



**THESIS TITLE: ANALYSIS OF CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AND  
THEIR EFFECTS ON SOCIAL COHESION FROM A ZULU  
COSMOLOGY PERSPECTIVE**

**by**

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## DECLARATION

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Dear Sir or Madam

I, Sipho Lombo, student number: 21556690

Hereby declare that the dissertation entitled:

**Analysis of consumption patterns and their effects on social cohesion from a Zulu cosmology perspective,**

is the result of my own investigation and research and that it has not been submitted in part or in full, for any other degree or any other institution of Higher Learning. Subsequently, other sources are acknowledged and giving explicit references.

Student's signature: \_\_\_\_\_

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Supervisor's signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date:

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

1. Four years ago I did not know I was going to undertake this particular study. All I knew was that I was still thirsting for knowledge, not certain whether to continue with my law degree which I had started while doing my first Doctoral study in 2005 or starting a new qualification altogether. When the study bug began hitting hard I contacted many people and former colleagues, friends and family who gave me information and supported me in my journey. The following come to mind:
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## **ABSTRACT**

Using historic and ethnographic data collected from KwaZulu-Natal, this study examines food consumption from the Zulu Cosmology epistemic point of view. The study highlights Ubuntu as a prosocial behaviour that reduces the importance of self in favour of pro social norms of sharing and selflessness. In other words, personhood is understood as a process and the product of interconnectedness experienced in social spaces. Pro-social behaviour is therefore seen as a determinant of harmonious and social cohesive communities. The study concluded that social cohesive communities develop a set of cultural protocols and boundaries that reward prosocial norms and punish antisocial behaviour. Social cohesion as a concept was also found to be inseparable from the notion of shared values, identities and norms.

The study delved deeper and found that the land, the livestock and the cultural rituals to honour the living and the dead defined a unique interconnectedness of the Zulu person to his culture. Eating and eaten products were part of a uniting culture that linked a Zulu man, woman, girls, old men and women to other people, their animals and their land. Zulu people lived for, and with, other people in peace. No man or family would go hungry. Immediately that becomes known, another man would give the destitute man a few cattle to start his own flock and feed his family. This and other eating rituals contributed to a strong, peaceful and socially cohesive nation of King Shaka ka Senzangakhona.

On the basis of the understanding of the cultural rituals, their link with the land and animals, the study concluded that land restitution and agrarian policies can be enhanced by taking into consideration the need for land for the rural Zulu people to cultivate vegetables and fruits that have cultural meaning and policies that enable them to have livestock as well as space to practise their culture.

The study is envisaged to inspire social welfare and community development policies that instil the prosocial values of Ubuntu and interconnectedness.

Keywords: Ethnography; ubuntu; pro-social theory; social cohesion; consumption patterns

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## **CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This study seeks to examine food consumption that is tied to social, epistemic and environmental values of indigenous people across generations as far back as the 17th century from a Zulu cosmology perspective. Using the Zulu cosmology of ubuntu, the study explores the effects of socio-political and economic dynamics over a century on the consumption patterns of the Zulu people in the rural areas of Kwa Zulu-Natal. It discerns the utility function of food from its symbolic significance socially, physically, emotionally, and spiritually. It highlights ubuntu as a prosocial behaviour that replaces the importance of individualism in favour of pro social norms which embraces empathy, sharing and selflessness.

This Chapter is structured as follows: the first part looks at the controversies, theoretical flaws and problems identified in literature pertaining to social, epistemic and environmental values of indigenous people of KwaZulu-Natal between the research problems, problem objectives and scope of study.

### **1.2 Theoretical basis of the problem**

#### **1.2.1 Loss of timeworn values**

Westernization and globalization of Africa and its venomous effects on people and their cultures resulted in African culture becoming an object of gross manipulation (Apusigah 2008:1). The Zulu people of South Africa and their culture could not survive the effects of these powerful influences without the strength of their values inherited from King Shaka and their cultures. According Rautenbach (2012:24-25, the speech given by the reigning Zulu King at the Reed dance of September 2012 clearly confirms this observation:

He said,

Over the last couple of years, I've seen a decline in the social fabric that kept societies together. Things have changed however, those people who can afford it put up huge walls around their properties to ensure the privacy and safety, and those who can't just tend to lock themselves in their houses and steer clear of any interaction with the neighbours. It is as if every household changed into a mini island state, hell bound on keeping to itself safe from unwanted criminals and intruders.

Throughout history the Zulu people lived an open and safe life where everybody looked after the life and family of everybody else in the community and beyond. Rudwick (2006:15) argues that family was more than just a focus of close and blood relatives but everyone who shared in the values of the Zulu people. In this bond, sharing of food and the meaning of cultural food identified and united those who identified with Zuluism or the concept of being Zulu. Numerous researchers (Krige 1968:41; Kunene 1976:23 and Bryant 1949:25) concurred that the culture of the Zulu people grounded and sustained them against wars and difficulties. Their culture embraced families and clans into one social unit. According to Kunene (1976: 12) the unity of the Zulu nation was the vision of King Shaka who fought and built a strong Zulu nation. However, this unity was destroyed after the Bambatha Rebellion which forced the Zulu people to pay poll tax (Ritter 1978:13)

Sangweni (2014:49) argues that the British colonial governments across Africa coerced people out of a rural non capitalist economy into an income labour. Land and cattle were two assets that were the basis of the Zulu cultural life. They enabled the Zulu people to perform many rituals such as slaughtering animals for cultural ritual, planting crops such as fruit and vegetable and a place of rest for their loved ones that had passed on. Blose (2006:89) argues that one could not separate a Zulu man from his land and cattle (Blose 2006:110). This statement by Blose (2006:67) suggest some form of interrelatedness between social cohesion, cosmology, consumption and food production.

This study seeks to argue that the values of ubuntu did not only have a socio-cultural significance to the way of being; the lost values also created a deeper dimension of living that uniquely tied the Zulu people to their environment and the cosmos in general. The study does not attempt to provide solutions to the vast topic of lost values of ubuntu and implications of this conondrum, but to rather focus narrowly on aspects of Ubuntu related to consumption and social cohesion.

### **1.2.2 Wider issues underlying consumption patterns and social cohesion**

Many studies have been written about consumption patterns but there is dearth of literature concerning the link between consumption patterns and social cohesion, particularly from the Zulu cosmology perspectives. The study critically reviews how the Zulu cosmology worked as far as consumption and social cohesion are concerned. The high rate of murder (58%), the high incidence of rape (43%) and crime in general as depicted in Table 1 below call for the unravelling of how social cohesion is linked to consumption from a Zulu cosmological

perspective. 38% of respondents in the random crime poll have been victims (or someone close to them has been a victim) of crime in the last six (6) months (Crime Statistics (2017:5) See table below:

Type of crime	Percentage reported
Burglary	46
Robbery	57
Attempted murder	58
Rape	43

**Table 1 Crime Statistics in KZN between December 2016 and February 2017**

(Crime Statistics (2017:2)

Nsizwa (2007:24) argues that crimes are motivated by different factors, however, they are also signs of the loss of conscience and value systems that threaten social cohesion and sustainable development. He (ibid) continues to make a point that many governments devote lot of funds to come up with effective crime fighting strategies and sometimes even call on spiritual and moral conscienceness of the people to change peoples' hearts. (Sangweni 2014:49-51). A Moral Regeneration Movement was started in 2006 by the South African government in order to revive and regenerate basic cultural norms such as respect, the respect for life and person. Shotrya (2008:63) argues that this movement was established to support development of a just and caring society through the revival of the spirit of /Botho and the realization of the values and ideals protected in our Constitution.

As pointed above, consumption behaviour and forms rely heavily on the socialisation and values of each society and also experience to economic conditions/value systems. However, a point which is often overlooked is that people consume by following traditions, binding customs, commitment and morals as well as religious obligations (Hoeller:2010). Krige (1977:34) argues that the Abanguni tribes, including the rural people of the KwaZulu-Natal, observed strict ceremonial food behaviours in all occasions of their culture. For example, when young boys undergo the ritual of the passage to manhood (ukweluka), they are restricted from eating certain types of foods. This was done in order to instil values of self-denial and respect for customs and cultures. Perhaps, argues Ritter (1978:13), it is the reason the Zulu people and their basic beliefs of amasiko nezithethe (customs and rituals) have survived through the ravages of apartheid. In line with this spirit of caring for other people, the new democratic government of South Africa adopted a stance of creating pro-poor policies

(Sangweni 2014:34). These policies show a government that want to have ubuntu and renew the African spirit of sharing across Africa (Sassateli 2014: 24).

However, Gukwe (2007:61) makes a striking point that the older Zulu generations engage in more traditional forms of community interaction and cultural events. They consume and attach cultural meaning to foods prepared in the name of culture and cultural rituals while the younger generations are embracing a faster paced, virtual and fleeting form of cultural consumption influenced in part by the western cosmology. This causes conflict as these cultures conflict inside homes and in Zulu society.

### **1.2.3 Controversies, and flaws and a set of unanswered questions**

African cosmology embraces the cultural viewpoints and knowledge of all nations in Africa. People of Africa share the basic values of sharing and communalism. Kunene (1976:37) argues that Zulu cosmology as part of this tapestry is based on cultural beliefs such as spirituality, ancestry and *Unomkhubulwane*. The indigenous people of Africa possess a common culture, worldview, history, religion, ancestry and philosophy of life (Gukwe 2007). Cilliers (2008:57) makes a point that the communal relationships of Africans fostered respect for the elderly, ubiquitous love for children, compassion, human values and web of personal responsibility towards one another that is still such an enviable feature of African society today.

The cattle pens were always at the centre of the Zulu village just as the cattle themselves were once at the centre of the Zulu life. Rowstone (1980) continued to enrich the discussion by stating that many Zulu tales and proverbs are about cattle e.g “indoda ifel ezinkomeni (A man dies with his cattle/ a man will do anything to save his cattle which he regards as his only wealth). Kruger (1977) links the possession of cattle with what he called “the tribal economy”. He contends that, of all the activities which are considered the special sphere of men, the most important in tribal economy is certainly the rearing and the care of the cattle. For the Zulu people, cattle provide meat and amasi (curdled milk) and amasi was regarded as the mainstay of the Zulu diet. According to Krige (ibid) the cattle hide was and is still used for shields and clothing while the wealth of man is always estimated in the number of cattle he possesses. It is with cattle that he must acquire wives for himself and for his son. The slaughtering of the cattle offers him the medium to talk and negotiate with his ancestors. Von Kapff (1977) provides even a deeper understanding and link between the cultural meaning of cattle ownership and social cohesion of the Zulu people. He argued that for Zulus, cattle represent wealth, power and status. The possession of cattle meant food, clothing, and all possible comfort and desirable luxury. Continuing on the same vein land ownership, harvest and food

provided a sense of social cohesion that far surpasses the modern ownership of money and other luxuries. The sense of ownership is more elucidated by this quotation by a Zulu man (Avendano: 2013).

*the land, our purpose is the land, that is what we must achieve. The land is our whole lives; we must plough it for food. We live on it and we are buried in it”.*

The sense of social cohesion of the Zulu people derives from the fact that the land is where they keep their cattle, contains the memories through the rituals such as ukubuyisa (cleansing ceremony). Additionally, the land is where they cultivate and harvest their sources of nutrition. Just as the livestock is the pride of man, land is the pride of a woman (Kinsman 1870:3). Each village has its own cattle and goats that supply the milk, and its own fields, in which the corn and vegetables are grown to supply the needs of the inhabitants. Important as cattle are in the economic life of the tribe, they would never be held in such high regard or occupy the position they do in Zulu society, were it not for their enormous ritual value. Cattle and goats are not only the link between the ancestors and their living descendants, but are the only means whereby the Zulu get into touch with the ancestral spirits to make known his wants or ask for blessings (Krige 1977:94).

Drawing from the above argument and viewed from an African cosmological perspective one cannot but associate the cultural beliefs and values of Africans to their land, animals and social cohesion. How and what we eat is largely determined by the contextual socio-economic, political and cultural fabric of the food system in which we find ourselves. In this regard Kapff (1977: 34) argues that processes of change cannot be divorced from these contextual factors. Many studies on consumption and social cohesion point out that rural people of the world experience social cohesion when their consumption brings them closer to their cultural beliefs. Kapff (1977:34) confirms this point by saying that practically all Zulu people make offerings to the spirits of their ancestors in the form of slaughtered animals and luxuries, particularly on occasions such as births, coming of age, weddings, funeral, rain and the sowing of the crops and harvesting. Perhaps their sense of social cohesion or satisfaction was shown by the amount of singing and dancing both men and women would perform separately after finishing the meat and drinking of beer. It is no wonder that the Zulus have about 10 types of dancing and all of it is linked to one celebration or another (Rowlstone: 1980). Food is also central to individual identity, in that any given human individual is constructed, biologically, psychologically and socially by the foods he/she chooses to incorporate. Food is a cultural symbol and eating is a symbolic act, through which people communicate, perpetuate and

develop their knowledge, beliefs, feelings and practices towards life and understanding of cultural influences (Opare-Obisaw 2007:25).

#### **1.2.4 Problem statement**

There is a strong relationship between how food is prepared and consumed by urban and rural people and how food consumption and preparation is linked to social cohesion. However, over many years the world imperialism and colonisation of Africa allowed the Western cosmology to determine the world agenda in a certain political and economic direction, which according to Viriri and Mungwini (1999:56) looks at all values of Africans as backward and the Western worldview as superior. According to Mengaras (2001:45), Western cosmology uses four prisms to judge any other different world views. These are: (1) the concept of colour (2) obsession with being the finest race (3) duty to convert, colonise and enslave and (4) no African history.

The Western view of Africans' traditional food is that it is backward and unclean (Bloese. 2006:56). For example, beer made by sorghum drunk by the Zulus was referred to as "*Kaffir malt or Kaffir beer*", and was put together under the term 'Native foods' as foods of a lower standard. Yet many researchers such as Kunene (1979:17), Bryant (1907:46) and Krige (1968:64) have linked food of the Zulus with their culture and associated rituals. They have argued that the Zulu people always had food which was eaten in a certain way at a certain time. Whenever the Zulu people were together, they had sorghum beer and meat. Before they planted their food they prayed for their land through the process of *ukusocola* and when they harvested they celebrated the harvest through *umkhosi wokweshwama*, which is still celebrated through the reigning Zulu king.

However, Rautenbach (2012:12) contends that the Zulu people have lost all those basic beliefs that united them and gave them the strength of their uniting customs such as *ilima* (working together), *ukusisela* (giving someone who have no cows a few calves as a start-up for his new stock). Instead the Zulu people, like many African cultures in Africa straddle two cultures and practice cultures of the two vastly different cosmologies, that of western and African cosmology. This study looks into what this straddling has caused in the Zulu cultural and consumption patterns. Accordingly, this study seeks to address the three research questions covered in the section below.

### **1.2.5 Questions that address this study**

1. What are the factors that contribute to social cohesion in the Zulu community?
2. What is the ritualistic value of food in Zulu cosmology?
3. How are cultural rituals linked to social cohesion?

Although research questions will be constructed for the purpose of extracting information about the subject, they will serve mainly as a guide to the overall research process.

### **1.3 Purpose and significance of the study**

The study is envisaged to inspire social welfare and community development policies that instil the prosocial values of interconnectedness. It is also envisaged to generate discussion and policy proposals that promote and integrated lifestyle of the Zulus; a lifestyle that links the rural Zulu people to their cultural life of land ownership where they can grow crops and rear their own stock and where they can teach their children respect through their own cultural programmes such ubuntombi (virginity) ubunsizwa (how a young man goes about life, umemulo (a cultural event celebrating the coming of age of a girl child) and respects associate with graves and those that have passed on.

According to National Development Plan: 2011:6, the objectives of the Land Restitution policies are widely believed not only to support agriculture, animal husbandry but also facilities found in the city that enable faster communication and shops. Land restitution should not be only about sending people where they used to be but about developing those as a modern day society who have chosen to continue with their life in the rural areas. The study assumes that for government to deal with disharmony that comes with people living in informal settlements over their working period and going back to their rural areas later in life, a situation that has led to bursting informal settlements, it should support the rural areas with sources of employment and a way for people to live together in a socially cohesive way. From an African cosmological point of view, consumption has spiritual, emotional and social cohesion connotations. This cosmological perspective is linked to the production of food, farming practices, culture, beliefs and rituals to entrench all processes linked to the livelihood of African people. People all over Africa used to grow and consume fresh food from their own fields. They kept cattle for milk and beef and chickens for eggs and meat. They sacrificed fresh and young animals and harvested maize and corn and kept it in their houses. They welcomed strangers they had never met who needed overnight stay. They fed them food, often slaughtering sheep or goat and gave them “ukhothi” (grounded maize) for them to continue their journey (Nyembezi and Nxumalo.1995:37).



The study aimed to investigate and analyse food consumption as an issue that promoted social cohesion. It looked at food as a uniting value celebrated through particular rituals with the aim of sustaining life and bringing people together. The study assumed that social cohesion as a concept is inseparable from the notion of shared values, identities and norms

#### **1.4 Research design**

A research design is a detailed outline of how an investigation will take place and it is therefore a logical structure of the inquiry. Drawing from Hoellerer (2004:45) a research design will typically include how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means for analyzing data collected. This study adopts a theory supported by numerous researchers (Pollock 2012:65; Coltart (2007:27) and Kahn and Eide (2012:54) that research design can be regarded as a framework that has been created to seek answers to research questions and refers to the structure of an enquiry. It is a logical matter rather than a logistical one. Drawing from Noel- Weiss (2012:68) the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible. Obtaining pertinent evidence entails specifying the type of evidence needed to answer the research question, to test a theory, to evaluate a programme or to accurately describe some phenomenon. In other words, when designing research, we need to ask: given this research question (or theory), what type of evidence is needed to answer the question (or test the theory) in a convincing way? Research design `deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem (Yin 1989:37).

Babikiri (2011:4-5) argues that the research design is a plan, rational structure of the inquiry and strategy of investigation that is considered in obtaining the answers to research questions or problems. These notable ethnographers further argue that various research designs have been classified by being examined from three different views which include:

- the number of contacts within the study populations;
- the reference period, which refers to the duration in which a study is carried out to explore a phenomenon, situation, event or problem and lastly
- the nature of investigation.

The preparation of research design appropriate for this research problem involved consideration of the following:

- the type of a proper research tool to collect data which will lend itself to validity and reliability.

- the identification of a relevant population that have the cultural values, in particular similar consumption patterns of the Zulu people;
- the data analysis tool that would ensure that no relevant information is hidden

There are many types of designs and they vary from an experiment, case study, longitudinal design to cross sectional design. Kahn and Eide (2012:68) confirms that research designs have numerous research approaches used to get to the truth. They are:

- ethnographic
- grounded theory
- Inductive
- Narrative
- Sample range

Drawing from Coltart (2009:77) ethnography comprises of the following framework:

- Observation
- Field notes
- Interviews

The research lens of this study is a multi-pronged approach. It involved observation and listening to people explaining their culture is important. Since a phenomenological approach was used for this study, ethnography became my research strategy and observation. Likewise, field notes and pictures became my lens to see the link between consumption in Zulu culture and prosocial behaviour.

The chapter is divided into four major sections and structured as follows: The first part reiterates the research problem and provides rationale for embarking on this study. The second part discusses and justifies the epistemological approach adopted for the study. The third part outlines the research. The fourth chapter provides an overview of the data collection and analytical process, and, the last chapter (5) analyses results and make recommendations.

## 1.5 Assumptions

### 1.5.1 Ontological assumptions

Ontology refers to the nature of reality and human behaviour and meaning of reality as we know it (De Vos 1998:241). It is concerned with what kind of world we are investigating, with the nature of existence and with the structure of reality. Guba and Lincoln (1989:83) state that the ontological assumptions are those that answer to the question 'what is there that can be known?' or 'what is the nature of reality?'

Drawing from Ahmed (2008:23) ontology is how one views reality, one's worldview. It is now worth identifying the ontology of the study. This study uses an ontology which is essentially of a social world of meanings arranged in a culture of a specific people, the Zulu people in the rural area of Kwa Zulu-Natal. In this world, researchers have to assume that the world they investigate is a world populated by human beings who have their own thoughts, interpretations and meanings and that the whole experience is what is known as culture. In this cultural milieu each person creates his own reality which is subjective. There are universal laws and universal values that are objective. There are spiritual laws which are irrefutable. For example, all tribes and nations might not agree on the definition of a Creator but all nations believe there is a Someone who brought life together and is managing its works. The Zulu people refer to the Creator as *Umvelinqangi* (the one who came before all). As a Zulu my reality is that I see my life that seeks to comply with these universal laws. I know that I belong to the universe created and populated as part of my bigger family. I have to have respect for those that went before me as they play a crucial role in my life. I respect (not worship) my ancestry, for without them I would not be. I believe in, sharing and togetherness and the need of mankind to survive.

Crotty (2003:10) argues that ontological laws are not subjective but universal and reflect the world as it is. Whether one knows these laws or not, they have universal cause and effect beyond our control. The researchers' investigation of this world is clearly demonstrated in their use of the different research methods and techniques of the explanatory design such as interviews and analysis of documents in order to interpret meanings people give to their own every day or cultural life. Moreover, using ethnography as a methodology of the present study forces the student to experience and adopt a new lived experience, feelings and way of doing things.

For this study, the ontological argument is that there is a link between consumption patterns and social cohesion. Paul (2008:45) confirms that consumption patterns worsen the food crisis

because higher income consumers grab such a large share of the globe's food. They consume more volume and also want products such as meat and dairy, which make heavy demands on grains and land for grazing. Drawing from Paul (ibid) food cartels of the world determine the value of food before it is harvested, the poor have to contend with food market prices determined by the wealthy.

This makes food an economic issue:

- Culture is important as it lies at the root of product consumption
- Our lives, migration patterns and our spirituality is related to food.
- Food is related to political economy. Ross (2012) confirms this point that capitalists try to fix prices so that they can exploit others and increase their own profits. The Euro zone banned certain wines from South Africa after the country failed to stick to some agreements about the number of South African wines that could be exported to Euro Zone countries (Farber 2016:14)

This study is trying to understand how food consumption, culture and spirituality of the Zulus, as embedded in their ritualistic lives, is linked to social cohesion.

### **1.5.2 Axiological assumptions**

In this study human needs are seen as both existential and axiological. Crotty (2003:10) argues that all the needs work together and have common purpose for life. There is a link between and among the needs of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting; and, on the other hand, the needs of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Creation, Leisure, Identity and Freedom. From the list mentioned by Crotty (ibid) above, it follows that, for instance, food and shelter must not be seen as needs, but as satisfiers of the fundamental need for Subsistence.

The value I bring to this study is the understanding of the life of a Zulu people and their cultures related to food. I have relatives who still live in the rural area. Like many Zulu people they long to come and live in town while I long to go back and live in the rural area with clean air and ability to eat fresh food from the garden. I also bring to the study my knowledge of the Zulu language, its nuances, understanding the body language and the body signals, a Zulu man or woman when he speaks, which could evade a non-Zulu speaker in doing this research. Crotty (2003:13) argues that the skill to connect with the culture enables participatory decisions and enables people or participants to be involved in the making of decisions in every social context which affects their flourishing.

### **1.5.3 Causality assumptions**

As argued by Crotty (2003:10) causality assumptions should not be confused with correlation. It refers to the cause and effect that must occur in analysing research study. However, the cause must precede effect and there must be repeated, demonstrable and predictable correlation between cause and effect. In this study causality assumption refers to the effect of socio-political changes that affected the consumption patterns of the Zulu people and consequently led to loss of some of their cultural values. This study makes an assumption that causes and effects are circular and are mutually influential. Crotty (ibid) argues that nothing happens in the vacuum. The view is that culture and religion is a cause for people to consume food. Culture in this case is wide to include issues of (a) various consumer cultures, (b) conspicuous consumption, (c) climate and (d) affordability of food items.

The study therefore assumes that had the Zulu people been left in their rural areas and supported with land and stock farming and policies that support their lifestyle they would not be suffering the negative effects of the western consumption patterns and they would also not live a divided cultural life.

### **1.5.4 Epistemological assumption**

As argued by Ahmed (2008:44) epistemology is about how knowledge is constructed. It refers to the assumptions about knowledge and how it can be obtained. He continues to add that epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know. Drawing from Crotty (2003:3), it is clear that epistemology is also concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate. Epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know (ibid) and it is also concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate (Maynard 1994:10) in Crotty Ibid:8). Drawing from Msweli (2016:2) knowledge emerges from context and literature which get tested again and again. One can construct a prescriptive deductive knowledge based on the literature. One can come up with pre-determined knowledge and compare. Resulting from Msweli's argument it follows that knowledge is deductive, prescriptive and it is narrow and is devoid of context. It uses rich context and test predetermined truths and conclusion and is informed by question you asked. Crotty (2003:3) encapsulate epistemology by stating that "meaning is not discovered, but constructed".

The epistemological stance used in the study is constructivism or social constructionism. The terms constructivism and social constructionism tend to be used interchangeably and subsumed under the generic term 'constructivism' (Charmaz 2006:4). Constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes while social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus (Young and Colin 2004). It is less interested, if at all, in the cognitive processes that accompany knowledge but may depend on innumerable cultural, social, mental and many more meaning an individual gives to an object or living organism. The main reason why constructivism is the epistemological stance of the first study are as follow. The researcher is trying to find an answer to the question, "what is the link between the consumption patterns of the Zulu people from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to date and how that is linked to social cohesion. This study seeks to explore context that cannot be accessed using structured research instruments but owned in their own heads and minds by Zulu communities and their families. In that way the researcher needs to be careful not to take a cultural practice as the only truth but must be prepared to seek the truth as he acts as a participant observer. Drawing from Andrews (2012:8) proponents share the goal of understanding the world of a lived experience from the perspective of those who live in it. This study adopts an ontological view that says humans have a relationship with the earth, food and commodities. Once this relationship is disconnected there is disharmony and disorder.

The knowledge process or epistemology, is essentially part of the process of constituting a life-world known as ontology (Van der Wal 1999:77). This is done through the language of the people. Kahn (2011:6) refers to this language that carries a deep understanding of culture and experiences as linguistic epistemology. It confirms what Kahn (2011:45) says, that what people experience, they experience in terms of language. The above indicates that it is not possible to do justice to the study of people's lives, in particular, their deep ritualistic issues without understanding their language of experience their spiritual realism and their belief systems. It is vital to be part of their lived experiences. This approach is further supported by Todres and Wheeler (2001:2) who explored what philosophical distinctions need to be incorporated in studying human experience and stated that these philosophical distinctions can be broadly approached in two areas which are, grounding: the "real life-world" as starting point as well as humanization and the language of experience. In view of the aforementioned definitions of epistemology by the scholars, the epistemological position of this study is a qualitative approach whose origin is inductive, phenomenological, and ethnographic. Drawing from Bezuidenhout (2002:31-33); characteristically, in terms of this inductive and constructivist approach, the relationship between the researcher and the subject of research is subjective, characterized by observations, interrogation, personal understanding of nature and human

behaviour and in which the researcher is fundamentally is the data collection instrument of smaller group for quality purpose

### **1.5.5 Theoretical assumptions**

The theoretical framework consists of concepts, and, together with their definitions join the researcher to knowledge and forces him to address questions of why and how. It also helps him to identify limits and give him ability to explain the meaning, nature, and challenges associate with the phenomenon, often experienced but unexplained so that we may use that knowledge to act in more informed and effective ways (Crotty 2003:5). This study addresses the research question drawing from two theoretical frameworks of (a) Zulu cosmology and (b) pro-social theory. Zulu cosmology is based on cultural beliefs and spirituality such as ancestry, uNomkhubulwane and Amathongo.

A theoretical assumption is defined as “the theoretical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria.” (Crotty 2003:7). Since the ontology of the study is mainly concerned specifically with the Zulu people’s human world of meanings and interpretations and the epistemological stance is mainly constructionist in nature, thus, it is logically sequenced that interpretivist is the theoretical assumption underpinning this study. This study is premised on two theoretical assumptions; the interpretism and constructivism.

### **Constructivism**

As argued by Young and Colin (2004:5) constructivism proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes while social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus. It is less interested if at all in the cognitive processes that accompany knowledge. Thus, meaning is not discovered, but constructed. The main reason why constructivism is the epistemological stance of the first study are as follow. The researcher is trying to find an answer to the question, “what is the link between the consumption patterns of the Zulu people from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to date and how that is linked to social cohesion.

This study seeks to explore context that cannot be accessed using structured research instruments but owned in their own heads and minds by Zulu communities and their families. In that way the researcher needs to be careful not to take a cultural practice as the only truth but must be prepared to seek the truth as he acts as a participant observer.

## **Interpretivism**

I would argue that interpretivism is the theoretical perspective of the first study for the following reasons. First, from an interpretivist viewpoint, “people are deliberate and creative in their actions, they act intentionally and make meanings in and through their activity.” (Blumer 1969). Secondly, people actively construct their social world and they are not the cultural dopes or the passive dolls of positivism. That means a researcher in an ethnographic study experiences the true cultural life as he lives full life of the cultural participants, and not watching an acted film about the culture. Becker (1970:4) argues that the social world is studied in its natural state without the intervention of, or the manipulation by the researcher.” (Hamersley and Atkinson, 1983). In addition, Cohen et al (2012:22) advocates the use of interpretivism stating that individuals are unique and largely non-generalizable, there are multiple interpretations of, and perspectives on, single events and situations and that situations need to be examined through the eyes of the participants, rather than the researcher.

### **1.6 Delimitations**

Although Kwa-Zulu Natal is made of various racial groups, e.g. Whites, Indians, Blacks (made up of also numerous ethnic groups), Indians and Coloureds (people of mixed origins), the study will concentrate on the consumption patterns of the Zulu people living in the rural area of Kwa Zulu-Natal. This study will not concentrate on the Zulu people living elsewhere other than the two mentioned places, Estcourt and Mophela near Hammarisdale even though using places like Nongoma and Nkandla would have on the surface given a fairer picture of the people who still practice Zulu culture. However, the researcher believes that the basis of a culture is its homogeneity of beliefs and actions. In other words, like any culture, the Zulu people anywhere in the diaspora judged their “Zuluness” on whether they practice certain Zulu cultural practices. It is therefore possible to marry in a Zulu wedding in Austria or Germany for the couple would have performed all the rituals done when a Zulu person performs, eat and honour the ancestors as a true Zulu does.

This study will also not be studying Zulu people living in the suburbs of KwaZulu–Natal as they (1) are not easy to get them together and (2) their lifestyle is more individualistic and dualistic in nature. They associate and practice Zulu culture but live a western lifestyle dotted with artifacts and casual practices in Zulu. Therefore, they are regarded as insignificant for the purposes of this study.



## **1.7 Structure of thesis**

The rest of this thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 covers the background to the research problem, significance of the study, aims of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, problem statement, synopsis of the methodology, significance of the study, limitations of the study and the format of the rest of the study.

Chapter 2 is divided into two sections. The first section covers the theoretical foundation which defines prosocial theories, Zulu cosmology and social cohesion. These theories are the foundation upon which the study of consumption by the Zulu people is built. The theories also indicate the link between culture and food from a Zulu cosmology perspective. The objective of the section was to offer a thorough understanding of the cultural meaning the Zulu people give to food and beer. The second part covers the historical and cultural context of consumption. It mentions and explains various cultural rituals where different foods and beverages are eaten. It explained the ritualistic meaning of those foods and how they promote social cohesion.

Chapter 3: Research methodology covers the research process used and undertaken in the ethnographic study. It covered the research design, research methodology, sample sizes and unit of analysis. It covered also the data types in ethnography and revealed the uniqueness of ethnographic research methods. It covered the choice of Nvivo as a data collection and analysis tool suitable for an ethnographic tool. The steps used in Nvivo were: 1 importing documents such as text, pictures, presentation, graphs and other formats of written words; step 2: classification and coding of information according to types such as videos, recorded and telephonic information. It was stressed that this is a very important step in Nvivo for ethnographic purposes as every coded information plays a part in the observation. Step 4 collects, stores and assist to analyse information from the focus groups and step 5 deals with the analysis of the information. Towards the end this chapter covered the issue of limitations. On this matter it pointed out how distance limited the opportunity for full observation. The chapter also dealt with the issue of validity and reliability, emphasizing the point that ethnography forces a researcher to deal with validity and reliability in a different manner as observation is subjective. Personal or group interpretation may be biased as the culture or cultural rituals are kept a secret from outsiders. It is therefore difficult to test validity of information except repeatedly asking the same question from people of the same clan.

Chapter 4: covered data collection through three observations that included umemulo, a cultural event celebrating the coming of age of a girl child, a Zulu wedding and a funeral in the township. Furthermore, it recorded and documented the interview responses of 10 participants who were chosen on the basis that they were close relatives of the three events observed and also their deep knowledge of the Zulu culture.

Chapter 5 covered data interpretation, data analysis, findings and recommendations and proposed future studies stemming out of the limitations of this study. Findings were that the best way to understand the consumption patterns of the Zulu people one has to understand the Zulu culture. In analyzing the data through Nvivo themes were identified. These were: Theme 1; togetherness; theme 2: ritual observation and slaughtering; theme 3 Land ownership; theme 4 maintenance of link with traditional homestead and theme 5: erosion of old values and adoption of new ones. It concluded that the Zulu people have been eating according to the dictates of their culture. They would rather have livestock, land and their culture than money alone. Lastly, the study concluded the consumption patterns of the Zulu people are linked to social cohesion.

## **CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is divided into two sections namely theoretical framework and the review of the related literature.

### **2.2 Theoretical framework**

This study dealt with the themes of (1) Zulu cosmology (2) consumption patterns and (3) social cohesion. Consumption patterns and the ritual meaning of food of the Zulu people was explored, understanding what drove the Zulu people to eat certain foods, at what time and with whom and why? In that way the study burrowed deep into the cultural milieu of the Zulu people from 1727, a period before King Shaka was born to date. Research by ethnographers (Kunene 1976:6; Guy 1973:56 and Krige 1976:8) confirmed that Zulu people possessed a lot of knowledge and attached meaning to all ritual consumption. The underlying premise of the study is that the Zulu people have always linked eating with their cultural rituals and understanding the rich ritualistic meaning of food became part of their survival strategies and led to a socially cohesive and strong nation. This consequently contributed to a sense of social cohesion of the proud and brave Zulu people. There is dearth of literature on theories that link the ritualistic meaning with social cohesion and wellbeing. This study is premised on the prosocial behaviour/norms theory.

#### **2.2.1 Pro-social theory**

Pro-social theorists (Friedkin 2004:23; Berglund 1976:44) define pro-social behaviours as those behaviours intended to help other people and are characterized by a concern about the rights, feelings and welfare of other people. These behaviours include feeling of empathy and concern for others and behaving in ways to help or benefit other people which are altruistic or selfless means of reaching out to others. Batson (1986:45) expands on the meaning by stating that pro-social behaviours is a broad range of actions intended to benefit one or more people other than oneself, behaviours such as helping, comforting, sharing and cooperation. These behavioural traits are presently called socially cohesive behaviours.

As pointed out by pro-social theorists (Batson 1986:34, Bowles and Cintis 2011:81) governments are increasingly concerning themselves with issues of social cohesiveness in order to increase the wellbeing and happiness of the people. While researchers on the subject of social theory differ on what constitutes wellbeing they share a common understanding that increasing the income per person only increases the objective (material) wellbeing and not the subjective (spiritual and emotional) wellbeing. As vehemently argued by the workers' unions of South Africa (COSATU. 2006:2) this phenomenon is referred to as jobless growth; where there is a spike in economic growth while there is a decline in the rate of employment. In this study social cohesion is explored from a Zulu cosmology in order to see whether it has effect on wellbeing. Numerous studies (Hellwell and Layard 2013:5) point out that highly social cohesive and happy communities tend to achieve a higher score or level of wellbeing as well as happiness. In this sense happiness can also be a measure of social progress and part of human development. It is for this reason that countries that in the past has experienced racial, tribal and ethnic strife have included 'social cohesion' as one their priority objectives. (National Development Plan: 2011:6).

Kunene (1976:67) makes a strong point that African people derived pleasure in helping others. In the African and Zulu culture no visitor or guest was ever made to pay money or in kind for help given to him. However, it was a character that was inculcated from a young age in numerous cultural events and rituals. ensured that the gesture is reciprocal (Kunene: 1976). Life was not individualistic and ensured that there was no desperately poor or hungry person. The Council of Europe (2009:27) stressed the fact that wellbeing- for all is one of the objectives of social cohesion and social cohesiveness manifest itself in altruistic behaviour, helping others at the expense of oneself. In such a case unemployment, poverty and diseases are results of the cultural discord and cultural disconnect. As pointed out by Acket (et al 2008:76) during the last years two main approaches to the study of social cohesion can be identified (Chan *et al* 2006:45). The first one is a sociological and psychological approach based on the study of integration and social stability (Berger 1998:11; Gough and Olofsson 1999:58). The second one is a policy oriented one as adopted by the Canadian government, by the European and other international institutions who consider social cohesion as a precondition for economic prosperity.

Based on the analysis of numerous researches on social cohesion available in the literature, Jenson (1998) elaborates on this classification using five dimensions:

1. affiliation/isolation (share of common values, feeling of belonging to a same community)

2. insertion/exclusion (a shared market capacity, particularly regarding the labour market; in other words, who has/does not have opportunities to participate in the economy);
3. participation/passivity (involvement in management of public affairs, third sector);
4. acceptance/rejection (pluralism in facts and also as a virtue, *i.e.* tolerance regarding differences);
5. legitimacy/ illegitimacy (maintenance of public and private institutions which act as mediators, *i.e.* how adequately the various institutions represent the people and their interests).

Several theorists agree that the basic elements of a pro-social theory are:

- Social inclusion
- Social exclusion
- Social capital

Jenson (1988) argues that social exclusion refers to issues of poverty, being disenfranchised and denied rights because of religion, politics, culture and gender. Compared to the Zulu culture exclusion was both therapeutic and rehabilitative. The Zulu people embraced all people irrespective of their status. They had sayings that went with supporting the down trodden such as, “*asikho esindlebende kwaso*” meaning no one is useless. As pointed out by Friedkin (2004:34), that cohesion is the forces holding the individuals within the groupings in which they are irrespective of their status and any other qualification. The research report presented in the Council of Europe (2009:3) stated that the interpersonal attachments that are shaped by these rewards and punishments are, in turn, an important foundation of the network of interpersonal influences that shape individuals’ attitudes and behaviours. Forms of misbehaviour was dealt with by the community and community sanction or social exclusion would apply. Participant C7 confirmed the sanction might range from one to 10 cows. He continues to indicate that the only person who was totally banished out of the area was an unrepentant murderer whilst a repentant murderer was cleansed by ritual or a newly released prisoner ‘was cleansed’ and the community would be invited as a way of rehabilitating him back to society. A woman who somehow had fell in disfavour of her husband’s community would not be divorced or thrown out of the household but a house would be built for her down next to the gate to ensure that her children did not fall prey to any more societal deprivations. Kunene (1976:21) argues this as a better way that ensured that there was no breakdown of families and no children were always assured of a home and support from close relatives.

Recent academic studies by (Chan et al 2006:5) as well as public and political debate paid increasing attention to subjective well-being measures as a way to complement more traditional measurements of well-being. These studies confirm that higher social cohesion is positively correlated with a higher participation of women and young people to the political and working life of their countries, more intense social participation and confidence in new technologies. Bernard (1999:56) further develops Jenson's approach by broadening its dimensions and proposing a typology based on two facets. The first one describes the spheres or domains of human activity (economic, political and socio-cultural). The second one distinguishes social relations regarding their nature. Social relations pertain on one hand to social representations like values or attitudes, named as "formal relations" by Bernard (1999); on the other hand, they refer to observed behaviours or practices. Bernard (1999:36) refers to the last aspect as "substantial relations". By considering the intersection between activity spheres and social relations, we get an integrated scheme summarizing Bernard's definition of social cohesion:

Domains	Nature of relations	
	Formal/attitudinal	Substantial/behavioural
<b>Economic</b>	Insertion/exclusion: a shared market capacity, particularly regarding the labour market	Equality/inequality: equality in chances and equality in conditions
<b>Political</b>	Legitimacy/illegitimacy: maintenance of public and private institutions which act as mediators	Participation/passivity: involvement in management of public affairs, third sector (in opposition to political disenchantment)
<b>Sociocultural</b>	Acceptance/rejection: pluralism in facts and also as a virtue i.e. tolerance in differences	Affiliation/isolation: share of common values, feeling of belonging to a same community

**Table 2 Bernard's Typology of Social Cohesion** Source: Bernard 1999

Bernard (1999:38) considers social cohesion as a quasi-concept, *i.e.*, a hybrid mental construction proposed by the political game and – at the same time – based on a data analysis of the situation; such a construction must remain quite undetermined in order to be adaptable

to the necessities of political action. Most researches considered Bernard's arguments makes sense for many countries foreign policies or racial policies or even for the western cosmology. One of the best examples is how the apartheid and homelands policies to separate people and the tribes of South Africa in the name of nationalistic interests. Zulus had to be allocated their own homelands in the pretext of helping them protect their values and norms. However, homelands did not promote social cohesion among Africans but instead divided ethnic groups while supporting the apartheid project (Anderson 2013:2).

Chan *et al.* (2006:37) worked out Bernard's typology and defined social cohesion as a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of a society, as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that include trust, a sense of belonging, and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations" (Chan *et al.* 2006:82). They keep the political and sociocultural spheres but exclude the economic one from their definition of social cohesion. Their main purpose is to leave out all characteristics which should be considered as explicative factors or determinants of social cohesion, such as equal opportunities, equality, and social inclusion. In their view, Bernard's economic dimension is only one of many determinants for a cohesive society but never an "essential constituent" of the measure of social cohesion. It can be argued that Bernard (1999:3) and Chan *et al.* (2006:142) shared many components in their conception of social cohesion. They consider that social cohesion is an attribute of a group or society, not of individuals. They regard social cohesion as defined by multiple facets, i.e. different spheres of human life and different types of social relations (such as relations among individuals, relations between individuals and groups and relations between individuals and society as a whole) as cornerstones of the construct. Finally, they assume that social cohesion is multidimensional and cannot be measured by any single composite indicator.

