, the rights of women were looked at whether they are still preserved or the human rights have come to eradicate them. The recognition of human rights of amaXhosa females were analysed in the texts the question being whether
they are practiced during the democratic era, thus a novel is also used for analysis of customs and rights in the greater African society.

In the text that was written during the apartheid era (in 1982) where Cikizwa was forced by her father to marry Mjongwa, it can be said that due to being steadfast, she stood her ground and showed her father that she was not ready for marriage yet, instead she wanted to expand her knowledge of education. She never pictured herself getting married to a man she hardly knew; she was denied her right of choice and was discriminated against by her father who was motivated by the norms of the society. She was deprived of her right to education by Zwilakhe as a leader in his house and ironically as an honoured man within the society. The family supported Zwilakhe also and played a role in not allowing a freedom of choice of a marriage partner for the young couple.

The second text was written in 2006 after the liberation of South Africa where it is expected that things within the society would have changed through the inauguration of the Constitution, which makes provision for the recognition of the human rights of all the citizens of South Africa. In “UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva, 2006), it was observed how the family is able to give away a daughter in good faith of ‘serving the chieftainhood’ in spite of the fact that the girl is maltreated by Ngangelizwe in his house. Nongxokozelo also feels that the chief is discriminative towards her. The content of “UNongxokozelo” Mkiva (2006) is mainly focusing on customs and traditions where men had an upper hand in the patriarchal society. African men are portrayed as closely attached to the norms and customs and therefore it could never be a case of ‘let go’. African men are minted as the opponents of the liberation of women. The larger society is also caught in the middle of the two rivers, on one hand the community is in favour of the preservation of customs, norms and traditions, whilst on the other hand it wishes to give due recognition to human rights and the liberation of women.

Although Mkiva (2006) seems to be in favour of customary marriage and norms upon which the text is based, he is still of the notion that women should be at liberty to choose
their own life partners and have a right to live within the patriarchal society of amaXhosa. AmaXhosa young women have been deprived of their rights by their families and the society equally whilst the author also portrays the rights of women as being nullified by some men in the name of traditional marriage customs. With regard to the post 1994 era this drama shows that the rights of women are still not being recognised in the patriarchal society, instead African women seem to be treated in the same old manner of being objects with no rights in the society. The dignity of women according to the author is still on the spot where it is unnoticeable. Their voice is still being muted in the amaXhosa society.

On comparative basis, a third text was analysed with an intent to look at the rights of women within the broader African society. This text is entitled “Love on the rocks” (Sesinyi, 1981), it is in this text where it is shown that some African men, irrespective of the level of education they have, still possess a patriarchal mentality. Some men in the society still treat women as subordinates and they tolerate no opposition from them. Some men in the broader African context still act as the authority when it comes to decision-making and leadership whilst the Constitution of South Africa (1996) empowers women to be equal to men in the society. It is in this text that we find an educated woman being oppressed by an educated man. This shows that discrimination against women does not only occur amongst uneducated rural people, but it is also found amongst sophisticated and educated people in Africa although this differs from one family to the next.

In conclusion, there is a saying that goes “as long as you are black you are an African” which means that all families, be it be composed of educated couples or not, men still act as leaders in this patriarchal society. It is in this society that women are being discriminated against by men and their status as citizens of this country is being overlooked. The dignity of women is still over-shadowed in African society. Therefore, it is high time that women should fight for their rights and dignity, as there are many platforms that make provision for that. As the authors portray in their books, the only
partner that is favoured is the man. The woman is given no choice but to abide with the family rules under the heavy hand of a father who is a man in the patriarchal society.

The commonalities in “UDike noCikizwa” (Mmango, 1982) and “UNongxokozelo” (Mkiva, 2006) are that, women are still used as a doormat by men in society; their rights are still not in place in the patriarchal society. In addition, the freedom of women is still in the pockets of men. Mmango and Sesinyi are both of the view that education is the key to open the unopened doors of freedom for women and a key to liberty of young women in order to have the freedom of choice when it comes to marriage. For their voice to be heard loud and clear, women need good education to be able to fight for what is right for them. Customary marriage should still be tolerated and allowed subject to the prevention of discrimination against women by giving preference to arranged marriages, which are based on mutual consent rather than on forced marriage.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Customary marital practices are seen to be discriminative against women and cause widespread unrest among amaXhosa women. The aim of this investigation was to study these practices here in a scientific manner in order to establish their effects on modern amaXhosa society. In addition, there are also other discriminatory practices involved that received attention during the course of the study.