### **2.2.2 Social cohesion as an element of the pro-social theory.**

As pointed out by Penner (2005:35), from an evolutionary perspective, early humans' survival relied strongly on the processes of giving and helping. Those who displayed altruistic pro-social dispositions were thus met with evolutionary success. This is what the ubuntu philosophy preaches that *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, "Motho ke motho ka batho". In other words, personhood is understood as a process and the product of interconnectedness experienced and or achieved in the context of the community. In that way pro-social norms explores the cultural, economic and social norms that produce social cohesion. Pro-social behaviour can be seen key in harmonious interpersonal and social cohesion. As in science it contains both the independent variables (for example, slaughtering in the Zulu culture) and

dependent variables (ritualistic meaning of slaughtering in the Zulu culture). Communities develop and depend on the set of cultural protocols to guide the behaviour of each member. This enables it to set boundaries and punish those that breach the boundaries.

This thesis aims to find out what according to the Zulu culture is the ritualistic meaning of their consumption patterns, particularly their cultural rituals. It further aims to determine whether not keeping those rituals or losing the meaning attached to them have derailed the Zulu people and led them to suffer because they have lost the meaning of their culture and consumption rituals. Social cohesion can stand for the elements of social progress which include human security and solidarity and be both constructive to development, and instrumental to other elements of development, for example, the ability of social groups to sustainably improve living standards, or the ability of representative institutions to facilitate economic reforms. Social cohesion implies the capacity of societies to manage social change peacefully, inclusively and with a view to enhancing individual and group freedoms.

Farrel (2009:12) argues that social cohesion as a concept cannot really be separated from generation of shared values, identities and norms. It is a set of social processes that help instil in individuals a sense of belonging to the same community and the feeling that they are recognised as members of the community. As pointed out by Bowles and Cintis (2011:5) cohesive communities provide successful solutions to the problems that people confront in their temporary social lives. They internalize external economics and punish antisocial actions by supporting behaviours consistent with such pro-social norms as truth telling, reciprocity and a predisposition to cooperate towards common ends. Opposite is communities who the writer says they have “naked self-interest. A cultural trait is a belief, value or other acquired aspect of an individual that influences the individual’s behaviour in some durable fashion. Reduced cost of information may make it possible an equilibrium in which trusting behaviours occur.

In line with this argument (Farrel 2009:12) argues that clustering of likes attenuates coordination problems because pro-social behaviours such as cooperating in a prisoner’s dilemma situation confer advantages to those with whom one interacts, while defection inflicts costs. Socially cohesive have the capacity of communities to foster cooperative behaviour among community members and thus to avert or attenuate costly coordination problems of the prisoner’s dilemma’s type. As pointed out by Forrest and Kearns (2010:24) social cohesion can emphasize the need for a shared sense of morality and common purpose, aspects of social control and social order. Consequently, a society lacking cohesion will display the following traits:



- social disorder and conflict
- Disparate moral values
- Extreme social inequality
- Low levels of social interaction between and within communities and low levels of place attachment

It is the contention of the researcher and supported by numerous critics and ethnographers that consumption patterns that do not take a leaf from the indigenous and traditional cultures result in some of the ills mentioned above.

### **2.2.3 Social cohesion in the Zulu cosmology**

Numerous Zulu anthropologists and ethnographers (Guy 1976:47; Kunene 1976:79; Krige (1976:65) and Berglund (1976: 58) have alluded to culture as a source of wellbeing of a particular cultural group. In this study pro-social theory best explains the cultural and social ties that bind the Zulu nation into a socially cohesive group with strong cultural rituals and ties. As pointed out by Participant C7 it is when a Zulu man has been able to slaughter a cow or goat, gone through the cultural protocol of the nature of *umsebenzi* (ceremony) in the correct manner and at the correct times, having done all the cultural procedures to dedicate this *ukuhlabala* to the ancestors, that he believes that things are going to be well, and feels a sense of wellbeing. For this reason, a pro-social theory has elements of social cohesiveness which includes social inclusion and social exclusion.

Several ethnographers on African culture (Guy 1977:23; Muthwa 1976:28) converge on the idea that Africans have lost meaning behind their cultural practices. This, they believe, has resulted in the straddling of both western and African cultures. Part of this is the loss of meaning of consumption and as statistics show, diseases that were once linked with the consumption patterns and lifestyles of the West such as high blood pressure, diabetes and others, are increasing in the black community. While this study is not about Africans deteriorating into a culture-less society, the once proud Zulu people already suffer the same effects in many ways. As pointed out by Mungwini and Viriri (1985:3) the western cosmology fails to capture the essence of ubuntu. However, as Bowles and Cintis (2011:35) point out pro-social norms and values are represented as the legacy of a particular tradition supported by intentional indoctrination and virtually universally held in a given population as community values. These values are sets of protocols used by community to govern. In the Zulu or African traditions these philanthropic, altruistic values are strong cultural values which bind the whole

community or sub-community of *an isigodi* or a clan. Bowles and Cintis (2011:22) have identified four ways, two of which are mentioned in the following paragraph, in which the pro-social communities solve coordination and communication problems:

#### **2.2.4 High frequency of interactions**

As pointed out by Bowles and Cintis (2011:46) pro-social communities interact frequently in order to exchange information. This lowers the cost of gathering information and raises the benefits associated with the use of information. The more easily acquired and widely dispersed the information, the more will community members have an incentive to act in ways beneficial to their neighbours. This behaviour as explained by Bowles and Cintis (2011:23) is at the basis of pro-social norms. The Zulu people had informal interactions such as meeting and solving problems at the community indaba or meetings, women at the waterhole or river, on their way to collect woods from the forests and numerous events and feasts that necessitated normal and social interactions. Unlike in the suburban and modern life where everybody cares for himself or herself, socially cohesive people have times for each other. Resultantly the issue of special homes for the sick and the elderly is a non-African invention. A pro-social attitude towards the old people would regards the senior citizens or old people as the seat of wisdom and skills acquired for years and not to be removed from the society into separate old age homes.

##### **2.2.4.1 Informal meetings**

###### **a. The river and forest as metaphors of a meeting place**

Kunene (1976:35) argues that the Zulu people were a socially cohesive, fit and healthy people and regarded cleanliness as a priority, however several hisotirans (Braynt 19791; Krige 1976) believe that this unity was forced through blood and coercion by King Shaka. These writers believe that Shaka was a bloody thirsty and extremely harsh disciplinarian whose voice was dictatorial in nature.

However, they state (ibid) that once united the Zulu people developed a strng culture based on ritual cleanliness and the nature of life inclusive of all the rituals of cultural consumption. As argued by Ngubane (2012:36) to the Zulu people, ritual cleanliness is like a religion, and like all religions it led to ceremonies. He says Zulus bathed three times a day and spend many hours cleaning and grooming themselves in the river. As a result, the river was an important place. The men were not allowed to be in the part or section of the river where women would

wash themselves. In that way cleaning and grooming oneself *ize ibe mhlophe ingqakala* (until your heels are clean) become a ritual in itself.

According to Participant C1 in the olden days, and also presently in many rural Zulu communities, men, boys, young women and old women used a river for the following reasons:

- A place where a young man would court a girl of his dreams as his future wife. Young men would meet and court girls as girls made their way to and from the river to fetch water. It was a well-known community and cultural fact that *intombi uyoyithola emfuleni* (the best place to woo a girl is the river). Interestingly Lambert (1993:46) finds similarities in the Zulu and Ancient Middle East cultures. He refers to the biblical Abraham who sent men to find his son, Isaac, a wife at a river. He told them that a girl who gave water to the messengers' donkeys would be the one to pick as a wife to his son. That wife turned out to be the biblical Rebecca. (The New Bible society: Genesis 1990:24).
- In the Zulu culture if that young woman did not love the man she would spill the whole bucket of water on the man. After years of courtship she would finally fall in love and would take much longer collecting water as she spent time listening to the man she now loved.
- Older men would wash and groom themselves in the higher part of the river, preferably in the waterfall as there was a belief that men were more important than women and could therefore not wash downstream below the spot where women washed.
- According to Participant C7 older women washed themselves at a distance of about 50 metres downstream so that their dignity would be preserved. (telephonic research information)

All these activities together with the activity of fetching logs from the forests provided opportunities for people to meet, share their problems and solutions, remind themselves of the cultural expectations and form a cohesive unit.

#### 2.2.4.2 Formal meetings

##### a. Umsebenzi/ritual ceremony

This was any function where a ritual process was going to be performed. Lambert (1993:27) differentiates between an *umsebenzi* (function) and *ukuhlaba* (killing ritual). While *umsebenzi* is a ritual ceremony, *ukuhlaba* is the actual slaughtering of the animal which the whole community expected to be done in a manner that would not bring misfortune to the family and the clan.

##### b. Izimbizo

There were various meetings known as *izimbizo* that the king or chief would call for all his people. In some places the king would have one of his servants sounding the call to come together using a horn. In this meeting only men would come and the king would then *dingida* (discuss) the important issues of the area of his jurisdiction. In other instances, the king would first call all his indunas (herdmen) who in turn would call all the people to a meeting at his place. However, what may not be covered by this westernised understanding of philanthropism and altruism is that, in the core of ubuntu, is the free availability of any kind of help including food and beer that the Zulu people associated with the kindness of the spirit of ancestors. Whenever the the Zulu had a cultural function, whether it was a sad or happy or just merely a social function, food and beer accompanied it. Participant C7 (research informant) confirmed that a function known as *ukuthelelana amanzi* (where two factions or family members were brought together after a family misunderstanding), a goat would be slaughtered and ancestors would be called and rituals to bring peace would be performed where the two fighting factions would wash hands together.

A study conducted by Bowles and Cintis (2011:36) indicates that the second way in which communities solve coordination and communication problems is that there is high probability that members of the community who interact today will interact in the future. The Zulu people have a saying that *izandla ziyagezana*, meaning that if you help one today you are bound to receive help next time you, the giver, needs one. Thirdly, according to Bowles and Cintis (2011:46) communities are governed by a set of cultural traits which are acquired beliefs, values and practices that influences the individual's behaviour in some durable fashion. These practices intend reciprocating social good. As pointed out by Berglund (1976:74) the Zulus regarded the land, the people and their animals as one deep ecological system. It is argued by this study that the Zulu social cohesive system has been disturbed by the loss of culture and consumption rituals and substituted by the dangerous and addictive products such as too much sugar and too much salt. One of the losses has been the ritualistic meaning of

consumption. Like all westernised societies to some extent Ubuntu has been replaced by the individualism, which includes the love for money, for glamour and losing sight of the deep link between the *amathonga*, the land and the culture of the people. According to Participant C7 (research informant 2016) this is one of the reasons that the present reigning king of the Zulu people, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has revived the *Umkhosi wokweshwama* as well as the Reed Dance to encourage young girls to abstain from sex till they are ready to engage in adult life. Pro-social norms look at the cultural fabric of the people. What united Zulus as a nation was respect, love of their culture, which was passed from generation to generation.

In their exploration of the subject of social cohesion the Council of Europe (Archibugi 2009) linked social cohesion and wellbeing and argued that social cohesion is the capacity of a society to ensure well-being for all its members, minimising disparities, and emphasizing the importance of 'social actors' joint responsibility for its attainment. While this definition is a broad definition that favours a Western cosmology and borne out of the need to reduce wars against countries of the world, it lacks the gravity of the meaning of the culture and cultural rituals of a specific nation as a bond that makes a nation. According to Participant C7 (research informant: 2016) *umZulu ongalazi isiko lakhe ufana nofileyo* (a Zulu person who does not understand his or her culture is like a dead person). These cultures include the national or tribal cultural rituals of consumption, use of the land as a source of production and the need to keep animal stock from poultry to horses. Krige (1977:56) tacitly points out that when the planted crops needed weeding in the Zulu homesteads, very often a man would invite his friends to come and help with the weeding by holding a beer party for the purpose.

He continues to say that the invited people would arrive at sunrise and weed together amidst the singing of songs suited to the occasion, for the Zulu people seldom did any kind of work without singing. Then when the work is completed, the beer is drunk by every person present. Even those that were passing by would call out to those drinking and say, "*akudlulwa ngendlela indlu yakhiwa*, meaning "a man cannot pass by without coming in to find what the function is about and take part in that function". Krige (1976:65) confirms that a person who came to weed without being invited would customarily be given some corn. This was sometimes known as *ukuthekela* (borrow but with no intention to return the loan) although the practice of *ukuthekela* meant, that in a time of need or famine, those without corn or potatoes or any kind of vegetable to plant for their families would come and *thekela* or ask for the plants they did not have. It is noteworthy that *ukuthekela* did not mean the borrower would pay back what he had borrowed. Krige (1977:86) calls this, "a way of asking for help without any intention of paying for or returning it". In that way, the inborn and cultivated habits of caring for others is woven in the cultural life of the Zulu people. No one would die of hunger while others

were feeding themselves. Various theorists including Baumeister and Bartels, 2007:35-48) argue that social cohesion are actions that benefit other people or society as a whole and the culture and the way of life of the Zulu people fit very well in this definition.

Lambert (1993:45) argues that animal stock was treated in a special way from birth to death as a sign of a belief that man, animals and the land were a cohesive whole. Participant C7 confirmed that even to this day it is still possible to see a young or old Zulu herdsman being followed by a long line of cows and goats home. He regards this a sign of the closeness between the shepherd and his stock and a picture of the wellbeing and peace of the community. The unity that brought about social cohesiveness included valuing their own animals and regarding them as part of the life value chain. As pointed out by Krige (1977:38) the Zulu cannot conceive of existence without his beloved cattle, and so, he believed that cattle that are killed come to life again to become property of the ancestors below. Numerous studies support the fact that the Zulu people had a habit or culture of naming their animals and giving them praises. According to Molefe (1992) the names and praises given to cows, donkeys and goats served as a reminder of blessings and curses of the time. Some of the names were:

- “Velfud” was named after the then South African President, Verwoed, during whose time apartheid was reinforced and Black people suffered tremendously. If a cow was stubborn as Verwoed (who continued to inflict apartheid laws even though the whole world was against it, that cow would likely be called “Velfud”.
- If a cow looks beautiful with a combination of strength and beauty, he or she was likely to be called “ntomb ey’ncane” (young maidens/girls”).

What becomes interesting is that animals responded to their names and did what they were supposed to do at the time of calling. As pointed out by Participant C7 it was not easy to steal a Zulu cow because it would not move until the owner in his usual style and voice, instructed it to do any action. According to Participant C8 a heifer could be named after the late father of the house and be even given his praises which were used when he was young. This was with a belief that he (the late) lived in that particular cow. In that cow’s behaviour people would learn what the late father wanted to communicate to them. For instance, if the cow refused to leave the kraal in the morning and continued bellowing this might mean that the late father is angry with either the new cow or that a certain cultural protocol had not been performed accordingly. It is thus that animal praises were used to preserve Zulu custom and to remind people of the importance of following and keeping rituals. As pointed out by Molefe (1992:66)

domestic animal praises portray the interaction between animals and people. This is to say that some portions of the praises of domestic animals reveal the habitual attitude of animals to people, and of people to animals. Molefe (1992:57) quotes one of the Zulu research informants who said,

*“Our duties towards animals are merely indirect duties towards humanity; for he who is cruel to animals becomes hard also in his dealings with men.”*

The above quotation is instructive in that the Zulu people understood social cohesion in a more comprehensive way. However, some of the praises were a way to warn people against eating the meat of that particular animal. Molefe (1992:36) argues that sometimes praises of oxen have a lot of disciplinary words that are directed to people, for example, when a Zulu man called out to his straying cow, he might be also be directing his words to his assumed witch neighbour when he said:

- *lyaphi ngale Mthakathi, (Go on with your witch -craft, but informed community knows about it)*
- *lyaphi Mjendevu, (The poet is telling the neighbours that their daughters are supposed to have got married a long time ago instead of harshly or rudely giving instructions to young girls)*

A man would praise an animal for courage and skills in fighting (bull), in speed (hunting dog), in catching mice (cat) and in other activities. Molefe (1997:33) argues the Zulu *umuzi* is regarded as intact only if there are fowls, dogs and other domestic animals roaming the yard. Furthermore, the mere presence of these animals in the kraal does not mean that they will be regarded as being just there. They are given praises so that they will also feel at home. Molefe informs us that the herdsman praises the bull when it begins to pursue a cow during mating. It is usually in the paddock or in a kraal near an umuzi. Owners of cattle appreciate the mating season because it means an increase in the number of their cattle. It is necessary to encourage the bull to continue courting by chanting its praises. The bull is again praised during bull-fights in the veld or anywhere, wherever two bulls start a fight. Usually herd boys chant the praises in this case.

As argued by Kunene (1976:78) praises are chanted to encourage the bull to fight gallantly which means that not all bulls had praises. He continued to argue that herdboys would dig a big clod from the termite heap and hit the forehead of the bull with the clod. When termites bite on the forehead of the bull, the rage in the bull is enhanced. When the bull madly attacks its opponent, herd boys begin to recite the praises. The ox is praised during ploughing in the mealie-fields. Each ox in a yoke has its own praises, especially if they pull hard. It is important

to choose an eloquent person to carry the whip during ploughing. He has to sing the ploughing songs aloud and chant the praises of each ox in order to encourage the oxen to exert more power in pulling the cultivator. Times devoted to praising a cow are when it is being milked by the milker in the kraal.

The milker praises the cow in the morning. It is also praised by the herd boy or by the milker when he is in the veld and while he is driving it home. A cow that gives much milk is given praises. One cow might have the following praises:

- *Unsengwakazi, umahamba adanaze njengo Bhulakufesi (The one who has milk and walk like the lady known as Bhulakufesi (breakfast)*
- *Bagcwalisel 'impilo mntaka Vaneza (show them you are healthy child of Vaneza)*

Ngubane (1987:68) regards this link between animals and humans as a biocentric belief that animals are important even in their death. Molefe (1996:33) argues that when animals were praised in this poetic way they responded differently. There are those that respond clearly to their praises while others remain passive. The active ones respond by doing what the owner expects of them when he is praising them. As pointed out by Participant C7 the hunter dog, for instance, always begins to follow its owner when he whistles. He would concurrently chant its praises with the aim of inviting the dog to set out in the veld. When one praises the bull while it is lying down relaxing in the kraal, it stands up and begins to scoop the kraal manure with its front hoofs. This is a sign of the connection between humans and animals that was part of a symphonic and harmonious tapestry of a cohesive life.

Furthermore, animals were revered even to their death. For example, people believe that the only way to drive ghosts away, if they haunt an *umuzi* (homestead), is by hanging bones of a dead horse on the gate posts. Ghosts stop haunting an *umuzi* because they fear a horse. Hence an *umuzi* without any skulls of bones would be regarded as *indoda encishanayo* (man who is stingy and an indication that this man hardly ever slaughtered a beast for people to eat).

### **2.2.5 Social cohesion**

Ngubane (1987:132) contends that life between man and animals and land is a biocentric focus. She further contends that it is linked to the all-inclusive self-realization that says if we harm the rest of nature then we are harming ourselves. A nurturing non-dominating society can help in the real work becoming a whole person. Ngubane (1987:23) argues that the real



work can be summarised symbolically as the realization of self-in-self where “Self” stands for organic wholeness. It was a belief that says that no one is saved until we are saved and that the social cohesion and flourishing of human and non-human life on earth have value in themselves. This contention is supported by Molefe (1997:54) that it is this bond between man, land and animals indicated that animals’ praises also portray an animal’s behaviour and physique pointing out both good and bad qualities.

In Zulu culture the fact that the deceased head of a homestead becomes an influential shade to his own and junior brother's children and his grandchildren through his sons, or that a woman becomes a shade to her own children (or even her junior brother's children if she dies at a ripe old age is surely an extension of the strict kinship and lineage system which characterises Zulu life. According to Participant C7 the idea of *ukungenwa* (marrying your deceased brother’s wife) was also a major part of the social cohesiveness of the society. This cultural practice took place when a brother died leaving a young wife with children. The Zulu people culturally believed that the children, the wife, their stock animals, her cultivated belonged to the clan. It was therefore not culturally right for her and her children to be chased away from the homesteads nor was it regarded as right for her to marry outside and have children of another name in addition to her original married family. However, this practice did not go down well with some women and became part of the package that missionaries would attack as “barbaric” and would lead those that believed in the new Christian religion, the amaqoboka or amakholwa being treated as anti-Zulu and anti-culture.

While various historians differ on the understanding of the Anglo and Zulu skirmishes, a somewhat common agreement seems to exist that from 1879 when the Zulu won at the battle of Isandlwana and the revenge skirmishes that led to the flight of Bambatha ka Manciza, chief of the Zondi Clan of the famous Bambatha rebellion of 1905, the Zulus slowly began to lose their cultural roots inclusive of their traditional consumption patterns. Kunene (1976) embraces this concept that the White man’s religion brought some confusion and decline in the way the Zulu people believed in their own cultures. He contends that a culture where the unifying focus of life is the clan and the family belonging to it, the full development of an ancestor cult is more possible than in a culture where the individual and not the clan becomes the focus of solidarity.

Kunene (1976:56) and Ngubane (1986:35) agree that what has always surprised the Westerners about the Zulu rituals (which they regard as paganism) is the connection between humans and the beast is alive as well as the beast in its death or after life. They contend that this is not only reflected in the treatment of the gall, chyme and gall bladder but also in the various ways in which the skin is used. Bracelets of skin are worn by officiant, patient and

relatives; the head of the family slaughtering animals in a rain-making ceremony places the wet skin over himself for the whole night; the dead Zulu king was immediately wrapped in the still wet hide of a beast slaughtered for this purpose; the diviner wears the criss-crossed strips of skin from the animal sacrificed at her initiation; the skin of a sacrificed beast is used in divining and is beaten by the inquirers to arouse the amathongo to life or to a problem besetting humans.

Furthermore, each animal in the kraal was regarded as important. Animals were given praises so that they will also feel at home. As Ngubane (1986) points out that moral vulnerability, caused being out of balance with the universe and that is where the Zulu people are today, having been swept by all ills that have come with consuming the wrong things and for wrong reasons. As pointed out by Lambert (1993:34) before the ritual killing, there is the ritual washing of the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is being made to the ancestors. The Zulu people do not worship the ancestors but simply speak to them "*telling them everything*", a process known as *ukuthetha*. Contrary to the animal activists who complain about the treatment they regard as brutal when a ritual slaughter takes place, there was much attention paid to the idea of lessening pain for the animal about to be sacrificed. The animal was patted and rubbed, in particular its back and shoulders, as the place of the amathongo; the butcher was summoned and handed the spear; an old woman (an honorary man in Zulu society), with wattle branch in hand, ran into the enclosure and strutted around the beast joyfully crying "li! li! li!" The officiant again called on the ancestors but, when the butcher sank the spear into the animal's neck, there was the holy silence; as the cow fell, the host cried "*Khala, nkomo yamadlozi! Khala!*"). As Berglund (1986:45) points out it was important for the animal to cry when being killed. At this point *impepho* could be rubbed on the animals' back while the praises of the amathongo are recited.

For this reason, goats were also regarded as good for slaughtering as they "ake much noise, their cry being interpreted as an indication that the ancestors have heard and agreed to the slaughter. Before the ritual killing, there was the ritual washing of the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is being made to the ancestors or amathongo. After the killing, there was the feast of meat and beer for everyone in the community, a case for practical social cohesion. Berglund (1986:45) clearly narrates the ritualization of the killing of beast for a special occasion. In this narration, the concept of working together with the members of the family, the spirit of giving and embracing of the community is very clear. Berglund (ibid) states that the head of the household, who had promised a ritual killing if his son, daughter or father recovered from any type of sickness, would enter the cattle enclosure with five men, one of whom was the butcher;

three of the rest helped to skin the beast, the remaining man being a representative from the local chief who was presented with choice helpings of meat after the sacrifice.

Carrying the homestead ritual spear in his right hand, the head of household dramatically pointed out the chosen beast. The beast was then led to the upper end of the cattle enclosure and made to face the chief hut in the kraal (the indlunkulu) as well as the host's son seated in the enclosure. Berglund (ibidi) continues to say that a potion of beer (from a jam tin) was poured over the beast's back, the place of the amathongo, while the host called on the amathongo to attend. After the prayer to the ancestors, the animal was returned to its original position where the host, armed with his ritual spear, called on the amathongo again and passed his spear between the front and back legs of the beast without touching it. The animal was patted and rubbed, in particular its back and shoulders, as the place of the amathongo. The butcher was summoned and handed the spear; an old woman (an honorary man in Zulu society), with wattle branch in hand, ran into the enclosure and strutted around the beast joyfully crying "li! li! li!" The officiant again called on the amathongo but, when the butcher sank the spear into the animal's neck. As the cow fell, the host cried "*Khala, nkomoy amadlozi! Khala*, and the women would ululate. Instead of the cutting and burning of hairs from the beast's head before the killing, a knot is tied in its tail afterwards.

After the skinning of the beast and before it was opened, specific pieces of meat (from the right shoulder-blade and right ribs), fat (from the navel) and blood, collected, in a vessel, were carried by the host to the chief hut which was entered by the host and his son. Berglund (ibid) argues that they were bound together by a special offering of the meat, fat and blood to the lineage amathongo present in the *umsamo* (the sacred place of the amathongo in the hut), standing around the altar, were bound together and separated from the other participants when they charred the selected pieces of the beast and tasted the small pieces of grilled meat. It is important to note that, save for the family rituals, all this was not done per cultural protocol by all members of the family.

Various ethnographers confirm that it was not just any cow that is sacrificed for a ritual slaughter; the gender, the colour, the shape and its show of anger or peace was important to align amadlozi with the objective of the slaughter. This research regards this connection as a basis of social cohesion. Participant C7 confirms the choice and rightfulness of each cow or goat for each occasion by saying that even the "present white stock farmers know and advertise each cow as, "*eyokubuyisa indoda! Lena eyomabo*", meaning that they understand that for the Zulu not any cow performs the ritual correctly. This is not only reflected in the treatment of the gall, chyme and gall bladder but also in the various ways in which the skin is

used. Bracelets of skin are worn by officiant, patient and relatives; the head of the family slaughtering animals in a rain-making ceremony places the wet skin over himself for the whole night; the dead Zulu king was immediately wrapped in the still wet hide of a beast slaughtered for this purpose; the diviner wears the criss-crossed strips of skin from the animal sacrificed at her initiation; the skin of a sacrificed beast is used in divining and is beaten by the inquirers to arouse the amathongo to take notice of the occasion. All meat must be eaten at the home of the sacrifice and no one was allowed to take any bones away or out of the homestead without permission. Kunene (1976) confirms that anyone caught or suspected to have removed bones from a cultural feast was immediately suspected to be a witch, intending to use the bones against this family. Traces of the killing are obliterated as a sign of a new life.

Another important part of the social cohesiveness of a society is derived from their belief of healing. As pointed out by Ngubane (1986:34) healing in the Zulu culture was attended to by the izinyanga as traditional doctors, who are mainly males) (seer) is called in to divine the sickness and establish its source and cause. Ngubane (1986) argues that the Zulu people understood that illness was a sign that the cultural life of the ill person was not in accord with the balance that ancestors expected. Various ethnologists agree that for the Zulu people, this imbalance, could cause or lead to the "ancestral vengeance" which could result in illnesses, death of cows and people or continuous bad crops. The Zulu people call it, "*idlozi lisifulathele*" meaning "ancestors have their backs turned to us". Ngubane (1986; 75) argues that illness is caused by a moral vulnerability, a community out of balance with the universe. For this situation to be returned to normal, a sacrifice would have to be made. Krige (1977:47) claimed that the Zulus distinguished two classes of sacrifice-the thanksgiving and the scolding sacrifice which takes place "when the people of the kraal die and when things are going wrong, in which case the officiator seriously inquires what they have done to be so persecuted by their ancestors". However, it is important to note that there is always a variation of the cultural practices depending on the clan, for instance, the Participant C7s would perform such a function slightly differently such as holding their ceremony in the afternoon or early morning. Resultantly, Participant C 6 believed that there are more than two sacrifice rituals and he disapproved of the idea of scolding the ancestors.

As pointed out by Ngubane (1986) life crises pollute people who must be cleansed by symbolic medicines; people who are caught by sorcery have somatic and mystical symptoms which require empirical and mystical treatments. Because of the double life (modern and traditional) that the present day Zulu people live, it is possible to use non-Zulu (cosmopolitan) medicines, at one point, and yet retain the elaborate Zulu system of causation in spite of changed (modern) conditions. Hence when a person was sick sacrifice was made to the ancestors to

ask for forgiveness in the wrong act committed as pointed out by an isangoma (diviner). The beast killed was therefore regarded as a medium and a gift to ancestors for them to heal the sick person. It is an isangoma or diviner who would perform this ancestral ritual.

Ngubane (1986:56) points out that through a woman the transition of spiritual beings is made. This point is crucial in that it explains why diviners are women and why men must become transvestites to be diviners. The potential hostilities between the sexes are given stress in rituals performed in the situation of death. As Ngubane (1986:45) points out female emissions, which are manifestations of her reproductive powers, are partially dangerous to men's virility. They are a reminder of men's inadequacy in entirely controlling the situation of reproductivity. Women in this sense are ambiguous because they exercise some power that they should not have, and as such they are dangerous to those who are entitled to that power.

As pointed out by Farrel (2009:14) social cohesion is closely linked to consumption and embodies elements of equity, empathy for it is for future generations. As indicated by various theorists, peoples 'cultural practices should form part of the welfare of the people. The implication for the government is that it needs to go back to the drawing board on the policies of land restitution, land redistribution and community development. This will force a rethink on allowing people to practice their cultures and understanding the ritualistic value of food in Zulu cosmology. This will also help the Zulu people to be aware of what they have lost which has led them and their successive offspring to fall into the habits of overeating, obesity and all other food and health related risks which cuts down on their longevity. These views are consistent with what Farrel's (2009:15) arguments that higher income, has in the long run, no effect on social cohesion or identifiable effect. He continues to say that there are various examples to show why the rising expectations that accompany real changes in average purchasing power invalidate any sense of improvement in subjective well-being. As pointed out by Farrel (2009:16) the promotion of shared responsibility for the welfare of all presupposed that social cohesion can be defined as a shared objective; hence the idea of a concerted effort to devise indicators of social cohesion.

Several researchers have constructed structural models which postulate that there is a link between goods and social cohesion. As one of those researchers Farrel (2009) mentions six things that are elements that are common goods to enhancing social cohesion:

- Economic goods (infrastructure, equipment, businesses, markets)
- Environmental goods (soil and subsoil, water, the biosphere-namely, living beings, biodiversity and ecosystems- and air;

- Human capital (population, knowledge, skills etc)
- Social capital; (human relations and bonds, trust)
- Cultural capital (shared values, knowledge of history, sciences etc)
- Institutional and political capital (democratic institutions, human rights, regulatory arrangements).

What is noticeable about this arrangement is that cultural practices and consumption patterns are indirectly embraced in all the above elements; however, it forces government and society to regard social cohesion, especially subjective wellbeing high in the priorities. Farrel (2009:45) defines subjective wellbeing as a sense of social cohesion and objective wellbeing as materialistic wellbeing” which depends on individual economic, social and economic advantages that allow and enable the individual to take advantage, for example, having money to buy expensive goods. Various progressive economists agree that income consumption levels have little impact on the level of social cohesion. This contention is widely supported by realists who say escaping poverty can be regarded as the priority achievement sought in the aspiration to social cohesion.

In the latter centuries there is a growing concern by governments to consider and include the issue of social cohesion as one of the pillar objectives of their long term development Plan. The 2030 Millennium Development goals (MDG) (2010:45) states that:

- *We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development*
- *By 2030. devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture' and products*
- *There is promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation*
- *of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development*

The MGD promotes social cohesion because social exclusion is part of many forms of inequality. While economic growth is an effective way to reduce poverty, Farrel (2009) argues that it has been demonstrated, particularly in monetary terms, that growth reduces poverty much less effectively if inequalities increase at the same time. At a growth level, the increase in inequalities curbs poverty reduction, since the additional income is not transferred to the poorest groups. It is characterized by helping that does not benefit the helper.

## 2.2.6 Rituals as an element of the cultural social cohesiveness

Considering both the present cultural and religious practices these days, it is clear that many households link food with their idea of their Creator. Kunene (1976:23) argues that the reason so much attention was paid to food was the risks it had to survive without any sophistication of tools and chemicals, from a seed to ripe fruit or vegetables ready to be eaten for health. He continues to state that long ago, humans spent most of their time ensuring a steady supply of food, which could be wiped out by fires, droughts, insect infestations, torrential rains, storms, and unseasonal freezes. Unable to physically prevent such catastrophes, humans naturally turned to their deities for protection. When the harvest had been spared, our ancestors thanked their deities with offerings of food. This may have been buried, flung into the air, or tossed into a fire. The portion earmarked for the deities wasn't consumed by humans. Even today, with tremendous botanical knowledge and global weather reporting, farmers in most parts of the world are still at the mercy of natural forces. The increased knowledge and tools available to farmers and agribusinesses can't stop such events from destroying their crops. In many parts of the world that suffer food shortages, food has become a tool of politics.

As argued by Kunene (1976:23) people are starving on every continent and within our own borders. Emergency supplies shipped to the hungry are often held up by government intervention, or are channeled to those with both political and economic power. These two factors-the uncertainty of our food supply and its scarcity in many parts of the world-should deepen our appreciation of food. Our ancestors worshipped food, seeing it as a gift from the hands of their deities. Zulu people do not worship food, though they respect it as a life-sustaining substance containing the energies of the earth. Food is a manifestation of divine energies that's vital to our survival. Approaching food from this frame of mind makes it easier for us to utilize it as a tool of self or community cultural activity and social cohesion. As pointed out by Krige (1976:123) rituals should instead be understood as communicative behaviour for certain meanings, notably about social structure, all veiled in symbolic language.

Apisugah (2007:6) argues that the other theorists purpote that rituals are normal actions based on underlying theoretical beliefs. He mentions as a problem the cultural people frequently cannot explain the reasons why they are performing certain rituals other than to say," that's the way it is done in our culture". Lambert (1993) argues that rituals provoke a feeling of 'collective effervescence'. The *ukugiya* (ritual war dance by Zulus) is a clear point of the collective effervescence. As a Zulu does these moves with his stick and shield he recites history at the accompaniment of clapping by onlookers. This is one of the cores of the Zulu rituals as a way of life and a sign of unity in the community.

This study argues that rituals have very basic structures of meaning, and that these delineate a set of protocols and rules that allow uniformity just as they allow slight differences without diluting their constitution. Aesthetics and rituals can potentially serve the function of rejuvenating cultural structures, not because they contain symbolic meaning themselves, but rather because they dismantle conventional symbolic meaning and thereby facilitate the construction of new symbolic interpretations in a specific socio-cultural context. All the arguments above considered, consumption patterns of the Zulu is at the centre of the cultural rituals that need to be revived as part of the moral regeneration of what is good about their cultures. As Kunene (1976:25) point out rituals are studied as a universal human expression, irrespective of truth claims, based in the long history of each and every religion, recognizing in all of them creative ways to express our deep and lasting relationship with other ways of existence and with our own deepest roots. Ritual may function as a window to a given culture's or religion's understanding of itself and its relationship to the world. What this study does is to explain the ritualistic meaning of food in the Zulu culture and how this affected their social cohesion.

### **2.2.7 Conclusion**

Anon (2014) emphasizes the point made by numerous consumption researchers that eating is not a simple practice where we put food into our mouths but it is linked with politics, social structures, legal systems, health maintenance, magic and religion because of its importance. This study purports an argument that it is impossible to understand consumption patterns and how it linked to social cohesion according to Zulu cosmology without understanding the cultural rituals and the meaning attached to them.

Lambert (1993) emphasises a point already made by Kunene (1976:35) and Krige (1977:34) that Zulu life is a culture where the cohesive unifying focus of life is the clan and the family belonging to it, the full development of an ancestor ritual is more possible than in a culture where the individual and not the clan becomes the focus of solidarity. As has been argued by those opposed to the South African Government "grant systems", giving people grant money increases dependency and welfarism. Archibugi (2009:24) argues in favour of a welfare society as opposed to a welfare state:

He continues to say that, "the welfare state is what government does while the welfare society (caring society) is what people do, feel and think about the general welfare of others. Unless people generally reflect the policies and the assumption of the welfare state in their attitudes and in their actions it is impossible to attain the objectives of the welfare state. When an



industrial nation becomes a welfare state, the need for a strong individual, group and institutional responsibility, the need for social discipline become even much greater.

As pointed out by Archibugi (2009:24) groups are cohesive when they possess group level structural conditions that produce positive membership attitudes and behaviours and when group members in their interpersonal interactions maintain these group level structural conditions. It is about sharing of culture and living together of a certain group. Bowles (2011:21) emphasises a point made by Archibugi (2009:78) that highly social cohesive societies tend to have a better social cohesion while socially excluded societies have ill-being. Numerous researchers on the theory of prosocial norms and the matter of social cohesion agree that a high level of social exclusion results in higher levels of poverty and many other social ills. It is the imbalance in the fabric of the society caused by a lack or loss of the pillars such as consumption patterns. The powers-that-be who put together the policies on community development, land restoration need to go back and consider the causes of ill being. Perhaps they will see that increasing social grants might not necessarily increase a community's state of social cohesion. According to Archibugi (2009:25) such an approach, which emphasises the inter-relationships between their individual life circumstances and the social, economic and institutional changes in their environment, allows to achieve a consensus on what is essential for everyone.

As argued by Archibugi (ibid) even though well-being is essentially experienced individually, when it is considered jointly it becomes a social objective. Treating well-being for all as a universal right is not to deny those aspects that apply to individual well-being but simply shifts the focus of how it is perceived from the satisfaction of individual preferences to the formulation of agreed, or unanimous, preferences. Secondly, the sense of social cohesion may be increased by moving from policies that encourage greater consumption to ones that promote and reinforce social contacts and relationships. In a study of social cohesion conducted by the Council of Europe (2009:33), all respondents agreed that the social cohesion of the poor does depend on their access to decent material living conditions, on which there is unanimous agreement, thus making them both objectives and priorities. Again transparency in public administration is also considered to be a key component of well-being and an essential means of securing citizen commitment to raising the level of well-being for all. Archibugi (2009:22) argues that there is no worse form of alienation than that of not exercising responsibility in your life's decision, be it personal or public life. This shows just how intolerable they find it to be denied any forum for exercising responsibility that creates a feeling of personal incompleteness and inability to affect the future. A combination of universal welfare policies

and policies to promote active participation in public life should contribute to a sense of well-being.

It is against the spirit of the Freedom Charter that the National Development (2016:24) was written; that the land belongs to all who live in it and that people have a right to decide their life and their future. This Plan aims at building a new nation and promoting social cohesion which includes social inclusion. This will enable all race groups to perform and develop their cultures and cultural rituals. This means with the challenges of unemployment, poverty and inequality is critical to building social cohesion. Government plans broaden social cohesion and unity while redressing the inequities of the past. South Africa's own history and the experiences of other countries show that unity and social cohesion are necessary to meet social and economic objectives. There is a commitment in the South African National Development Plan (2016:24) that social cohesion in society should narrow the inequality divide between men and women with measures in place to ensure that women, girls, people with disabilities and any other group at risk of discrimination, are able to enjoy their rights enshrined in the Constitution. Ensuring that South Africans are able to interact across race and class will facilitate social cohesion and sustainable development.

## **2.3 Literature Review**

### **2.3.1 Introduction: The Nature of Being: A Zulu Cosmological Perspective**

As mentioned in the foregoing chapter, this study seeks to address the following research questions: (1) What are the factors that contribute to social cohesion? (2) What is the ritualistic value of food in Zulu cosmology? (3) How are cultural rituals linked to social cohesion? To address these questions this study draws from two theoretical frameworks (a) Zulu cosmology and (b) pro-social norms. Social cohesion is a theme embedded in each one of these theoretical strands. This work views social cohesion as a multiple dimension construct comprising social cohesion, spiritual social cohesion and physical social cohesion. This is in line with views in literature by (Bowles and Cintis 2011:24) that link social cohesion with pro-social norms.

These theories will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter, however, the study takes an ontological view that people's cultural beliefs shape their view of life as well as what they consume. This is a naturalistic approach that is based in nature as well as on a value system that requires contextual issues and cultures to be the basis for solving problems and for

developing knowledge, insights, theories and skills that are relevant to a specific context. This study explores the narratives and the arguments of five major anthropologists on Zulu culture in KwaZulu Natal who are Kunene (1970:23); (Bryant 1949:33); Krige (1968:44); Callaway (1970:23); Guy (1973:33). Accordingly, the study is based on the premise that Zulus have a history, culture and religions which gave the Zulu people their identity and guided them in their worldview and their cultural practices such as births, initiation into adulthood, marriage, weddings, deaths, ploughing periods and sowing periods in their life (Bryant 1949:24).

The indigenous people of Africa, including the Zulus have a common culture, worldview, history, religion, ancestry and philosophy of life (Gukwe 2007:46). As pointed by Gukwe (2007:2) Zulu cosmology is based on cultural beliefs such as ubuntu, ancestry, *Unomkhubulwane* (Rain goddess) and *Amathongo*. In capturing the different facets of the Zulu way of life this chapter is structured as follows: The first part (section 2.1) provides an overview of Zulu cosmology. The discussion is prefaced by a critical evaluation of the (a) African and Western cosmologies. The second part (2.2) deals with the (b) historical context of the Zulu culture. The final part of the chapter (2.3) covers a comprehensive (c) review of the ritualistic value of food in the Zulu way of life.

### **2.3.2 What Is Cosmology?**

As defined by Harrison (2000:34) cosmology is a multi-disciplinary study of the universe. In the broadest sense it is a joint enterprise by science, philosophy, theology and the arts that seeks to gain understanding of what unifies and is fundamental. He continues to argue that as a science, it is the study of the large and small structure of the universe. Based on the definition above it is clear that cosmology draws on knowledge from other sciences, such as physics and astronomy and assembles, a physical all-inclusive cosmic picture. As pointed out by Harrison (2000:37) cosmology and society are intimately related. Where there is a society, there is universe, and where there is a universe, there is a society of thinking individuals who keep asking themselves questions about the origins of the world and trying to make sense of it. The dictionary (dictionary.com: 2016), further defines *cosmology as a branch of philosophy that deals with the origin and general structure of the universe with its parts elements and laws and especially with such of its characteristics as space, time, causality and freedom. Cosmology and society are intimately related.*

However, Viriri and Mungwini (1985:76) argue strongly *that* cosmology influences how a person lives his life on a daily basis, what he laughs at, his approaches to problems in his or her life and the world, etc. It goes beyond an understanding in an academic way of a set of

linguistic guidelines or explanations but is guided more by the cultural histories of a certain community and the way they live. Hence we talk of different cosmologies such as Zulu cosmology, Venda cosmology and many others. For instance, during biblical times and in later past centuries many nations of the world, believed in and practised witchcraft. This belief constructed part of their worldview. As expressed in the Bible New International Version in Exodus 22 verse 18 (The New Bible Society), “thou shalt not suffer a witch to live” clearly indicates that for many people of the earth, witches and sorcery formed part of their cosmology. They believed certain things happened in people because someone practised witchcraft on them. As pointed out by Underwood (2016) such belief was captured and manifest in their various art forms, from painting to drama, for instance during the Renaissance. It is best captured by William Shakespeare in his ‘Macbeth’ melodrama. Underwood also (2004:35) mentions that during the Renaissance period people believed in superstition, ghosts, and witchcraft. For an example they believed they could sail in a sieve. They believed in the powers of witchcraft and witch hunt. Ironically the introduction of the printing press became a new learning tool and new learning became possible, which factor contribute to a new cosmology where witchcraft was regarded as a pagan practice.

However, there exist many other good examples of people’s worldview which transcends and make it difficult to separate culture and the religion. Every living person has a personal view and subjective view of the world. Accordingly, cultural communities possess an agreed view of how the universe works and how it all started and how each person should relate to it. That is their particular cultural cosmology or view of the world. Harrison (2000:38) makes a point that culture determines what we eat. For instance, in the European culture there is a marked difference between supper, which is a light meal early evening and dinner which is a splash of various meals ending with coffee after more than an hour of eating. In the Western work conscious and value taken Black society, Africans were not afforded time to eat before they are called back to work. Hence, claims Participant C7 except for a cultural feast, Zulus take a very short time eating. The community informally and formally come to agree on the cultural protocols of what is right or wrong, for example, how much beer to leave for amadlozi at *emsamo* (holy spot inside the kraal). That becomes a community culture which brings them together and by which the community is able to assess and punish those that harm them and regard them as anti-social. However pro-social cultural behaviour goes beyond an understanding in an academic way of a set of linguistic guidelines or explanations.

The basis of this research is that there is a difference between the African and the Western cosmology. However, there have been many times when these differences have led to bitter divisions and for a long time have become a huge political, social and economic divider. Mi Chelle (2003:43), argues that culture is an essential part of conflict and conflict resolution. They are a series of lenses that shape what we see and don't see, how we perceive and interpret, and where we draw boundaries. Cultures affect the ways we name, frame, blame, and attempt to tame conflicts. As pointed out by Mi Chelle (2003:34) whether a conflict exists at all is a cultural question. Our view of life is shaped by experience which determine what we eat and don't eat and why. However, within the African cosmology various cosmologies based on cultural beliefs of each community exist. This brings this study to look deeply at the differences between the African and Western cosmology against the context of cultural and ritualistic consumption and social cohesion.

### **2.3.3 African Cosmology**

African cosmology embraces the cultural viewpoints and knowledge of all nations in Africa. People of Africa share the basic values of sharing and collectivism. The indigenous people of Africa are indeed one. They have a common culture, worldview, history, religion, ancestry and philosophy of life (Gukwe 2007:42). It allows Africans to seek and find information to discount historical lies and replace them with a reclaimed view of the history of the Africans known as Africanization of knowledge. Kaylo (2013:34) takes a similar view that it also seeks explanation for the ways of being in the world that were positive and affirming of who Africans were (Kyalo. 2013:24). De Chane (2014:12) argues that the only way to understand certain things is to engage with them experientially and through a cultural prism. It is the reason why it is difficult to see matters in perspective using a foreign culture prism. He (ibid) continues the argument that the characteristics of any generation evolve from both historical events which include cultural and religious experiences, and the family sphere.

The multigenerational and multicultural influence begins as soon as humans enter the world because the child's home is encompassed by their home life roughly for the first decade and therefore an individual is a product of their parents and different generations. He makes a point that different generations differ on their choices of consumption products despite the fact that they are from the same national or racial cultural background. Numerous researchers (Knipe 2005:6; Msweli 2015:3) have attributed these changes or differences to new subcultures, means and various influences such as peer pressure etc. These major authorities on the research work confirm that each generation is highly influenced by the type of external events as peer pressure during their late adolescent and early adulthood years. However,

each generation passes on its customs and cultural values through food consumption, narration and storytelling in particular rural areas has hardly been documented (Dyn 2012:12).

Country	Ritualistic Value
PUKETT	Their ritualistic consumption patterns reflected their beliefs. Burping: Whilst belching in most of the Western world is considered rude and ill-mannered, burping in Egypt is the highest compliment a guest can pay to remark on the quality of the food prepared before them
CHINA	In Chinese culture it is considered rude to finish everything you are given to eat. Doing so is an indication that the host has not provided you with enough food to eat. To avoid such embarrassment, always leave some rice at the end of the meal to indicate that you have enjoyed your meal, but that you are indeed full
KENYA	In Africa, cows have always provided a different kind of sustenance. Drinking the blood of cows historically helped travellers cross vast tracts of desert when water and food was in short supply. In places like Kenya, the Masai warriors still follow the ritual of blood drinking
GREECE, THE CELTICS	The Celts placed dried grass on the floor when they eat their meals, using tables which are raised slightly off the ground.' The classical material indicates that the feast was centred around the cauldron and roasting spits and was characterized by an abundance of roasted and boiled meat, which were eaten with bare hands. The feast was a ceremonial manifestation of the warfaring nature of society.

**Table 3 Cultural and Food Rituals of the World** Taken from Elizabeth era: 2015

As argued by Gukwe (2007:78), African cosmology embraces the cultural viewpoints and knowledge of all nations in Africa, Zulu cosmology being one of them. It is a collective viewpoint of what constitutes Africans regardless of their various and different tribal and ethnic groups. Kanu (2009:28) defines African cosmology as the way Africans perceive, conceive and contemplate their universe; the lens through which they see reality, which affects their value systems and attitudinal orientations. The collective package referred to as African culture. He further explains that it is the African's search for the meaning of life, and an unconscious but natural tendency to arrive at a unifying base that constitutes a frame of meaning often viewed as terminus a quo (origin), and as terminus ad quem (end). Following

Virri and Mungwini's exposition (2010:76), it can be deduced that this cosmology is the underlining thought link that holds together the African value system, philosophy of life, social conduct, morality, folklores, myths, rites, rituals, norms, rules, ideas, cognitive mappings and theologies.

It is for this reason that the Zulus would determine relationship through a clan name, for example; the Zungu clan names are

- *Manzini, Sengwayo, Gwabini, Geda, Ncwane, ngankomo yaseMahenyeni, Nyama kayishi, isha ngababhebhezeli*

While the Khumalo's clan names are

- *Mntungwa, Mbulaz'omnyama, Nina bakaBhej' eseNgome, Nin' enadl'umuntu ninyenga ngendaba*

This is not only the histories of a particular clan but put together and understood in the African customs it begins to give you the surrounding and the cultural beliefs of a clan and society of the time. It forms their cosmology. Cosmology refers to common dominant themes such as (welfarism), altruism and universalism. African cosmology embraces and emphasises co-existence. Several authors (Gukwe (2007:3); Kunene 1979:67) explore the theoretical link between religion and culture in the context of African cosmology. They agree that religion, worldview, culture and philosophy of life mean the same thing in African classical thought and are the sources of human development principles that enable an African people to coexist with nature and have harmony with all things in the universe for "our world is not the only one (Kunene 1979:42). As pointed out by Harrison (2000:4) there are other worlds in the Universe. Some are at the stage of completion while others are at the stage of unfolding and some at the stage of annihilation. Each is complete and sufficient in itself. All have their moons and suns. These can be seen or felt. In most African societies, the ancestors are the custodians of the culture and way of life of the people, hence they serve as a source of reminder or symbols of the moral and value system that a particular society or group of people stand for. In most African culture adulthood has nothing to do with age.

Zulu cosmology is based on cultural beliefs such as, spirituality such as ancestry and Unomkhubulwane and Amathongo. As pointed by De Chane (2014:3) indigenous people of Africa are indeed one. They have a common culture, worldview, history, religion, ancestry and philosophy of life. African cosmology allows Africans to seek and find information to discount historical lies and replace them with a reclaimed view of the history of the Africans. Africanization of knowledge and also seeks explanation for the ways of being in the world that

were positive and affirming of who Africans were (Kyalo 2013:4). De Chane (2014:34) emphasizes the point of seeking information by saying, the only way to understand certain things is to engage with them experientially and through a cultural prism. This emphasises a need for an ethnographic study as the only way of understanding peoples' cosmology and culture because without this personal and experiential study it is difficult to see things in perspective using a foreign culture prism.

Ubuntu touches deep into the African culture and places africanization of knowledge and African view at the analysis and recognizes that there are different pyramids for the construction of knowledge none of which should be regarded as inferior. It further defines knowledge as basically a cultural paradigm which boasts of its own cultural regalia. Nussbaurn (2003:23) clearly explains this concept by giving an example when he says typical of ubuntu as defined in the Zulu cosmology, is a tradition called *ukusisa*. A family in a rural village would "lend" a cow and a bull to a newly married couple recently arriving in a village and wait until an offspring of the cow was produced before taking back the original cow and bull. The offspring would stay with the newcomers, leaving them both with their own venture capital and their dignity. This mutually beneficial transaction is based on kindness and love of humanity, but also on the idea of reciprocity, sharing wealth in the interests of building the community as a whole (Kunene: 1979:37). This practice is unknown in capitalistic and individualistic culture.

## **2.3.4 Western Cosmology on Africa**

### **2.3.4.1 What Is Western Cosmology?**

It is difficult to know what Western cosmology from a Western perspective except from an African cosmology perspective. However, in Mengaras (2001:21) explanation of the Western cosmology can be listed as:

#### **2.3.4.1.1 The concept of colour**

Mengaras (ibid) points out that everything was judged on the basis of colour. Incidentally "colour" was far away in Africa and Asia and did not interfere with the clean White. This as a distinctive criterion of racial classification was more marked within the Western cosmos as well as expropriating the Africans being by turning their minds and even souls through religion into Western objects.



#### 2.3.4.1.2 Obsession with being the finest race

When Europeans write about Africa, their perspectives is always a product of their culture. As quoted mentioned by Mengara (2001:3) Cecil John Rhodes bluntly gave a picture of a Western cosmology on Africa when he said: *I contend that we are the finest race in the world and the more we inhabit the better it is for the human race.*

#### 2.3.4.1.3 Duty to convert, colonise and enslave

In the same quotation by Mengara (ibid) Cecil Rhodes continues (ibid): *It is our duty to take Africa". Africa is still lying ahead of us.*

As pointed out by Dare (2010:36) the colonial strategy slave trade and missionaries was the bastion of Western civilisation and culture in Africa. This was correct to the extent that colonialism served as a vehicle of implantation of cultural imperialism in Africa. One of the most profound consequences of colonization has been how the political and economic rape of the colonies has also led to what sometimes seem to be an unbridgeable cultural gap between the nations that were the beneficiaries of colonization and those that were the victims of the colonial assault.

#### 2.3.4.1.4 None existence of African history

As correctly captured in the statement by Cecil Rhodes (Mengara. 2001:27) Western cosmology believed:

*that perhaps in the future there would be some African history, but at the present, there is none, there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness and darkness is not a subject of history*

As argued by Mengara (ibid) a Western cosmology perspective regards all African views as backward and not worthy of explaining life and the cultural practices or generations of African from time immemorial. Virri and Mungwini (2010) refer to this viewpoint, as “devoid of African identity” because it is interpreted from a standpoint that supports a doctrine that African cultures were primitive and their history irrelevant for consideration. However, this viewpoint does not tell us what the Western cosmology is other than its reflection on the absurdity of African life and cosmology. The question still remains of what is Western cosmology? A clear example of the vast chasm of viewpoints between African and Western cosmology is in their definition of age cohorts. For instance, according to the western viewpoint, the indicators of

an age cohort of baby boomers (1943-1960), is defined as of *indulgent parents and helping the generation of a rapidly expanding economy*. However, during the same period Africa was not experiencing much positive development. During that same period the whole of Africa was either experiencing wars or rule by colonial powers, for example in 1948 South Africa was taken over by the Nationalist government that inflicted the worst form of oppression. The same can be said of the events linked to the various age cohorts in the whole of Africa. These authors define generational cohorts from the events that had no impact on the lived experiences of the rural people of Africa. However, these events may be used to align the age cohort to age of the rural people in order to determine their consumption patterns in that particular age.

It is important to trace how the Western cosmology came to be regarded as a world cosmology and be forced as a source of all knowledge. The long-term colonial relationship between Europe and Africa saw the dehumanization and enslavement of the African people for the sole reason of economic exploitation and the perpetuation of racial and cultural stereotypes. Africa was referred to as a 'dark continent' and was referred to as an archetype of barbarism, irreparably stupid people, primitive and sexual perverts among other dualistic oppositions (Viriri and Mungwini: 1985). A similar view by the late President of the Republic of South Africa, P.W Botha, (1984 -1989:22), insensitively expressed both the hatred and the viewpoint of what Western civilization believe of Africans in South Africa, "*The fact that Blacks look like human beings and act like human beings do not necessarily make them sensible human beings (Address by State President P.W Botha, August 15, 1985:2, 3)). Hedgehogs are not porcupines and lizards are not crocodiles simply because they look alike. If God wanted us to be equal to the Blacks, he would have created us all of a uniform colour and intellect. But he created us differently*".

This view was based on the Western view that was always prevalent but subtle during pre-and colonial times that said that Africans:

- had no history: therefore, they could not claim to know themselves and had to be told who they were by Europeans.
- were cultural children shaped by sexual lust, immorality and degeneration.
- could not rule themselves because of their primitive irresponsibility; therefore, they needed enlightened masters to show them the ways of superior cultivating and managing them
- had no right to human justice, being sub-humans as they were

- Had no religion and therefore needed the light of Christianity if they were to be freed from their chaotic state of nature and animism. (Viriri and Mungwini: 2010; 2, 3).

The denial of history to the Africans meant that there was in the African past, nothing of value; neither their customs nor their culture. This colonial encounter led to the new “invention of Africa” (Viriri and Mungwini 2010:33), the systematic and systemic ‘manufacturing of a continent’. It is for this reason that any definition of an African by a Westerner is likely to gloss over the effect of this period as the concept of colour as a distinctive criterion of racial classification was more pronounced within the Western universe. It is also through this view that even the view of what the Africans consumed was regarded as a low or bye product of the original foods, for example beer made by sorghum drunk by Zulus was referred to as “*Kaffir malt or Kaffir beer*”, and was put together under the term of Native foods. (Bryant 1949 and Orpen 1902). Even the Western viewpoint of how Africans ate was abusive, for example, “*the pot-bellied piccanin is not a common observation of the European but the pride of his mother and the visible sign of her maternal care*”,

However, as pointed out by Bryant (1949) food is intimately associated with the most of pleasures and sorrows of Africans, his joys and tribulations, in a manner the Westerners are unconscious of our culture. According to Bryant (ibid) this viewpoint has rendered food consumption independent of the anxieties of life. However, numerous historians (Bryant (1907:46) and Krige 1968:25) have concurred that the Zulus always had some kind of ritualistic meaning for food. This means that food was not eaten necessarily for its taste but for its use and its ritualistic meaning. As pointed out by Viriri and Mungwini (2010:32) the skewed view of Africans denies reality that before the European conquest of Africa, Africans had built up a pool of knowledge and technology which they used to sustain agriculture, human and animal health, industrial production involving food processing, metallurgy, leather tanning, fermentation of beverages and other products which Africans consumed or traded in order to acquire products they would consume, for example, that they would trade their own products, made or planted by them, that were not available to those they were trading with. However, many authors writing from a Western cosmological viewpoint (Krige 1968) derides the ritual practices and refers to them as evil and unclean.

As pointed out by Viriri and Mungwini (2010:23) as a result of this demonization of the history and culture of Africans Afrocentric scholars have called for the Africanization of knowledge. Africanization of knowledge is basically a call to place the African worldview at the centre of analysis and recognition that there are different pyramids for the construction of knowledge, none of which should be regarded as inferior for knowledge. This view intends documenting

and giving respect to various cultural practices and their meanings. It wants to ensure that African cultural practices, their foods and meaning of every ritualistic consumption is documented, respected and as skills for example, *ukwenza utshwala besiZulu* are passed over to generations to come. It means acknowledge that all knowledge is regarded basically as cultural construct and hence boast of its own cultural regalia. African mental ecology (ibid: 2010) philosophies and human-cultural rationalizations are unique and have sustained Africa's cultures through millennia of relatively peaceful, health and research-conscious human development. Indigenous Africa understands best its human environment and accordingly reasoned adequately functional cultural systems and practices for living in harmony with the physical as well as metaphysical (Viriri and Mungwini 2010:43).

## **2.4 An Overview of the Zulu Cosmology**

As one of the many tribes of Africa and South Africa with a long history beginning in the 16th century as various small tribes, to a point where King Shaka united them into a one powerful nation, Zulus are no strangers to spiritual beings. God, ancestral spirits and other deities form part of the Zulu cultural system. Over centuries they have maintained certain and strong cultural rituals and practices, all with a meaning and a hope of their spiritual and social cohesion. These practices have deep meaning to the Zulus and are linked to the ritualistic consumption practices and form a fabric of the construction of the Zulu identity. The spirituality is an important part of their social cohesion and social cohesion, from family to community.

As pointed out Rautenbach (2012:23) the ritual of the bull slaughtering during the festival of *ukweshwama* is not a meaningless and evil event but is believed to symbolise the cyclic development of the Zulu king from strong to weak and then strong again. Bull slaughtering symbolises the death of a weak king and the installation of a new powerful king, the revitalisation of the monarch's waning powers. There is enough empirical evidence to prove that Zulus believe their traditions to be religious and binding the Zulus as one nation. The African and specifically Zulu cosmology prism is relevant to view cultural happenings such as ritualistic food and the link of such to Amathongo and many cultural festivals and feasts within the broad Zulu culture. These views also confirm the important role played by cultures and sub-cultures of generational cohorts in keeping, slightly changing and completely changing and discarding the cultural foods that have been carried from generation to generation.

The Zulus as well as many Africans believe in the ancestral lineage of the people. The Zulus believe that the ancestors are an intermediary between them and the God of the sky (Abdulai: 2007). As pointed out by Kunene (1979:37) the cultural lifestyle of the Zulu people is based

on the pro-social norms and values of human respect which at its most fundamental sense represents “personhood, humanity, humanness and morality (Mbigi 2005:7). Their basic belief underscores pro-social norms theory which represents a broad category of acts that are defined by some significant segment of society and/or one's social group as generally beneficial to other people (Lindenberg 2013:7). This theory identifies positive cultural pillars that bind communities together and those that get punished as cultural anti-social. These pillars result in social cohesion of a community. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:67) one of the cardinal values of ubuntu is a habit of working together in the spirit of harmony, service and teamwork, in which care is taken to balance individual rights and communal rights (Mbigi 2005:23). Ubuntu is not just about collectivism, but also about the principles of inclusions, interdependence and reciprocity (Botha 2006:25). One of the known ubuntu elements shown in the everyday life of the Zulus was in the *Iluma* (working together) projects. This was a practice where families would come together to work in the fields of all the neighbouring households. And everyone reaped the rewards of their combined efforts. (Botha 2006:68).

The South African History Organisation (2012:25) confirms this cultural base of the Zulus as a happy, singing and dancing nation. All the rituals are accompanied by eating and drinking. As pointed out by Zulu food (2016:28) the Zulu people are fond of singing as well as dancing. These activities promote unity at all the transitional ceremonies such as births, weddings, and funerals. All the dances are accompanied by drums and the men dress as warriors. To belong a child learns the songs and dance as done in front of him or her by adults. She practices the dance with others of his or her age in front of the elders who appreciate and reinforce confidence. These activities promote unity and therefore prosocial in nature at all the transitional ceremonies such as births, weddings, and funerals. All the dances are accompanied by drums and the men dress as warriors. Zulu folklore is transmitted through storytelling, praise-poems, and proverbs. These explain Zulu history and teach moral lessons. Praise-poems (poems recited about the kings and the high achievers in life) are part of popular culture. The Zulu, especially those from rural areas, are known for their weaving, craft-making, pottery, and beadwork. The Zulu term for “family” (*umndeni*) includes all the people staying in a homestead who are related to each other, either by blood, marriage, or adoption. Drinking and eating from the same plate was and still is a sign of friendship and a visible sign of believing in each other's' fate. Consequently, the pro-social cultural practices of the Zulus such as giving food and shelter to a stranger (*awuhambi ungaphuze ngisho itiyi* (a visitor must be offered at least tea no matter how long the visit is) and *isisu somhambi asingakanani* (I only need the bare minimum of food for a night as a stranger). This used to be a call by a stranger standing at the edge of the premises requesting to be given shelter and some food for the night. In this way the Zulus cared for people and ensured that even a stranger was welcome.

This practice allowed people to make new friends and meet relatives as the stranger would return the favour one day his host need food and shelter.

Taking a similar view, Sharon Jeannotte (2000:60) defines social cohesion as the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity. This is manifest in many different ways, some obvious for outsiders to observe while some rituals not so obvious. For instance, for the Zulus it is customary for children to eat from the same dish, usually a big basin. This derives from a "share what you have" belief which is part of ubuntu (humane) philosophy. Their cultural rituals are accompanied by singing, dancing and provision of food and traditional beer. Zulus looked after the orphans and in that way there were no beggars or criminals as one would find in KwaZulu-Natal these days or any other Province of South Africa. The value system and community ethics described above have been eroded with the passing of time and is manifest in the type of crimes that indicate the loss of spirituality, care and love in humanness in the present days. Research indicates that while crime is endemic in South Africa and the world, it has also increased in the rural and urban areas alike (Crime statistics of South Africa: 2015). The latest crime statistics (ibid) the following represent the crime figures in KwaZulu-Natal as a Province:

**Table 4 Summary of Crime Statistics of South as at 15 June 2016**

Types of crime	Figures (at 10 June 2015)
Total crimes	27 285 874
Murder	212 312
Sexual crimes	783 687
Attempted murder	231 007
Common assault	2 441 879
Serious assault	2 514 453
Robbery	783 680

Taken from Crime Statistics of South Africa (15 January.2016)

The increasing phenomenon of crime in South Africa and among Africans is alarming and flies against the spirit of ubuntu. Seeing these increasing and alarming statistics various communities and leaders have called for a Moral Regeneration. There are new initiatives such as *African Renewal Plans*, *16 days of Activism*, *True men don't rape*. There are continuous marches against violence, rape and many criminal activities that clearly indicate that is dead and people lack consciousness to care for another human being (Zulu, 5 February 2012). One common thread about African and Zulu cosmology is its pursuance of social cohesion. As its

most fundamental principle, ubuntu was based on trust, humanness, selflessness and cooperativeness of individuals for the good of a group or community. Jane (2002:23) argues the cohesion does not depend on political, legal or economic constructs, but rather on cultural traditions, and that culture is a social order based mainly on informal norms. Kunene (1979) argues that social cohesion consists of reciprocity based on common standards and trust; it is a social glue, which can be either good or evil. Customs such as ukwenana (borrowing foodstuff while going through hardship) and also returning a favour by bringing a loaned pot with a gift developed a saying *ibhodwe libuya nenhlahlulo* (whenever a person borrows anything from someone he must recompensate with a small gift on its return). Following are some of the cultural rituals in which ritualistic consumption was undertaken and in the process brought Zulus together in a socially cohesive way.

#### **2.4.1 The Role of Amathongo**

A Zulu man believed he was born with the Ithongo which is spirit of the dead (Mbiti 1969:3; Beckwith 1999:47, Howman 1943:3, Howman 1943:46). This Ithongo dictated the dreams and revealed a lot of secrets to the living in a dream. Sometimes the Ithongo would dictate that a beast had to be slaughtered for any late member of the family. Cattle and goats were regarded as the only link between the ancestors and their living descendants as well as the only means whereby the Zulu got in touch with the ancestral spirits to make known his wants or ask for blessings (Krige 1968:34). This was accomplished through sacrifice. On important ritual occasions the beast was either killed as a sacrifice or it passes in its live state from one group to another. Thus, for example, when a girl or boy reached the stage of puberty a beast was killed in celebration of the important event; on marriage a girl is incorporated into the new group by touching the gall of one of its cattle, in addition to which there was also an elaborate process of interchange of cattle between the families as means of bringing them together in friendship; then on the death of any important member of society, a beast was killed to purify the mourners, another being killed later to 'bring the spirit home'. Krige (1968:35) argues that the cattle kraal was a sacred spot. The women were not allowed to come in. The beast would be killed for sacrifice inside the kraal after the elder man of the house had liaised and negotiated or pleaded with the ancestral spirits. It is a spot where no woman who does not belong to the family, may tread, and even one who has married there may not enter till by the death of both parents of her husband she becomes the mistress of the kraal. Herd-boys never permitted girls, even of their own kraal, to walk in the midst of grazing cattle, and if the cattle are grazing on both sides of a road the boys will prevent girls from passing through as it was regarded as a cause for bad luck.

Research done by Callaway 1970:33, Bryant 1949:83, Beckwith 1949 and Mbiti 1969:19 confirm that the ithongo was also consulted when members of the family were sick and became a guiding light for all serious matters of the family. The way to talk to Ithongo was through a killing of a goat and not a sheep as the latter was not recognised by amadlozi. As the goat is being slaughtered it would make a noise and the elder present would begin talking to the amadlozi in a trance like voice

*nina baka Khabazela, nangu umntwana wenu ecela nimgade endleleni eya e Goli, "Hail to the Participant C7 elders, I bring to you your child who is asking for you to look after him/her as she is about to take a trip to Johannesburg.*

After the goat was slaughtered the person for whom it was slaughtered, would be dressed in a fresh goat skin wrist band. A finger could be dipped in fresh blood and be dabbed on the forehead of the person for whom the ritual was performed. When people survived an accident they believed it was because of their Ithongo. If there is one who has escaped, disaster he or she would thank Ithongo for saving him or her. If a child or person had come from claws of death or long illness, there was a well-respected way of thanking the Ithongo, which would include calling the traditional doctor to do certain rituals to slaughtering a beast to exalt the amathongo for good work done in saving the family or a member. The Western cosmology regards these cultural practices as mere excuses to eat meat. Consistent with this attitude, Orpen (1902:14) argued that "the Native will do anything to lay his hands on meat, and draws on unheard-of springs of energy when meat is the inducement".

Callaway (1970:14) describes a scenario when the Zulus came back from the army. They sacrificed cattle to the Amathongo; because they believed Amathongo had saved them. They would pour the gall of the sacrifices in their bodies in the belief that the gall would save them from evil and save them on another occasion of war. Callaway (1970:15) conclusively mentions that Zulu people believed that uNkulunkulu (God) was connected with Amathongo; he gave them doctors for treating diseases, and, diviners. They believed that He gave them medicines to treat diseases occasioned by the Ithongo. They also believed that if a man is ill, he was being affected by the Ithongo. A bullock should be killed and the sick person would then get well. Part of the healing would also be an Ithongo coming to tell a person what it wants him to do, such as instructing a person to slaughter a beast in honour of one of the late member of the family. (Callaway 1970:56). In a telephone conversation on 20 April 2016, Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016), who grew up and live in the area of Estcourt, he confirmed that these beliefs are still practised by the traditional communities of the Zulus. He confirms that Zulu people still believe that if someone dies the ithongo is dark (limnyama ithongo or asifulathele amadlozi) meaning that the Ithongo is giving



his back to us. He confirms that they believe in Umvelinqangi because he came into being first immediately before men. A sheep is not killed because it does not make a noise and therefore it is not usual to sacrifice a sheep but a goat. The sheep would cause the Ithongo to be dark. Participant C7 stated that culturally old people believed that eating meat by women would make them disrespectful.

#### **2.4.2 Unomkhubulwane Rain Goddess and Social Cohesion**

Recent oral sources (Ngubane, Mabi, and Mkhulise 1996-1998:24) and older written sources (Kunene 1979, Berglund 1976, Krige 1968, Petterson (1953:25)] 1973:15, Gluckmann 1935:3 and Bryant (1949:13) agree on the following major beliefs about Zulu cosmology and, Nomkhubulwane, in particular. As pointed out by Krige (1968:8) in the beginning were two or three great spirits who are still with us, one male and one (or two) female. Both male and female energies were balanced, harmonious, and equally necessary to creation. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:24) the male spirit, Mvelinqangi, is austere, sometimes fierce, and virile, given to striding through the ethers trailing streams of glory and thunder, taking lesser female spirits as wives. Participant C7 stated that Nomkhubulwane, is calmer and somewhat more accessible, though neither spirit can be approached directly by adults except through ancestral spirits. Nomkhubulwane does show herself to virgin girls and may be directly contacted through girls or spirits only. Nomkhubulwane lives near bodies of water, emanating mists. She is associated with light, with rain, and with fertility.

As pointed out by Kendall (1988:3) the rainbow, in particular, is Nomkhubulwane's symbol. Her ambassador is the snake, especially a two-headed snake. The goddess never married and never will, and she never bore children, but she considers all *izintombi* (Zulu girl children or virgins) her daughters. However, it is important that uNomkhubulwane fits into a greater scheme of complex ritual practices carried by women in Zulu culture. It is also a sign that women were highly regarded as inzalabantu (creators of mankind) (Ngcobo). These include *uMkhosi Womhlanga* (Reed dance), *ukuhlolwa kwamantombazane* (virginity testing) and *Dolo qina* (first fruits festivity). Her absence can be read in droughts, in greater storms, terrible winds and soil that lies exhausted and barren. As pointed out by Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016) uNomkhubulwane possessed herself in compassionate quietude, receiving the annual performances of *izintombi* and dedicating herself to protecting them and making them, and the earth, wet with life waters, healthy, and whole. Kunene (1979:35) argues that if the Zulu people do not pay respect, uNomkhubulwane could turn her back and walk away. Her absence can be read in droughts, in great storms, terrible winds, and soil that lies exhausted and barren. When she turns her back on the people,

horrible things can happen: beauty and civility go with her; her people can suffer domination by outsiders; her daughters have no protection from rape; violence erupts between brothers; and unheard of diseases strike people and animals.

Kunene (1979:25) and Bryant (1949:22) confirm that UNomkhubulwane was regarded as the agent of social cohesion, health, harmony, peace and a socially cohesive society (Kunene: 1979). Several authors agree (Kendal 1988:35; Kunene 1979:36) that uNomkhubulwane was regarded as the protector of girls and the emblem of female strength, fertility, and autonomy. They claim that it was significant that she never married and thus never passed from the house of her father, the supreme deity, to a lesser male being's house. Kendall (2005:36) emphasizes that there were also maidens spring rites that were celebrated through *uNomkhubulwane* which were rites of initiation into womanhood as well as rituals to the goddess. According to Kendal during ritual periods groups of *izintombi* wearing *izibhenene* (*izibheshu*, traditional skin dress), with *umutya* (beaded aprons) or *izigege* (small beaded aprons that cover the pubic area only), going into the mountains to celebrate with feasting and beer-drinking, song, and dance could be seen walking up or down the mountain to a place where the event was going to take place. *uNomkhubulwane* is the most central symbol of creation. She establishes the female principle as philosophically the primary force in creation. Through the female principle, the seemingly irreconcilable elements are brought together.

Thus the conciliation of opposites and the establishment of balance become the very essence of growth and creation. According to Kunene (1979:25) uNomkhubulwane contributed to the social cohesion of the Zulu cultural and ritual belief. As the Queen or the Princess of Zulu cosmology, she was a Zulu divinity in female form. Kunene (ibid) asserts that female Zulus felt well aligned with the protocols of UNomkhubulwane. For instance, any girl who got pregnant before marriage was regarded as having brought disrepute and embarrassment on UNomkhubulwane and other Zulu females. Kendall (2016:71) argues that when the Izangoma performed their ritual which is a vital community function and are believed by many Zulu people to communicate messages from spirits to people to unite visible and invisible realm to bring energy and health to their communities. Ancestral spirits are important in Zulu religious life. As pointed out by (Zulu 2012:2) offerings and sacrifices are made to the ancestors for protection, good health, and happiness. The Zulu are fond of singing as well as dancing. These activities promote unity at all the transitional ceremonies such as births, weddings, and funerals. All the dances are accompanied by drums and the men dress as warriors (sahistory.org.za). The Zulu term for 'family' (*umnden*) includes all the people staying in a homestead who are related to each other, either by blood, marriage, or adoption. Drinking and eating from the same plate was and still is a sign of friendship.

As pointed out by Kendall (2005:24) *unomkhubulwane* contributed to the wellness of society but when *uNomkhubulwane* turned her back, Zulu society lost its balance. Disease swept through the people, and so the people came to rely on *izangoma* to perform songs, dances, and rituals in order to restore harmony and health. Kendall (2005) vividly describes the event of celebrating *uNomkhubulwane*. He speaks of singing and ululating that would ensue as the goat was eviscerated and placed, hair, legs, and head, on top of the fire. As the goat burned and the *izangoma*'s singing and dancing continued, each of the 11 chickens was sacrificed in the same way: neck cut, blood dripped in a circle around the fire, stomach taken out, then onto the fire-feathers, feet, and all. The smoke from the fire rose straight into the sky, a sign that the sacrifices had been accepted. The fact that *uNomkhubulwane* and such spiritual connection is no longer regarded highly by the Zulus may be a reason why the Zulu nation is experiencing social problems such as alcoholism, teenage pregnancy and other forms of crime.

#### **2.4.3 The Role of Isangoma (diviner)**

The diviner known as *isangoma* was regarded as the go between the living and the departed. As pointed in the Zulu religion-*Isangoma* (2016:1) the *Isangoma* was a spiritual healer and leader to determine the cause of the events. Her word is highly respected. The cause of the event might vary from a failure to appease the spirits or a suspected witchcraft by someone who is jealous of the wealth or social cohesion of a family or a society. For any of the divination there is usually a sacrifice to be made following certain protocols in order to bring the things in line with the ritual balance and social cohesion of a community. The dancing and singing of *isangoma* or many *zangomas* is ecstatic and follows some rhythmic patterns and getting into trance. Each *isangoma* has his or her moment of moving into the centre of the circle, near the fire, to dance alone to the cries and approval of the crowd. Some seemed to enter trance states and had to be supported or protected to keep them from dancing into the fire in their enthusiasm. The sacrifice of the animals took about an hour and a half, after which small groups of *izintombi* danced and sang while the fire burned the animals down to ashes (Zulu 2012:4). The *sangoma* is charged with ascertaining the cause of bad events, of protecting the clan against evil spirits and of exposing antisocial individuals.

As argued by Mugaly, Govender and James (2010:72), the *sangoma* or Zulu diviner spiritualist is the main link between the ancestors and those who are living and is the only person with the power to make known the will of the spirits and to interpret their messages and as such becomes the protector of society. The *sangoma* (diviner) is said to possess power to be able to control the elements, to ward off lightning, to control hail and to make rain (Krige 1968).

Rain is an important requirement for agriculture and the community's survival. Hence, observation of the skies, noticing the types of clouds, listening to bird sounds predicting rainfall and cyclones are valuable skills to be learnt. The izangoma are most knowledgeable in this area and are often sought to induce rain. Krige (1968:298) notes that the sangoma is 'one of the pivots upon which the welfare of society rests, and she is for this reason most highly respected'.

## **2.4.4 The Historical Context of the Zulu Culture**

### **2.4.4.1 Lineage of the Zulu Kings**

As pointed by Kunene (1976) the Zulu Nation did not begin with the birth of Shaka ka Senzangakhona. Krige (1968:30) confirms this point that a century before, the Zulus had been a small tribe before Shaka began his conquests to unite different tribes to one big Zulu Nation and Kingdom. Following is the history and lineage of the Zulu Kings pre and after Shaka, the great Zulu Kings (Zulu kings 2012).

Mageba, father of

- Zulu, father of;
- Ntombela, father of;
- Phunga, father of:
- Mageba, father of
- Ndaba, father of;
- Jama, father of:
- Senzangakhona, father of;
- Shaka, Dingane and Mpande. Mpande, father of;
- Cetshwayo, father of:
- Dinizulu, father of;
- Bhekuzulu, father of;
- Zwelithini, the currently reigning king (Ubhejane phum' siqiwini) (Zulu 2012:4)

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:45) the history of the Zulu Kingdom begins with the reign of King Dingiswayo, chief of the Mthethwa tribe, a Nguni-speaking group of the Bantu population in south eastern Africa. During his reign from 1808 to 1818, Dingiswayo conquered several chiefdoms surrounding the Mthethwa territory (Kunene: 1979:23). Various authors (Thompson 2014, Weir 2000, Bjerk 2006 and Wright 2006:24) contend that the main drive for Dingiswayo's wars of conquest was his desire to end the internecine fighting between different communities

and to bring them under a single government. This promoted a strong socially cohesive Zulu nation. Kunene (1979:29) emphasizes the point that to this day the Zulu nation recognises only one paramount Zulu king as the King of all the Zulus. Participant C7 stated that the reigning Zulu king, King Goodwill Zwelithini, is the only King called and greeted as “*Bayethe*” meaning, “Salute to the king”. This fact alone has ensured that there are no fights among many different “kings” as one would find in other African nations in South Africa.

Kunene (1979:37) takes a similar view that Dingiswayo’s military expeditions were successful largely because he had restructured the former fighting units of different lineages into a unified, age-graded regiments. This military reorganization had important socio-political implications since it weakened the influence of territorially based kinship relations. Dingiswayo also changed the political order by centralizing power over the conquered area. He increased control over the defeated chiefs when they accepted his dominion or when he considered them loyal favourites. Dingiswayo’s exercise force was said to be relatively mild beyond the actual conquest, and the chiefdoms submitting to his power and offering tribute were rarely left intact (Bryant 1949:36). The Zulu nation, at the time a small lineage of some 20 000 members, were also conquered by the Mthethwa. Shaka, an illegitimate son of the Zulu chief, born in 1795, took refuge with the Mthethwa, joined their army, and became one of its bravest warriors. When the chief of the Zulu died, Shaka seized power and reorganised the Zulu community along Mthethwa military lines based on age rather than kinship. Dingiswayo died in 1818 during a confrontation with the Ndwandwe community. Thereafter Shaka killed the legitimate heir of Dingiswayo, appointed a favourite to be the new Mthethwa chief, soon subsumed the Mthethwa regiments under Zulu control and proclaimed himself the new ruler of the Zulu Kingdom.

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:39) Shaka not only designed a new weapon, a shorter spear known as *lkrwa*, named because of the sound it made when removed after stabbing a person, (Zulu 2012:4), improve military concepts and tactics, but he also created and structured a society that survived long after his assassination. Kunene (1979) conclusively argues that one of the most revolutionary concepts Shaka put forward was the equal distribution of wealth and national affiliation. From King Senzangakhona (father to King Shaka) to the present reigning king, Goodwill Zwelithini, Zulu kings have been taking great care in regimenting growing young men and women according to age cohort for civil service and nation building. For instance, King Dingiswayo of the Mthethwas had an *Izicwe regiment*. These were the boys up to the age of about sixteen, who would go out with the cattle before sunrise, returning with them, first towards midday, for milking, and finally in the evening about sundown, thus spending the whole of their days in the exhilarating sunshine and free life of the open veld (Kunene 1979).

The reign of Shaka marks a crucial phase in the history of the Zulu Kingdom. After Shaka had seized power, he further developed the disciplined organization of the military. He trained the army to encircle the enemy in a shield-to-shield formation so that rival warriors could be stabbed at the heart. These military-technical innovations were to be of enormous political importance. As pointed out by anthropologists Krige (1968:48) and Callaway (1970:23), the efficiency of the military apparatus allowed Shaka to gather a large number of chiefdoms into one entity and to incorporate the defeated troops into the Zulu military. Though some chiefdoms were able to disperse into other territories, Shaka's wars resulted in the merging of some 300 formerly independent chiefdoms into the Zulu Kingdom (Kunene 1979:2, Krige 1968:24).

#### **2.4.5 Work done by men**

All work connected with cattle was done by men only. Men would cut building poles while women would carry them in their heads home (Krige 1977:3). As pointed out by Krige (1977:26) men and boys herded the cattle, milk the cows, pour the milk into the calabashes or even wash the milking utensils, for women may have nothing to do with any operations connected with cattle. It was a men's work to thatch the house. Men would prepare the ground before it is planted and be the first to know when to remove the weed from whatever vegetables or mealies planted. The men played little part in agriculture; they merely hew the bush where new fields are to be cultivated, and at harvest or in spring may sometimes help with the reaping (Krige 1977:2). Hut building, except for thatching, is the work of men. Wooden utensils, such as mil-pots and spoons, are all made by men who do a good deal of basketry besides; they also dress skins for clothes, and sometimes specialise in metal work which is always a man's occupation. Most trading or entertaining is done by the men who, especially nowadays, have a great deal of leisure, much of which is spent in beer-drinking and visiting. In the old days a great deal of time was taken in attending to legal cases and in fighting. Different regiments had to attend regularly at the king's court where they had to weed the royal gardens, construct fences and do any other work the king might require. There was also much more hunting then than now (Kunene 1979:2).

There was always Ukhamba lomnumzane (beer pot) ready for the man of the house if he had been working hard, for instance, building or repairing the house. This beer was also for the man's visitors who would come to consult or share other man's important issues. Krige 1977 argues that of all the activities which are considered the sphere of men, the most important in tribal economy is certainly the rearing and the care of cattle. Such being the case, it is not surprising to find the greatest care taken of these valuable possessions, the loss of which is

the greatest disaster in the eyes of any Zulu. When sickness breaks out among the cattle, a doctor is called in to come and 'smoke' the cattle, and there is often a special spot in the fold where cattle charms are burnt. Each doctor has his own methods of treatment and procedure, but in a case in which a number of cattle had died from a disease supposed to have been caused by a wizard, the doctor first of all collected the cattle in the cattle-fold where they were fumigated with the burning medicine; then they melted some of the fat of the diseased animal and put it into the mouth of the cow (Krige 1977:3). Daily life for the men consisted of tending the cattle and performing the heavier tasks around the homestead. Though agriculture is the sphere of women, a Zulu man may, when he is quite old, have a garden of his own for the cultivation of tobacco for his own use, but he never plants food crops.