The methodology of this study is based upon a study of amaXhosa marriage practices, such as depicted in two isiXhosa genres. This includes the novel as well as the drama.

A theoretical framework for the analysis of the selected isiXhosa texts in this study was provided in order to investigate the status of women in society and their fundamental rights within the context of the Human Rights Charter (HRC). It also dealt with the role and status of women within the African context with the aid of feminist theories, which are the basics of socio-political struggle the aim of which is to end all forms of sexist oppression.

Some feminist authors and researchers argued that it is not only amaXhosa women that are deprived of their rights, but also those in Africa including developing countries like Zimbabwe as one of the African states as well as European countries like Britain and Sweden which are already developed.

The third chapter dealt with the depiction of forced marriage in amaXhosa society as found in literature that was written both before 1994 as well as after 1994. The analysis of the novels that were published before 1994 show that there was very little recognition of female human rights, especially amaXhosa females. The violation of
their rights took place under the guise of tradition or customs that have been practiced over many centuries. Sadly though, it appears as if the human rights of women are not satisfactorily recognised yet in amaXhosa society, in spite of the fact that their human rights are enshrined in the Constitution that was adopted in 1996. In “Yakhal’indoda” (2010), the status of amaXhosa females is depicted during the post-1994 era when the bindings and suppression of apartheid came to an end. This novel shows greater recognition for the human rights of amaXhosa females since Thuli was allowed to choose her own marriage partner without the interference of the family. On the other hand this novel also depicts great defiance of the rights of women. In this novel, one may find that a male character abuses young schoolchildren and ladies at the work place. This male character is already married and he is abusing his wife too. His wife is expected to be submissive to the acts of this irresponsible man.

Chapter Four dealt with the depiction of women’s’ rights in a drama that was published during the apartheid era as well as in a drama that was published in the democratic post-apartheid era. The drama that was published during the apartheid era shows gross violation of human rights of amaXhosa females. Not only is Cikizwa forced to marry a young man whom she does not know and whom she does not love, but she is also intimidated severely by her male dominating father. The depiction of these events show that there was very little respect for the rights of women in the “old” South Africa.

The second drama that was dealt with in this chapter is one that depicts conditions in post-1994 Democratic South Africa. Unfortunately, this drama also shows that there is very little respect for the rights of Xhosa women. In “UNongxokozelo” (2006) we see the brutal killings and beatings by Chief Ngangelizwe. Nongxokozelo was conspired against by her mother who worked hand in hand with Nondwe who is Novili’s mother in giving her away to Ngangelizwe’s wife. The depiction of the events in this drama shows that very little progress has been made regarding the recognition of women’s rights in the new South Africa.
In this chapter, it was also found that the violation of female human rights are not limited to amaXhosa society but it also appears in other African communities. In the novel “Love on the rocks” (Sesinyi, 1981), it is described how a Zimbabwean educated father (Mr Baruti) forces his daughter into marriage. He also abuses his wife physically, as he abuses his university student daughter physically and emotionally. In his abusive acts, there are even possible deaths as he beats his daughter and she got a miscarriage. For this kind of a man, no one stands a chance in his house since he wants to fight for his status by forcing his daughter to marry an educated young man and not a humble local young man who holds no position in the society.

Apart from the texts that have been analysed here, there are also media reports that confirm that the human rights of amaXhosa females are not given recognition but are still being violated. There are also reports that show that forced marriages are regularly found elsewhere on the African continent. These reports also indicate that the violation of female human rights is not only limited to the African continent but also found on the widespread basis elsewhere of the world.

In Chapter Four of the study reference was made to the manner in which the custom of forced marriage is being practiced in countries such as Pakistan and Great Britain. This article confirms that a mother of a young British girl forced her to marry a Pakistani man at the age of thirteen years old and when she fell pregnant she had to undergo an abortion and was sent back to Britain. At the age of nineteen, she was tricked by the same mother to visit the same man again and was told it was a family holiday. This mother was jailed in 2017 in Britain for taking part in human trafficking. This shows that forced marriage is not only performed by males but that females, especially mothers do it for money. It also shows that forced marriage is not limited to African continent but that is also found in other continents such as Asia and Europe.