#### **2.4.6 Role and work done by women**

The role of women in the Zulu culture was huge and taken very seriously. A man who was not married was not highly respected. There were songs about "Ungangitshelani ungenamfazi" (what can a man without a spouse tell us?). A man who had borne several girls was regarded as potentially rich as he would receive cows (eleven of each of his daughters when they married without any child. However, as pointed out by Kunene (1979) women formed a complicated and important fabric in the shaping and performing of the Zulu cultural rituals besides being ruled by a patriarchal system and manual labour. Cultivation of cereal crops and all household duties fell to the women. Women cooked, fetched woods from the forests, hoe the ground, ground mealies and plaited beer-bowls. Nowadays this rule has been relaxed considerably, owing to the influence of European civilisation; with the introduction of the tilling, because women may not work with cattle, and when in imitation of European farming methods mealies are grown specially for feeding the cattle, they have to be planted and cared for by the men because men was intended for the cattle.

Many historians (Guy 1973:33; Kunene: 1979:2 and Krige 1968:2) concur that Nandi, Shaka's mother wielded huge powers and was a great influence on Shaka's decisions. As pointed out by Krige (ibid) grandparents had a special place in Zulu society. Grandfathers, no matter how old, must be consulted in all matters concerning the family. Grandparents are also teachers of Zulu traditions. They repeat the ancient stories exactly as they learned them from their own grandparents who told stories sitting around the fire hearth. As pointed out by several authorities on the subject of Zulu History (Krige 1968:3, Guy 1973:3) women would ground the corn or mealies. They would cut grass and carry it home for thatching, dab the mud hut which the men would thatch when dry. Thus a woman's daily routine started before dawn. She would wake up and woke up her children and go straight to the fields to prepare for ploughing,

weeding or harvesting. At about 9 in the morning women with her children would come back to prepare breakfast for her husband and children so that they would eat at the same time, after which time they would wash the dishes and clean the house.

Possel and Rudwick (2015:3) argue that the gardens cultivated by one woman may be scattered, near the kraal on the hill and, below in the valley and some on the opposite hill. A garden did not possess a systematic shape and enclosed only when protection is needed against animals. Sometimes a fence may be erected by the members of several kraals jointly as a barrier between the cultivated lands and region with dangerous animals. In this case the construction of the fence and the cutting of the materials needed was the work of men though the women had to carry the woods from the forest or nearby bush. When land was covered with grass and trees had to be cleared by the men for cultivation. This work was hard particularly because they had to use small axes (Krige 1968:34). Fire was, however, usually used to remove the trunks of large trees. Regarding royal women, each location contained a section of royal women headed by a strong woman, usually one of Shaka's aunts. Shaka, however, feared producing a legitimate successor. He never married and women found pregnant by him were put to death. His households were thus not dominated by wives but by stern senior women of the royal family.

#### **2.4.7 Zulu Regiments**

Nyembezi (1976:2) argues that age was determined more by cultural understanding of what stage a growing or ageing person had attained. The person who had attained that age level would be seen by what he or she adorned. For example, young men (*izinsizwa*) or when a girl got into female adolescence (*'ebuntombini'*), she would wear a special skin skirt known *isigege* (Nyembezi: 1976). Kunene (1979:4) argues that this was Shaka's way to build a strong army and strong nation. There was the time for boys and girls to attain the age of puberty known as (*ukuthomba*) which the Zulus would celebrate culturally and differently for both boys and girls. From time immemorial in the history of the Zulus each king embraced and continued the basic rituals and culture of his people but would make amendments in respect of the responsibilities of different age cohorts for example, that certain responsibilities were to be done by a certain regiment. The military indunas or captains, as trusted favourites of the king, received many cattle from him and were able to build up large personal followings. These developments resulted in the evolution of powerful figures in later period of influence with strong local power bases that they had been able to build up because of royal appointments and favours. KwaBulawayo, Shaka's first capital was on the banks of the Mhodi, a small tributary of the Mkhumbane River in the Babanango district. He named his great place



KwaBulawayo (*at the place of the murder*). As his kingdom grew, he built a far bigger KwaBulawayo, a royal household of about 1,400 huts, in the Mhlathuze valley, some 27 km from the present town of Eshowe (Bryant: 1949:3).

Regarding economic and social changes, the development of the military system caused major economic and societal changes. King Shaka kept and trained many regiments of young people. This gave him a lot of power as these young people were his soldiers available for his ambition. Bryant (1949:3) argues that the livestock of the whole community throughout the kingdom increased tremendously; even though most of the herds were owned by the king and his chiefs and indunas, all united in the pride roused by the magnificence of the royal herds as well as the pride of belonging to the incomparable military power of Zulu.

Anon (2000:3:2) argues by saying the Zulus, rose to power only when Shaka known as the black Napoleon, became the ruler of the Zul people and began the career of conquest and destruction which made itself felt over half a century. Many researchers, using the Western cosmology perspective regard Shaka as a “bloody thirsty king” who slaughtered his people at will (Bryant 1949:4), however reformist historians have high regard and skill in bringing together and uniting various small tribes into one powerful Zulu nation (Zulu 2012:4). Shaka was strict and ordered the life of soldiers with discipline (Kunene 1979:7). A man would be released from the army regiment when it was time to marry. Before that all men were expected to be loyal subjects of the king doing what any loyal subject would do. In his book, *Shaka, the Emperor*, Kunene (1979:4) makes a convincing point that Shaka was a strategist and a reasonable king who released men who had served their time in the regiments so that they could start families and serve as advisers in different capacities in the land. He would issue a proclamation that all the expert warriors who had proved their worth were to be granted the right to put on the *head ring*, or, in other words, received permission to marry in the women’s regiment ready to marry. This women’s regiment was called “*Umvuthwamini*”.

Regiments were divided according to the pre-and-post puberty stages, ranks, responsibilities and regiments for boys and girls. This new practice had been started by King Shaka who stopped the circumcision custom as he believed that the ritual took young men for an overly extended period of time, which he would want to use to send them into regiments so that they become ready for war (Kunene 1976:2). Shaka divided young men according to their age than their rank. For instance, according to the Zulu culture *ukuthomba* (getting into adolescence) occurred between the age of fourteen and half and nineteen years. Each age cohort had certain specific rights and responsibilities each young man and woman was expected to perform. For instance, it was only young boys who had the privilege of *ukukleza*- *drinking fresh*

*milk directly from the udder of a cow*, a practice a young man would request to enjoy from a man who had the skills and privilege. *Udibi* (page boys) were young boys who served in the king's palace. These boys also a responsibility to take the first sip of the beer. This was to protect the king in the event the king has been poisoned.

During the reign of Shaka the male *amabutho* or young men were taken away to be enrolled alongside others from all sections of the kingdom in an appropriate *amabutho*, or age-regiment style. This produced a sense of common identity and unity among them. Each of these *amabutho* had its own name, which the amabutho were proud of and owned. This regiment name or title was lodged at one of the royal households, which became military training centres where they were also taught how to retain their traditional functions and roles. Meat was the main food as men were taught loyalty and rituals associated with slaughtering and looking after their houses when they had gone through all military regiment and ready to start their own families. Each military settlement had a herd of royal cattle assigned to it, from which the young men were supplied with meat. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:6) the ritualistic meaning of this meat eating was to inculcate in them the importance of raising their own cattle (as no man would be without cattle, for how would he perform his cultural rituals, how would he marry his sons off without cattle. Therefore, looking after your father's cattle earned a young man the right to one day expect to be married from the cattle he used to look after as he grew up. Krige (1979:5) points out that even by the time young men left the shepherding (*ukwalusa*) role he already had a certain number of cattle allocated to him. This act ensure that young people looked forward to one day owning their own flock of cattle and big families.

Regarding female *amabutho* the numbers of young women of the kingdom were assembled at the military settlements. Officially, they were wards of the king. They were organized in female equivalents of the male amabutho and took part in ceremonial dancing and displays. When one of the male amabutho was given permission to marry, a female amabutho would be broken up and the women given out as brides to the warriors. Until such time, however, sexual intercourse between members of the male and female age regiments was forbidden. (Krige.1968:5) and wrongdoings were punished by death. Following are some of the regiments in the history of the Zulu. These rituals for the installation of regiments were celebrated with consumption of meat, beer and dancing, and these were done according to known dates, events and ages according to strict ritual practice.

#### **2.4.8 Circumcision Replaced with Regimenting**

Kunene (1979:3) makes a point that during King Mpande's reigning period from 1840 to 1878, boys at the age of 14 were expected to serve as *udibi* (a boy who carries a warriors' belongings). At 17 -18 a boy would have a prefect known as *ikhanda* and then allowed to *kleza* (drink milk directly from the cow udders of the king's cattle. They underwent a period of *cattleship* looking after the king's herds and the royal homesteads which were situated around the kingdom. The king would call them together and form them into a new *ibutho* (regiment), ordering them to build their own *ikhanda* at a specified location.

As pointed out by Bryant (1949:7) that the replacement of territorial-based circumcision sets with age-based *amabutho* became widespread in pre-Shaka Zululand. For example, Dingiswayo's father, Jobe, organized two *amabutho* on the basis of age during his rule over the Mthethwa in the second half of the eighteenth century. Members of the Ngoni kingdom reported the use of age-sets long before their departure from Zululand during the Shaka wars. Natalian magistrate James Stuart's informants reported that two age-based *amabutho* existed among Khondlo's (1753-1813) Qwabe, and were used by Khondlo's son, Pakathwayo (d. 1818) who organized five of them. Magaye (d. 1829), leader of the Cele, formed five such *amabutho*; Zwide (d. 1824) of the Ndwandwe had four; and Matiwane (d. 1828) of the Ngwane used three age-based *amabutho*. (Bryant: 1949:12). However numerous scholars (Callaway 1970, Guy 1973:7 and Kunene 1979:9) argue that the abolition of circumcision accompanied or followed shortly after the formation of disciplined age-sets, for the practice had fallen into disuse among the Mthethwa during Jobe's reign. A number of European travellers who visited Zululand in the 1820s and 1830s reported that only the oldest Zulu men had been circumcised, confirming a widespread, eighteenth-century origin. The transformation in pre-Shaka age-groups augmented chiefly authority. However, most scholars (Kunene (1979:8), Guy (1973:6) regard the subject of circumcision and regiments as political tactics by the successive Zulu kings to increase and ensure their military strength and longevity of the Zulu nation as there was a huge advantage over other nations for a king whose *amabutho* were always ready to defend or attack other tribes.

Guy (1973:7) argues that the gaining, formation, control, and seizure of labour power represented the decisive principle upon which pre-capitalist South African societies were founded. Such power was realized by men through the exchange of cattle for wives. Callaway (1970:7) confirms that the emerging *amabutho* system derived from this principle. As part of an age-set regiment, men (and by the Shaka era, women) laboured for the chief for fifteen to twenty years, during which time they could not marry. Callaway (1970:7) continues to argue

that men provided military and supervising service, made cattle-raiding missions, and managed their chief's homesteads, herds, and crops. The system not only accorded the chief control over his men's labour for about one-third of their productive lives, it also gave him control over the reproductive potential of his chiefdom. Numerous authors (Kunene 1979:7, Bryant 1949:7, Krige 1977:8) argue that by postponing marriage in this way, the chief could delay the whole process of homestead formation and control of the rate of resource exploitation. Reconstituted *amabutho*, and hence a more disciplined military and labour force, enabled chiefs to expand grazing and cropland potential, defend hilly regions, appropriate cattle from neighbouring communities, and "force the active adult males under their authority out of the business of producing for their own homesteads and into the business of performing labour for the [chiefdom]. If the *amabutho* system developed a defensive response to upland invasions, it soon generated an internal dynamic for expansion. As conclusively argued by Kunene (1979:8) and Bryant (1949:9) this is a winning formula that King Shaka used together with other creative tactics of war.

As a fulcrum of this strategy, the young male *amabutho* did the following work:

- They worked the King's fields serving as State workers.
- Built new homesteads
- Organised hunts
- Partook in the national ceremonies such as festival of fruits which took place every December or January of the year (Kunene 1979:11)

There is a link between the age cohorts, food consumption and the ritualistic value of food pertaining to passage of manhood. For instance, the ritual of fighting to win and eat *iphaphu* (liver) by boys ensured that the one who would win through stick fighting, would be respected by all other young men. Therefore, ritualistic meaning of eating *iphaphu* remained for years as a symbol of heroism and bravery in young men, both of which were skills needed for leadership. Kunene (1979:13) argues that Zulu boys of certain age could not drink beer together with the older men nor could they eat meat together with older women and this not only signalled the different roles in society each had but allowed each section to appreciate the importance they played in the community. As a result, it was taboo for a man of any age to be found sitting and eating with women and vice versa.

## 2.4.9 Men's Regiments

From an early age young and boys were placed according to their age group in regiments until they are real men. Being part of a regiment was a huge honour. As pointed out (Kunene: 1979:14) Shaka believed and promoted a great sense of social cohesion. When he regimented boys and young men it was to instil in them a 'warrior' mindset to defend his nations and to teaching them responsibility as they were given small tasks such being herdboys and milkboys (Zulu 2012:4). Following is a list of some of the men's regiments into which the boys would get when they were men in their own rights.

**Table 5: Mens' Regiments (Zulu 2012)**

NAME	DATE RAISED	AGE GROUP BIRTH YEARS
Ama-Wombe (Single Clash)	1816	1775-1785
U-Kangela (Look-out)	1816	1785-1790
Izin-Tenjana (ezakala O-Ngoye)[a]	1818-1819	1795-1798
U-Nomdayana	1820	1800
Ama-Pela [b]	1821	1801
Ama-Kwenkwe	1822-1826	1802-1806
Izi-Kwembu	1822-1826	1802-1806
Izi-Zimazane	1822-1826	1802-1806
Jubingqwanda (Shorn Head-rings)	1816	1785-1790
U-Dlambedu (Wild Men)	1816	1790-1795
Um-Gumanqa	1818-1819	1797-1798
Isi-Pezi	1818-1819	1797-1798
U-Mbonambi	1818-1819	1797-1798
U-Nteke	1818-1819	1797-1798
U-Gibabanye or Kipabanye (The Expellers)	1820-1825	1800-1805
U-Fojisa	1820-1825	1800-1805
Im-Folozi	1820-1825	1800-1805
In-Dabakulu (The Great Affair)	1820-1825	1800-1805

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:27) different regiments were distinct in their choices of colourful attire and they each competed for attention in stick fighting and other heroic deeds in order to win medals of heroism.

#### **2.4.10 Maidens Regiments**

Women's regiments were just as formidable and reputable as men's amabutho. Young women prided themselves on being part of the women's amabutho. Both as women and specific ibutho they observed restrictions of what they had to eat or not to eat.

<b>Name of regiment</b>	<b>Time of formation</b>
1. Um-Vuthwamini Means "ripe at noon- name taken from a hibiscus wild fruit"	1817
2. Inhlabathi (sand)	1818
3. Imbabazane (Self admirers)	1819
4. u Lusiba (the feather)	1823
5 u Ngisimane (The Englishman)	1827
5. Amatshitshi	All times
6. Izintombi	All times
7. Amaqhikiza	All times

**Table 6 Maiden's Regiments (Zulu 2012)**

The regiments had gone through rites of passages which included consumption of meat, beer, dancing and singing. Kunene (1979:35) argues that eating of any meal was done for a specific ritual purpose. This discouraged a habit of eating at the wrong time as well as obesity. With the loss of cultural values, correct eating rituals, obesity has become a major problem. As expressed by the Heart and Stroke Foundation of South Africa (Sangweni 2014:20) South Africa has the highest overweight and obesity rate in sub-Saharan Africa, with up to 70% of women and a third of men being classified as overweight or obese. A staggering 40% of women in South Africa are obese, which means they have a body mass index greater than 30 kg/m<sup>2</sup>. However, this is no longer just an adult problem, 1 in 4 girls and 1 in 5 boys between the ages of 2 – 14 years are overweight or obese. Obesity is associated with a number of diseases including type 2 diabetes, heart disease, stroke, hypertension (high blood pressure), joint pain and certain cancers. South Africa is a country that's been going through a nutrition transition. The bulk of our population used to be physically active and ate a diet high in fibre and indigenous vegetables, low in animal protein and refined carbs. However, due to

increased urbanisation, people are adopting a more westernised diet, high in unwholesome fats, sugar and salt.

The Zulu people, like all rural people, had a very active lifestyle they led which included long distances to relatives, their energetic dance style (ukusina), regiments activities, and various role functions performed by everybody at home. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:73) the singing and eating as these activities were being performed ensured that even the children growing up would know what each song meant and how to dance for it. Bryant (1949) and Guy (1973:45) agree that the lifestyle of the Zulu people was organised on the basis of regiments, different daily roles between men, women, young boys, young girls and even old men and women who were expected to plant their tobacco gardens. However, in the Zulu culture any person who binges was given bad name as isidlakudla (a glutton). This label alone would discourage any person to allow himself or herself to the low level of being called an overeater. The above exposition has clearly indicated that spiritual and cultural rituals contributed to social cohesion and the social cohesion of the Zulu people. The cultural beliefs such as Ithongo and uNomkhubulwane as well cultural events which in their practice provided feasts of meats and beers were a foundation of their social cohesion.

#### **2.4.11 Review of the Ritualistic Value of Food in the Zulu Way of Life**

This section deals with the ritualistic value of food in the Zulu way of life. This would be dealt well as this study considers how each cultural ritual ended with food being served. It will deal with the processes of preparing food, preserving food and dedicating it to the ancestors before being served to the people. As pointed by Krige (1968:7) every eating time was accompanied by a set of cultural protocols. For the meal each person took his or her appropriate place according to sex and seniority, males on the right of the hearth, as one enters the hut, with the elders nearest the semi-circular doorway, females and children on the left. Depending on what ritual people were eating, they would clean their teeth. Participant C7, stated that this probably was why the Zulus valued the shine of their teeth. He continues to argue that one of the caps in a lady's hat would be that "*intombi enamazinyo amhlophe*" (a lady with white teeth), which was a sign of cleanliness and added to beauty of a lady. He concludes that in the absence of teeth whitener this would only mean one thing, that people loved and respected their health, including washing their teeth regularly.

Drawing from the rich tapestry of the consumption patterns of the Zulus mentioned above, it is the contention of the researcher that the Zulus consumption patterns consisting of their ancestral worship, their land and their livestock, their rituals on planting, eating, dancing and

achieving various stages of life provide the basis of the sense of social cohesion and social cohesion as everything was done or performed on behalf of the group than an individual. Various authors (Kunene 1979:9, Callaway 1970:26, Gwala 2000:65, Orpen 1902:45 and Bryant 1949:14) conclusively argue that for the Zulus more consumption was on food that came from their cattle, land and plant possession. Cattle were an integral part of the spiritual, social and aesthetic lives of the Zulu people, and are named accordingly – after birds, animals, plants, fruit, stones, sand, food or natural phenomena. They were killed for food only with great reluctance (Zulu 2000:3).

If a man had no cattle he was despised by others in the community and had not much say in the community meetings. Kunene (1979:67) argues that a man could not communicate with his ancestors and would have no sense of social cohesion while if a woman did not have green fields of vegetables she was also not regarded highly by her family and neighbours. Such people were regarded as lazy and not a good example in the land and cursed by the ancestors (Berglund 1972:15, Mbiti 1969:27). Ancestors were believed to safeguard the social balance within a lineage. The role of food in cultural practices and religious beliefs is complex and varies among individuals and communities. Food was used to show love, acceptance and humanity (). As pointed out by Krige (1968:28) food is associated with happiness and there is a link between happiness and social cohesion. If there is no food in the house, people become frustrated and unhappy. In the African culture of “, no visitor or even a stranger is let off to go without at least a cup of tea. In other African cultures, if one invites people and serve them lean meat that is regarded as a sign of stinginess. If one serves them fatty meat it is a sign of generosity. (Bryant 1949:39 and Callaway 1970:62).

Food is used to facilitate social interaction. Cook et al (2015) argues that food availability is embedded within the social landscape of a community. As pointed out in the strategy of the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (2014/15 financial year budget speech) the vision is that of rural areas that are spatially, socially and economically well integrated - across municipal, district and provincial and regional boundaries - where there is economic growth, food security and jobs as a result of agrarian transformation and infrastructure development programmes with improved access to basic services, health care and quality education. This is a change of policy and strategy from the apartheid government that destroyed the fabric and social integration of the people by removing resources such as land and stock farming and from their own graveyards where they are allowed to practise their own cultures.



As pointed out by Participant when interviewed on the 28 March 2016, during initiation ceremonies food is boiled, no spices are added. During mourning period, only black tea is served. Meat and milk is not used. In celebrations and funerals, food is also used to show appreciation to the people who offered support to the family. No person is allowed to go back with the bones as that is regarded as bad intention to destabilise the family. This is called *ukuphehla amanzi amnyama* (creating bad vibes and causing series of bad lucks). Bryant (1949) argues that food is a cultural symbol and eating is a symbolic act, through which people, communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge, beliefs, feelings and practices towards. Culturally based values are the pervasive foundation that underlies consumer preferences for functional food. Culture and cultural values affect all aspects of food behaviour and are the foundations that motivate food choices and consumption. Oral traditions and food beliefs are also important factors that influence functional food consumption. Oral traditions inherited from previous generations influence functional food consumption by virtue of being an integral part of the medium for transferring or learning culture. (Hassan.2007:14).

Drawing from the above argument and viewed from an African cosmological perspective the study aligns the cultural beliefs and values of Africans to their land, animals and social cohesion. For instance, many historians (Krige 1968:15, Mbiti 1969:15 and Gwala 2000:17) agree on the types of foods Zulu people used to eat. Krige (1977:17) interestingly confirms this fact that one of the staple foods of the Zulu people was amasi (curdled milk). However, although it is no longer favoured as such nowadays, it remains one of the foods cherished because it is easy to make and is healthy and filling. Also the Zulu people used to be passionate meat eaters but over time have been forced to be almost vegetarians by necessity as meat is very expensive. As pointed out by von Kapff (1977:12) how and what we eat is largely determined by the contextual socio-economic, political and cultural fabric of the food system in which we find ourselves and processes of change cannot be divorced from these contextual factors.

Kapff (1977:22) confirms that practically all Zulu people make food and animal sacrifice to the spirits of their ancestors in the form of slaughtered animals and luxuries, particularly on occasions such as births, coming of age, weddings, funeral, rain and the sowing of the crops and harvesting. Food is also central to individual identity, in that any given human individual is constructed, biologically, psychologically and socially by the foods he/she chooses to incorporate. In the Zulu culture whenever a man slaughters a cow in order to honour or celebrate a cultural ritual, he invites not only his relatives but all the different clans from across the valley. A child is sent out across the valley and mountains *from one isgodi to another isgodi sezihlobo* (various localities where invitees are). All the clans present at the event would

customarily expect that they are given their own *isithebe* (meat and dumpling dished out in the wooden plate) which they would not share with any other clan present because as far they know they matter most in this household in their own rights (Kunene1976:15).

This viewpoint by the Zulu clans is confirmed by Opare-Obisaw (2007:15) who claims that food is a cultural symbol and eating is a symbolic act, through which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge, beliefs, feelings and practices towards life and understanding of cultural influences (Opare-Obisaw:2007:28). Kuhnlen (1987:22) however, argues that recognizing, understanding and dealing with the benefits and threats to Indigenous Peoples' ecosystems, and the biodiversity provided in their food helps them to know who they are and to feel good about themselves. In his "*Description of Native foodstuff*", Krige (1968:78) argues that the food patterns of the world are not just simple arrangements into which people fit when they eat, they are inextricably rooted in the rest of the culture and linked with a whole network of other activities and value skills, knowledge, beliefs, taboo, prestige, sex distinctions, ideals and status. Most or many of these must change if food is to change as is very rarely just something to eat. This is very true of the Zulu way of life where food is linked to people's beliefs, rituals and protocols. For instance, as part of teaching respect and self-discipline children have to wait for parents or adult finish eating before they eat. As a Zulu grow older he understands that in a work function he cannot eat before his elders have eaten and he feels good about it.

However, Kunene (1979:22) successfully contends that some eating rituals are similar in every culture. For instance, in a King's feast (whether in Europe or Africa, protocol dictates that no one can dish up before the Prime Minister, Minister or King has had his feel. Some types of foods may be reserved for a high level section of the meeting. Prime Ministers and Presidents even take their chefs along as they travel from country to country in order that their chefs would cater to their gastronomic needs. For certain religions devout members of that religion will not eat if the preparation of their meal was not observed and managed by their religious leaders and therefore cannot be declared 'halal' (Zulu 2012:2). Dockey (2010:27) argues that culture cloaks food consumption with infinite gradations of meaning, elaborates or adorns it in many ways. Culture prescribes when we should feel hungry; what foods are appropriate to which hour/occasion, the manner of serving them, the sequence in which they follow each other. As Dockery (2010:22) rightly defines by saying that culture is to society what memory is to individuals. It refers to tools and ideas that are shared and transmitted to succeeding generations because they were once practical at some point in time.

A study by Madiba (2006:3) convincingly argues that culture provides the strongest determinant of food choice and reflects different dietary histories, which in turn will determine which foods and food qualities are acceptable in terms of people's sensory properties. He also agrees with Birch (1990:2) that food, eating and nutrition are strongly shaped by culture, as hardly any innate taste preferences exist at birth; rather, children develop certain likes and dislikes for food as they are socialized into specific cultural cuisines. He conclusively argues that culture is important as it lies at the root of product consumption. This is confirmed by Camporesi (1981:33) and Montanari (1994:35) who found that fundamental cultural values and themes determine the kinds of products that people preferred and consumed. Favourable social circumstances will provide the impetus for consumption and will motivate many people to adopt certain exceptional forms of consumer behaviour without fear of social condemnation. Therefore, traditional communities, particularly in rural areas, tend to look to the past, culture or religion for guidance, particularly where this is linked to ritual purity. Recurrent studies on consumption patterns confirm the role of culture, religion and the past to assist a person to make a choice about eating. In a study of the consumptions of different generations in Limpopo, Madiba (2006:2) found the following:

- Religion was found to be significant in influencing slaughtering of chickens but not in the slaughtering of sheep, goats and cattle. The effect of staying in rural or urban area did not show any significance as this was played down by the establishment of shopping mall after 1994.
- The study also revealed the significance of indigenous food on the ethnic groups. The study also showed the importance of religion, especially the Zion Christian Church in certain parts of the Limpopo Province

In their study of *food consumption behaviour patterns of Chinese students registered in the University of the Western Cape*, Bell and Ballard (2009:3) found that while the Chinese students liked the South African food they preferred their traditional or cultural food. However, the students are slowly adapting to South African food. This point is also more manifest in general cross cultural foods now eaten in South Africa that while retaining their traditional foods for example, *imifino yezintanga* (pumpkin leaves), *amathanga* (pumpkins), *umbila* (maize), *amadumbe*, *ubhatata*, *ubhontshisi*, *uphuthu*, *idombolo*, the Zulu people have also taken to the new menu of South African delicatessen. For instance, 'mall patronage' (Telci 2012:3) the young Zulu people living in the cities fill up the American eateries like Kentucky, McDonalds and many others while others have taken to sushi and other foreign foods that were unheard of, hundred years ago.

#### 2.4.12 Consumption and Social Cohesion in the Zulu Cultural Life

Orpen (1902:5) an authority on “Native foods” argued that when available, cooked cabbage, sweet potatoes, tomatoes and onions were served. He argues that from time immemorial the Zulu people were probably the only tribe in Africa that used wooden plates (*isithebe*) and spoons (*ukhezo*). As a sign of trust and social cohesion in the olden day they would sit around one communal pot from which they will would take turns in eating whatever was had been dished out. There would not have enough wooden plates to dish up for each person. However, before they ate they would wash their hands and after eating they would rinse out their mouths. Hasty eating was despised and regarded as an insult to the provider of food. When a cattle or beast had been slaughtered everything had to be done according to the strict Zulu ritual for example, certain meats were eaten or could not be eaten by either an age group or gender: (Mbiti 1969, Beckwith 1999:5):

1. All men who had assisted with butchering the cattle or animals were awarded pieces of meat as reward for their efforts. This meat was known as *amantshontsho*. According to Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016) this practice is still prevalent whenever men are helping to slaughter their neighbours' cattle.
2. As men continued to cut different pieces and giving instruction which meat to be cooked for all people, for women only, for young men and for young girls, they were roasting some pieces of meat known as *umbengo*, which they also eat from the same wooden plate (*ugqoko*).
3. All slaughtering rituals and the number of beasts to be slaughtered depended on the nature, age and gender of the late person on whose name the ritual was done.
4. Depending on the type of ritual for example, *ukubuyiswa kwa Nomzumzane wekhaya kanye no Mfazi wokuqala (undlunkulu)*, a ritual to call back the spirit of the late head of the family together with the calling back of the spirit of his late first wife could result in two big cows and two goats, this function could result in the slaughtering of two or three cows and two goats and even add a few chickens.
5. The funeral of a respected man would call for the slaughtering of the biggest bull of his stock to indicate he worked hard and accumulated a large animal stock (*imfuyo*). This was a real “*umcimbi wendoda*”.

6. The ribs, legs and *insonyama* are given to the members of the house.
7. Men would eat their boiled meat and *idombolo* (dumpling/steamed bread) on the wooden plate (*ugqoko*) outside the house, and in the kraal.
8. Women would not come around and inside the kraal when men were still eating but so would the men not go inside the house where women were eating.
9. As a sign of communal belief (the food is free from poisoning, all men would wash their hands before eating.
10. Meat was distributed in accordance with the positions of the assembly, for example, "*banumzane naso ke isithebe sabo Khabazela*", (Sirs, here is the plate of meat served only for the Khabazela (Participant C7's clan name).

Callaway (1970:4) provides details of what the Zulu people eat beside meat. Vegetables remained for years in the list of what the Zulus ate, amazambane, amadumbe or Colocasia of every variety, are simply boiled in their skins, and so eaten, after peeling. He states that both the amazambane and the imbondwe are really delicious vegetables, equal in delicacy and flavour to anything in their line the European garden can supply. The skin, however, of the imbondwe appears to contain an unusual proportion of tannin, and should, therefore, always be scraped off before cooking, and the boiling done, if possible, in an enamelled saucepan. The amantongomane or monkey nuts, were prepared by roasting on a pot-lid over the fire. Of the amadumbe plant, the large heart-shaped leaves and stalks are occasionally used to make "greens" or spinach. According von Kapff (1977:12) some of the main dishes eaten by Zulus were and are still (a) cooked maize, (b) roasted maize, (c) Dry and crumbed maize porridge known as uphuthu (d) samp and beans, (d) curdled milk (amasi), boiled tubers (amadumbe) and (e) sweet pumpkins. Krige (1968:11) points out that a staple diet was curdled milk- amasi- and maize, augmented sometimes with pumpkins and sweet potatoes. These vegetables were grown in small plots near each homestead. The grain was stored for use all year round in large wicker baskets raised on stilts to keep them away from the damp and rats, or in an underground pit sealed with a large stone. As argued by Kunene (1979:23) trading of seeds such as amadumbe and beans allowed various communities to grow the strongest seeds and produce good harvest

#### **2.4.13 Preservation of Food and the Symbolic Use of the Kraal**

The kraal was regarded as the holy and a highly respected place. As pointed out by *The Kraal* (2012:3), it is a highly respected place in the homestead because this is where it is believed that the ancestors live. Ancestors (amadlozi) look after the people that are still living and give them good luck. It is only certain family members who are allowed to enter the kraal. It should be kept clean and pure. Shoes are to be taken off when entering the kraal to show respect. Whenever there was trouble at home and a big feast to take place, certain powerful members would bring umuthi and walk slowly to the centre of the kraal and plead with the ancestors, calling them by their names to look after the homestead or to accede to this or that family request. As pointed by Rowstone (1980:33) the cattle pens were part of culture and always at the centre of the Zulu village just as the cattle themselves were once at the centre of the Zulu life. Kunene (1979) argues that the cattle pen was a uniting spiritual centre where izinyanya assembled. In Zulu culture the elders and those who have died are highly respected. Kunene (1979:2) concurs with Krige (1968:3) that the kraal was used also used for religious ceremonies and a burial ground for chiefs

In their study ethnographers Govender, Mudaly and James (2000:2) acknowledged that in order to store food for many days without it being spoiled the Zulu people used to dig a big hole in the middle of the cattle kraal where they put mealies and other food they harvested. During summer they ate fruits and then in the winter they used the stored food. This hole acted as a food storage tank for them. The food did not get rotten because the hole was covered with wet cow dung such that the food was not in the soil but protected by the cow dung which made the food stay longer. The cow dung (umquba) in the kraal was also a rich area where green field herb grew. It was usually found in the kraal and in the ploughing grounds.

#### **2.4.14 Feasts, Special Foods and Social Cohesion**

As pointed out by Krige (1968:5), Zulus were always very particular about cleanliness and associated dirtiness with bad luck and chasing away the ancestors. Hence in every ritual ceremony and before they ate they cleaned their hands before eating and washed their mouths after finishing eating. For that reason, food left emsamo (a spot right at the extreme end of the in the round thatched house reserved for the calabash with Zulu beer and some food items as sacrifice for the ancestors) was always clean. UMsamo was a spot revered as the one uniting the whole family, meaning that the Zulus had always been concerned about socially cohesive family and community. Besides food eaten on special festivities certain foods

were regarded as containing certain ritualistic, cultural and religious meaning and could only be consumed by certain people.

The following consist of some of the parts from a slaughtered cow that was followed very strictly without fail. (Orpen 1902:3)

Types of Food Item	Ritualistic Value of the Food
Ububende (fresh boiled blood)	Boys ate this food because it was believed it would make them strong
Ubhedu (fight for the liver and heart)	The heart and the liver of a slaughtered cow was the source of an organised fight and both would only be won and eaten by the champion in a stick fight. The weak would only eat a liver dipped in water as a sign of their weakness. This accolade brought respect for the brave winner and henceforth leader. King Shaka encouraged bravery and fearlessness in men to form a strong and invincible army.
Kidneys (izintso) and ilulu (intestine)	This food was eaten by males
Uluntu (light velvety meat covering the intestines)	Women only were allowed to eat this meat
Usu (cows stomach)	Women

**Table 7 Ritual Allocation of Slaughtered Beast (Zulu 2012)**

#### **2.4.14.1 Ritualistic value of Zulu beer**

For diversion, the Zulus had *utshwala* (Zulu beer), a thick, rather sour beer and tobacco, which was dried, crushed and taken as snuff. In general, the people lived a healthy outdoor life and old people would share a snuff as they appreciated a young maiden (*iqhikiza*) or telling tales of days gone by. Traditional beer is made of sorghum and brewed daily by women and is enjoyed by old and young (Zulu 2012:3). It is an excellent thirst quencher, nutritious and even soothing for stomach ulcers and was used for ancestral prayers and cultural functions. In any ritual function, a calabash of Zulu beer would be left at the *umsamo* as a sign of respect and honour to the ancestral spirit for long life and for them to partake in the function being held in many instances to their honour or after acknowledging or requesting them to bless the function to be held. According to Participant C7, it is still common for a man on holiday from work to be prepared Zulu beer as a welcome sign. This beer he shares it with neighbours and finds time

to narrate his experiences from his city workplace. According to Krige (1968:5) the method of making it is an old traditional one which is basically common to most of the tribes of Southern Africa (Elliott 1978: 129). As subsistence farming is dominant in rural areas, knowledge of grain sowing and appropriate use of seeds (sorghum, maize, pumpkin, calabash etc.) for beverage-making and a daily source of food requires knowledge of planting, harvesting, preservation and storage (Alcock 2010:21). This knowledge is crucial for survival during seasonal droughts and winter months. The brewing methods have been adapted in different areas to suit the species of grain growing in the local climatic conditions (Bryant 1949). Prior to engaging with spiritual ritual worship with the ancestors, the beer must be prepared well and is placed in the ancestral prayer hut as an offering to ancestral spirits. They also drank amageu- which is a nutritional drink made of fermented porridge (Zulu traditional food 2012:3). Mageu was used for everybody, young and old also drank in a sharing style, with a pot or bowl of amageu being passed around.

#### **2.4.14.2 The ritual significance of milk**

As Krige (1968:22) points out is that another indication of the position occupied by cattle among the Zulus was the ritual significance of milk. Milk could never be drunk at a strange kraal unless its inmates belonged to the same clan as the person himself, to his mother's father's mother's, or that of his mother's mother; and the violation of any of the numerous milk taboos is believed to bring weakness and disaster upon the cattle. In all transition periods, too, when the individual has left his old group but has not yet been properly incorporated into the new, amasi may not be eaten. Boys spent their most impressionable years as young adolescents drinking twice a day from the udders of the royal cows. They were drinking milk and therefore life, a process which was administered by the king. The king's control of the flow of milk in Zulu society was the source of his power and the mechanism by which he controlled the state. (Bjerk 2015:22). The *izinceku* (tenders) also tended to the king's oxen and fetched water for the king in gourds. (Kunene 1979:22). The *izinceku* would then give drink to the king, in a manner evocative of drinking milk from the cows, by pouring from the calabash directly into the king's mouth. The king would occasionally call the *izinceku* in to his hut to talk during the long winter nights. The *izinceku* were confidants of the king, and among the few males allowed into the *isigodlo*. Where other men would enter the *isigodlo* on all fours, the *izinceku* only stooped until they arrived at where they were meant to sit. When girls went out of the *isigodlo* to cultivate gardens, they were accompanied by *izinceku*.



The *izinceku* supplied milk to the *isigodlo* (king's palace), pouring it from their homespun containers into pots kept by the women of the *isigodlo* which were in turn poured into gourds by the mothers of the king's wives. An *inceku* would also carry the king's snuffbox, and sit beside him at the men's assembly. The royal *milkers* were obviously young men being trained for high-status positions of leadership by being closely associated with the king and witnessing his thoughts and activities. 'That was a splendid mode of government' (Bjerk 2006:33). As pointed out by Kunene (1979:3) the cattle in a Zulu kraal were thus regarded not as mere domestic animals, kept for their utility, but as an essential part of the village life. Bryant (1949:34) and Kunene (1979:22) emphasize that the Zulu cannot even conceive of existence without his beloved cattle, and so he believes that cattle that are killed come to life again to become the property of the ancestors below.

#### **2.4.14.3 Dance Festivals**

Singing, dancing and eating was part of the Zulu culture. The Zulu dance was and still a sign of happiness and it occurs at significant events like wedding, child birth and funeral. Kapff (1977: 22) confirms that there were different dance routines by different age groups, genders and clans. At an Umemulo function in Mshayazafe Area in Estcourt, (26 March 2016) the researcher saw small groups of young men and women from different surrounding clans coming in with their different *ukusina* (Zulu dance) styles which are then used to compete with other clans and eventually merged together to form one unified socially cohesive style of *ukusina*.

Older men and older women respectively possess a different style, different set of music, more stylish, less energetic but rhythmic as they sing praises to kings and queens of the past. This is Indlamu in Zulu (Zulu 2012:3). The dance celebrations are important events for which people practice for months in order to show their I wear and colourful dance moves. As pointed out by Ngema (2007:33), the story of Zulu dance can only be better explained through Hegelian dialectical method. It is the story of conflicting forces, between modernization and maintaining what was an ancient mode of life by the Zulu people. It is the story of contradiction between a western idealism that promise freedom and deliverance from "primitive" past and African ancient idealism that promise peace and stability and independent from the "evil" colonial present.

As Mnguni (2007) points out:

*You cannot ask a Zulu to perform for you, instead, you can ask a Zulu to perform with you. In the Zulu mode of performance, no one can perform alone, that person will look mad. Same thing applies to a passive audience during a Zulu dance performance, looks awkward and naive. The audience should look the part and knowledgeable of the performance by singing, applauding, shikila, gqashufa, kikiza, izibongo and clapping hands to the beat*

These dances were regarded as sacred and ancient. These dances were not done anytime and anywhere but followed cultural rites. Ngema (2007) mentions two dance rituals (1) agrarian rituals which was done by amabutho and (2) ecstatic rituals in which umqhuqumbelo dance was done. On a similar vein Bryant (1949) adds another dance form known as Inter-clan love dance:

*the young men and maidens of any clan would accordingly arrange to meet the young men and maidens of another clan on some particular spot convenient to both and generally on the veld near by a wood, nominally, for the purpose of competing at the dance, but really with the object of becoming mutually acquainted.*

As pointed out by Ngema (2007:22), the basic technique in Zulu dancing is rooted on the natural positions of the body. These positions are found when the body is standing, kneeling, squatting and sitting. The body of a dancing Zulu is using natural bends that are found on major joints of the body, such as knees, elbows, pelvis and ankles. The chest whether standing, sitting or kneeling is always opened towards the earth. The feet are either wide apart or assembled together but they always remain parallel. As a sign of appreciation, song and dance would follow the celebration of food. The usual beverage was water and sorghum beer.

#### **2.4.14.4 Feast of Return (Umkhosi Wokubuyisa Umnumzane)**

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:2) it was customary in Zulu society to make a "Feast of return" (ukubuyisa after a year's period of mourning. Mr Phakamani Participant C3 and Mr Mqiniseni Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016) both of Estcourt who are field research participants (March 2016) both confirm that the practice of ukubuyisa and many other cultural beliefs and rituals are still held high in the Zulu culture to this day,. Ukubuyiswa komnumzane meant to bring back the spirit of the late man of the house so that it would come

to look after his household. Both participants (ibid) confirm that the performance of these rituals bring together all the communities and bind the community in a socially cohesive manner. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:2) in the “Feast of return” as in other cultural rituals of the Zulus the spirit of the departed person is invited to join the ancestral guardians of the community, to bring peace and cooperation in the family. This is a moment of joy when the deceased reassumes his or her role in society. As pointed out by Bowles and Gintis (1999:46) this type of a cultural act is what they call “cultural commitments”, as the whole society not only attends the event but become part of the success of the proceedings. It is interesting to note that even the modern Zulu may have culturally evolved (Bowles and Gintis 1999) in some respects but the present study posits that there has been movement away from the traditional Zulu family structure even in the rural areas. Various cleansing ceremonies are performed culminating in a huge feast (Kunene 1979:12). In this ritual a branch of a special tree would be cut, taken to the grave where the remains are buried, and the elder would ‘talk’ to the dead person and invite him or her to go back with home with them,

*“Yithina Khabazela, Mavovo, sizokulanda sibuyela ekhaya kwakho  
uze uzobheka ikhaya” (We are here to fetch you and take you back  
home so that you look after your household).*

At that, the people performing this ritual would drag the tree branch all the way home without saying a word to each other until they reach the gate where they would then ‘communicate’ to him that they had arrived home. Some ritual would then follow and celebration would follow. The man of the house is now regarded as being back at home (*Usebuyisiwe uMnumzane*).

#### **2.4.14.5      Fresh Fruit Festival (Umkhosi Wokweshwama)**

According to Krige (1968:74) Umkhosi wokweshwama is a first harvest ceremony where first fresh produce (crops) from fields in early summer are gathered with the intention of expressing gratitude to amadlozi (ancestral spirits) and uMvelinqangi for the good produce. It is a thanksgiving ceremony appreciating that food production is a seasonal process from identifying the land, preparing it at the right season (*of phezu komkhono*), to early rains planting of seeds, changing the grazing land so that cattle would not eat crop to time of harvesting. Bigbiy Participant C7 stated that Zulus understood that some deity somewhere was responsible for this miracle. It is so that that the process of planting carried a deep ritualistic and religious meaning and needed to be accorded its reverence. The Fresh Fruit/ Umkhosi wokweshwama festival had its own dance, its own songs and its own food. Killing of the bull was symbolic of the strength of the reigning king and a warning to any person who thought of trying to overthrow the king what would happen to him if he tired.

As pointed out by Krige (1968:23) this festival is held also to request uMvelinqangi through amadlozi to bless the fresh produce, including that which is still in the fields. In the past, the umkhosi wokweshwama was characterised by praises for the king, strengthening of the king by special prayers and medicines, strengthening of amabutho (regiments) by special medicines, prayers in the context of isiNtu religion for the whole nation. As pointed out by Krige (1977) umkhosi wokweshwama is a religious requirement. In isiNtu religion, food must first be blessed before it is consumed. Normally, a "prayer" for the blessing of food is not done each and every time when one is about to eat but either at a particular season or at the beginning of a particular ceremony or function. Callaway (1970:24); Guy 1973:34 and Mbiti (1969:23) who write authoritatively on the subject of the Zulu culture agree that harvest times were marked with a lot of festivals when people relaxed and began to enjoy the fruits of their labours in the fields. They danced, they ate, they took it easy, and they rested from working hard which also gave the fields an opportunity to rest. In addition, they have time to do other things while waiting for the next planting season.

#### **2.4.14.6                      The Reed Dance/ Umkhosi Womhlanga**

According to Kunene (1979:52) every September month girls from all over the country arrive in the area for the traditional Zulu festivities. As pointed out by Ngema (2000 and Kunene (1979:24), in the case of Umkhosi Womhlanga, virgins represent the future and purity, yet the reeds and the dances represent the ancient past. Yet this festival which was stopped years ago and revived by the present reigning Zulu King, has not been without conflicts. However, contrary to the conflicts there are many positive issues as it is assumed that young girls live in chastity as they want to keep their virginity. This is linked to foods that the young girls have to eat to keep their bodies fit and looking beautiful.

As Krige (1977:78) points out umkhosi womhlanga is a centuries-old tradition and is still celebrated as an annual ceremony. It takes place in September, right at the start of spring, at the eNyokeni Palace in Nongoma is known uMkhosi woMhlanga or the Zulu Reed Dance. These festivities are spread over several days and represent an important rite of passage for the young Zulu women. As well as joining in traditional singing and dancing, the Reed Dance is an opportunity to teach the girls in their culture. Older Zulu women teach the young girls, who have to be virgins in order to participate, about how they should act as grown women. As part of this, they promote celibacy until marriage and teach the girls respect for their bodies. Several authors (Krige 1968:24, Kunene (1979:24) concur that in Zulu mythology, if a young woman who is not a virgin takes part in the reed-dance ceremony, her reed will break. Friends and relatives join thousands of young girls attired in traditional Zulu dress to watch them sing,

dance and celebrate their culture. The girls collecting and present their king with cut reeds in homage to their culture is just one aspect of the Zulu Reed Dance. While the lessons and ceremonies are steeped in Zulu tradition and culture, this mass gathering of young people is also an opportunity to discuss contemporary social issues that affect them, such as HIV and teen pregnancies. For visitors, the highlight of the event is the reed-giving ceremony. Led by Zulu princesses, the young women make a sea of colour in intricately beaded outfits as they each collect a cut reed and present it to the king. Zulu men also participate in this part of the ceremony, singing and mock fighting. As pointed out by according to Zulu tradition, the original ancestor emerged from a reed bed, so the laying the reeds at the king's feet symbolises respect for the Zulu culture. The reeds are also used to build traditional Zulu huts and to craft the mats and baskets for which the Zulu people are famous.

#### **2.4.14.7 The Ritualistic Value of Sharing and Social Cohesion**

Veblen (1899:3) was the first to coin the term conspicuous consumption to refer to people's prominent desire and visible evidence of their ability to afford luxury goods. In the Zulu culture a man with many stock would not call people to celebrate with meat from only one beast but to show off his wealthiness he would kill more than one cow together with goats and sometimes even adding chickens in his feast. People would eat, carry home meat and even come back for the seconds on the following days. The following Zulu maxims are all coined around the concept of abundance of meat:

- *inyama yab iziduli zabasali*: there was so much meat it was like bees' dumps for those that lingered or left behind at the feast;
- *Inyama bekujikijelwana ngayo*: meat was used to play, "throw at me" game
- *Utshwala bekungamanzi okuphala izikhumba*: there was so much beer it was like plenty of water used to soften the cowhide.
- *Lendoda idla kusale*: this man has plenty or surplus food. Any indication that when this man invited village or community people to a feast, there will be plenty food left over for the people to come back and ask for
- *Sizolanda izigqoko*: while this means a person who had been part of the ceremony a day before had 'forgotten his hat' at the celebration place, it was a metaphorically correct way to come and ask for the left-over meat and beer. To this day a Zulu man would have enough food for the next two or three days for those who still want to eat and drink. (Nyembezi 1993 and Orpen 1902:3)

Consistent with Nyembezi's assertion above, O'Cass and McEwen (2004:4) supported the previous argument that conspicuousness is essential if consumers want to gain recognition for example, *ukwamukelwa njengendoda edla kusale-* accepted as a rich man), approval or acceptance from their reference groups." Importantly, products and brands have the ability to communicate messages to others, in that product styles determine how consumers who own them are perceived by others (Holman 1981; Belk 1978 and Solomon 1983). Conspicuous consumption is basically concerned with the flamboyant display of wealth (Nor. 1988:3; Marcoux et al.1997:3) and is still regarded as the ultimate status marker.

Meat consumption on daily basis even among the Zulu people was and is still regarded associated with a high socio-economic status. The idea of meat being a status eating for developing people in the developing countries is confirmed in a study done by Belk in (2000) entitled "*consumption of the new elite in Zimbabwe*" in which he found that since the Zimbabwean independence meat eating has increased in frequency more than in type of meat or preparation. However, Royo (2007:4) challenges this narrative and stress that conspicuous consumption is not confined to the upper classes but as an fundamental characteristic of human beings. He maintained that the lower classes also have the need to escalate in the social sphere and they will imitate the consumption patterns of the rich in order to do so. The downside of such consumption is that is tempting for those that don't have it. It distorts the picture and looks like satisfaction, whereas it is idealism. More than normal consumption it glorifies its own shine and point to the widening gap between those who according to Maslow's hierarchy of Needs (Max-Neef 1989:2) are on different levels of needs.

However, the difference between a Western concept of "conspicuous consumption" and an African one is on the concept of ubuntu. In the African and Zulu culture, those that had more shared with those who had less. That is the essence of ubuntu, whereas in the Western culture those with more tend to oppress those that have less. is at the essence of sharing without exploitation and profit. In a systematic review entitled, Reflections of a South African in America (Nussbaun. 2003:2) conclusively summarizes the essence of ubuntu, which calls upon us to believe and feel that: "*Your pain is my pain, my wealth is your wealth and your salvation is my salvation*".

#### **2.4.14.8 Food by Eaten by Different Genders**

The division of labour in the Zulu culture was strictly gendered. There were strict divisions between males and female roles in this patriarchal and polygamous society and this was reflected in dress, customs and division of labour. (Zulu 2012:2).

#### **2.4.14.9 Food Eaten by Children**

Howman (1902:13) and Orpen (1902:12) puts the feeding of Zulu babies from the Western and privileged perspectives. They say the Zulu child made the acquaintance of solid artificial food long before he did that provided for him by nature:

*He was no sooner born and washed than a spoonful of Amasi, mashed sweet-potatoes, or thin porridge, were thrust into his capacious mouth and so into his still more capacious belly. It was after the remnant of the navel cord left attached to his body had withered and fallen off- which occurred, perhaps, after the mother's breast. Even after that time, he still continued to have such feedings with artificial food thrust upon him three or four times throughout the day and once or twice during the night-time. On these occasions, scraps of such solid material as boiled potatoes, and even mealie-grains and beans, were pressed upon him and readily gobbled up. From about the third year onward, Amasi was generally taken in a thickened and more substantial form called Umvubo.*

This was amasi mixed up with a liberal quantity of crushed boiled mealies (*umcaba*), and the eating thereof was termed ukuvuba. There were only two meals a day, one in the morning at about 11 o'clock, after the milking of the cows, and the other in the evening before retiring to rest, say at about six or seven o'clock. Natives generally retiring about nine, and the young people earlier. While the narrative given by Orpen (1902:13) reflects the true nature and processes of the foods eaten by the Zulus (whom he calls "Natives") his interpretation is poisoned with mockery and disdain of the people and their culture.

#### **2.4.14.10 Zulu Economy, Wealth, Assets and Food Production**

As pointed out by Krige (1977:73) Zulus were hard workers who, besides having large polygamous families possessed much animal and poultry stock, had long track of land to plough food for their families. Bryant (1949 and Guy (1973:39) argues that in Shaka's time, Zululand was a land free everywhere to all, to roam and hunt and cultivate at pleasure; with neither roads nor bridges, nor towns, nor any mode of artificial conveyance or inter-communication, but dotting the landscape on every hillside were human habitations, each consisting of a circle of beehive huts enclosed within a fence, and themselves surrounding a

central cattle fold each such circle the homestead of a single polygamous paterfamilias, each hut the one roomed residence of one wife and her children.

Von Kapff (1977:39) provides even a deeper understanding and link between the cultural meaning of cattle ownership and social cohesion of the Zulu people. He argues that for Zulus, cattle represent wealth, power and status. Berk (2006:29) quotes one Mbovu ka Ntshumayeli, who was a child of King Mpande's amabutho (regiment who said 'Our great bank is cattle', meaning he regards as banks as store- houses of wealth. This suggests that money and milk were analogous substances in Mbovu's mind, the flow of which described the structure of the society. He continued with the analogy: *'Let pieces of paper be with Europeans ... The colonial Government built the country with money ... The Government resembles Tshaka (sic), for he never got tired. Its army is money'*. Royo (2007:25) confirms that consumption has to be recognised as an integral part of the same social system that accounts for the drive to work, itself part of the social need to relate to other people, and to have mediating materials for relating to them. (ibid.4).

Thus, consumption is instrumental for individuals as it facilitates their relational activities. Mbiti (1969:7) conclusively argues that the food patterns of the world are not just simple arrangements into which people fit when they eat. Most or many of these must also be changed if food is to change. People present themselves through their material possessions, which are used to make statements about their values about who they are or who they want to be. 'The kind of statements consumers make are about the kind of universe they are in, affirmatory or defiant, perhaps competitive, but not necessarily so' (ibid.62). Hence, culture is the provider for the meaning of consumer goods; without it, objects cannot be understood.

#### **2.4.14.11 Possession of Cattle Stock, their Ritual and Economic Value**

The possession of cattle meant food, clothing, and all possible comfort and desirable luxury. Rowstone (1980:45) continued to enrich literature by stating that many Zulu tales and sayings are about cattle for example, 1. *"indod' ifel' ezinkomeni* which by translation means *A man dies with his cattle/ a man will do anything to save his cattle* and 2. *Ukuba yinyama* meaning something is *sought after*". As pointed out by Kruger (1977:33) ownership of a large stock of cattle formed the backbone of the 'tribal' economy. Mhiriri (2009:23) however uses a less loaded term for tribal economy and calls it's a "cattle economy". He contends that, of all the activities which are considered the special sphere of men, the most important in tribal economy is certainly the rearing and the care of the cattle. For the Zulu people, cattle provided meat and amasi (curdled milk) and amasi was regarded as the mainstay of the Zulu diet. Kunene



(1979:34) and Bryant (1949:46) confirm that the Zulu people have always been meat loving people and their diet consisted almost equally of animal and vegetable substances. Beasts are slaughtered only when weddings or other ceremonial festivities require or when the exigencies of ancestral worship or medical treatment demand (Howman 1943:34). The commonest mode of cooking meat was to simply boil it (*ukupheka*) in large chunks in water, but the tastiest method was by roasting (*ukosa*). In this latter case a thick lump of flesh (*izoso*) was cut from the joint, and, after being slit up so as to form a long continuous strip (*umbengo*) laid upon the glowing embers to broil. The milk of his cows furnished him with one of his most common and most excellent articles of food.

However, Calloway (1869) argues that the Native “*would do anything for meat, and draws on unheard-of springs of energy when meat is the inducement*”. This is a Western cosmological view that separated eating of meat as a daily food with the cultural meaning of meat eating which was consumed for special occasion; therefore, a source of ritually linked inspiration. There were innumerable occasions whose significance depended on feast of some kind. Native society was shot through and through with ceremony in which the consumption of meat was the keynote. Generally, we can say that meat was an adequate rarity to make any occasion a most significant one, and to this must be added ceremonial and ritual values. The feelings and emotions behind meat are profound ones. Its consumption marked an occasion of singular happiness or special importance so it attains to and provokes a cluster of emotions far beyond its significance as an item of food. Callaway (1970:45) confirms the huge and keen interest shown in the love of meat by saying the sign of repletion, the end of a good meal, is a full stomach. Men would indicate a bloated stomach and their talk becomes animated at the thought of it. Unless there is this sensation at the end of a meal, a sensation of which the native is acutely aware, he will not feel he has eaten sufficiently.

#### **2.4.14.12 Physical and Economic Value of Food**

Callaway (1970:47) argues that the cattle hide was and is still used for shields and clothing while the wealth of man was always estimated in cattle, since it is with cattle that he must acquire wives for himself and for his son and through the slaughtering of the cattle allow him the medium to talk and negotiate with his ancestors. According to Ngubane (2009:24), ancestors safeguard the social balance within a lineage. When making hides for *amabutho* an attempt was made to select cattle with unique skin colouring for each *amabutho*. A rural man without cattle was regarded as a poor soul as he could neither implore his fate delivering ancestors for a better fortune by means of sacrifices, nor might he marry a wife as he has not

the required lobola, (the bride price) of at least seven to eleven beasts. Types of cowhide products were:

- (1) *ibheshu- skin apron covering the buttocks*
- (2) *Isinene- front skin apron and*
- (3) *isidwaba- women's apron covering the buttocks as well as*
- (4) *African drums made of tightened cowhide over a half cut drum (Kapff 1977:37).*

Besides cattle, the Zulus possessed goats, sheep, fowls and dogs before they first came into contact with Europeans; but these animals did not have the ritual value of cattle nor are they considered as important. Goats are indeed sacrificed for occasions of lesser importance, or when a man is poor and has no cattle, but for all important sacrifices cattle are always used. Animals other than cattle are looked upon by the Zulus as domestic animals kept for their use; goats, sheep and fowls supply them with meat and skins, while dogs are used in hunting. Every married woman, besides having her own hut over which she was mistress, and some cows allocated to her hut to supply her own needs and those of her children, had also her own *amasimi*, or gardens, which she cultivates herself with the help of her daughters. As custom did not recognise private property in the soil other than actual occupation or use, any unoccupied land may be chosen as a garden, but usually the gardens are situated round the village (Kunene 1979:46). There was respect for the tilled land and the harvest of another person as the whole community worked hard to till, weed and prepare for the harvest of their own harvest. Even though there was no private property, respect of the hardwork of others prevailed in the whole community.

#### **2.4.14.13 Economic and Cultural Value of Ilobolo**

Most Zulus demand *ilobolo* (bride price) for someone to marry their daughters. As pointed out by Kunene (1979) lobola symbolises a man's masculinity and role as economic provider (Posel and Rudwick 2015). It is an interesting fact that this is one of many customs that the Zulus have carried on for decades in various levels of intensity. It is widely regarded as unacceptable and not blessed by *amadlozi* for a Zulu woman to just live in with a man without any *ilobolo* paid (Posel and Rudwick 2014:37). As Kunene (1979:46) points out that *ilobolo* brought spiritual and social stability. As argued by Dlamini, (1984:7):

*the one theory which has enjoyed a wide following in particular among Blacks, is that ilobolo is a stabilizing factor and a guarantee for good treatment of the wife by the husband.*

It united previously unknown relatives and created new economies and communities. In order for a Zulu man and woman legitimately to start a joined household, ilobolo was required, even in the case where the couple has had a child together. In the case of Christians, ilobolo is viewed as a cultural rather than a spiritual requirement, but for the majority of Zulu people, it is the combination of both culture and spirituality that makes the custom so salient. As Participant C7 pointed out the lobola negotiations take about 2 years or longer before it is finalised upon which time the Zulu traditional wedding takes place. (Posel and Rudwick 2015:12).

An example of how the ilobola was paid is given by Posel and Rudwick (2015:13). They narrate a story that indicates the cultural ritual and economic aspects of the Zulu wedding.

*She was married in October 2010 but the ilobolo negotiations had been initiated two years prior. The couple had already been in a relationship over a period of time. Although they had not cohabited, they had raised two children (who had stayed with the woman), for which the woman's partner had been asked to pay one cow each as inhlawulo (damage or penalty price) of about about R12.000. After the inhlawulo, which also included rituals such as the slaughtering of goats, the ilobolo process began and it was agreed that the standard payment of 11 cows (in cash) would be made. Hence, the husband-to-be initiated the process of umembeso where he initially paid three of the 11 cows (each cow valued at R2500 and therefore R7500 total). A few months later he paid the remaining eight cattle (priced between R2000 and R2500 each, in total between R16 000 and R20 000) and bought additional gifts. Subsequently, there was the umbondo (ceremony of gifts from the groom to the bride family after acceptable payment of the lobola), which is the responsibility of the bride, which involved the extensive buying of further goods, mostly bulk food for the entire family of the groom (10 kg of each food item, and two more goats, with a total cost of approximately R5000) (Rudwick 2015).*

As pointed out by Krige (1976:3) the *abakhongi*, who can be regarded as the *ilobolo* negotiators and who are usually male family members or friends of the groom, are also rewarded, which in this case included the buying of expensive suits for each of the three *abakhongi* and presents for their wives. The participants were mandated with negotiating power in the process of *ilobolo*. While she acknowledged that a significant amount of money was involved, "perhaps too much" she conceded, she also insisted that it made her very proud. As Krige (1977:4) points out however, in retrospect, the participant said that although she was a "proud Zulu woman," she would accept some kind of (smaller) monetary token of appreciation as *ilobolo* for her own daughter and perhaps even advise her to forgo some of

the expenses involved in the traditional procedure. According to Guy (1973:5) the transfer of cattle from the husband's father's homestead to the wife's father's homestead served as "a transfer of labour power, the labour power of the wife herself in the homestead and the land attached to the homestead, and the labour power of the children which she produced as wife and mother. However, Kunene (1979:7) regards Guy's views on ilobolo as a Western cosmology view that attaches an economic value to all human transactions. Kunene (1979:9) instead contends that Ilobolo was not seen from an economic perspective but as uniting process and ritual, uniting the two people that are getting married, with their new families and their new society. Ilobolo processes were a series of cultural rituals to say goodbye from her family (ukumkhipha), to prepare her for the new home and to welcome her into her new family. It was a socially cohesive community and societal processes. All these processes were characterised by ritual foods, to be eaten or not to be eaten by umakoti (bride). One of these rituals was when the bride - to - be was put in an igoqo (solitary place) during which time she would not take any food. Here she would be given advices from older women on how to behave and how to deal with the problems in marriage. As pointed out by Sangweni (2014:5) this was a form of marriage counselling at the end of which was a huge feast and then the wedding:

As Dlamini (1988:19) puts it:

*Ekupheleni kwalesi siguqo kuba nedili elikhulu lokumvalelisa, umncamo. Lapha kubongwa abaphansi ukumgcina kwabo kuze kube yilesi sikhathi. Le nkomo ahlatshelelwa yona ibuye ibe umphako azowudla emzini njengoba uzobe ezilile, engadli lutho lwakhona. Uzobe ezilile futhi ehlonipha izinyanya zasemzini. Ngalesi sikhathi uzobe esehleli nezimpelesi, sekuyizo ezimphendulelayo, yena esethule. Usuke esabanjiswe insika kuthiwa uzothola amandla okubhekana nobunzima basemzini.*

*"At the end of the solitary confinement" a feast would be held in order to bid her farewell as she goes to a new family. In this feast, the ancestors are being appreciated for their upkeep of her to this point. This feast meat is also going to serve as her meals in the new family as she is not allowed to eat their food as a new makoti. She will not be eating as part of paying respect to her husband's ancestral family. Her bridesmaids are going to stay for some time with her. They are the ones to answer all questions for her as she has to remain quiet. This period is to strengthen and prepare her for the upcoming in the light of hardships and problems".*

Everything that is being done is to unite the two families and to announce to the society that the new bride needs space to be supported so that she contributes to develop the community through developing her family. This process of wedding takes place in the kraal where a cow is slaughtered to invite the *amadlozi* to welcome the new bride, save her from diseases and bless her with many children (Sangweni 2014:46). Sangweni (ibid) clearly paints this picture of the ceremony:

*Umalokazana ubingelelwa ngenkomo yokumcola umntwana. Le nkomo ayihlatshwa izintombi zingayibonanga. Uma isihlatshwa ziyaphuma ziye esibayeni ziphethe udewu lwamanzi neva. Ziyahlabelela zishaye ihlombe. Iqhikiza lingena lihluthule inhlali yeshoba liyoyinika umntwana endlini. Uzoyishaya ifindo agoqe. Lokhu kwenzelwa ukuthi umkhongi abasathe uyalazi inxeba kodwa inkomo ingawi. Kwenzelwa ukuqinisa umntwana. Le nkomo imele yena kwabomuzi. Uma isheshe iwa, isho ubulula bakhe kwabomuzi. Kunjalo nje inxeba nenxeba liyakhokhelwa. Uma sekwabiwa inyama yomqhoyiso, umlenze uphathiselwa unina womntwana njengoba nenzalabantu mhla ifikayo yayiphathele uninazala kweyomncamo. Kusagcizelelwa khona belu ukuhlanganiswa kwezidalwa zanzhlangothi zombili ukuba zizwane;*

*The bride-to-be is given a gift of a beast as a welcome sign. This cow will not be slaughtered before the maidens who are accompanying her see the cow. When it is time to slaughter the maidens come out and sing a song that encourages the cow to resist being slaughtered or to fall down. This is meant to frustrate and show their power. If the cow falls quickly it will show how light the new makoti is taken at her new family. Every attempted stabbing has to be paid for. When meat is allocated one of the legs is given to the mother of the bride as an exchange gift as the bride had also brought a part of the cow to her new mother in law. This is ritual to show unity and as sign that two families are brought together.*

It is against this cultural background that Sono (Sangweni 2014:58) argues that marriages were between kinsfolk and not between individuals. Unlike the modern marriages, these were difficult to dissolve because of the social support they enjoyed.

## 2.5 Land Possession and the Ritualistic Value of Cultivation

### 2.5.1 The Pre Shaka Agricultural Economy and Food

Gump:1989; Kunene:1979 gives a clear history of the Zulu people and their consumption patterns long before they were united by King Shaka to be one united Zulu nation. Previously Zulus were various small tribal groups under different clan names.eg. *AmaHlubi*, *the Hlubis*. The pre-Shaka economy pivoted around the production of cattle and crops. The option to exploit trading opportunities meant an agricultural economy capable of sustaining the increased demands placed upon it. Therefore, only those pre-Shaka chiefdoms producing or capable of producing more crops and cattle could engage in trade. As Gump (1989) convincingly points out, the origins of the Zulu kingdom can be found in the dynamics of agricultural production, not in trading arrangements at Delagoa Bay. Zululand was divided between the fertile lowlands and major river valleys (Mzantsi) and the less fertile uplands (*enhla*). Unlike the uplands, the coastal lowlands as well as the Phongolo, Mfolozi, and Mhlatuze flood plains, all contain soils of high natural fertility. The period of fallow corresponds to the relative fertility of each region. Mzantsi (downstream or lowlands) peoples might have short or no fallow, whereas *enhla groups* might fallow their fields for up to twenty years. In both areas, farmers burnt fields before planting to replace soil nutrients (Bryant 1949:34).

Bryant (1949:75) argues that in the coastlands and lower river valleys of Zululand, warmer temperatures and high rainfall (as much as fifty inches per year) permit a longer growing season than in the uplands. In the region above 4,000 feet, frost limits the growing season to nine months. The terrain between 500 and 3,000 feet above sea level normally receives thirty inches or more of precipitation per year. The high relief of the interior, however, produces major variations in rainfall over short distances. Zululand as a whole experiences erratic seasonal rainfall distributions as well, bringing on floods and droughts in consecutive years. Pre-Shaka farmers adjusted to these conditions by adopting cereals with different production and harvesting characteristics. As clearly indicated by several authors (Bryant 1949; Zobolo and Mkabela 2009) *amabele* was similarly capable of flourishing in infertile soils, matures in eight to nine months, and can survive extended periods of drought. Sorghum grew extensively throughout Zululand and represented perhaps the most important cereal prior to the mid-eighteenth century. During the eighteenth century maize replaced or at least co-existed with millet and sorghum in many parts of Zululand. Sorghum and maize are similar crops. Labour requirements for planting, weeding, and harvesting are also roughly the same, although it is easier to shell corn than to thresh sorghum. One significant difference is that the grain of sorghum is carried on a loose head that is highly susceptible to damage by birds.

As pointed out by Bryant (1949:46) the ear of maize, in contrast, is well-protected. Also, maize kernels and young seedlings are slightly larger than sorghum thus improving the likelihood of good stands and reducing crop failure due to insects and weeds. Yet maize possesses degenerative as well as productive attributes. Although maize has a higher yield per acre than sorghum, it requires more rainfall. Also, the danger of the stalk borer prevents long storage above ground and necessitates consumption during the same harvest season. In contrast, sorghum and millet can be stored above ground in grain baskets for two to three years. Finally, maize's high nitrogen, phosphorus, and potash requirements drain soil fertility. Conceivably, maize diminished crop versatility for Zululand farmers and contributed to the ecological disequilibrium most evident by the early nineteenth century. Its higher rainfall requirements could have contributed to economic stress - Hall's research points to a sharp decline in rainfall from 1789 until the early nineteenth century (Beckwith 1949:37, Bryant 1949:57).

Guy (1973:27) makes a point that an analysis of pre-Shaka ecological stability must include the dynamics of cereal production, since it absorbed massive amounts of labour time and dominated not only productive processes, but profoundly affected social life generally. Yet crops represented only part of the pre-Shaka agriculture - by the early nineteenth century; cattle likely exceeded the human population of Zululand, and played a more vital role in the agricultural economy. In addition to serving subsistence needs, cattle materialized human labour. The argument is made by many historians (Guy 1973:76, Krige 1968:33 and Bryant 1949:27) that the movement of cattle in exchange for women, as tribute, gifts, or to establish clients was in fact the movement of expended labour and potential labour power. Successful cattle-keeping in pre-Shaka Zululand required a variety of grassland ecologies. However, the large increase in their cattle posed another different problem of limited space for further growth and erosion of soil (Guy 1973:37). To make use of this grazing potential, herders shifted their stock among a variety of pastures when land was available. In the spring, cattle-keepers moved their stock to the sour mountain grasslands to graze for approximately four months (Guy: 1973; Beckwith 1949:79).

Kunene (1979:43) explains that during the summer and fall herds moved to the transitional areas of mixed grasses for another six months of grazing. Herders shifted their cattle to the lowlands to take advantage of the palatable yet delicate sweet veld during the dry winter months. The presence of plentiful springs enabled herdsmen to move their stock within a twenty-mile radius in periods of normal rainfall, and slightly farther in times of drought. Pre-Shaka agriculturalists accommodated a range of environmental conditions provided they did not exceed the limits imposed by resource ecology. But some Zululand chiefdoms surpassed

these limits during the eighteenth century, and encountered ecological disequilibrium. The lowland peoples had adjusted successfully during much of the 1700s, but the population of the uplands had far exceeded the capacity of the high grasslands to support livestock and as a result, the independent status of the economic system in this area must have been sacrificed for the sake of reliance on valley or coastal winter grazing (Bryant 1949:57).

The Hlubi chiefdom, as the most prominent tribe in the northern Zululand in pre-Shaka Zululand, probably adapted to its predicament in that, as their pastures progressively degenerated, they sought access to a wider range of grasslands. The significance about this narrative is that it represents a key to understanding the relationship between ecological instability and the socio-political changes leading to the formation of the Zulu state. It also paints a picture of how the agricultural production united the Zulus into a socially cohesive nation, working together and herding their cattle in the same fields. This allowed the nurturing of various skills in the Zulu nation. By ranging their stock into valley and coastal grasslands, Hlubi herdsmen strained the resource ecology of the Mzantsi peoples.

Royo (2007:8) and Layard (2005) agree that these leaders, for example, the Hlubis gained greater control over the productive and reproductive potential of men and women - the most significant feature of the emerging amabutho system. Consequently, Hlubi access to adequate winter grazing steadily eroded. By the time Dingiswayo was born in 1780, much of this terrain was also covered with Zululand thornveld, offering excellent grazing and an exceptional environment for mixed farming. Bryant (1949:6) argues that to this day the Ngoye hill region (Northern Zululand) and adjacent lowlands still receive a lot of rain each year. The water-retaining alluvial soils of the Mhlatuze flood plain are ideally suited for multiple-cropping, and are particularly important for the cultivation of maize. The Hlubi gained a reputation as superb hunters, taking advantage of the large population of buffalo, rhinoceros, kudu, zebra, lion, and waterbuck in the forests of the upper White Mfolozi basin. Excavations by Martin Hall and Tim Maggs at the later Iron Age site at Nqabeni (on the plateau between the White Mfolozi and Mzinyathi rivers) reveal extensive samples of maize (Bryant 1949:37). Yet Stuart's informant Sivivi ka Maqungo reported that Hlubi grew only millet and depended on lowlanders for maize. In the words of Sivivi, "the coastal tribes laughingly said that in the early autumn we Hlubis were obliged to eat only [millet] and had to depend on them for maize". Cattle continued to play a significant role in the Hlubi economy until King Shaka was born and came to the scene.

Kunene (1979:32) argues that Zulu people have a strong and special relationship with their land. In traditional beliefs and Zulu cosmology, the land belongs to the living, to the unborn and to the dead. As pointed out by Krige (1977:23) there were numerous customs which were



done to dedicate the land as dwelling place and land as a place to cultivate and feed one's cattle. The land allocated to the burying the dead was deeply respected and was regarded reverently as a place to bring all the people of the clan together. Graves united people and brought all Zulus together to mourn and to celebrate the life of the dead through ritual practices and sharing of slaughtered cows and beer. The Zulu people could never be separated from the gravesites of their people. This belief causes a lot of grief and conflict when rural or farm people are forced to evacuate the land belonging to a new owner who do not want the farm workers in his new place. The land reclaim processes restored dignity and enabled the Zulu people to reclaim their identity, a feeling of social cohesion and social cohesion. With rightful land, land of 'our forefathers people continued their inheritance of cultivation and stock farming skills in order to provide food for the families and the whole community through the processes of ukusisela (landing a milk cow to one without). Food, consumption and land ownership was inseparable. As pointed out by Kuhnlen (2009:33) indigenous peoples' right to food is inseparable from their rights to land, territories, resources, culture and self-determination. Kunene (1979) makes appoint that the idea of buying food one could grow in one's own field or make with one's own hands was alien to the Zulu people. It was mockingly referred to "*as ukudla ezitolo*", meaning to only eat food bought from a shop. In this was wrapped a meaning that one "had a lot of money to be buying from the shops instead of planting his own food.

Land is an important natural endowment that has no exchange value. Participant C7 concurred that in the rural areas, the chiefs were and are still the custodians of the land and are responsible for allocating it to members of the community; a newcomer in a community would be allocated land without payment but would be expected to serve under the chieftainship of the community. Thus, land was passed down from generation to generation, a practice that has lasted to the present day. A plot of land always belongs to the people who once lived there and may only be transferred with the permission of the local chief. De Beer (1994:2) and Vorster (1981:55) both indicate that land is life, which man cannot do without. Van Niekerk (1992) states that land is security and that the grave is a pathway to the ancestors; therefore, the land where graves are located cannot be used as agricultural land. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:46) graves in Zulu are not just the resting place for the dead, but carry the memories and are a centre of the community; where the spirits of the ancestors reside, a place for consultation, to receive instruction and to perform rituals particularly of those who died away from the graves of 'obab umkhulu' to be brought back to them. As pointed by Ngubane the belief in ancestral spirits forms the core of the traditional religion of the Zulus, and that is why a sacred place is desirable, to put the dead to rest with the spirits of their ancestors. Failing to bury the dead with the ancestors might be seen as a disturbance of the dead person who has now become an ancestor (Ngubane: 2015).

The issue about the land and understanding Zulu culture should be encompassed in the land policy for land reform and development. It is the reason why land tenancy in the farms is a difficult issue for both the farmer and his farm tenancy, particularly when the farmer has to sell the land and the new farmer removes the workers whose relatives are buried in the land. Continuing on the same vein Avendano (2013:32) argues that land ownership, harvest and food provided a sense of social cohesion that far surpasses the modern ownership of money and other luxuries. He quotes an old man from a rural area in Northern Zululand, who when asked what he wanted, he replied by saying that the land was his purpose and what he and his community needed to achieve. They must plough it for food as they live on it and are buried in it. The Zulu peoples' sense of social cohesion derives from the fact that the land is where they keep their cattle, and it contains the memories through the rituals such as *ukubuyisa* (cleansing ceremony). Additionally, the land is where they cultivate and harvest their sources of nutrition. Just as the livestock is the pride of man, land was the pride of a woman (Kinsman 1870). The land was a place where the women fed their families from, making various dishes to be served to large and small families. Each village had its own cattle and goats to supply the milk, and its own fields, in which the corn and vegetables were grown to supply the needs of the inhabitants. As argued by Kunene (1979:34), although important in the economic life of the tribe, the cattle would never have been held in such high regard or occupy the position they do in Zulu society, were it not for their enormous ritual value. Participant C7 (argued that with land made arable to cultivate, graves to bury their loved ones, stock to raise and eat from, the Land Restoration Policy has to accept that the Zulu people are not necessarily in favour of urbanization. Based on this firm conviction people development should talk to people's views, cultures and their ritualistic meaning of what they do.

### **2.5.2 The Planting Season and Its Meaning on Consumption and Social Cohesion**

As pointed out by Callaway (1970) the dry season in Natal and Zululand may be said to comprise that part of the year between August and February, with a slight variation in the upper and coastal districts and between the different years. The period of abundant food supply in the kraals was, therefore, generally speaking, the latter part of the rainy season, say from October to February, and the first part of the rainy season, say from October to February, and, the first part of the dry season, say from February to June; after that regularly follows a period, more or less, of dearth. Bryant (1949:34) systematically explains what was done in order to clear new fields or forests for planting. There were rituals when people cleared forests or bushes and blessing the use of new fields. People believed that there are innumerable spirits some of which occupy trees and forests. Where that belief exists, it is thought necessary to perform rituals, which among other things, will send away the spirits from the bushes and

trees being cleared away to make a new field. If such a ritual is not done, it was feared that the people who work on that field may be molested by the spirits or may meet with mysterious misfortunes. The ritual removed such fear and danger and help the people to find harmony with the new field.

As pointed out by Mbiti (1969:2) the king opened the hoeing season and no one was allowed plant or reaps before the king. In the old days, before 1879, a special ceremony was said to be performed by the king before planting was begun and called "*ukukhotha i geja*" (*licking of the hoe*). (Callaway 1970:19). The doctor of the king would send word to him that the time for planting had arrived, and of the danger incurred in delay lest some rival chief should begin to plant before him. Special men were sent to another tribe to secure a fierce black bull, together with samples of soil from their fields. This was called *igade* (a clod). These had to be obtained by stealth and brought to the king in secret. A concoction to which was added the *igade* and also sea water was prepared by the doctors, and some of this was roasted sacred potsherd (*uDengezi*), some on the sacred hoe (hence the name of the ceremony). (Bryant 1949:6; Beckwith 1949). Of these the king partook by sucking off his fingers. One or two regiments of youths were summoned and they had to seize the bull which was killed by having its neck twisted. No assegais were permitted except for a weapon used at the actual slaughter. The regiments were turned out to plant the King's crops. Mbiti (1969:3) clearly paints the picture that the king used his doctor or medicine man to a great extent.

The medicine man would put a portion on of the mixture in a calabash in the form of *isinkwa* (bread). On reaching home, the kraal head will divide up the *isinkwas* he received into smaller pieces and give some to each house. No seed must be planted unless it has been in the calabash containing the medicine, and when the seeds is being sown a little of the *isinkwa* must be put in the calabash holding the seed. When the plants have grown and require to be weeded, a portion of the *isinkwa* will be taken and burnt in the fields on a live cinder, and when the weeding has been completed this process (*ukushinqisela*) is repeated. No produce from the lands that have been doctored in this manner may be given as a gift to anyone, lest the luck brought by the *umkhando* turns, and even the following year, when the second harvest is obtained from those fields, anyone who gives such crops as a gift to a friend must retain a little from each basket so given. This ensures that the crops will "not run away" from the giver altogether and go to enrich and increase the crops of the receiver. It is believed that fields that have been *sukula'd* are filled with great power, and therefore it is not surprising to find that there are a number of taboos connected with such fields.

Several authors (Bryant 1949:4, Guy 1973:7) consistently agree on the issue of *sukula*. They agree that no one was to pass water in a field that had been *sukula'd* lest his private part become swollen, nor may pregnant women go through such lands lest they have a miscarriage. If a man walks through such a field with a stick he will have a sore arm, and so powerful are the medicines that have been used, that it is said that even after the crops are quite high one can still smell that the land has been *sukulas'd*. Besides the medicine use for *ukusukula*, there were other more common and less powerful one for securing fertile crops. The undigested bones that remained when any animal lion had had his feast was sold in a dry state as a valuable medicine for charming grain fields into successful bearing, while to keep off the ill-effects of drought and excessive heat, a broad-leaved plant is mixed with mealie and corn seed (Bryant 1949:46).

As stated by Kunene (1979:23) the Zulu people possessed indigenous knowledge that contained in that system seasons and times of planting and eating herbs and plants. The amount of knowledge ancient people carried in their heads and passed down from generation to generation vindicates the Zulus and by extension the Africans against the Western cosmology that purports that Africans had no culture and were not clever to have been such custodians of indigenous knowledge system. An example of the food herbs was:

- Imifino
- Mushrooms (amakhowe)
- Amagonsi (that were dug from the ground)
- Amajikijolo (mulberry)
- Amathunduluka (big as apples but have a big nut inside. They are green and become red when ripe) and many others.

The rural Zulu people possess tremendous indigenous knowledge of the dangerous and safe herbal plants. This is shared by word of mouth from generation to generation. Knowledge of some vegetables like *amadumbe* (*Colocasia esculenta* (L) Schott and *ubhatata* (sweet potatoes) were carried from one generation to the other as far back as 1869. However, there are also a lot of herbs that are planted mainly by Zulu women while men are working in far way cities. Zobolo and Mkabela (2006:45) emphasizes this point by saying the African homestead (Muzi) garden contains a mixture of spiritual, protective and medicinal plants. The 'garden' refers to plants grown adjacent to the buildings in areas where they can fulfil their functions. For instance, certain plants are grown near the entrance of the homesteads to protect the family from visitors with evil intentions such as witchcraft. Various types of medicinal plant species including shrubs, herbs and creepers were grown by women in the

homesteads. Although modern medical facilities are accessible, they depended greatly on indigenous medicinal plants. A person was taken to the doctor if the first indigenous intervention had failed. Since elderly women were found to be the most dependent on herbal treatment, they had a greater understanding of medicinal plants too. The research revealed that all the women had a tremendous knowledge of Zulu names of plants and their uses in traditional healthcare practice, especially in the treatment of coughs, headaches, stomach aches, toothaches, diarrhoea, wounds, asthma and diabetes.

Zobolo and Mkabela (2006:12) conducted a research on traditional knowledge transfer of activities practiced by Zulu women to manage medicinal and food plant gardens among 80 homesteads in rural areas of northern KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The areas surveyed were located at Mbonambi, Kwadlangezwa, Ntambanana and Eshowe. Elderly women (over 55 years) and girls (under 21 years) were questioned on names and uses of plants grown in the home garden. Various medicinal and food plants were found in the home gardens and were meant to protect a family from dark spirits (Kunene 1979:12, Bryant 1949:34). They found that it was interest in the social cohesion of their families that motivated women to become active in environmental struggles to protect biodiversity (Argwal 1992, Wikramasinghe 1994). The African homestead (Muzi) garden contains a mixture of spiritual, protective and medicinal plants. They found that all the homesteads had Muzi gardens with medicinal and food plant. Table 1 below indicates the findings in respect of what the Zulu women plant in their gardens. They also tested how much knowledge the women and teenage girls have of the uses of medicinal and spiritual plants grown in their gardens. They concluded that planting, understanding and using the plants for food and medicine (as shown above) bring about a sense of social cohesion for the Zulu women, particularly the elderly ones. The table below shows a few of the plants and herbs the Zulu people planted and used for various ailments and rituals which are also used all over the world.