Looking at the custom of marriage, there is time for modern women who get married to traditional males to adapt through compromise and by meeting the traditional society halfway; these modern women may conform to the norms of the traditional society and abide with them accordingly. In an article where a city girl got married to a local man, it was expected of her to go to the husband's home in the rural areas in the Eastern Cape, it is only then that she realised how happy she was before getting married. She had to get used to traditional attire and heavy work where water is fetched from a distant river. She had to learn to *hlonipha* but the in-laws did not admire her efforts of change, she worked so hard but her acceptance of change went without appreciation of the family. The family expected a rapid change which she was trying so much to meet them halfway. [https://int.search.tb.ask.com/search/searchfor=%22I+went+from+a+modern+city+girl+to+a+rural+Xhosa+wife%22&ots=1529926435088](https://int.search.tb.ask.com/search/searchfor=%22I+went+from+a+modern+city+girl+to+a+rural+Xhosa+wife%22&ots=1529926435088) (Accessed on 2018/04/01).

Forced marriage in all these literary works seems to be a prevalent theme that is less dignified in all aspects when it comes to recognition of the human rights of women. This phenomenon still takes place in the new South Africa. It is clear that it is not only men who practice forced marriage on young girls but it is also condoned by women themselves. Jongilanga (1982) depicts a female character by the name of Kholiwe who pleads with Zoleka to marry Zolile. Kholiwe conspires with Zenzile in trying to keep the bride’s wealth for their interest. However when Zenzile reprimands Zoleka for escaping from her in-laws, Kholiwe’s heart ills for her daughter yet she is not eager to stop Zenzile from forcing this young girl into marriage. An article entitled “How I was kidnapped and forced to marry” [https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/how-i-was-kidnapped-and-forced-to-marry](https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/how-i-was-kidnapped-and-forced-to-marry) accessed on 2018/06/20 describes how Nokuthula who was 19 years old and a student in Idutywa in the Eastern Cape, was kidnapped. Her mother and aunt were conspirators in this forced marriage to an older man. The aunt relentlessly pursued Nokuthula who was studying towards a nursing profession to get married. This is the same situation as in “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (1982) where Zoleka was also a student at Healdtown College and she wanted to be
a nurse and it was a year before the final year of her studies when she was forced to marry Zolile. Nokuthula’s mother ordered her to go back to the aunt when Nokuthula came to tell her what has happened, so this clearly shows that she and the aunt were behind the dirty forced marriage arrangement. Nokuthula was urged by her aunt to talk positively to the man just like Kholiwe urging Zoleka to marry Zolile in “Ukuqhawuka kwembeleko” (1982). Zoleka’s sister too is convincing her to marry as she was also forced to marry. In “UDike noCikizwa” (1982) Mmango also portrays a girl by the name of Cikizwa who is forced to marry; she too was still a student. Her mother stands no chance against her husband but is forced to plead with her daughter to marry. In the events discussed above, all the forced marriage conspirators are women who conspire against their daughters to agree to get married. The wider community also stands to blame in forced marriage as Nokuthula got a letter from a local woman asking her mother to convince Nokuthula to marry as she may fall pregnant like other girls of her age.

Forced marriage does not only take place in South Africa and other African states but also in European countries like Sweden which is regarded as one of the most developed countries in the world and where peace is highly observed. In an article entitled “Swedish girls are advised to put a teaspoon in their underwear when they fear being taken”, it is stated that only in 2017 there were about 139 calls that were received about abduction and forced marriage. Quite a number of girls were already saved by the teaspoon tactic at the airport where the teaspoon will trigger the alarm on checkout points then a girl will be taken into a private room where they get an opportunity to draw the attention of the security personnel to their plight and a perpetrator is arrested for human trafficking. Many young girls have already been saved from forced marriage through this teaspoon tactic. The chapter nine institution called Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) identified and captured about 91 000-child marriages in South Africa, which range between 12 and 17 years of age. Most of these forced marriages happen with the knowledge of parents or close relatives.
Men who disobey women, are disrespectful when it comes to the status and dignity of women. Surprisingly, women have a common problem in that they all have to obey customs and traditions, whether married according to her likeness or forced, the tradition stands ‘women must hlonipha’. In essence, it looks like for every woman to succeed in life there is one attribute pertaining to girls that people tend to forget in the society is ‘education’. Drum (2018/04/01) confirms this from the point of view of a city girl who got married to a rural man. She had to relocate from Johannesburg to the Eastern Cape. She had to adapt the lifestyle of amaXhosa, as she was a Zulu girl. She had to behave as expected of a Xhosa makoti. In the meantime, she had to exchange her professional freedom for that of a fulltime housewife. The city girl who got married immediately after she graduated confirms that family demands and expectations will always be there but that needs someone who understands and who is willing to deal with them in a diplomatic manner.