Scientific and Zulu name	Plant usage
Aloe chabaudii - inhlabha	Leaves used as snuff for headache and tooth ache
Aloe maculate - icena, amahlala	Crushed leaves for treatment of chicken diseases
Bidens pilosa - ucadolo	Leaves used for treatment of pain, diarrhoea, earache. The Zulus use an enema of the powdered leaves in water for abdominal troubles. Also, flowers used as remedy for diarrhoea
Camphor tree - uRoselina	Bark used as love charm

Scientific and Zulu name	Plant usage
Cymbopogon validus - isiQunga iWozawoza, uSukasahamba	Roots and underground stem used for cleansing after funeral, and for treatment of wounds and pimples
Datura stramonium - umgandankawu	Fruit used to ferment boils and for spuiting
Haworthia limifolia - Umathithibala	Whole plants repels evil spirits
Hypoxis colchicifolia - ilibatheka	Tuber used as love charm and for treatment of impotence and barrenness
Lippia javanica - umsuzwane	Leaves used for steaming, spuitinga, cough and to repel lightning
Momordica - foetida umgandaganda, umqhumane.	Fruit and seeds used to treat high blood pressure and diabetes
Pimpinella caffra - ibheka	Leaves used to enhance love
Plectranthus ambiguous - ibozana	Leaves used as cough mixture and intestinal sores

**Table 8 Herbs planted by the Zulu people (Zulu 2012)**

### **2.5.3 Vegetables Planted By the Zulu People that have Survived Centuries**

As pointed out by Howman (1943:23), the crop fields cultivated by one woman may be scattered and the kraal on the hill, some below in the valley and some on the opposite hill. (Howman 1943:12 and Bryant 1949:12). A garden crop field did not possess a regular shape and enclosed only when protection is needed against animals. Participant confirmed that a fence may be erected by the members of several kraals jointly as a barrier between the cultivated lands and a pig-infested region, and in this case the construction of the fence and the cutting of the materials needed devolves upon the men, though the women have to carry these from the bush. When land is covered with bush has to be cleared the men for cultivation, the work is laborious, for the native axes are small. Fire is, however, usually used to remove the trunks of large trees. The most common crops sown by the Zulus include mealies, corn, pumpkin, water-melon, calabash (which is occasionally eaten when young and green, but is mostly used to make gourds for beer or water), native sugar reed (*imfe*) and various kinds of edible tubers and beans. As pointed out by Krige (1968:27) the plantation was, as early as the time of Shaka, cultivated near the mouth of the Umhlathuze River and large quantities were regularly sent to the king. There were various signs relied upon by the Zulus for indicating the time for sowing, chief among which was the position of the Pleiades, which appear in the north-east in the morning during August. They are called *isilimela* (digging implement) because they mark the season when hoeing begins. At about the end of July appears also *izinkuku* (chickens) which by its noise is supposed to signify the time for sowing. (Krige. 1968:22).

As Howman (1943:21) points out some of the following vegetables are mentioned as part of the traditional vegetables of the Zulu people that have survived more than a century and is still available in the northern rural KwaZulu-Natal:

- a. Imbumba- it is a tiny black bean whose leaves climb up the wall or twigs
- b. Indlubu- an underground vegetable between a bean and a groundnut

Krige (1977:99) notes that vegetables such as beans (from Europe), *udumbedumbe* (from India) were brought to South Africa by people from Europe and the East. These were adopted by the Zulu people and became part of the staple foods. Best seeds were picked and saved in the barn for the next planting season. In that way the planting of these vegetables and others has been maintained as cultural food for centuries and has united people across colour lines while providing various dishes and cuisines for many racial groups.

## **2.5.4 Food Plants Grown By Rural Women in the Home Gardens**

As pointed out by Krige (1977:34), some of the vegetables planted by Zulu women included (a) U-anyanisi (b) Amantongomane (c) Iklabishi (d) Upelepele (d) UParticipant C3 (e) Amantongomane (f) Iklabishi (g) Upelepele (h) UParticipant C3 (i) Ukwatapeya (j) Ubhontshisi (k) Amajikijolo (l) Umoba (m) Amazambane (n) Amabele (o) Izindoni (p) Izindlubu (q) Ummbila.

### **2.5.4.1 Edible and Medicinal Herbs**

#### **A. Inhlaba –Aloe Plant**

As Kunene (1979) points out Zulu people consumed a lot of edible herbs which were eaten or smoked on the basis or strength of their cultural or ritualistic value. For instance, inhlaba or Aloe plants which is rife in the dry areas of Zululand was smoked but others chewed it for luck or used it to clean their systems. It is interesting that some commercials have converted and processed this plant as Aloe Vera and sell as the cure for a myriad of diseases which the Western medicine cannot cure (Zulu 2012:4). There are hundreds of these herbs, a lot of which have not been documented and the knowledge as abstract in the person's mind.

#### **B. Use of Impepho (Incense) as a Medium to Contact Amadlozi**

According to Participant C7 every Zulu home had to have impepho (incense) as it is used widely used for sicknesses and as a medium to connect with the ancestors. Some were like (impepho (incense) were used as part of inducing the spirit medium. Zulu (2012:4) defines impepho as an indigenous African plant that, once dried, is burnt in order to communicate with

one's ancestors. Impepho is well-known to the majority of Sub Saharan Africans as it is used to communicate with their ancestors and it is also used by traditional healers to communicate with the deceased. Participant C7 confirmed that the Zulus also strongly believe that as the smoke of impepho flows and billows up it goes straight to the ancestors and their voice can be heard as others suffer from headaches when impepho is burnt. According to Rudwick (2006:15), impepho burning is used to invoke the presence of the spirits. It is used a traditional healing and spiritual connections through impepho. The incense was used to call the spirit or Amathongo or izinyanya and would be used mainly on certain occasions such as ukubuyis 'umnumzane or anytime the owner of the house or his son wanted to talk to the amathongo, he would burn the incense at the place allocated. It was also burned when there was lightning and thunder and in such occasion the young boys would be asked to place the *Izinduku* outside in a belief that this would direct lightening away from the homestead and people inside the premises.

As pointed out by Participant C7 impepho has been used by ancestors of many people of the world from ancient days. Hebrews to ancient Africans and to most of today's world beliefs, cultures and traditions. It has been made a common thing by people selling it on the streets mainly in South Africa, at Mayi-mayi market in Johannesburg, Durban station in Durban and many towns surrounded by rural areas in KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape Provinces (Zulu 2012:3). Impepho is a sacred herb that ever since has been used to bring about the presence of the spirits. From the ancient Israel of the foundation of the Abrahamic foundation to today Impepho is mentioned. It is only some people of today that have considered burning of Impepho a taboo because it has been demonized buy the western cultures and religions in doing ancestor worship. Several Zulu anthropologists (Kunene.1979:12, Krige (1968:27), Bryant (1949:24) concur that children must also learn to do their own burning of Impepho from an early stage so that as they grow, they continue to be able to consult with the ancestor spirits own their own as no one is supposed to control the way you communicate with your own ancestors.

### **C. Ubulawu**

Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016) confirmed that there were some of the herbs that were used for the following that when a young man went to woo the young lady he loved he would chew some herbs; but would first clean himself by ubulawu. Participant C7 confirmed that this medicine is used by young men to make themselves clean and to attract women. According to (Zulu 2012:4) the term 'ubulawu' refers to a specific type of plant that is used by mainly Zulu and Xhosa people in traditional healing practices in Southern Africa. As pointed out by Zulu 2012:4 (ubulawu-african dreaming: 2016) ubulawu is



a medicinal preparation made from certain medicinal plants. It is mixed with cold water in a container, and using a prong-like stick, the mixture is twirled vigorously to form a white froth. This is then drunk by the diviners and sangomas performing that ritual. It is said to possess the following benefits to:

- aid with divination and prophecy,
- facilitate communication with the ancestors and ancestral spirits,
- access conscious dream states.
- the ingestion of ubulawu plays a fundamental role in the relationship between the diviner and the ancestors and is made by twirling a mixture of ground roots of particular plants with water.
- when a man or woman wanted to get back his lover who had dejected him or her, she/he would or chew a specific love portion.

### **2.5.5 Consumption and Social Cohesion**

Several authors have written on social cohesion (Woodhead. 2008:24; Taylor.2011) and all state that happiness is just but one dimension of social cohesion. As pointed out by Dodge et al (2012) social cohesion is more than just happiness. As pointed out by Crivello (2008) social cohesion means developing as a person, being fulfilled, and making a contribution to the community. Royo (2007:34) however, argues, that happiness is a relative happiness. Human happiness does not exist by itself but it is intimately entwined with factors such as culture, relationships, family, religion and everyday activities. Social cohesion is subjective and varies cross-culturally. It is in this regard that while other people would rather have a lot of money, some would rather have land, stock and perform their cultural rituals. However, the loss of values to raise and look after one's own animal stock makes mockery of the notion that for Africans animal stock is their bank. As reported in the newspaper article (Von Kapff (2016:21) in rural South Africa, many accidents have been caused by the roaming and unattended stock. For example:

- From December 25 to January 31, 2016, there were 14 accidents caused by strays in the Eastern Cape – about one every second day.
- In February, 43 head of cattle, 200 sheep and 20 horses were auctioned off by the Mhlontlo municipality.
- In KwaZulu-Natal Province deaths, injuries and substantial damages have arisen as a result of roaming bovine near Umhlathuze.

With many of the provinces being largely rural, stray animals remained a challenge. Road rangers have been appointed to remove the cattle from the road. However, the roaming animal stock can be seen on the road anytime of the day or night.

In a study of social cohesion conducted along the Peruvian Corridor, it was found that people in Nuevo Lugar agrees that stable close family relations are the pillars of their social cohesion (Royo. 2007:45). This study concurs with one of the important priorities of the National Development Plan (2011:23) that encourages social cohesion.

Zulus have a strong family bond and a long lineage made up of a wide range of closely related people, which a westerner may not easily understand. Some of these are:

- Ubab' omncane – young brother of my father
- Umalume (uncle) – my mother's brother
- Umalumekazi –my uncle's wife
- Ugogo/umakhulu- grandmother
- Umkhulu- grandmother
- Umnewethu – big brother
- Umfowethu- brother
- Udadewethu - sister
- Umkwekazi –said by husband of his wife's mother
- Umkhwe – said by husband of his wife's mother
- Umamezala – said by a wife of her husband's mother
- Ubabezala – said by a wife of her husband's father

This long lineage is one of the reasons that issues of broken families, children on the street, hungry and parentless people were never heard of in the Zulu culture, for one of the relatives mentioned above, would have taken care of an orphan who would have been a street child. (Ritter.1978:13) As pointed out by Royo (2007:43) good family relations not only have financial implications, but they also enhance people's self-confidence and strength to go ahead with one's life in a harsh environment. They give people the emotional balance required to engage in social, productive and caring activities and to look after themselves and provide for their own survival. A good example is that older women in the Zulu culture look after their son or daughter's young children. This allowed for a bonding and sharing of skills and cultural practices such as singing and dancing. Participant C7, confirmed that when the girl child begins to dance (sina) she usually shows off to her grandmother,

*“Uyabona gogo ngiyakwazi ukusina njengentombi?” Grandmother, can you see I dance like a real maiden”*

In Royo's Peruvian study (2007:23) it was found that people who declared they would be happier without having much material but instead valuing what one has, living a virtuous life and being close with the family. As Royo (ibid) points out good family relations are a salient feature of the 'good life' becoming a key element for people's social cohesion.

## **2.5.6 Consumption Patterns of the Zulu People after Annexation of Zululand.**

On the 22 January 1879 the Zulu army won a fierce but watershed battle against the British army. This battle was followed by many battles which weakened and finally subjugated and divided the Zulu nation. (Zulu 2000:2). Zululand was annexed and divided into Zululand (north of the Tugela River and Port Natal (South of the Tugela River). The Bambatha Rebellion of 1905 signalled the last effort by the Zulus to retain their independence and their cultures. From then Zulus were forced to reduce the number of cows they had and they had to pay poll tax.

Ritter (1978:13) argues that this forced many men and women to go and look for work in Port Natal. In this way the consumption food pattern of the Zulus did not escape the influences brought by their subjugation by the English and the creation of the Republic of Zuid Afrikaans Republic in 1910. Land laws (of 1913 and 1936 respectively) disposed them of their own land south of the Tugela River, which was proclaimed as the Port Natal (the last outpost) and forced people to go and look for work in the mines and women to look for work as domestic servants. On arrival in Port Natal, they began a new cosmopolitan taste that included the Indian curries and other hot foods brought by the Eastern cultures together with foods from other cultures. While they craved for their food, it was inevitable that they would end up learning how to cook and enjoying the new combination.

As pointed out by Madiba 2006 and Camporesi (1981:24) there is also a strong relationship between the types of food urban people eat and their state of physical social cohesion as compared to the type of food eaten by rural or rural people and their state of social cohesion. In the process of urbanization, westernization and the missionary work in the whole of KwaZulu - Natal, the Zulu people were divided into two groups, amakholwa (converts) who took up a new White culture with its food patterns and began to question the zultural rituals they had grown up into and the Amaqaba (those who steadfastly remained unchanged and steeped into their cultural lifestyle including their cultural food patterns. As Houle (2001:54) argues the Amakholwa were regarded as a scorned minority, the flotsam and jetsam of society

washed up onto the mission stations and converting, in large part, because they had no other place to go. They started questioning their culture to the point of distancing themselves with the other traditionalist Zulu people. Houle (2001:16) paints a sad picture that as mission Christians became increasingly wealthy they sought to translate this new wealth into prestige. Old social relations such as ukusisa, the loaning of cattle from a patron to a client, and lobola, the exchange of cattle for brides, were engaged in as amakholwa increasingly sought to bridge the boundary between themselves and their non-Christian friends and family, what Houle (ibid) calls, “unperfected modernity”.

That period marked the beginning of the end of a pure cultural life, its food rituals and the beginning of bad habits associated with eating the food from the West. Urbanization brought new dietary patterns. In a *study of factors influencing food consumption patterns in selected communities in Limpopo* (Madiba 2006:39) the researcher made the following interesting conclusions:

- a. Urbanization affects food habits and dietary patterns and in contrast to the rural areas, in town all food has to be bought.
- b. Urbanization also robs people of the seasonal food enjoyed by the rural people. He quotes another study by Camporesi (1981:38) who differentiated between ‘city cooking’ and ‘country cooking’, the latter being regarded as healthy cooking. He suggests that a study has to be still done to find out the reason why many people retire or aspire to retire to their long lost rural areas and whether they are able to make it having been exposed to living an urban life.

Although there is no study that has looked into how Zulus changed their consumption patterns after 1879, it is clear that the mixing with various national groups, particularly as employers and therefore with more influence on them, introduced the Zulus to curried food. It is no wonder that food like bunny chow and other hot foods. As more and more Zulu women were employed by Europeans they began to learn to cook and eat European food, without surrendering their own cultural foods. In his studies entitled, “*Where does the black population of South Africa stand on the nutrition transition*” Bourne and Lambert (2012:34) one of the hypotheses supported by rural/urban comparisons of African populations has been that the traditional diet is abandoned, with urban exposure, for a Western diet typified by decreases in carbohydrate and fibre and increases in fat. As a result, food is eaten for its sake, as a conspicuous and status sign and ritual food and food from the garden has to be bought even though people possess skills to plant their own. The traditional diet is associated with a low prevalence of degenerative diseases, whereas the Western diet is associated with increased prevalence.

According to this study (Ibid: 2012:36) the proportion of fat has increased and that of carbohydrate has decreased in both rural and urban areas. Interestingly the same study shows 34 % increased obesity prevalence in adult Africans as well as 21 % increased hypertension. As pointed out in a study entitled “*Sugar is as dangerous as alcohol and tobacco, warn experts*” (Taylor.2016:4) sugar is a drug 2013:3 *sugar is as dangerous as alcohol and tobacco, warn health experts*. Sugar has become as dangerous as alcohol or tobacco; academics have said as they call on the food industry to cut 30 per cent from processed in Britons’ cupboards. Health experts claim the reduction could shave 100 calories from each person’s daily intake and reverse the UK’s growing obesity epidemic. They are also asking companies to stop advertising sugary drinks and snacks to children claiming sugar has become ‘the alcohol of childhood.’ In his article entitled *Sugar is a drug* Krans (2013:1) quotes French scientists in Bordeaux who reported that in animal trials, rats chose sugar over cocaine (even when they were addicted to cocaine), and speculated that no mammals’ sweet receptors are naturally adapted to the high concentrations of sweet tastes on offer in modern times. He continued to argue that the intense stimulation of these receptors by our typical 21st-century sugar-rich diets must generate a supra-normal reward signal in the brain, with the potential to override self-control mechanisms and thus to lead to sugar addiction.

## 2.6 Identification of What Needs to be Done Further

Participant C7 argues that many Zulu people from rural areas like Estcourt still maintain their cultural lifestyle, including their family structure, following their cultures and eating food prepared in a healthy Zulu way. However, for urban and semi-urban people their lifestyle is a combination of the cultural and urban lifestyle. He argues that for the urban people there is new life and the cultural life is regarded as something one has to visit the rural home and do. However, Blose (2006:73) argues that since the 70’s, there has been a call for the African renaissance, going back to the basics and for African people to re-embrace their cultures. It is against this background that there is a call to go back to traditional food and cultural practices and socially cohesive practices so that we create a new sense of social cohesion that respects each living person. We will do that if we recognise and adopt the good in each culture’s indigenous knowledge system. As pointed out by Govender, Mudaly and James (2010:67)

*Different knowledges represent different points on a continuum; they involve ways that peoples perceive the world and act on it. Through daily practice, societies ‘import’ and ‘adapt’ freely whatever from ‘outside’ will enrich their accumulated knowledge. In this sense, ‘modernity’ is embedded in indigenous knowledges (Sefa Dei 2008:73).*

However, it is also against this background that cultural conflicts with the animal activists have been more pronounced. This happens when the Zulus living in the suburb wants to perform their cultural slaughtering in their premises. After a long fight that was once taken to court, which the African traditionalists won, municipalities have been forced to review their by-laws to accommodate slaughtering. According to By-laws need to accommodate slaughter (2011:2), traditionalists believed the ritual was part of their culture and that objecting to it was an infringement on their rights to freely practise their religion.

This literature review had proved conclusively that eating is a social and cultural issue. It is a part of the evolutionary and deep ecological process linking land, spirits, animals and human culture. It is a prism through which one peeps into a culture and see part of the essence of the life of a specific nation. As pointed by Bryant (1949:35) food and culture in the Zulu dance tradition are a story of relationships which were created and strengthened by kinship, gender, regiments, age, origins and new religious beliefs, for instance, at the advent of Christianity many Zulus shied away from ceremonial and ritual food claiming that it is evil and is part of a pagan religion of worshipping the ancestors. It is also a story of actions and reactions to conditions the Zulu people have found themselves in through the years of their existence. Ritualistic ceremonial performances were a symbolic story for the two complimentary components of time, that is, past and future.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

Through ritual consumption, Zulu people always draw from their ancient past with the aim of projecting and forging the future. As Ngcobo (2012:12) points out a ritual is not complete without Zulu beer and incense is essential when doing a ritual particularly for ancestors. The festivals such as presently performed under the aegis of the reigning Zulu King, King Goodwill Zwelithini ka Bhekuzulu should be continued. As Alcock (2010:22) the community's cultural feasts (the Royal Reed Dance-*uMkosi woMhlanga*, the Harvest Celebration-*ukuNyatela* etc.) involve youth and sexuality education, skills taught such as slaughtering, tanning and social cohesion. As a result, the feasts are very useful as strengthening social cohesion of the Zulus. It is important that the Land Restoration Policy fast track the communication routes of the rural areas while maintaining the infrastructure which is also slowly crumbling in the urban and semi urban areas. People should participate in their own development, cultural rights, and priorities of development. Participant C7 confirmed that with the advent of democracy, when people thought the erosion of tribal governance would be strengthened by the new third tier government, the experience of the Zulu people in the area of Estcourt is that there is limited

consultation and less participation on development and governance issues. This, he concludes, affect the peoples' physical, social and spiritual social cohesion.

The next chapter will deal with Research Methodology.

## **CHAPTER 3                      RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Chapter 2 dealt in depth with the literature issues of ritualistic consumption in the Zulu culture. It explored various sources in order to discern the utility function of food from its symbolic significance socially, physically, emotionally, and spiritually. The main focus of chapter three is therefore to outline the research methodology of this study, in particular the research design issues and how they correspond to the epistemological and ontological position of the study.

Mouton (1996:35) describes methodology as the means or methods of doing something. Polit and Hungler (1999:648) refer to the research methodology as the process of following the steps, procedures and strategies for gathering and analyzing data in a research investigation. Burns and Grove (1998:581) point out the research processes that Polit and Hungler refer to as research design, sampling plan, data-collection and data analysis processes. This chapter's purpose is to delve into these research processes in greater detail in relation to the research questions of this study.

### **3.2      Research Questions and Context**

The underlying premise of the study is that for the Zulu people, food has a ritualistic meaning which when kept and honoured bring about socially cohesive families and clans as well as balance between people and their environment. This study looks at the ritualistic meaning of the foods eaten by the Zulu people from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to date and how that has affected social cohesion. It stems from the fact that people's consumption patterns is always linked to cultural, religious, political and social beliefs. Food is intrinsic to life. Without food there will be no life. There is more to food than gulping it down the stomach. Ross (2014) argues that poor people spend the largest of their income on food while rich people spend their money on food related commodities. He continues to say that there is a close relationship between food and politics.

This study investigates how food has been used as a vehicle for social cohesion. It wants to discover how environment sustainability is related to the culture of the Zulu people, since the reign of King Shaka.



Essentially this study seeks to address three questions:

1. What are the factors that contribute to social cohesion in the Zulu community?
2. What is the ritualistic value of food in Zulu cosmology?
3. How are cultural rituals linked to social cohesion?

Although research questions were constructed for the purpose of extracting information about the subject, they mainly served as a guide to the overall research process. Hollered (2012) supports the assumption that in order for the researcher to get as much relevant and quality information as possible, he or she must be guided by the following four imperatives of ethnographic research:

- what should be studied are the meanings people themselves give to the social world;
- research-respondents should be allowed to give answers in their own terms, that is, their own native language and in their own words;
- research has to go in depth, because native meanings are often taken for granted and thus, remain subconscious even to natives themselves; and
- research and data has to be analyzed and interpreted in the social context in which these meanings emerge

This means that each situation under the ethnography scope is unique even though the population sample may be from the same cultural experience. Hence ethnographers are noted for their ability to keep an open mind about the groups or cultures they are studying. Hoellerer (2012) acknowledges that often each individual of a group has different perceptions and experiences of the same action or event. It is for this reason that ethnographers enter the field with an open mind, not an empty head (Welsh: 2002:24).

Ethnographic research acknowledges that some aspects of socio-cultural life are in constant flux and change over time. Hoeller (2007:37) cites the principle of Buddhism which emphasizes that reality is transient and in constant flux. Thus, critique emerged that ethnographic research (or other social sciences for that matter) is limited, because it cannot be repeated (in the same society, at a different time). Take for instance a Zulu wedding process spans many years and stages over a long period of time before the actual wedding day. Zulu culture forbids that all lobola cows be paid in one day as the practice is not about the price or how rich the husband to be is. Sangweni (2014:16) confirms this when she says the groom's family would delay 'lobola' negotiations even when they had all fifteen cattle to

hand, as a mark of respect for bride's family, by showing that their daughter was not simply being purchased like a commodity. This study follows an approach by notable ethnographers such as Brink and Wood (1998) and Burns and Grove (1997:335) who argue that ethnographic study as a qualitative study is specifically characterized by observation, regards reality as subjective, inductive form of reasoning and data presented in the form of words, quotes, analysis to arrive at the meaning that people attach to everyday life.

This study adopts the following steps to in addressing the research questions of this study.

Steps	This study
Identification of culture to be studied	Zulu ritualistic consumption
Identification of significant variables within the culture	Social cohesion; consumption patterns; ritualistic meaning of consumption
Literature review	To determine the most suitable area for the study
Gaining entrance	Through the person well known in the community as well as his expert knowledge in the Zulu culture
Cultural immersion	Spending time in March, April and July
Acquiring informants	Through the person well known in the community as well as his expert knowledge in the Zulu culture
Gathering data	Continuous from April to December 2016
Analysis of data	Using NVivo
Description of culture	Zulu culture as it pertains to ritualistic consumption and social cohesion
Theory development	Pro-social theory

**Table 9: Steps to Conduct Ethnographic Research (Adapted from Dellal 2012)**

### 3.3 Research Design

A research design is a detailed outline of how an investigation will take place and it is therefore a logical structure of the inquiry. Drawing from Hoellerer (2004) a research design will typically include how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means for analyzing data collected. This study adopts a theory supported by numerous researchers (Pollock 2012; Coltart (2007:37) and Kahn and Eide

(2012:27) that research design can be regarded as a framework that has been created to seek answers to research questions and refers to the structure of an enquiry. It is a logical matter rather than a logistical one. Drawing from (Noel- Weiss (2012:47) the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible. Obtaining relevant evidence entails specifying the type of evidence needed to answer the research question, to test a theory, to evaluate a programme or to accurately describe some phenomenon. In other words, when designing research, we need to ask: given this research question (or theory), what type of evidence is needed to answer the question (or test the theory) in a convincing way? Research design deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem (Yin 1989: 29).

Babikiri et al. (2011:4-5) argues that the research design is a plan, logical structure of the inquiry and strategy of investigation that is considered in obtaining the answers to research questions or problems. These notable ethnographers further argue that various research designs have been classified by being examined from three different views which include;

- *the number of contacts within the study populations;*
- *the reference period, which refers to the duration in which a study is carried out to explore a phenomenon, situation, event or problem and lastly*
- *the nature of investigation.*

The preparation of research design appropriate for this research problem involved consideration of the following:

- the type of a proper research tool to collect data which will lend itself to validity and reliability.
- the identification of a relevant population that have the cultural values, in particular similar consumption patterns of the Zulu people;
- the data analysis tool that would ensure that no relevant information is hidden

There are many types of designs and they vary from an experiment, case study, longitudinal design to cross sectional design. Kahn and Eide (2012:28) confirms that research designs have numerous research approaches used to get to the truth. They are:

- ethnographic
- grounded theory
- Inductive
- Narrative
- Sample range

Drawing from Coltart (2008:21) ethnography comprises of the following framework:

- Observation
- Field notes
- Interviews

This research lens of this study is a multi-pronged approach. It involves observation and listening to people explaining their culture is important. Since a phenomenological approach was used for this study, ethnography became my research strategy and observation. Likewise, field notes and pictures became my lens to see the link between consumption in Zulu culture and prosocial behaviour. The chapter is divided into four major sections and structured as follows: The first part reiterates the research problem and provides rationale for embarking on this study. The second part discusses and justifies the epistemological approach adopted for the study. The third part outlines the research. The final part of the chapter provides an overview of the data collection and analytical process followed for analyzing the results.

### **3.3.1 Phenomological assumption**

Schutz (1966:31) defines phenomenology as the world in which we, as human beings, experience culture and society. It enables us to take a stand with regard to their objects and which also influence us. Gregova (1996:45) distinguishes between the life world and the social world, proposing that the lifeworld consists of formal structures about which we are less explicitly aware, while the social world relates to everyday familiar actions and experiences. Essentially, the goal of phenomenology is to enlarge and deepen understanding of the range of immediate experiences (Spiegelberg 1982). Merleau-Ponty (1962: vii) suggests that the results of phenomenological enquiry should be a direct description of our experience without taking account of its psychological origin. Phenomenology therefore is a critical reflection on conscious experience, rather than subconscious motivation, and is designed to uncover the essential invariant features of that experience (Jopling, 1996).

Thompson (2005:47) argues that the basic assumption is that a person's life is a socially constructed totality in which experiences interrelate coherently and meaningfully. With regard to the process of enquiry, the phenomenologist has only one legitimate source of data, and that is the views and experiences of the participants themselves. This in itself assumes that the participant's view is taken as a fact. Furthermore, participants are selected only if they have lived the experience under study. Sampling is therefore purposive and prescribed from the start and the main instrument of data collection is the interview. Based on the above

discussion, the sampling of the population of Mophela near Hammarsdale in KwaZulu-Natal in this study was made on the basis of the participants' views and understanding of their cultural heritage and consumption patterns. The research design and approach chosen shaped the epistemological basis of the study. This section aims to create an understanding of how research methods for the study are implemented within a phenomenological or qualitative approach.

### **3.3.2 Ontological assumption**

Ontology refers to the nature of reality and human behaviour and meaning of reality as we know it (De Vos 1998:241). It is concerned with "what kind of world we are investigating, with the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such". Guba and Lincoln (1989:83) state that the ontological assumptions are those that respond to the question 'what is there that can be known?' or 'what is the nature of reality?' Drawing from Ahmed (2008:124) ontology is how one views reality, one's worldview. It is now worth identifying the ontology of the first study. This study uses an ontology which is essentially of a social world of meanings arranged in a culture of a specific people, the Zulu people. In this world, researchers have to assume that the world they investigate is a world populated by human beings who have their own thoughts, interpretations and meanings and that the whole experience is what is known as culture. In this cultural milieu each person creates his own reality which is subjective. There are universal laws and universal values that are objective. There are spiritual laws which are irrefutable. For example, all tribes and nations might not agree on the definition of a creator but all nations believe there is a Creator, Umvelinqangi. As a Zulu myself my reality is that I see my life that seeks to comply with these universal laws. As a Zulu I know I have to have respect for those that went before me. They play a crucial role in my life.

These laws are not subjective but universal. Whether one knows these laws or not, they have universal cause and effect beyond our control. The researchers' investigation of this world is clearly manifested in their use of the different research methods and techniques of the interpretive design such as interviews and analysis of documents in order to interpret meanings people give to their own every day or cultural life. Moreover, using ethnography as a methodology of the present study forces the student to experience and adopt a new lived experience, feelings and way of doing things.

This research will be testing some of these values, in particular ubuntu and pro-social behaviour. Some of the values are:

- Food has attributes with emotional and spiritual consequences
- There is more to food than just chewing and gulping down
- Paul (2008: 24) confirms that consumption patterns worsen the food crisis because higher income consumers grab such a large share of the globe's food. They consume more volume and also want products such as meat and dairy, which make heavy demands on grains and land for grazing. Drawing from Paul (2008) food cartels of the world determine the value of food before its harvested, the poor have to contend with food market prices determined by the wealthy. This makes food an economic issue.
- Our lives, migration patterns and our spirituality is related to food.
- Food is related to economy. Ross (2012:22) confirms this point that capitalists try to fix prices so that they can exploit others and increase their own profits.

This study is trying to understand how food consumption, culture and spirituality of the Zulus, as embedded in their ritualistic lives, is linked to social cohesion.

### **3.3.3 Epistemological assumption**

Epistemology is about how knowledge is constructed. Epistemology refers to the assumptions about knowledge and how it can be obtained (Ahmed: 2008:25). Epistemology is a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know. (Crotty, 2003:3). Drawing from Crotty (2003:24) it is clear that epistemology is also concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate

Drawing from Msweli (2016:24) knowledge emerges from context and literature which get tested again and again. One can construct a prescriptive deductive knowledge based on the literature. One can come up with pre-determined knowledge and compare. Knowledge is deductive, prescriptive and it is narrow and is devoid of context. It uses rich context and test predetermined truths and conclusion and is informed by question you asked. In this study there is room for epistemology and phenomenological approaches.

The epistemological stance used in the study is constructivism or social constructionism. The terms constructivism and social constructionism tend to be used interchangeably and subsumed under the generic term 'constructivism (Charmaz.2006:37). Constructivism

proposes that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes while social constructionism has a social rather than an individual focus (Young and Colin.2004:11). It is less interested if at all in the cognitive processes that accompany knowledge. Thus, meaning is not discovered, but constructed. The main reason why constructivism is the epistemological stance of the first study are as follow. The researcher is trying to find an answer to the question, “what is the link between the consumption patterns of the Zulu people from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to date and how that is linked to social cohesion”. This study seeks to explore context that cannot be accessed using structured research instruments but owned in their own heads and minds by Zulu communities and their families. In that way the researcher needs to be careful not to take a cultural practice as the only truth but must be prepared to seek the truth as he acts as a participant observer. Drawing from Andrews (2012:37) proponents share the goal of understanding the world of lived experience from the perspective of those who live in it. This study adopts an ontological view that says humans have a relationship with the earth, food and commodities. Once this relationship is disconnected there is disharmony and disorder.

The knowledge process or epistemology, is essentially part of the process of constituting a life-world known as ontology (Van der Wal 1999:77). This is done through the language of the people. Kahn (2011:32) refers to this language that carries a deep understanding of culture and experiences as linguistic epistemology. It confirms what Kahn (2011:12) says, that what people experience, they experience in terms of language. The above indicates that it is not possible to do justice to the study of people’s lives, in particular, their deep ritualistic issues without understanding their language of experience their spiritual realism and their belief systems. It is vital to be part of their lived experiences. This approach is further supported by Todres and Wheeler (2001:2) who explored what philosophical distinctions need to be incorporated in studying human experience and stated that these philosophical distinctions can be broadly approached in two areas which are, grounding: the “real life-world” as starting point as well as humanization and the language of experience.

In view of the aforementioned definitions of epistemology by the scholars, the epistemological position of this study is a qualitative approach whose origin is inductive, phenomenological, and ethnographic. Drawing from Bezuidenhout (2002: 31-33); characteristically, in terms of this inductive and constructivist approach, the relationship between the researcher and the researched is subjective, characterized by observations, interrogation, personal understanding of nature and human behaviour and in which the researcher is fundamentally is the data collection instrument of smaller group for quality purpose.

### **3.4 Study participants and sampling issues**

According to Apeyusi (2012:24); study participants may include individuals/subjects, or events that are peculiar to the study, and thus possess distinctive observable features that are of scientific value to the study being conducted. However, in an ethnographic study a few cases are followed over a year or two in order to capture all aspects related to the topic of the study in and endeavor to ensure quality. In a positivist approach, a sample refers to a segment or subset of the population selected to represent the population as a whole (Kahn, 2011:24). Researchers draw conclusions about large groups by taking a sample. A sample is usually representative of the larger population (Anon 2008:4). There are two broad types of sampling - probability and non-probability. With probability sampling, the likelihood of any one member (or element) of the population being selected, is known. In non-probability sampling, the exact number in the population is unknown with the result that the likelihood of selecting any one member of the population, is unknown. These notions of sampling are not relevant in a phenomenological study, in particular, in an ethnographic study. This is because ethnographic studies capture a depth of conscious experiences using observations, personal experiences and in-depth interactions with relevant participants.

This ethnographic study was first undertaken in the place of the Zungu clan in Estcourt, well known as the Kwa Zulu-Natal Midlands. This place is a confluence of the history of many Zulu wars since the beginning of the 17th century. However, the researcher later realized that the distance from his place of dwelling was a problem. The researcher then identified the place of Mophela near Hammarsdale as a place where this ethnographic research could be done. Mophela, is near Hammarsdale some 44 kilometres in the West of Durban (Statistics South Africa, 2016:22). People in this area still practice Zulu culture and still follow ritual consumption as old Zulu people used to. Their views of life, while affected by other cultures, still remain very traditional.

This place has a concentration of textile and nylon factories and as a result draw Zulu people from across the whole of KwaZulu-Natal and beyond. On closer scrutiny it was found that the people in this area:

- Are still steeped into the Zulu culture and rituals such following traditional weddings and other such functions in a traditional way;
- They still enjoy social support (help-seeking sought from within the indigenous community) as well a diunital views of the world (integrating elements in life and striving for balance) through food rituals



- Their history can be re-constructed by analysing imizekeliso (legends), izaga (proverbs), amahubo (songs), izithakazelo (clan-praises) and izibongo (praises).
- They value their cultural foods and relatives in and around their place of dwelling
- A lot still have rural homestead where they go back and slaughter animals
- They still believe in ancestral spirits and honour their link with the past
- However, they are also affected by the western addiction of refined, fatty, sugary, over salted foods.

In this research sampling was done on the basis of people who would have one of the mentioned ceremonies such as umshado/umgcagco (wedding), umemulo (21st birthday). This was a purposive sampling as it involved judgmental sampling that involves the conscious selection by the researcher of certain participants to include in the study (Burns and Grove 1998:25). Access to the respondents was through the researcher's full participation in the whole processor stages of the process towards holding one of the ritualistic functions as well as tasting the food allowed for the public after all the cultural issues had been done by the family. There were however, stages all times when the families made it clear the researcher or even other distant members were not allowed close to that specific ritual. The following comprises the sampled families.

- Zulu families living among other Zulu families or in their clan e.g. the Shozi clan in the KwaZulu-Natal province.
- This place was regarded as a place where people still live and practice the cultural life.
- They still follow traditional life and perform cultural rituals

The sample was purposefully selected as it was based on gatekeeper's knowledge of, and interaction with elders, traditional healers, and chiefs in their communities. Multilogical conversations, using face-to-face interviews with the custodians of Zulu culture facilitated the engagement of how indigenous knowledges are embedded in 'ways of knowing' arising from Mudaly and James (2012:27) observations, thought and cultural practices. Two men whose identities will remain anonymous served as references. Both work in the textile factories in the Hammarsdale industrial area.

They have their families in the area of Mophela (a reserve area across Mpumalanga Township), while they have their rural homesteads in rural Empangeni and Estcourt respectively. They know all cultural practices, especially food, as both of them are cooks and therefore know which Zulu or African local cuisine they sometimes cook for visitors to the

establishment. They have also earned their stripes by the fact that back in their rural location they have been regimented and know exactly how to behave and what to eat and not to eat, which rituals to follow when one slaughters for a ritual function. Drawing from Mnguni (2006:23) when people perform their rituals function, it is private and done to all the necessary details. In that way the last thing in their minds is to allow someone from outside the clan, the wider family and of another surname to be part of a research about their culture. This is partly because to succeed in their efforts the rituals must be performed accordingly, following all necessary steps and protocols. Mnguni (2006:23) continues to say that a slight mistake in ancestral rituals may anger the ancestors. For that reason, the researcher must do his homework first and make his duty to understand his participants and respect their rituals so that there is no part of the ritual done for the sake of the researcher. Mnguni (2006:21) advises that the researcher must, rather than expecting people or culture under study to fit in his plans, make an effort to fit in their plans.

Drawing from Hoeller (2000: 76) the sample size responds to the question, "How many people were surveyed" the researcher also determines how large or small the sample that is going to be interviewed is without compromising the reliability of the results. Sampling determines how the sample should be chosen. The researcher may decide to choose sample members at random from the entire population. If the researcher decides to select people who are easier to obtain information from, she would have undertaken the nonprobability sampling. When deciding on the sample, the needs of the research project determines which method is the most effective. The researcher in this study employed a simple random sampling determined by the following factors:

- Which families were about to celebrate what cultural ceremonies?
- Whether the families would allow an outsider like me to be part of the inner family discussion leading to the actual celebrations.

### **3.5 Selecting study participants**

Sampling is a procedure that a researcher uses to select a number of individuals or objects from a population to be the subject of a study. Kombo and Tromp (2006:77) note that the selected group should contain representative characteristics of the entire group, providing the typical information required for the study (Kombo and Tromp. 2006:82).

For this study the following represents the pillars of its sampling design:

- Zulu families and community who still practice the cultural rituals
- The number of these families would depend on the families who were planning either a wedding or any of the Zulu cultural rituals

Community	Place	Cultural event	Food to be eaten	Social cohesion issues	Date of data collection	Cultural rituals
Zulu clan	Estcourt	Umemulo	Goat meat, dombolo and Zulu beer	-Singing of Zulu maidens as they accompany another virgin girl  -New relationships are made	January to April 2016	-Communication with ancestors before goat is slaughtered'  -Skin wrist bangle worn by the girl
Zulu family	Mophela	Umshado	One or two beasts, beef, dombolo, rice and stew and beer	-Negotiating team establishing a lasting a permanent relationship forever	April to December 2016	-Communication with ancestors before cows and goats for various wedding process were slaughtered'  -Meat and beer served to all irrespective of whether they are related to family or not.
Zulu family	Hammar sdale	Funeral	One or two beasts, beef, dombolo, rice and stew and beer	-Neighbours, relatives and friends continually feeding the mourning family.  -People support the mourning family prior and after the funeral.	December 2016	-Communication with ancestors before cows and goats for various wedding process were slaughtered'

**Table 10 Describing participants and data collection plan (Source: author of this study)**

Johnstone (2011:26) argues that in ethnography the individual is rarely the unit of analysis. The number of individual participants involved depends on the depth of experience and knowledge of the selected study participants. A skilled ethnographer may use multiple methods in the recruiting process including using referrals, traditional leaders, traditional healers, historians and indigenous knowledge holders in the community. The different approach to sampling also means that sampling is often built into fieldwork, and refined once the researcher is on the ground collecting data. While an ethnographer will no doubt have specific participant selection parameters field notes are used to capture changes and introduced when capturing ethnographic data.

In this study the participants were selected using purposive sampling method of families who were planning to perform a Zulu cultural ritual. However, it was also important for the researcher to observe daily eating rituals. Participants were recruited on the basis of willingness to participate in the study as well as their respective knowledge of the phenomenon being researched. Drawing from Devers and Frankel (2000:64) purposive sampling strategies are designed to enhance understandings of selected individuals or group's experience or experiences or for developing theories or concepts. However, in the ethnographic study and in particular this study following a specific sampling method was not easy as much information depends on the memories of identified families who were planning for one of the Zulu cultural events where rituals were going to be performed and where social cohesion was going to be observed before and after an event. There was a challenge in finding such families, finding willing families, following the cultural processes that lead to the culmination or performance of the ritual function and lastly the possibility of not being allowed inside the families who had finally agreed for the researcher to be part of the research. For this study participant selection was an iterative dynamic process that was determined by factors pointed out above.

### **3.5.1 Sample size**

In ethnography sample size is determined by interviewing participants until reaching "data saturation". There is no agreed upon sample size that justifies data saturation. Instead, the researcher makes a judgment of data saturation when there are no new ideas emerging from interview participants. In this case the researcher had to use the key informant to identify families in Mophela in the Hammarsdale area who were planning to have any of the Zulu cultural event. The community in which such an event would take place was part of the context of social cohesion, a sub theme in the topic of study. As following one or two events presented many challenges such as those families under scrutiny following slightly varying cultural laws, it was important to stick to the one community.

### **3.5.2 Unit of analysis**

The unit of analysis is the major entity that a researcher analyses in his research. Drawing from (so and so) it is the "what" or "who" that is being studied. It could be an individual or a group or even an entire programme. Drawing from the Gett (1995:57) the unit of analysis is the major entity that the researcher is analyzing.

It may include the following:

- groups
- artifacts (books, photos, newspapers)
- geographical units (town, census tract, state)
- social interactions (dyadic relations, divorces, arrests).

The unit of analysis is an important issue to be considered to find the right answers to the research questions posed. The unit of analysis also determines the sample size. Thus, the unit of analysis is a function of the research question posed, and is an integral part of the research design. Drawing from Dellal (2012:21) the units of analysis are the smallest units that are independent of each other or the smallest units for which all possible sets are equally likely to be in the sample.

In this research the unit of analysis is families who were first Zulu in their culture. This family would be able to view cultural issues from a Zulu cosmological perspective. Secondly it was important to find their cultural context to enable the researcher a view of the pro - social behaviour and social cohesion.

Unit of analysis	Variables
Individual	Income, age, sex, attitude towards abortion
Households	Income, size, maternal status of head
Organizations	Size, number of levels
Communities	Cultural practices, religious affiliation
Nations	Population, System of government, GNP

**Table 11: Example of Unit of analysis- Quantities and qualitative (Oliver (2002))**

## 3.6 Data Issues

### 3.6.1 Data types in ethnography

There are four types of data collection used in ethnographic research

Research type	Data collection
Participant and non-participant observation	Watching or being part of a social context
Semi-structured interviews	Open and closed questions that cover identified topics
Unstructured interviews	Open question that enable free development of conversation
Collected material	Anything from artefacts to letters, books and reports

**Table 12 Types of data (Gett (1995))**

### 3.6.2 Data collection and field work

According to anon (2016:22) data in ethnographic research is often largely based on observer notes, logs, diaries, etc. Additional data may also be found in items such as published and unpublished documents, papers, books, public records, letters, photographs, videos and assorted artefacts. Fieldwork included observations, individual interviews, focus group interviews that explored holistic 'ways of knowing' through oral food histories, story-telling, anecdotes and examples of long ago and current Zulu practices. The researcher and the key informant first presented their background and the nature of their study to the custodians. From the interview questions we then proceeded to getting to know the clan's izi Bongo. The word *isibongo* refers to two terms that are etymologically distinct. (Bryant 1969:36). It can mean praise-names or clan-names providing ancestral roots. It was customary in regard to persons of quality to add their fathers, grandfathers, and many more of their ancestors as one could remember. We encountered many elders and even middle-aged people who could remember and recall their ancestry and possessed understanding of past and present rituals of consumption in the Zulu culture.

The challenge with the collection of data is that the more you have the more effort it required to analyze, and with time increasing sharply with the amount of data. Yet, anon (2016) argues more data leads to better codes, categories, theories and conclusions. What is 'enough' data is subject to debate and can well be constrained by the time and resource the researcher has available. Deciding when and where to collect data can be a critical decision. A deep analysis at one point may miss others, whilst a broad brush may miss critical minutiae. Several deep dives can be a useful method. Hellevi (2012:22) argues that in a cultural research fieldwork can be started either by entering the field without any background knowledge or by acquiring preliminary knowledge in some way. However, the quality of the relationship between the researcher and the experts of cultural knowledge is one of the cornerstones of ethnographic research. It is for this reason that the use of the gatekeeper becomes vitally important as a go between or mediator between the researcher and the community being researched. The ability to establish interactive relations with the informants, to adapt and to get used to living in the fieldwork conditions were influenced by the researcher's personal qualities.

For this study the researcher was introduced to a few families by the gatekeeper in the area of Mophela in Hammarsdale. The area of Mophela is close to the huge township of Hammarsdale. The fact that the researcher grew up in the area was a bonus. On entering the kraal gate which, unlike the Western houses, is generally a longer distance to the main house, and in keeping with the respect and protocols of the Zulu homesteads, the gatekeeper would call out the clan names of the household, even in the absence of anyone outside the hut. This would be by way of announcing our presence outside the gate.

He would mildly shout;

*Khabazela, wena kama Vovo, sibambeleniinja*

*(Khabazela of Mavovo (we are inside your premises). Please hold your dog so that it does not bite us)*

Anyone present would then come out of a hut and answer: *Ngenani ayilumi*  
*(Come in, the dog is not vicious).*

In many cases after the greetings we would be welcome into the main house, where we would sit on log stools on the right side of the hearth. The family head would then be called to listen to our reason for the visit. The gatekeeper would repeat the same greetings and immediately introduce himself and myself ensuring that the researcher's clan names of Sgomane is also known and used.

*“Lona engihamba naye u Msane, uSgomane osuka lapha e Mgungundlovu kodwa osehlala le kwela MaXhosa. Kodwa njengoba kuthiwa ukufunda akukhulelwa, usafuna ukuzothakasela ulwazi la ngama siko esiZulu, ikakhulukazi izindlela amaZulu axhumanisa ngayo ukudla okudliwa kuqondaniswa nabaphansi, nokuthi loko kuthelala kanjani ezinhlanhleni nokuhlalisana kahle esizweni”. Ngakho ke bo Khabazela ubecela ukuba nimvumele abe yingxenye yemigubho njengoba sizwa ukuthi niyashadisa ngo Khisimuzi. Uyofika nje azibike kuwe bese nimnika umuntu owazi kahle ngamasiko alapha kwa Khabazela. Sobonga uma evumeleka.*

*This is Msane, Sgomane from eMgungundlovu but he presently lives in the Eastern Cape. Like the saying goes that education only stops at the burial site, he is on a study mission about the Zulu cultures, in particular the way the Zulu people link ritual food to social cohesion and social cohesion. If agreed, he will present himself to you during the preparation of the said wedding and request to ask some questions and observe some rituals without disturbing you. We hope he will be welcome. Usually the man of the house would listen and answer that “this is a difficult matter” (inzima lendaba enize ngayo) and that he would still discuss this request with the members of his family and will revert back to the gatekeeper. Contact numbers would be exchanged and then either other matters of common interest would be discussed or we would be let on our way, with the man ensuring that he escorts out of the gate, to close it before the neighbouring cattle come to finish off his harvest.*

It was very important not only to visit numerous times to the sources of information but to remain in touch and win complete confidence of the source of information. This may take more years than planned for the study. Getting concern is an issue in the traditional communities as it is only important and identified members of the family, sometimes identified in a family meeting or through an inherited hierarchical and patriarchal arrangement that one male member of the family is chosen as the guide and the one who leads the cultural and ritual procedures and protocols when a ritual is performed. Mnguni (2006:6) confirm that Zulu people always seek advice from their elders before they commit themselves to something. When a lobola negotiator comes, the family head simply does not accept the offer straight away, but sometimes ask the lobola negotiator to come back on the agreed date. This gives him time to inform his brothers, relatives and friends so that they can be present on the day.

The researcher attended a few negotiation consultations aimed at concluding preparations for the umemulo of one family. “Informant 1” was going to host a big function towards the end of 2016 to give his two daughters a rite of passage (ukukhulisa izintombi zakhe ezimbili). It was a privilege to be allowed in this meeting where discussions took place regarding the number



of goats to be slaughtered and all the cultural details of how the Zulu function would be held. At one time the researcher was asked to leave the house as deep family issues were discussed.

Matters that were discussed were:

- a. Which among the sisters would dance first in public after her virginity had been confirmed on the same date by the elder lady?
- b. Why the second daughter would not be celebrated? It turned out that there are three daughters to the Participant C1's family and the middle one had already borne a child out of wedlock. Her loss of virginity culturally deprives her of the status of a pure maiden and as a result deprives her of the rite of passage to womanhood.
- c. The date and other cultural logistics such as who would slaughter the goats.
- d. The researcher spent many days interviewing and interacting with the communities being researched. The following sequences the planning stages in March 2016.
- e. Attended a community event where there was umemulo/ coming of age of a girl. Having requested through Informant 2 who is a local person and who grew up in the area, the researcher was allowed by the gatekeeper to interview and observe the event as it was taking place. The following was observed:
- f. There is a "control room" of the elders who keep things in check, gives direction and are consulted for key decisions
- g. This control room allows the audience community to observe a well organised event not knowing that the control room or back room managers are dictating cultural protocol
- h. Sometimes there is a huge disagreement on cultural protocol, for example, what should happen and who should or is allowed to do whatever.
- i. While this disagreement might lead to a division or anger that leads to other members leaving the event in anger, this is usually corrected through an intervention by a highly respected family member after which members of the family try and work together so that the ancestors would not be upset. Nel (2007:74) argues that for the African the question of ancestry is understood in terms of community rather than in the context of individualism.

The data was collected through the interviews with four cultural homesteads, about 10 of the spokesperson of these households and 10 other local people who lived or were born in the area. This was done to triangulate the information or cultural facts or ritualistic meaning given by the spokesperson of the households which were going to hold a cultural event such as a wedding or umemulo. Respondents were assured of anonymity and confidentiality of their

responses. They were also assured that there was no harm or physical tests that would be administered on them. For this research questions interview was planned as no other types would have yielded any significant responses. However, with semi structured questions, they had to be asked without a paper and a pen as rural community people tend to be suspicious of someone who first request to be taken into confidence and be part of the culture and then is seen writing and even taking photographs. While (as seen from the questions above) there are English and Zulu questions of the same interpretation the questions were asked in a simple language and style.

As an ethnographer the researcher spent a considerable amount of time with the sampled representatives. For this study sampled representatives would be those families who were planning one of the cultural ceremonies such as a Zulu wedding process or umemulo and who agreed to be interviewed and allowed the researcher to be part of the research. Fieldwork in cultural research can be started either by entering the field without any background knowledge or by acquiring preliminary knowledge in some way. It is important to note that for the ritual to take place there is a very long process that may take a few months to years. For instance, in the old Zulu practice, for the young man to get married would have started much earlier than the actual preparation of the wedding. (Mnguni (2007:54) confirms that as soon as the suitor had been formally accepted by the new girlfriend or maiden, he would then be released by his father to go and work for “izinkomo zelobolo” (lobola cattle) as his father would not pay for his son to get a wife. He needed to have a sense of achievement and that was regarded as a sign that if he could work for ilobolo he would work hard to raise his family and look after his wife. Paying for a sons’ ilobolo would be tantamount to spoiling the young man who would be then feigned by his equals.

### **3.6.3 Tools for Data Collection**

The interview questions had already been translated into Zulu and had to be led by the researcher, sometimes, without the paper in hand so that there is no suspicion that the answers were meant for something sinister. Interview schedules which were developed and tested before the actual interviews took place, were used as tools for data collection because the interviewer had to interact with the respondents and clarify complicated issues while keeping the atmosphere as relaxed as possible. The researcher has recorded this information in both Zulu and English so that Zulu speakers can access information in the original language. I have also recorded it in English so that non-Zulu speakers can access the information. In the English text, I have inserted the significant Zulu

terms repeatedly in the hope that non-Zulu speakers will know these terms by the time they have completed reading the thesis.

No.	English Interview Questions	Zulu Interview Questions
1.	What is the ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology?	Kubaluleke ngani ukwenza ukudla ngokwesiko lesi Zulu?
2.	Which cultural rituals do you practise in ritual ceremonies?	Yimaphi amasiko owenzayo aphathelene nemicimbi yesintu?
3.	Are there social implications for not following cultural rituals associated with ritual ceremonies?	Ngabe kukhona okungumphumela omubi owenzeka emphakathini uma amasiko ahlangele nemicimbi yesintu engenziwa?
4.	What are those social implications	Ngabe yimiphi leyo miphumela?

**Table 13 Interviewing questions (Prepared for the data collection (24 May 2017))**

During the fieldwork process, data were collected in several different ways, which is typical of ethnographic research by observing, discussing, interviewing, listening and reading. Data collection included being present, joining people in their daily routines and participating in their celebrations and other leisure time activities. The families performing and celebrating one or the other cultural event were experts in the ritualistic consumption and the social cohesion of a community.

The following represents the dates on which the researcher visited and spent times with the community under observation:

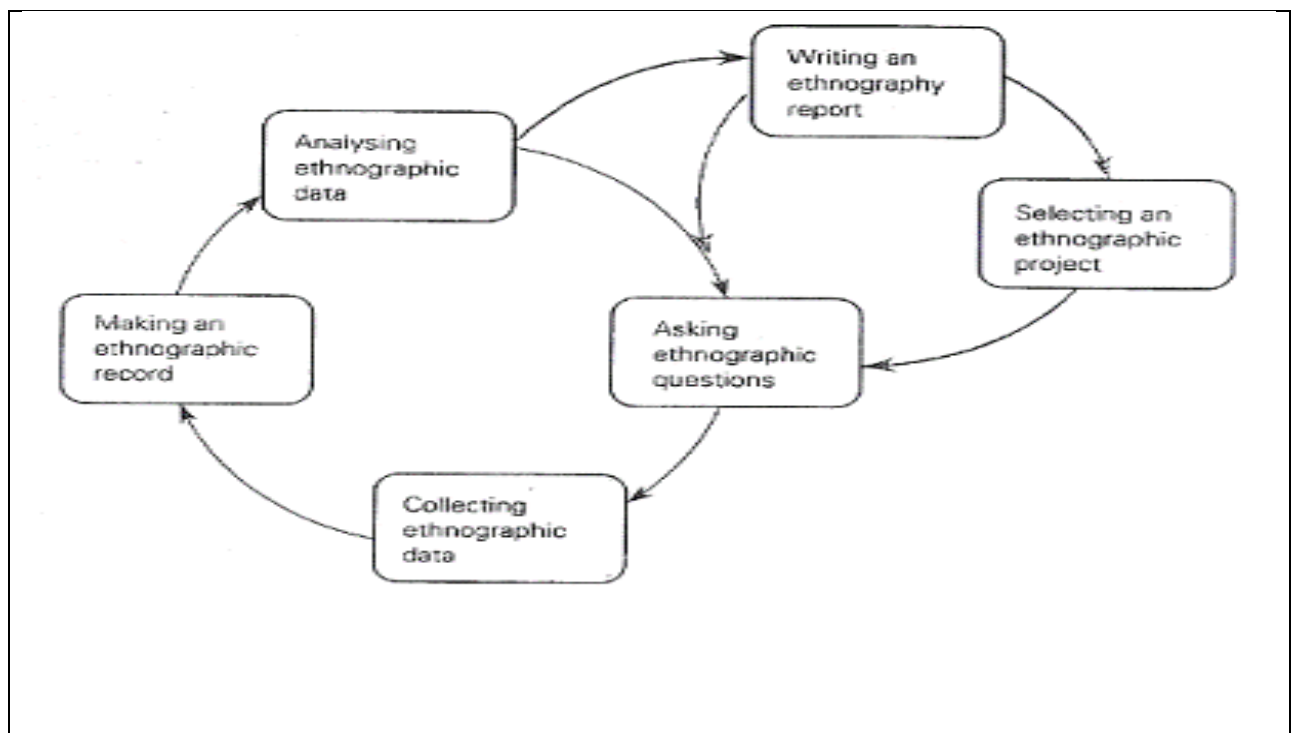
Dates	Event
23-24 March 2016	Observing the daily food rituals before the day of Umabo
24 March 2016	Part of the family last rites before the day of Umabo on 25 March 2016
25 March 2016	The day of umabo held at Mpumalanga township.

**Table 14 Dates of data collection (Oliver (2002))**

### 3.6.4 Data analysis

Data analysis involves examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating the coded data and reviewing the raw and recorded data. (Neuman 2003). Data analysis in this research is also closely related to the way the data was collected. The three-stage process proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994:34) was also adopted including:

- 1) data reduction
- 2) data display and
- 3) conclusion forming and verification.



*Figure 1 Flowchart showing process of data analysis (Zotero:201)*

Drawing from Hoeller (2007:45) analysis of data includes consideration of all "multi-layered and interrelated contexts. The depth and breadth of a culture for this study meant that questions had to poke for answers of what the Zulu people used to do for centuries. In a sense this is a tall order for people who only live in their own generation but culture is people's history, and as such, it stretches to time immemorial. Drawing from Hoeller (2007:16) the important element of analysing and presenting data is reflexivity as well as the acknowledgment that every form of social research is, as society itself, impermanent and ever-changing.

## **Use of NVivo as a data analytic tool**

Data analysis involves examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing, and contemplating the coded data and reviewing the raw and recorded data in a qualitative data (Hutchison et al. (2010: 288). Beekhuyzen et al (2010:53) argues that, the goals of qualitative research are not to 'measure' something but rather to understand fully the meaning of phenomena in context and to provide thick accounts of phenomena under scrutiny. One important step in qualitative research analysis is coding, which "involves linking, breaking up and disaggregating the data so that once coded, the data look different, as they are seen and heard through the category rather than the research event.

In the light of the above explanation, although there are other analysis software packages, NVivo was deemed relevant for data analysis in this ethnographic study. The NVivo was used to analyze responses, store information such as video clips, pictures, rich text, pdf, interview transcripts, audio files, videos, digital photos and other forms of information useful for qualitative research and contain a bank of useful and usable information. According to) the essence of NVivo is embedded in the notion that, NVivo is instrumental to the enhancement of the qualitative research process, swift process queries and may lead to the expansion of analytical avenues prior to its use, which are appropriate for qualitative purposes. Drawing from Bazeley (2002: 241); the advantages NVivo is further beneficial to the researchers whose approach is mixed methods in the sense that, it is versatile and user friendly and consequently it allows for the reincorporation of the results of matrix searches deep into coding profiles. NVivo doesn't favor a particular methodology. It is designed to facilitate common qualitative techniques for organizing, analyzing and sharing data—no matter what method you use.

## **How was NVivo for this study?**

### **Step 1**

#### **Importing documents**

NVivo has an "import" function that enables the researcher to import documents, pictures, video clips and any other forms of saved information, saved anywhere in the computer whether to be imported so that it can be filed, analyzed and used for qualitative data analysis. In view of the above, the researcher in this study imported all literature survey documents, videos and pictures taken at the cultural events.

## **Step 2**

### **Coding**

Coding is both a way of driving data into manageable segments as well as a means of allowing quick access to the relevant data when needed (Gett.1995:11). Drawing from Beekhuizen (2010:16), coding, if done well, “is the way you monitor occurrences of data about your ideas and the way you test them. It makes resilient links between data and ideas, links that you can trace back to find where particular ideas came from and what data are coded there, to justify and account for the interpretation of the ideas” (Morse and Richards, 2002:17). Coding needs to be a systematic process to ensure the data is treated equally. However, coding strategies adopted for qualitative data analysis are rarely documented in detail. Maxwell (2005: 96) presents a useful strategy for qualitative data analysis, details of which are covered in this section.

He argues that the initial step in qualitative analysis is “reading the interview transcripts, observational notes” and any other documents relevant to the study. The transcription process itself can be used for initial analysis, with the analyst recording notes or memos while transcribing. These initial notes can be used to formulate categories and themes, and help to begin to think about relationships between them. According to Maxwell (2005: 96), the researcher has a number of analytical options falling into three categories: (1) memos, (2) categorizing strategies, and (3) connecting strategies. Maxwell (2005:23) strongly argues that qualitative research is more than coding (categorizing), and that most researchers informally use other strategies as well, they just do not emphasize them in their writing. Examples of these strategies include reading and thinking about the transcripts and observation notes, writing memos, developing and evolving coding categorizations and applying these themes to the data, analyzing narrative structure, and building contextual relationships between themes in the data. Agreeing with Maxwell, it is proposed that these are all important strategies for data analysis and the following section presents these as a systematic approach to data analysis.

Beekhuizen (2010:13) proposes useful advice for planning, categorizing and separating the process into three categories (although it is important to note that these categories are iterative):

1. Organizational – Descriptive coding
2. Substantive – Topic coding
3. Theoretical – Analytical coding

In view of the above, this researcher opened various nodes to code the information. These were:

- Foods eaten by the Zulu people for cultural rituals
- Pictures of events
- Frequently mentioned words node
- Factors that contribute to social cohesion
- Cultural rituals linked to social cohesion.

### **Step 3**

#### **Connecting Strategies**

Connecting strategies build upon the memos and categorization strategies discussed so far. Once the data is 'fractured' to a level that is deemed satisfactory (i.e. that nodes adequately hold all ideas about a concept), connecting analysis "attempts to understand the data in context, using various methods to identify the relationships among the different elements of the text" (Maxwell 2005:98). This is the process of reconstructing a model of the data as mentioned earlier, with such strategies looking for "relationships that connect statements and events within a context into a coherent whole" (2005:98). Analysis strategies need to be compatible with the research questions being asked, and Maxwell argues that connecting strategies are necessary for building theory, a primary goal of analysis (2005: 98). Specialized software like NVivo are designed to help with the process of abstraction (Morse and Richards, 2002: 140), and Morse and Richards argue that software can make a considerable contribution at the early stages of abstracting.

In view of the above the researcher brought together and created relationships between what he had observed through pictures, video clips and compared or triangulated that with the narration of some key informants. This allowed him to develop some models which show relationships e.g between cultural foods and normal everyday foods, western cooked food and Zulu cultural cooked food e.g the picture of idombolo and meat cooked by men in a Zulu cultural event without using any cooking oil as in a western oil cooking or using societies

### **Step 4**

#### **Focus group**

The researcher chose a focus group of 3 more people around Hammarsdale to act as a reference group and clarify certain points which might not have been made clear at the observation-participant sessions. All the verbal interactions together with the pictures of the sitting of the focus groups are put in the "cross tabulation node"

### **Step 5 (Last step)**

A relationship node was also created in order to make connections as the researcher analyses all the data.

### **Informed consent and confidentiality**

Participation for the right to observe and interview was sought before the study was undertaken. The nature, objectives and the length of the research to be undertaken would be explained. There were no foreseeable risks or discomforts that were going to be experienced by the participants. Participants would be given a statement describing the extent of confidentiality. Participants were given statements that participation was voluntary and that refusal to participate involved no penalty or loss of benefits to which the respondent was otherwise entitled, and the respondent may discontinue participation at any time without penalty (Dusick 2014:44).

### **3.6.5 Limitations (optional)**

The distance between the researcher and his study population was a big limitation in that the researcher could not spend a lot of time with the chosen population without quickly using up his study budget. Secondly the fact that consumption rituals had to be linked to specific cultural functions which is planned by a family or families which may take many years beyond the scope of the research meant that the researcher relied heavily on the word of mouth to close the gaps of practical information.e.g. mainly on some of the days when the researcher could not attend either the planning or the execution of the plan e.g. a wedding.

### **3.6.6 Validity and reliability / trustworthiness (qualitative research)**

Validity is concerned with the accuracy of scientific findings while reliability is concerned with the replicability of scientific findings, (LeCompte, and Preissle: 2015:33). Establishing validity requires determining the extent to which conclusions effectively represent empirical reality and assessing whether constructs devised by researchers represent or measure the categories of human experience that occur. Krishnaswamy et al. (2009:22), argue that the usual procedure in assessing the content validity of a measure is to use a professional or an expert in a particular field. To establish the validity of the research instrument, opinions of experts in the field of study, especially the research supervisor, were sought. These authors note that this aspect can be assessed using the test-retest reliability. However, the issues of reliability and validity in this type of research may be problematic as the ritualistic meaning of food in different



ethnic groups might not be the same. Proving validity and reliability in an ethnographic study may prove difficult, especially because there are many cultural pitfalls such as language, sensitivity and protection of family and cultural information by each family and clan. If the researcher is not careful, he may end up with rich but irrelevant information. Nel (2007:26) argues that indiscriminate and culturally insensitive translation of words result in surveys measuring different meanings and connotations than intended. In order to render surveys valid, the production of surveys must entail careful consideration for cultural terms with particular consideration of local socio-lingual peculiarities, for example in Zulu an 'uncle' is *my mother's brother* while in the Western culture it means *my father's brother*.

In view of the above discussion this researcher undertook to do the following to ensure validity and reliability. He consulted with the gatekeepers and various cultural communities in the areas identified for the study before the collection of actual data. Part of this consultations was conducted in the preliminary visits to establish a relationship of trust. Secondly, the researcher would examine previous research findings to assess the degree to which this study results would be congruent with those of the past. The researcher frequently visited the Kylie Campbell library in Durban and other archival centres such as Mazisi Kunene collection which house Zulu history. He would also be visiting more centres such as Keats Drift to gather preliminary and scientific information. Iterative questioning will be used to dig deeper into the truth. The researcher used probes to elicit detailed data through rephrasing the questions. Falsehoods would be detected where contradictions emerge, and should that happen, the researcher would decide to discard the suspect data. There would be frequent debriefing sessions between the researcher and his steering groups. These meetings provided a sounding board for the researcher to test the research tool. The last tool was peer debriefing where I engaged in an ongoing discussion with the supervisor and other colleagues during the research process.

### **3.6.7 Anonymity and confidentiality**

The researcher ensured that no invasive actions was done during the process of observing the cultural practice under observation. All gadgets such as the camera and voice recorders was declared. No personal details were used and all personal information was deleted. Additionally, the researcher was respected all protocol agreed as part of the agreement of research. The researcher was approached, discussed and ensured that he got approval to be part of any ritual under observation. The researcher complied with the principle of respect. Anonymity was ensured by removing all names of people who were part of the ritual under study and referred to them as "participant C1, participant C2" up to participant 10 respectively.

### **3.6.8 Ethical consideration**

Conducting of research requires not only the expertise and diligence, but also honesty and integrity. This is done to recognize and protect the rights of human subjects. To render the study ethical, the rights to self-determination, anonymity, confidentiality and informed consent will be observed. The researcher had a moral obligation to strictly consider the rights of the informants who were expected to provide this knowledge (Streubert and Carpenter 1999:44). The researcher considered it very important to establish trust between the informants and herself and to respect them as autonomous beings thus enabling them to make sound decisions (Burns and Grove 1998:104; Polit and Hungler 1999:33-38; Streubert and Carpenter 1999:44). The researcher obtained permission to conduct the study from the relevant authorities and respected the informants' rights to confidentiality, anonymity and privacy and to withdraw from the study at any time.

### **3.6.9 Right to Withdraw**

The research participants were given permission to withdraw from participating in the study if they so wished without being prejudiced. Their rights were explained to them prior to engagement in the research, before the interview period (Morse and Field 1998:121). Participants must be informed throughout the study about the voluntary nature of participation in research and about the possibility of withdrawing at any stage (Holloway and Wheeler 1996:43).

### **3.6.10 Limitations and Future Research**

Accessing crucial and private family traditional information is not easy. This information is in the peoples' heads and tend to disappear with the passing of a generation without it ever being recorded. Likewise, in this study collecting data depended much on literature survey, gained valuable but not exhaustive information from the observation sessions. Secondly winning the confidence of the people is hard and had to be treated with much care and patience. There are several avenues for future research, some of which are made evident by the limitations of this study. A study on the health value of the herbs eaten by the Zulu people for various reasons would be of assistance in understanding whether they were really healthy or something else contributed to their social cohesion.

### **3.6.11 Conclusion**

This chapter described the research methodology, including the population, sample, data collection instruments as well as strategies used to ensure the ethical standards, reliability and validity of the study. It introduced new theories such as epistemology, ontology and phenomenology. After data collection it showed how observation information, information from key informants, video and photos were used in the data analysis NVvo software package. This chapter indicated the aspect of an ethnographic data collection method. Data collection in ethnography is longitudinal in nature, allowing the researcher to observe and record changes over time. It gives an insider's view of reality (Sangasubana: 2011:24). Ethnographic research uses three nodes of research which (a) observation, (b) interviewing and archival research. It differs from other qualitative designs in that other than fully dependent on the quality, validity and reliability of instrument, as in a qualitative study, it draws from both the researcher and the participant's culture and a way of life. What the participant says is additional or fills the gap of what the researcher feels or sees.

In that way ethnographic research differs to other qualitative design because it provides deep insightful data that would otherwise be left out or not expressed in any other way. Any other qualitative design tool would not allow the interpretation of actions, e.g. singing of the Zulu men as opposed to singing of the Zulu young girls. Ethnographic design tool allows detailed and rich database for further investigation and writing (Sangubana: 2011:42). Reliability in ethnography depend on what others tell them; therefore, credibility of the source of information needs to be assessed whereas in qualitative design reliability and validity separate the empirical from non-empirical study.

Therefore, ethnographic research uses in-depth interviews, semi structured interviews and focus groups to clarify and triangulate certain points in understanding of a cultural experience. The amount of time spent interacting and living the life of an observer-participant by the researcher enable him to develop a relationship with people who might become his focus groups or provide him with in depth knowledge. However, ethnography field work lacks the level of structure and control found in laboratory settings or purely qualitative design that may help ensure objectivity (Sangubana: 2011:22). In ethnography the issue of population and sampling are approached differently from the approaches of other qualitative design. Calculation of the sample size is difficult as it depends on the varying demographics of a particular area, for example, choosing Zulu families who still practice the cultural rituals and cultural eating patterns may present a problem. Applying a purely statistical tool to determine the sample size might be detrimental to the objectives of the study. In ethnographic study the

population and sampling issues are approached differently. The focus is on select knowledge holders within communities/households and to use a variety of data collection instruments such as observations, imagery, in-depth interviews longitudinally, etc. This Chapter will therefore include semi structured interviews and focus groups to ensure that hidden or deeply ritualized processes such as trancing, singing and different dance moves or sayings by the Zulus are fully understood for the purposes of triangulation and analysis of data.

## CHAPTER 4 – PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

### 4.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter 3, this study takes a multi-pronged approach that combines observation and experiencing people living to construct new knowledge on consumption patterns and social cohesion. The epistemological basis of the study as explained in Chapter 3, was phenomenology, with ethnography as the foundation of the study. It was not always easy to gain access into the background of cultural rites of each family as these rites are regarded as sacred and private by each clan and family.

#### **Why observation of consumption patterns in the cultural rituals of the Zulus?**

In Chapter 2 the study discovered and dwelt much on the importance of two issues very close to the heart and life of the Zulus, their land and their cattle. One of the participants, if not the main participant, Mr Participant C1, emphasized this by saying:

*Zintathu izinto indoda engumZulu engazifela. Yizwe, abafazi kanye nezinkomo. Impi Yase Sandlwana yaqhathwa wukuthi amaNgisi ayefuna ukuba iNkosi uCetshwayo ahlawule ngezinkomo ezingamakhulu ayisithupha ngoba ephule umyalelo wawo.*

*There are three things a Zulu man can die for. It's the land, women and cattle. The Battle of Isandlwana started because the British wanted to punish King Cetshwayo by paying 600 cows just because he broke one of their laws.*

*Izinkomo ziyafelwa. Ngesikhathi saMakhosi akudala. oNdaba, oJama, oShaka, oSenzangakhona, oDingane, oMpande, oCetshwayo, noDinuzulu abantu bebehlaselwa bephucwe izinkomo zabo, abanye beshiywe bedindilizile. Kudindwe izililo izwe lonke*

*Cattle are to die for. During the reign of old kings such as Ndaba, Jama, Senzangakhona, Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Dinuzulu, people were attacked and their cattle taken away. Some were left dead. The whole nation would wail for the dead.*

The life of the Zulus past and present revolve mainly on the two issues mentioned above. In the course of history where the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts took away the rights from Black Africans to occupy land in South Africa, they could still have cattle stock. However, this was still a clever trick, for having cattle depended on the right to have land. Without land one was limited in the number of cattle one could have. Hence these cattle were sold to the Whites who now owned the land. However, the Zulu man could not divorce his life from owning and using the cows and goats to communicate to his ancestors. Krige (1976:33) says, "Best of all food the Zulu loves his meat"

### **In Zulu**

*Ujeqe, isitambu, ubhatata, amadumbe kanye nokunye konke kungukudla  
kodwa angeke uzwe kukhulunywa ngakho njalo njalo njengenyama*

### *Translation in English*

*Dumplings, samp, sweet potatoes and amadumbe and other foods is important.  
However, you will not hear people talk about it as much as meat.*

The cattle ownership is at the centre of the Zulu man's life. Hence there is no tracing of consumption pattern without looking at the dynamism of cattle and land ownership and its ritualistic meaning. Hence food is a cultural symbol linked to its main source whether land or meat.

For this observation, it was easy to see people eating for instance meat, but who, what and why they were eating it needed someone to explain. That was a difficult part as no one wanted to eat and explain at the same time. In order to show respect and allow people to eat in peace, the interview relating to the processes that led to the eating pattern became necessary and very important after the fact. These rites are the cultural strength of each family and clan and it is rare to be allowed either to sit in the decision making of even family meetings. It was necessary to organize interviews outside each cultural event where the interviewee is not seen as betraying a specific set of family cultural rites. It is against this background that the following interviewees became important in filling the gap of knowledge and tie many loose ends. Field notes and pictures became my lens to see the link between consumption in Zulu culture and prosocial behaviour.

This Chapter provides an overview of the data collection and I record the observations as well as interviews I conducted to fill the gaps in my field research. Note-taking or tape recording during meetings would be inappropriate, so excerpts presented as quotations from observations reconstructions taken from notes I wrote up after each day to capture while fresh the events of the day. However, I believe the reconstructions to be fairly close to the original, and I have tried to both capture what was said and the contours of how it was said.

I have recorded the information in both Zulu and English so that Zulu speakers can access the information in the original language in the English text, I have inserted e significant Zulu t erms repeatedly in the hope that non-Zulu speakers will know these terms by the time they have completed reading the thesis. I record the information under the names of each of the participants in this study, together with information about each of the participants. In some instances, the participants were also able to give me their oral genealogy (izithakazelo), and their personal naming patterns (isihasho). I have included these where I had access to them. I have done this to demonstrate that the oral tradition is holistic, and the parts are separated to the detriment of the wholeness of the knowledge.

## **4.2 Types of data collection and profile of respondents**

### **4.2.1 Observations**

I will first explain what happened at the two focused events where I observed the cultural consumption rituals and types of food eaten and associated with various deep Zulu cultural rituals. Each cultural event e.g wedding is made up of various stages that take months or years. Therefore, proper observation had to include all or some of these stages in the life of a cultural event.

Type	Place/Name	Occasion	Dates
Observation	Estcourt	Umemulo/coming of age ceremony	February –May 2016
Observation	Mophela	Wedding/Umshado	June to December 2016
Observation	Hammarisdale	Funeral/umngcwabo	December 2016

**Table 15 Observation Data**

Type	Place/Name	Dates	Age	Question responded to
Participant 01	C1	February 2016 to February 2017	71	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology?</li> </ul>
Participant 02	C2	November 2016	67	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the rituals that go with the slaughtering for Zulu cultural rituals</li> </ul>
Participant 03	C3	December 2016	75	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What did the Zulu people used to eat and how that contributed to social cohesion?</li> </ul>
Participant 04	C4	January 2016	39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are those social implications?</li> <li>Which cultural rituals do you practice in ritual ceremonies?</li> </ul>
Participant 05	C5	February 2016	59	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How important is social cohesion in Zulu?</li> </ul>
Participant 06	C6	April 2017	57	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology</li> </ul>
Participant 07	C7	January 2017	46	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What did the Zulu people used to eat?</li> </ul>
Participant 08	C8	January 2017	54	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What is the connection between land and cattle keeping in the Zulu culture</li> </ul>
Participant 09	C9	February 2017	61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the social implications for not eating the way the Zulu people used to do?</li> </ul>
Participant 10	C 10	February 2017	47	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Where did the Zulu people go wrong and what can be done to correct the situation?</li> </ul>



## **Table 16 Participants have been coded to protect their identity**

### **4.2.1.1 1<sup>st</sup> Observation: Umemulo – Estcourt**

I spent two weeks in Estcourt observing the eating pattern that I divided into two types.

- a. The normal eating patterns of the Zulu people
- b. The pre-ritual event eating patterns – the event being Umemulo or coming of age

I got connected to the family which was going to have Umemulo (coming-of-age) early in December 2016. The gate keeper who had negotiated my participation in some of the pre-events had stressed to them that they had a right to involve me or otherwise if they feel insecured they could limit access to some cultural and not all cultural exposure. This December meeting meant to secure the place in the (1) family negotiations (togetherness) and discussions as they prepare for the Umemulo (coming-of-age) to be held on Easters.

The first meeting of the family was chaired by *uMalume wentombazane* (her uncle) since her father had already passed away some years past. In the meeting were also her older and younger brother, her grandmother and later on her mother would also be invited. Before this meeting started a goat was slaughtered to introduce the girl and these discussions. I was asked to get out when they went with the goat inside to perform a ritual of dedication. The goat had been given the Zulu beer in a cup. However, the family were kind enough to explain to me that they had just dedicated the goat to the ancestors and that they could begin with the discussion to prepare for the upcoming event. It was noticeable that even though *uMalume* kept complaining that the bottled beer had not been bought for that day, he had to drink only Zulu beer. At the discussion where the date of Umemulo (coming-of-age) was chosen, it was made clear that not only the girl in question but four other people in the family had to abide by the rules in order to appease *amadlozi*. A few days before the day of Umemulo (coming-of-age) another goat was sacrificed and an *isangoma* came to sprinkle the whole yard with water mixed with some. The girl in question had been sat down a number of times to be taught about being a Zulu girl, woman and mother. For the whole week the girl who was turning 21 years old was referred to as *umakotshana* or bride. She sat in her room and was not allowed out as the bridesmaids assisted her with everything she needed. On Friday afternoon the girl was presented with a beast. This beast would be slaughtered for the food to be provided the following day. After welcoming her cow, they sung and danced after which event, returned to the room. Spirits were very high all around the yard as potential husband's and the family boys slaughter the cow. After the beast was slaughtered the girl was called outside to be given a skin wrist bangle which she would show off as she sings and dance the following day. I found that every single part of the cow part of the cow has a part to play in the ceremony. After

slaughtering the cow fat was wrapped around the bride on the day of the ceremony. I was also told that fat must not at any point or circumstances break, because this is a sign that the girl is no longer a virgin. The other parts of the cow are used for deeper, private traditional rituals. e.g some parts were buried in the ground and other burnt. Beer and meat was always there while more was being prepared for the day.

On the actual day which was a Saturday in April I was allowed to be part of what I ended up calling “control room” of power. This was an ‘organising committee’ which consisted of the Grand mother of the girl and the uncle. This invisible team controlled and oversaw all processes of the event. There was no written programme but instructions were given through this committee. I had to remind myself that my interest was in what people were eating and why they ate it. My gatekeeper told me that all the meat eaten here would not be removed from this yard. As the girl and her bridesmaid had slept by the river she came amidst ululating and welcome ceremony. She threw the spear inside the yard which was picked up by her elder brother. Various clan dance groups came from all directions to dance and eat meat to celebrate a stage reached without being impure. The whole community welcomed her by joining the family to drink traditional sorghum beer and eat beef. After that she was given gifts of money that was put all around her head gear. I was told this was also a perfect opportunity for a young man with cows to propose marriage.

This symbolism of virginity that is rewarded with a cow continues to be recognized even at the wedding point where if she continues to be a virgin until she gets married her mother gets an extra cow, the eleventh cow. What also struck me is how such a private matter in the Western sense is a community issue and community pride in the Zulu culture. I came back on Sunday early enough to see people streaming back to this homestead where the event had taken place. They were again given meat and sorghum beer. I also noticed that despite some members of the family who had been against any other beer except sorghum beer, the fermented beer and whisky and Brandy were flowing easily. I was told that had this function happen in the township I would have seen two types of meals and alcoholic beverages. Over and above the boiled meat and dumplings, there would have also served curry and rice as well as desserts, all of which was not served at Estcourt. I would also have found that there was more fermented beer, whisky and brandy than the Zulu beer. However, both ways meat and beer brought laughter and people together. In the early evening of the eventful day there was still a lot of people, many of them appreciating how beautiful the event had been and raising their voices as they complained about how many girls get pregnant early in their teens some asking the chief who was present to call a meeting of all school going girls so that old women of the place would warn them about the dangers of getting pregnant when they are

still young and diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Beer and meat voices were raised. There was singing of the clan songs and performance of the Zulu ukusina became the order of the day against dusty sunset. I spent another two days after the first observation when I noticed that quite a few members of the family I had begun to know actually were part of the extended family and began to leave back to their families after a week or two after the event. In the spirit of solidarity and social cohesion. After the meat was finished this house went back to eating amasi, imifino and *umbila* (maize).

#### **4.2.1.2 2<sup>nd</sup> observation Function: Wedding at Mophela near Hammarsdale**

- The ritual eating patterns
- History

I was introduced to this second family also by Participant C1 where their son Dumisani (pseudonym) had already started negotiation plans for his upcoming wedding. As there are numerous and protracted cultural processes and rituals to go through, a lot of which involved consumption of some sorts e.g. beer thrown down on the floor, beer left at umsamo, prayers done as that beer is done, goat taken to umsamo to be sacrificed and words and messages said to the idlozi before the goat is killed, it was important that I remain focused on the ritualistic meaning of consumption patterns. I was allowed to take part in the pre-main events and some of its rituals and how and which food was served and for what purpose. I and other people who attended were served tea, food and beer at different times of the visit without due regard to costs and rank of people visiting. I had requested to be part of the bride negotiating team. However, I had been warned that writing or pictures or recording of such events was a foreign concept and would not be welcome in the bride's side. It helped that the groom- to- be, Dumisani, was my relative and understood my quest for this kind of information. I also offered that my car be used and buy beer for the team to have a sip early in the morning on our way to ukukhonga (to begin the process of negotiation for a bride).

On the day of ukukhonga it was cold and drizzling. We left at 4.25 in the morning and participant C1 was our leader. Customarily not only the bride to be but her mother as well knew about our abakhongi team coming but the father usually is the last one to know. After calling from outside for close to an hour, citing how many cows we were committing to pay for umakoti, we were ushered in where the negotiation began. At about 8 am the first source of food was brought in and it was meat. This was followed by cakes and cold beverages. As staggered negotiations continued, amidst caucuses and consultations held outside the main

negotiations, more beer (homemade and bottled beer) was brought in. At lunch time meat and dumplings were brought in. At about 3 pm some of our negotiating team members under the influence. There was singing outside which was celebrating the success of the first lobola negotiations and a lot of ululating and dancing for the end of the day of ukukhonga.

### **The on the day-of-the- events consumption pattern**

There were many other events that preceded the wedding day to which I was not invited. It would also have been impossible for me to attend them because of distance and the fact they were not relevant or were repetitive for the study. This included Umbondo which forms a very important part of the wedding processes, without which a Zulu traditional wedding is not complete. Also I would need to have two other research assistant as there would be certain rituals that would be performed at the bride's side before they all meet in church. As I was closely related to the groom I continued to observe the food rituals on his side. Participant C1, Negotiators had gathered to eat a goat meat slaughtered on a Wednesday prior to the wedding day. The cow was slaughtered a day before the wedding day. Men were given the foreleg (*umkhono*) to be barbacued in the kraal. After that, singing took place and people marched back to the main house. A big calabash full of Zulu beer will be given to the community members. If the beast was part of the bride price (lobola) for a married daughter the shoulder was given to her. The hump was given to the child of the leader's sister. If this is not done it is believed that the ancestors' shades will bring misfortune.