Education is the only powerbank of knowledge. Uneducated women obviously become slaves in the society, victims of the patriarchy and heavy load carriers. If some men do not realise that by denying their daughters from accessing an educational environment the daughter will be left in poverty. People admire educated women in all societies for their strength over uneducated ones who are ferociously held back by the will of their parents in the patriarchal society. Men believe they are carrying out a traditional obligation by marrying the women since it is entirely the result of societal invention, and it is transmitted from one generation to the next. Jordan (2008) writes of a female character by the name of Thembeka with a married name of Nobantu who found it impossible for her not to go to a meeting where her husband was expected to go to. She found it acceptable sit under a tree at enkundleni (tribal meeting) with other people as she possessed equal rights as her husband Zwelinzima. She became part of her husband’s meetings and even became a regular member although she was
a woman whilst the meetings were for men only, and it never bothered her to be the only woman in a house full of men. In the liberated countries she would be practising freedom of choice which is seen as a point of denial in the patriarchal society. In the meantime Jongilanga (1982) depicts two individuals who were never interested in marrying each other but were forced to marry other partners. Zoleka was forced to marry Zolile, who on the other hand found himself being given a woman where his father paid for the bride price on his behalf. Zoleka’s mother, Kholiwe conspired against her by convincing her to marry Zolile whom she does not want to marry.

The best interest of a child should be accorded priority in all actions concerning the child. In this regard, the girls in Mahala’s text “Yakhal’indoda” (2010) are wearing clothing which is sexually provocative. The teacher knew that one of the school girls was sleeping around and was a drunkard. The teacher who enjoyed seeing them in short sport skirts intimidated them to sleep with him. Children seem to think if it is done with an older person, it is in order. Mahala again depicts a school girl who lives with her grandmother and the teacher takes advantage of the right of the school girl to live freely. She was called by the teacher to his house for the teacher to satisfy himself but in the process he compromises the child’s right to a good future.

Based on the above consideration, Jongilanga made it possible to link individuals of legal age to be entered into marriage, irrespective of their consent. The best interests of the partners were put aside. The author sidelined all the rights of individuals, and though they are mature, the author minimised their choices as both partners were denied access to the negotiations of marriage.

It is hoped that women and girls shall be fortified with knowledge, as knowledge is the best weapon to dislodge such malpractices. It is trusted that this study will cast further light upon discriminatory aspects of the customary marriage tradition as found in amaXhosa culture today as to assist in the elimination of these practices from a human rights perspective.
Xhosa prose authors are not against the custom of traditional marriage, they also are not against the modern marriage custom. All marriages have their own problems irrespective of traditional or western type but there is a need to shift gradually from the traditional customary marriage to westernised marriage. This shift is guided by time and renaissance as the researcher discovered that many westernised women are in fact born from traditional families.

Forced marriage is a prevalent theme that has been less dignified in all aspects when it comes to women rights. Men detest women that are disrespectful and who are in denial of traditions. Women are the strength for the generations to learn from, these women are strong, salient and resilient on all odds as they are less empowered and spat on; they survive and remain silent and resilient too. From women one can learn to be a person of dignity, a character that survives all climates in life.

The role and status of women in the society have been identified as depicted from various prose texts. Women are nowadays found in high management roles while others are pinpointed in the patriarchal society where their voice is so silent, even if they speak up hardly one hears them. Some women became fortunate and got a glimpse of light through education but masculinity still has the upper hand in the society. In prose texts women before 1994 have been oppressed by the society as well as their partners. In most prose works, women are portrayed as objects of lesser existence. Some of the texts are written for leisure and entertainment, and that gives the reader some knowledge about the author’s background where it is still a patriarchal society. Some women are deprived the right to education while others are abused and it is the task of the author to have a gift to report all the incidents in his story.

Looking at a bigger scale versus the texts situation, not only to these texts but still more cases that are reported to bring a broader scale on the country today. Forced marriage is a serious problem. Police stations can be better equipped; female police officers must
be trained and regular workshops must be introduced for the officers to enable them to deal with domestic violence cases. Social work systems must be geared in full force to be able to deal with such cases. Church groups are already active in this field and they must come forward and be even stronger than they are currently. Traditional leaders as custodians of the amaXhosa traditions and customs also have the responsibility to ensure that social practices that are discriminative against women be abolished and that male members of the society should be discouraged from practising *ukuthwala* and show violent behaviour towards their spouses. They should play a vital role within their communities by having specially trained personnel to deal with such problems. These local volunteers are the ones that will differentiate between acts of crime and those of the tradition; this means that they have in-depth knowledge of the practical details of the tradition. This can be done in collaboration with institutions of higher learning where schools of culture can be introduced at curriculum level. The use of awareness campaigns that are presented by the Chapter Nine institutions like Commissioner for Gender Equality (CGE) and other non-governmental organisations can be used more effectively to empower women with knowledge and this can be one of the mechanisms to protect women through such incidents. Putting women in the limelight in order for them to be noticeable will enable them to gain respect and human status within the society. Nationwide organisations such as women’s leagues need to come forward and campaign more strongly for women’s rights.

Formal school education can also help to instil the rights of women to the young generation by integrating human rights as a component in the life skills and coaching syllabus. The syllabus will be revised in order to place greater emphasis on the plight of women and to give greater recognition to human rights of females.

At some point, one may find that the earlier literary texts portray women as silent and obedient characters while new texts uncover the mask. Women have the power to fight for their rights. In these days women are educated and well empowered, that is why a mother in Britain was arrested for forcing her daughter into forced marriage with an older
Pakistan man, making her an ‘object of trade’. Likely, parents have a wish on having girl children in order for them to strengthen their wealth through them.

However, it is a worldwide tendency to discriminate over women, but it is not right and it is not condonable. Even in the modern amaXhosa society after 1994 modern women, still adhere to these practices. Other countries on the African continent like Zimbabwe also suffer under these traditional marital practices where the family and the society exercise control over the choice of marriage partners. Forced marriage is practiced worldwide. Women must join hands and fight together against forced marriage and abuse; it is their right to do so.

The researcher comes to the conclusion that the analysis of these literary texts has revealed that there has been very little respect that was shown for human rights of amaXhosa females in the ‘old’ South Africa. The analysis of literary texts has also shown that in spite of the adoption of the new Constitution in 1996, which is generally regarded as one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world, there still seems to be too little recognition of the female human rights in the new South Africa.

This observation must however be seen within the context of two important considerations. The first one is that there is a universal worldwide tendency towards the violation of the human rights of females. This phenomenon was clearly shown in the paragraphs above and therefore the situation in South Africa is merely a reflection of what is happening at the macro level in the rest of the world. The second consideration is that African traditional customs are still well and alive and are widely practiced especially in the rural areas. These customs and traditions are notorious for their defiance of human rights of amaXhosa females. The transition from the apartheid South African order has therefore contributed very little towards the improvement of the plight of females in the country.
Finally, the views expressed above are confirmed in an event that was organised by the Ministry of Women on 20 June 2018. As the main speaker at this event, President Cyril Ramaphosa lamented the "shame" of brutality committed by South African men against women when he addressed the Young Women Dialogue at the Johannesburg City Hall. He even mentioned that women are abused and raped and brutally killed. Ramaphosa further mentions that women should not be treated as objects to be discarded but must be treated with great honour, dignity, sternity, morality, and ethical respect, https://www.news24.com/Video/SouthAfrica/News/watch-ramaphosa-laments-cruelty-and-brutality-sa-women-endure-20180621 (accessed on 2018/06/22).
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