A harmonious team work was observed as many relatives and neighbours were there to help with the peeling of the vegetables, slaughtering and cooking for all relatives and neighbours for the evening and the day of the wedding. Although not perfectly ritual, Mr Participant C1 who is regarded as the custodian of the Zulu cultural rituals was there to advise what part of cow meat would be cooked for men, women and which one for lunch. All the food eaten had been dedicated to the ancestors as sorghum Zulu beer had been left at the Umsamo for some two weeks before the wedding day. Also I was told that umama oyisangoma (a diviner) had been consulted to come and ensure that everything went well such as *ukuxosha imimoya emibi* (chasing evil spirits away) as well strengthening the premises of the family in case anyone either from the family or outside thought of bewitching the wedding event. People remained to drink long after lunch was served and idombolo and meat was served and beer of different kinds was served.

The following day was the day Umabo (where the bride hands off gifts) to the family of her husband. As a sign of social cohesion a word of mouth had gone round that a section of the

road would be closed as Dumisani (pseudonym) had planned to pitch a tent on the road to accommodate all the members of the community. Chairs and tables had been placed on the road with the help of neighbours. New bedroom furniture was displayed amidst ululation and celebration by all community members. While everything was going one, sorghum beer had been provided without stop since the morning. In the tent apples and bananas were served as ukusina went on. After all members of the groom's family had been awarded their gifts, food and beer was served, followed by dancing, singing and ululating.

### **The social cohesion or lack thereof**

The following day people still streamed back in "ukuzolanda izigqoko" (a habit that is now regarded as customary to come back on the second day of a celebration to "look for your hat that you left mistakenly", meaning meat and alcohol. Participant C1 confirmed to me that he cannot remember when this custom started but thinks it has always been there but perhaps got its name from people who had a hangover or had not been to the wedding. However, no person was ever turned back. I noticed that even the next door neighbor was using his house as an extension as many men were sitting there drinking, eating and roasting meat that had been placed in his house and fridge. Now and then a song would rise. Women and groups of young men gathered together in front of wooden plates of meat (*izingqoko*) which were replenished every time as new groups arrived. In the late afternoon on the second day, people began leaving for their homes, drunk and besuthi (stomach filled with meat and other food). What was noticeable is that each family or person went out carrying a small or bag full of meat, juices and other foodstuff. I also received mine even though I was known I was only a researcher.

#### **4.2.1.3 3<sup>rd</sup> observation: Funeral - Hammarsdale**

I also attended a funeral nearby home at Hammarsdale in December 2016. The head of the family had passed on and I began my research. It so happened that this sad happening took place four houses from my home. As a neighbour I made several visits to help and be part of the family. Various families brought various food items such as vegetables, cakes and drinks Others brought cooked meals while others offered to cook not only for the family members but for all people who kept coming in to pray all the days of week prior to the funeral that was held on a coming Saturday. Another very prominent way the Zulu people naturally practice ubuntu is when there is a need for social support of anyone among them. What they lack in money they give in their time to help and to mourn the death on behalf of the neighbor. I was also told that if there was another death in the vicinity that had happened first, the latest death or even

wedding would have to wait until the other death had happened before the latter one. It did not matter that these were not mourning families were not related at all. On hearing of the death a neighbour, support from extended families, friends and the entire community begin pouring in. In fact, people gather in the house minutes after the announcement of death, his children are instantly fed, cooking begins and preparation and the bringing of food of all kinds by neighbours, friends and relatives begin to pour in and served to the family and visitors. In the Zulu culture people do not think about community; they live it; they are 'it' and sharing of food is at the centre of this unannounced unity. At night a full supper would be cooked for all the people present, starting with the wife of the late man, who was sitting on the floored bed mattress for all the time whilst waiting for the day of the funeral. A day before the funeral a cow was slaughtered. When I asked Participant C1 why the cow was slaughtered. He answered that a man who had worked hard and amassed a large herd of cattle stock deserved to be escorted to his ancestors by the biggest beast. The beast for a funeral is slaughtered in the morning on the day of the funeral. Once the beast has been slaughtered, it is then skinned by men.

In Zulu

*'Asikho isilwane esifuywayo esikhulu kunenkomo*

*Loku Sgomane kusho ukuthi lihambile ikhanda le family*

*Yingakho bekufanele ubaba athole inkunzi enkulu kunazo zonke*

Translation in English

*There is no domestic animal bigger than a cow. This means the herd of the family is gone.*

*That is why the largest heifer must be slaughtered for him*

This was a sign that head this event was for the ukuphelezela indoda. Ritual killing in the form of slaughtering a beast which would take place the night before the burial and this will be for provision of food for the people who are attending the funeral and in the past. The skin would often be used to wrap the corpse for burial since there were no coffins in the past. When the cow was offloaded at the gate it fought for its life, warranting that many men and boys come to help. I had seen this kind of concerted and coordinated work done in other cultural events in various parts of the township. As the hearse brought in the coffin on the Friday afternoon, this cow was killed at the right spot by a relative of the deceased man. The cow fought back and had to be restrained by more than ten men and eventually slaughtered and skinned. When skinning the animal, they start from the head and move downwards to the buttocks. Elderly people perform this task with a view to passing on the skill to younger generation. The young

generation must, in turn, pass the skills and knowledge onto others when they are fully grown up.

As skinning was continuing, amantshontsho were braaied and eaten by all the young men and men. I was told that culturally it is only the young men that are supposed to skin the beast. The male head of the cultural function being celebrated is supposed to *ukuyetha* (indicate by taking a knife and pointing how he wants the skinning to go) and then leave it to young men. Inside the house the woman of the house who had cried out loudly at the arrival of the coffin, was sitting in the midst of many other old ladies while various church and neighbourly groups were coming in and out to offer singing and prayer support since the announcement of death a week prior. Each group of these consoling groups were offered tea and cakes. This never ran out as more people brought money and cakes. It was not important whether anyone knew this family.

The issue that also stood out was that the house no longer belonged to only the members of the family but to relatives and neighbours who still treated it with respect. While some were cooking, others were cleaning the yard while others were peeling and cutting vegetables. On the day of the funeral there were many people from the neighbourhood who were helping in the preparation of food. There was a church event that started at 10 am. A new trend is that while the church function is taking place, fruits such as apples and bananas and even bottled water is served to all members inside the church or tent. This is a new trend covering for the fact that usually the funeral functions in the rural areas are long and for the sickly members of the family who might have diabetes or any other diseases. As the church funeral programme proceeds to the graveyard this practice is usually repeated at the graveyard. It is possible to only finish at the graveyard as late as 5 in the afternoon in the afternoon when many people can hardly have enough time to come back and eat.

I also noticed what has become a new trend mainly in the townships of what is called “after tears party” where some people who have come for a funeral meet next door or a few houses away from the family that are grieving. They then have drinks such as beer and meat till late in the evening. Although some studies have been done about this new practice, it is still not embraced as a cultural practice, seen by other traditional people as directly unsympathetic to the pain the family is feeling. The opposing view is that the “after tears people” are trying to console the family, particularly if the deceased member also took part in the after tears meetings of the other families. At their return from the grave yard each person entering the gate had to wash his or her hand mixed with mswani in the water with as a sign of togetherness.

In Zulu

*Umswani kusuke kuyukudla okusuke kusesiswini sembuzi. Umswani uyaye usetshenziswe uma kushoniwe noma kushadwa. Uma kushoniwe uxutshwa nesiqunga kugezwe ngawo izandla ukuze kususwe amashwa.*

English translation

*Mswani is the offal of the goat which is used in washing the hands of those coming back from the funeral. This is done to wash off misfortune.*

Every person was served food after which the Zulu boiled meat and idombolo was served. More beer was served. Participant C1 confirmed this to me:

In Zulu

*Uma abantu bephuma esontweni bangezi ukuzodla kwakho Sgomane emva komngcwabo. Basho ukuthi nawe awuzi kwabo; Kuzohlala ukudla kwakho; nonkosikazi wakho ahlale yedwa, bembukela*

English translation

*If mourners who have come to your funeral, leave for their homes soon after a church service and do not proceed to your house to partake at the food cooked for the funeral, they are indicating that you never stay to eat their foods as well. Your food will rot and your wife will be alone and they will be going past without consoling her*

However, at the graveyard I had noticed a group of well clad men of different ages who had supposedly come to be part of the mourning and burial who kept at a distance laughing and drinking beer brought in the car boots. I was told this is a new consumption pattern. Well clad men and women who rarely take part in the helping or even religious part of the funeral. They do not get inside the church but stand aloof and drink beer. As soon as everybody gets in a bus or cars after the actual burial, these men and fashionable boys with fancy cars are the first in a line to rush and get food. Soon thereafter they gather in a group where they begin the “after tears” party, eating and drinking beer. There is a raging debate as to whether they add to social cohesion or not. I found that they support only each other but are generally regarded the same way as people who come to show off their expensive and latest clothing; both these types as anti – and anti- African. The following day pots that had been voluntarily lent by neighbours and relatives for cooking at the funeral function were cleaned and delivered back to their owners. A pot never comes back empty; the pots were sent back with meat. My research when the last men left as I could not continue I had observed enough of the food



eating patterns at an event such as a funeral. I was told that there were still several rituals to follow signalling that in Zulu people do not “die” but are asleep (balele)’. Leaving the new and anti-african grouping of latest dress styles, after- tears and beer, I was told that there are still funeral steps to follow the funeral, all of which will have ritualistic food and beer served in them.

Zulu and English translation together

- a. Emva kokuphela kwe nyanga kusekhona ukugezwa kwamageja (washing of hoes or implements used at the funeral before these implements can be sent back to their owners)
- b. Emva kokuphela konyaka kubuyiswa indoda bese umfelokazi (widow) akhunyulwe inzila. (return of the spirit of the man and his widow removing the mourning dress and some restrictions associated with a mourning woman)
- c. Ukukhunyulwa kwenzila kwamalunga omndeni. (removing of all mourning restrictions by members of the family)

A week after the funeral the family organised organized a meeting and cooked food and beer to thank the members of the Burial Club to which the late man and his surviving wife belonged.

#### **4.3 Participants**

Individual respondents and focus groups were interviewed on their experiences and the meaning they attach to consumption and its rituals according to the Zulu culture. Data will be analyzed using thematic content analysis. I have recorded the data collected in the field from ten (10) participants about the consumption rituals and their effects on social cohesion. I introduce all the ten (10) people who provided me and also filled the gaps for this study. Some of the following participants were part of the observations while others were chosen because they know a lot about the Zulu cultural rituals. In some instances, the participants were also able to give me their oral genealogy (*izithakazelo*), and their personal naming patterns (*isihasho*), and the close and personal experience with the history of Zulu consumption patterns and what they think has become of social cohesion. I have included these where I had access to them. I have done this to demonstrate that the oral tradition is holistic, and the parts are separated to the detriment of the wholeness of the knowledge.

## Profile of participants

The participants in this study were all from KwaZulu-Natal, living and working there except one who was also born in the rural area KwaZulu-Natal but presently married and living in Austria. All of them knew enough to respond to many of the interview questions related to Zulu culture. In this ethnographic study participants acted to fill in gaps found in the observations mentioned above. These questions were asked as part of the observation that took place early in the year 2016 where two Zulu cultural rituals were observed in Estcourt and later two cultural events that had been followed in Mophela. While observation formed the basis of this ethnological study, questions were necessary to unearth the complex strands of culture, particularly the ritual that is regarded as sacred by those who believe in it. In many instances people would start with the ritual taking place and weave that into their own cultural history. In some instances, the participants were also able to give me their oral genealogy (*izithakazelo*), and their personal naming patterns (*isihasho*). In some instances, the participants were also able to give me their oral genealogy (*izithakazelo*), and their personal naming patterns (*isihasho*). I have separated each of the participants according to the sequence of the first interviews and numbered them for ease of reference to the Table of Contents.

### 4.3.1 Participant C1

He is a retired man of 71 years. Ngaziwa kakhulu ngesithakazelo sami so Mngadi. Siyisende lika Nene kodwa ngaduma ngesinye sezithakazelo, uMngadi. (We originate from the Mngadi clan but I am more popular by my clan name.). My oral genealogy (*izithakazelo*) are:

- *Ngema,*
- *Ntusi,*
- *Sithenjwa.*

Sisuka emabhezeni at Mhlathuze. We come from Emabhezeni. Nene is our grand grandfather. When Nene left the area of Mhlathuze his son said to his father, I want to be left here. His father said to him “because you want to be left behind and work the gardens, from now you are now an “uMngajana”. He now lives in Mid Illovo. Our great grand-father had twelve wives. He got a place in Mid Illovo and renamed himself Nene and told people around that he had left his son back in Mhlathuze. You see when you visit Mid Illovo there are many graves, in which the late Mngadis lie. They were surprised when I visited there and told them this history.

### **Where he is from?**

He was born in Inchanga and went to school at Inchanga. His father had four wives and he built them houses around Durban, including Umkhumbane and Hammarsdale. It is was easy for him to visit from Inchanga, Hammarsdale and Umkhumbane to Hammarsdale. He had 12 siblings and him being the eldest child. His father owned 37 cows at Umkhumbane. People brought their culture into this place of Umkhumbane. There were even rivers where suitors would follow girls they loved. He experienced the harshness of the apartheid era where men were expected to carry a “dompas” or identity document everywhere they went. Later during the times of political violence, from 1980 onwards, he lived in the Hammarsdale Township between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the United Democratic Front. He was more associated with the United Democratic Front and was elected a leader in the same organisation. For this he suffered, surviving numerous attempts on his life. His personal praises are:

*Uhlathshwe ngameva. Umcuphi wenkawu aze ayibambe. (The one who was pricked by thorns. The one who places a snare for the monkeys until he catches them).*

Mr Participant C1 acted as my assistant researcher to fill in the gaps of knowledge of my observations. For instance, I would not have understood the ritual importance of men, and not women, first eating a braaied foreleg (umkhono) outside the main house where the function is held) before singing and going back into the main house and drinking with everyone. When men drink beer from a calabash, each man first brushes the place where he would place his lips to drink and would brush it again when finished before handing over to the next man. These are some of the practices which may go unnoticed by an ethnographer without the help of a person like participant C1.

### **What is he in the society?**

He is a ‘born community leader’. He is always elected as a leader whichever community he lives in. He is also a traditional healer (inyanga) by profession. I interviewed him in 2004. His knowledge of Zulu culture is deep and wide. Numerous young men employ his services in lobola negotiations and he knows all the ritual steps off by heart.

### **His history, culture and traditions**

Participant C1 grew up in the deep cultural traditions of the Zulus. He grew up in Mkhumbane (Cato Manor in Durban) before the Group Areas Act enacted in 1950. He was one of the underground members of the ANC and the MK. He was busy with the then structures that

included the Rent Boycott and the “Azigitshelwa” bus fare protest of the time. He however, insist that his father who had three wives, him coming from the house of the second wife, followed all cultural and consumption rituals. He moved to Hammarsdale textile factories where he worked at Dano Textile for more than 10 years. That is where he met his wife who he has just divorced a year ago (2016). In all his houses he always keeps a sacred place known as umsamo.

Participant C1 said,

*“Impepho ishiselwa ekhishini (indlu yokuphekela). Phela amadlozi ahlala nezitsha zokudla yingakho nje kuyaye kuthiwe ungabokuqeda nya ukudla ebhodweni ngoba amadlozi ayofika ebusuku lapha ekhishini akhothe emabhodweni/the incense is burned inside the kitchen which is regarded as the place of the ancestors. It is for this reason that there is a cultural practice of always leaving some food in the pot when people go to sleep in case the ancestors come visit at night.*

I saw his own *umsamo* when I visited him after cultural ritual where Participant C1 had invited me to observe the consumption rituals and had seen one of the family members going to umsamo to perform a ritual to thank amadlozi for a successful event. This member had left an Ukhamba with fresh Zulu beer for amadlozi to drink. When I visited him for the first time in his small two-bedroom house in Chesterville he was sitting outside with two of his male neighbours. In front of them was a small calabash with sorghum beer. One of the men had bought meat to be braaied for them. In a Zulu custom one does not need to be invited to partake of a meal that is put in one plate in front of men. I partook just by saying, “*Ayihashi*”- an expression saying I could only stop eating it if it was a horse meat which Zulus do not eat. I interviewed him several times to get clarity on some of the issues I had seen in numerous cultural and consumption rituals. Participant C1 is 71 years but he looks 10 years younger.

He insists that he sometimes walks to town instead of using a bus. He also eat a lot of vegetables. He attributes his fitness to eating healthily from his own vegetable garden. Responding to the first question of the interview: ***what is the ritualistic meaning of having umsamo and eating from his own garden***, he said that in all his homestead he has had he always dedicate his house to ancestors,” Ngesi Zulu lomuzi akuwona owami Sgomane kodwa okababa wami osashona kudala/ According to Zulu culture this house is not mine but belongs to my late father. It is important I have umsamo so that I can always communicate with him and he will talk to my ancestors on my behalf.

Concerning vegetable garden, he took me to his garden behind the two roomed house in Chesterville Extension. The small 4 X 4 garden had fresh and green spinach, cabbages and tomatoes. *“Angiwathengi amaveji (Zulu name for vegetables) Sgomane/ I don’t buy vegetables but grow mu own. Angibazi abantu banqamuka izingalo yini/ I don’t know whether many people (who do not plant vegetables) had their arms cut”*. He indicated that in his former married house in Hammarsdale he had planted fruits such as bananas, peaches over and above the vegetables. However, Hammarsdale had more rain than Chesterville he also planted pumpkin and pumpkin leaves. This question is going to be addressed by a combination of observation and interviews. This observation took place at the function in Mophela, following his involvement in leading a team of four people to begin the process of negotiating ilobolo. Although I could not be part of the negotiations nor the discussions of the same cultural ritual I was able to get him to give me the picture of what had taken place:

**What Participant C1 said about consumption rituals and social cohesion/Ukudla kwamasiko esi Zulu kubahlanganisa kanjani abantu endaweni?**

- What is the ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology?
- How important are cultural rituals to social cohesion?

This is what he said:

Thina singamaZulu sikholelwa ukuthi konke ukudla kuvela emhlabathini wobabamkhulu. Kuyingakho isivuno sokuqala sisinikelela bona. (As Zulus we believe food comes from the ground given to us by our ancestors. It is for this reason that our first fruits are dedicated to them). As a Zulu every time I am about to have a Zulu feast, I first take the grass mat and a small Ukhamba known as umancishana, fill it with home brewed Zulu beer and place it at the inside corner of the Zulu house known as umsamo and start talking to amadlozi to them requesting that they bless the upcoming function. Kneeling I say to them, *“Nina base MaNgadini, nina bakwa Ntusi, nina bako Participant C1, naku ukudla kwenu/Hail to the Mngadi clan, coming from the Ntusi house, here is your food”*. I then place Zulu beer because I know if I don’t do that the function planned for the weekend will not go well. The beer prepared for everybody will not be tasty as the ancestors would have been without beer and drank the one prepared for everybody.

Before the big function men from the surrounds usually pass the word around that so and so will have a big function in a week’s time. However, whether a man is invited or not it was actually wrong not to come in when you see men or people gathered inside your neighbour’s premises because akudlulwa ngendlela indlu yakhiwa (a saying that it is an insult to go past a man’s house without coming in and paying respect by drinking beer with them). In that way

men will begin to come *ukuzophuza ijiki* (drinking beer prepared for people who come around before the big function). The owner of the house first shisa impepho (burn the incense) and place a small calabash or beer pot known as umamsamo inviting amadlozi to come and drink so that they are not hungry. I then place a small grass mat. In this Umsamo I will burn the incense inside. The other one will be placed at the umsamo. If I slaughter chickens on a Friday, I don't cut off feet and heads, if it's a goat I will slaughter it on Friday. I take isithebe and place the chicken there. I let the goat hang on the roof. Early on Saturday morning I then take the goat in order to cut off a skin goat wrist (isiphandla) for the person whose function this is. The isiphandla (a goat skin wrist band worn by anyone who had a Zulu cultural ritual done on his or her behalf) indicates that the person who is wearing it is the one who either requested or whose name the ceremony is being celebrated. I will then put inyongo on the person (gall bladder). This gall bladder is the way to protect the person in being celebrated from diseases and curses. You also pour a drop of inyongo in his mouth. This is also an indication to amadlozi that "this is my child". It may be that you are doing umhlonyane (a ceremony to welcome your daughter into the adulthood).

Let me give you an example. Say we are coming to initiate negotiations for your sister uNcane. We stand outside and announce;

In Zulu

*Nina bo Khabazela, boma Vovo! Siyakhuleka thina bakwa Participant C1.  
Yithina sizocela isihlobo esihle. Sikhuleka ngethole elimthende neduna  
elithile elimnyama"*

English translation

*Hail to the Khabazela of MaVovo. We are here sent by the Ndlovus to strike fire of a marriage relationship. We plead carrying or prepared to pay for start by paying a calf, one black and one white.*

Then we pay two cows even though we have more. We do so because paying more at the initial session is taboo. It is like the woman in question is very cheap. Beer will be there throughout the day. The two cows called out represents amasende amabili. These days you see men having their hands in their pockets as they shout, "siyakhuleka ka Sgomane ekhaya" The right way is to lean on the fighting stick and shout and mention all the clan names of the bride's family. What are the clan names of your surname? Abakwa Sgomane, Msane, Lokothrowo, Sgomane. Well, we will not mention all the clan names. As soon as the negotiating team is in, the Sgomanes will gather to discuss how they will tackle these

discussions. The team that has entered do not go straight and sit down but will squat while waiting to be seated by the family. It does not depend how fat or big you are. This family will give us grass mats to sit on and not couches, even if the couches are available. The head of the family will then come in with his team and say, “ya banumzane akeniphinde lento ebeniyisho laphaya esangweni/good morning Sirs. Please repeat what you were saying at the gate. You will then say,” *siyakhuleka thina bakwo Msane. Sikhuleka ngesithole (young female cow)*. You don’t initiate negotiations for ilobolo by a male cow (inkomo eyiduna) because it’s a virgin lady that you are negotiating for (ocelwayo). It must be (ithole) - a virgin cow.

You can’t go and begin this process quoting that you have inkomazi because inkomazi already has given birth to a calf. If you were heard saying, “ngiphethe inkomazi” you will be insulting the value of the virgin maiden you are negotiating to be married to your son. Then they ask your clan names and you tell them. As a father to this child you say nothing but you have the chief mkhongi to talk on your behalf. Then after hearing the business or story that brings you here, the head of the family on the other side consults with his team and he requests all marriageable girls to come so that you will identify which girl you intend marrying. He will call his children and they will come and he will ask them,” *niyabazi labantu/do you know these people?* The one who knows this business will be looking down. Her father will see that the one looking down is the one chosen to be married. One of the girls will talk and softly say, “we know them”. Then they say. “*siyanizwa*” Then they say, here are the requirements before we begin talking:

- *Imvula mlomo*- that is the money we need before we begin talking to you.
- Secondly *isikhwehlela imali engaka* (while someone is writing down
- *Ijazi* (coat), *imvubu* and *isigqoko* (hat) and red wine

I will not ask how much. They will then tell the total price of how much. Perhaps they will say it is R10 000. Sometimes we are carrying R30 000. This money is not carried by one person but is dispersed in different persons here. We are not allowed to go to the toilet. If the maiden already has a child before wedlock. The father of the girl will say, “you must first pay the damage (*umqhoyiso*) which is the money paid as damage. *Umqhoyiso* is a living cow paid as a penalty for breaking the virginity. You cannot complain and say this penalty is too high because if you do, you will be insulting the virginity of the girl in question. Then we are done with the payment of penalty. The people who count the money are the negotiating team from the Mngadis.

### 4.3.2 Participant C2

#### Who is he?

Participant C2 is a young man presently working at the Hammarsdale Clinic. He is a close friend to my cousin who also works in the same place:

#### His history, culture and traditions

He is highly regarded as an authority in Zulu culture. He was born and grew up in Eshowe where his father practices and honoured all cultural rituals. As a young man he served in the Amabutho. His father used to have a lot of cattle, goats and chickens. Even though he went to school and finished Matric, he would first take the cattle to graze before going to school. That taught him the importance of cattle stock as his father would sell one or two cows to get enough money to send him and his sibling to school, particularly to places of higher learning. I am going to address this question by an interview I held with Participant C2.

Addressing the first research question: what can we do to go back to a healthy life and social cohesion?

*Isizwe sethu silahlekelwe isizinda sempilo esayiphiwa ngumdali ebizwa ngokuthi / Our nation has lost the foundation of ubuntu.*

Let us go back to basics. For instance, into yakudala lapho abantu babekubeka uma ungenayo indawo (given a piece of land to build and plant). If they see you have no cows, they will “Sisela” inkomazi nenkunzi ngoba babengafuni ulambe (you would be given a heifer and a cow because they did not want to see you and your family go hungry).

*Ngenxa yokuzwelana kwakungekho bugebengu, nezingane nzase mgwaqweni/ There was no crime, prostitution and street kids.*

Cows (impahla) was used for planting, milk, skin for wearing (ibheshu and isidwaba), milk as well as covering a dead man before the advent of coffins. But these days we lend money and charge huge interest. They would give you a hand when you are planting or weeding. You only prepare amahewu, and they looked after each other. If you are not working they would call you, they would borrow you everything so that you prosper. Everybody looked after each other and sharing was very important. The problem is now we don't want to work with our own



hands. The type of education influenced us and thought us we all need to have white collar jobs. Even if we live in the suburbs one can still grow food. It's our type of education that makes us lazy. Gardening and agriculture must be taught at schools. Teach education which is about work with your hands. Ogogo used to tell stories (fairy tale) about cannibals.

What can we do? *Ligotshwa lisemanzi*. We need to teach young people to care our hands grow from garden. Teach our children to wake up early, our fathers wear tire (bond clued once he is still young). Good education is working with our hands. They were not affected by the inflation when you grow own food. We will not need money people only worked only in winter. Everyone wanted to work. Whites are beating us with our weapons. There used to be Radio programmes such as "Phezu komkhono and Cobela kufalaza mlimi" used to teach and encourage people to do their own vegetable gardening and cooperative societies. Umuntu who work in the garden look up in the sky and see the clouds to begin to plant so that the rain comes when his/her seeds ground. They had of their own science of rain and forecast handed down from their forefathers. They were fit and not fat. Wood was part of life. Drugs and crime are wrong – other problems come from not working hard.

### **Food and purity of mind**

Participant C2 went on to say

*Amasi, utshwala kanye nenyama kwakwaziwa njengokudla kwamadlozi. Ngakho ke abantu babebuhlonipha lokudla. Kwakulindeleke inhlambuluko ngaphambi kokuthinta izimbiza zotshwala uma kukhona aphambene naye emndenini*

English translation

*Mass, beer and meat were known as food for the ancestors. People respected this food. A ritual to clean or reconcile with foes was a requisite before one touched pots to prepare these meals.*

*Kwakuthi uma kubuywa emcimbini wokwamukelwa komntwana esontweni Baqeda ukudla behlise amaqatha embuzi ngotshwala besiZulu obugayelwe wona umsebenzi lona. Utshwala lobu ukudla kobaba mkhulu.*

English translation

*Whenever people were returning from a child's baptismal, they would eat the goat's meat and wash it down with the Zulu beer made especially for this occasion. This beer is food for our ancestors.*

*Abalele bathanda izinto ezimbili nje qha, utshwala nenyama. Ukupha abalele ukudla, kwenza impilo ibe mnandi kwabaphilayo. Ukudla okuligugu kwabadala kuhlala emsamo ngoba uhlanzekile umsamo.*

English translation

*Ancestors love only two things; beer and meat. Giving food to the ancestors make life good for those still living. Favourite food for the ancestors is placed e msamo as this is a very clean place.*

*Esinye isexwayiso esiye sibhekiswe kumantombazane asakhulayo ileso sokuthi intombazane ayizidli izinkobe uma iyokukha amanzi. Abadala bathi umphumela walokhu wukuthi kuyothi lapho sekufanele ziwushaye, line umvimbi izulu*

English translation

*Another warning goes to girls who are still growing that a girl does not eat izinkobe (loose boiled maize) when she goes to fetch water. The old saying and advice is that when it is time to get married, it would rain intermittently.*

*Kudingeka sibuyele sitshale namkhambi nezimpande. Amaqabunga nezimpande zezimila ezidliwayo zingabamba elikhulu iqhaza ekulweni nendlala emakhaya.*

English translation

*We need to go back and roots and edible plants. The leaves and roots of edible plants have a high nutritional value and can play an important role in the prevention of malnutrition in rural areas*

### 4.3.3 Participant C3

#### Who is he?

He was born in a place called Mgwenya which is near Weenen but because parents had no money he had to leave school and herd his father's cattle and goats.

#### His history, culture and traditions

He was very affected by the process of land tenancy where each member of the family had to work for six months and allow another member to work. This meant that he would come out of school to work for six months of the year. He left school to tend to his father's cows. He became a young man and was regimented as a young ibutho but industrialization forced him to leave and find work. He learnt to do stick fighting. He was given the following izihasho (personal praises):

*Mashinga asezibhedlela*

*Izichwensi zisetiyetha* (loosely translated mean: "all those that are rude to me were beaten so hard they are either in the hospital ward or theatre")

He was born and grew up in Estcourt in KwaZulu-Natal. He works as a chef in a tourist establishment known as Sewula. Although he works as a chef in the Lodge, he sometimes goes hunting both inside the lodge area as well as getting in the hunting expedition.

#### What is he in the society?

He was regimented when he was young and grew up in a family steeped in all cultural rituals. For instance, when he is back in his homestead he wakes and gabha (cleanse himself by drinking concocted water which he would throw out to remove anything that might cause ailment from inside). It is believed that this practice also removes amabhadi (mishaps) and whatever wrong thing a person could have eaten for instance a love portion one could have been given by a lover). Participant C3 answered the following interview question:

#### How important are cultural rituals to social cohesion

##### Question: How important is slaughtering to the community?

Inviting people to your ritual function brings unity to the community because when you have a cultural ritual you do not invite them but tell them why you have slaughtered the cow etc. Your

neighbours would bring something to support you. At the end of the function, a man would traditionally lift the ugqoko (wooden plate from which men were eating) and together praise the ancestors by saying, "*Khize, Khabazela, Mavovo, sicela izinhlanhla*" (*we thank you for the success of this event and request that you bring us luck to this family or this child*). No food was taken away from the celebration. Meat was eaten here. Men could come back to request for "izigqoko" or left overs, upon which request they were given left over beer and meat. However, no bones would be taken away from the family premises. Instead big bones like the jaw were placed high up at the entrance of the doorstep. Some bones were kept and there would be a day to burn them together with other ritual function known as 'ukugezwa'/cleansing ceremony'

#### **4.3.4 Participant C4**

##### **Who is he?**

Participant C4 was born in Greytown and worked in the farm as a factotum. He has four children who are employed in the informal sector as domestic servants or unemployed. Although his father and elder brother had had numerous wives, he decided to have only one wife. He presently works as a security guard in one of the schools in Pietermaritzburg where he likes to mention that he uses a school desk for a bed.

##### **Where is he from?**

As a young man he looked after his father's cattle and remembers waking up with umvubo (amasi) before disappearing and going to herd his father's cattle. School was no object as all other boys looked after their father's cattle until he was old enough to go and look for work in Pietermaritzburg or go to Johannesburg. Together with other boys they would hunt for mountain rats, steal maize and eat wild berries.

##### **What is he in the society?**

He is just one of the community members living in the informal settlements in Pietermaritzburg where he works as a Security guard in a school in Pietermaritzburg.

## **History, culture and traditions**

### **Participant C4 answered interview question number 3: What went wrong with our values?**

The world has changed. Whites took the land. We had land and many cows, goats and chickens in Greytown but Whites did not want our cows. They forced us to reduce the number of our stock. Because they now owned the land they did not want our animals in their land. Some White people would take your own cattle to auction to show you they are serious about you reducing your cattle in their newly acquired land. You see your father had a lot of cows in Greytown and when the farm was bought by a white man he told him he did not want your father's bull near his stock as there was likelihood it would impregnate his female stock. That is what exactly happened. It impregnated quite a few but because the offspring were good and strong the white man gave your father an old bakkie. Secondly whites did not like the black man's cattle stock as they claimed that the black man's stock is not vaccinated against diseases. Your father had a van but could not drive. I was driving it because he had no driving skills.

### **Participant 4 also answered the question: How is food used for social cohesion among the Zulu people?**

This is what your grandmother did for all the wives to have good relationships. She promoted that all her sons, including your father would come together in the same house (endlini enkulu) for supper.

They would each eat from the same dish. His mother believed that:

*ukudla amathe kamfowenu yikhona kanye okwenza ubumbano eZinganeni  
zomndeni, zikhule zinokwazisana nokuzwelana lapho omunye kukhona  
okumvelele.*

*Eating or tasting your brother's saliva brings unity in your children. They grow up loving  
each other.*

She believed in the Zulu saying that izingane zomnumzane zicosulelana ikhanda lentethe (children of the same women divide the head of the locust (meaning no matter how small the piece of food, children of the same mother nibble together without regard of the germs or diseases that can come from licking the same small piece of food:

In Zulu

*Uma nje kuphuzwa utshwala besiZulu, buphuzwa ngokhamba olulodwa, akekho ocabanga ngamathe omunye. Ophuzayo ubeka umlomo wakhe okhambeni, aphuze, adlulisele komunye ngokusula ngesandla lapho bekuthinte khona izindebe zomlomo wakhe*

English translation

*When we drink the Zulu beer, we drink from the same calabash. There is no one who thinks he is going to be poisoned by another's saliva. Anyone who drinks places his lips on the calabash and hands it over to another person by wiping with his hands after he has had a sip.*

All the wives would bring the food they cooked to the same place. Their husbands, myself included, would first start with one dish and go to another one until we finished. Unfortunately, this practice stopped when the grandmother passed away. Your father had two wives. Wives ate with their children in their own houses. They ate together till they finished all four dishes. Gogo would direct her three sons to the end of the inside room (emsamo) where there was Zulu beer to go and drank beer. This happened once a week. The reason she did was to discourage her sons to go and drink outside her homesteads. When we were drunk we would then retire to our own houses and join our wives in bed. Kufana noma kudliwa kwa-Zulu kudliwa ndawonye/ Zulus used to eat together (from the same wooden plate/isithebe) in cultural ceremonies. When skinning the animal, they start from the head and move downwards to the buttocks. Elderly people perform this task with a view to passing on the skill to younger generation. The young generation must, in turn, pass the skill and knowledge onto others when they are fully grown up.

**Participant 4 also answered the question: Are there any social implications for not following cultural rituals associated with ritual ceremonies?**

When my mother died, all hell broke loose. We stopped eating and drinking together. Our wives started fighting and we began mistrusting each and going to the old beliefs that if one was sick or died one of us who was jealous had actually caused the death. During that time my older brother's son was chased from his half sister's death because they believed he had cause the death of his half-sister. It was during that time that I decided to leave eBambshela and come and build a house here in Pietermaritzburg. In other people's houses people would fight on the day of the big feast and we would know that they did not follow the cultural rituals of their forefathers. For instance, ndodana, instead of first calling each other so that bathelelane amanzi (bury the hatchet), they would slaughter an animal. Of course, they needed someone old to bring all together to once and for all bring peace to among them.

#### **4.3.5 Participant C5**

##### **Who is she?**

She learned the Zulu culture from her grandfather and grandmother. I interviewed her in June 2017.

##### **Where is she from?**

I was looked after by my aunt by the name of Zuma, born in Durban. I don't know much about the Dubes but the Zumas. What happened is that my mom and my dad actually met in Johannesburg. My father came from Zimbabwe. My father wanted to take me back to the Dubes in Zimbabwe but the cultural rule that says a child born out of wedlock cannot be taken to the father's house because if she is born out of wedlock she belongs to her mother's surname (uzalelwe ekhaya). My mother tried to secretly take me to Durban so that I would not go to Zimbabwe. So I grew up with the Zumas, living with my mother's sister uma Zondi. I knew myself in the clan names of Zuma, abakwa Mantomela, iphuma liphethe and all these surnames I cannot finish. I grew up with my aunt's children like Thoko and others. So I had to change to be a Zuma. My mother went to Zimbabwe and later came back to Johannesburg and then back to Durban. She then built us our house and then we changed to Zondi name. We grew up under as Catholics. Catholic priests and nuns had a very strict education and way of life. We went to school and kept to the strict Catholic principles. That is why my name is Frascisca as I was named by the nuns.

##### **What is she in the society?**

I am an isangoma although I started up as a teacher. However, I regard myself as a community leader. In the ancestor world I am now regarded as umeluleki (advisor) of the nation. When I say "umeluleki" I mean I no longer consult but give advice. Can you see any sign of umyeko (sangoma's tail carried when they dance)?

##### **Her history, culture and traditions**

My family knew nothing about amadlozi. It took many weeks before I got to understand that my grandmother had passed on but there were signs that were showing that I had this calling of being isangoma. I began telling them what to do about ancestors. From there signs became stronger. When I got married I decided to go and train as isangoma. This training helped me

tremendously. It helped me go back to my roots. If I consult using the steering of the calabash with Zulu beer, I call the Zuma but the calabash revealed that I was not only a Zuma but I must also call the Dubes and the Zondis as they all helped me to grow up.

Luckily I was trained in the Zulu way but needed to be trained in the Ndebele way. There was always the need except that I needed somebody from the Ndebeles to train or intercede for me. How could that happen? When I was in Joburg the idlozi showed me a half - sister from Zimbabwe who would intercede for me. I brought her back to KwaZulu-Natal. Yes, she is from Zimbabwe. Her amadlozi told her how I grew up all the steps of the way. When she arrived she had power to unite her amaDlozi and mine. Mam 'Mthombeni addressed the question of ancestral question that happen before any ritual function is held. As a sangoma/community leader and a retired teacher she is practising all her sangoma skills and acting as mentor of different roles in community development. She also teaches children in schools to do gardening for vegetables and fruit.

### **The ritualistic value of food in everyday life of the Zulu People**

#### **Nanidlani uma ukhula Mama?**

No, we ate amasi (curdled milk) every day. *“Amasi ayengadliwa uma liduma/curdled milk meal was not eaten while there was thunder” (it is a belief that milk and lightning would cause a lightning strike).* If a man had cows there was amasi kept eguleni (calabash). There was a man's and woman's calabash. The man's calabash was never used and the content therein could not be eaten by anyone except him while a woman's one was used by children. A man's calabash had an opening underneath it known as umbotshezelwa to allow umlaza. My father had his own ukhezo (wooden spoon) separated from the others. A man's calabash and spoon (ukhezo) was kept separately from the other family members. There was also a full plate known as isithebe. Other people ate from imbenge. The old man would choose one person who would be given a left-overs from the old man. Ukhezo would always be fatty. Meat was not eaten by everybody. Meat was boiled without fat. Even the chicken would be boiled and made to hang to get rid off of oil and fat. It would be eaten first by the man on the next day.

No oil was used to boil it. It was only when oil was sold at the shops that people started cooking their food using oil. Women and children would eat meat after their husbands had taken their share but they would also eat imifino and umbila. Children would eat amasi. Jeqe (steam bread) would also be made of grounded mealies. You would use it as pancakes and put inside the pot. It is our modern day rosterie (rosted flour bun). This food was filling and was enough to last a person the whole day. No multiple cooking was done on each day. We had no



diseases as a result of that. I don't remember going to any doctor when I was young and even in my adult life. It is only now when people got doctors frequently.

**Question: What can we do to go back to our culture?**

We need to go back to eating natural foods, not processed with too much sugar and salt and other diseases. Amahewu did not have the Coca Cola sugar. My ancestors are happy we met. I see we have a lot in common and we are now going to work together more than ever before. My best wish is to invite you. We have many ancestors, some of whom represent abused people eg the Ngcobos eMaqadini for the person to heal. They tell you how to do it. One controls people's gifts. Every person has his own idlozi that tells him what to do. In every family there a Trevor Manuel of emadlozi, but all of this is linked to the Creator. That is why I say the people who brought religion realised that as Africans we are more than blessed. Just the fact that we are in the country with not much of the world's disturbances and turmoil, for example, the Tsunami and other countries in conflict. We were highly gifted but due to all the western influences got confused and got disturbed in the way we went about with our cultures. They confused us so that we would move away from our culture. We should be as rich as the Moslems. I was in the township and saw many people with pumpkins and pumpkin leaves and I thought if many people planted in their small gardens we would all be better for it.

I am going to give you a pumpkin which I had planted in my garden (see Appendix A). However, I no longer plant because of the monkeys. They attack whatever is planted and so I cannot plant anything. We should go back to Amahewu and such like healthy food items. She then gave me a pumpkin as a sign and symbol of her happiness. She also did that as part of the spirit of ubuntu. She did not charge me a cent for taking her time for the interview. Symbolically I will keep the seeds from the pumpkin to dry and at the right time I will plant them. As each seed can produce tens of pumpkins, the likelihood is that I will also share many pumpkins with other people. That is how the spirit of ubuntu is spread without any financial gain.

**4.3.6 Participant C6**

She was born in Hammarsdale. Her parents worked in one of the textile industries. Her parents bought a house in the newly built Mpumalanga Township where she finished her Matric.

### **Her history, traditions and culture**

Although she trained as a teacher, she still was in touch with her roots back at Maqongqo near the place known as Table Mountain situated near Pietermaritzburg. Back home the old father continued to celebrate cultural rituals. This stayed on with his children, Participant C5, included. She is now retired and acts as community developer involved in various community projects. She answered a question relating the type of foods that used to be everyday life of the Zulu people. When she grew up she used to eat the following foods:

*Isijingi which is made of cooked and mixed pumpkin with porridge. This feels you up and one can go very long distances before one tires and feels hungry. A lot of things were not mixed any oil.*

### **Utshwala besiZulu/ Zulu beer**

They used to grow wheat and when it was ready and dry they would trash it until only imithombo (wheat) is left on the mat. One could also do that with maize that was about to get rotten. They would sprinkle that with water. When it was showing germination, they would ground it to make Zulu beer known as umqombothi.

### **Question: What do people eat now?**

Zulu people no longer eat the food they used to eat. They eat all the stuff they get. Now they buy their food like any other person. This is because there are shops nowadays.

### **Question: What is the bad side of not growing our own food?**

There was no cooking oil. We used dripping oil together with oil left over from a slaughtered cow after a function. Those days only black sugar was used (unrefined sugar-utiligi). There was no tea; however, people picked up a specific kind of tree leaves with which they made tea. I don't know what these tea leaves were but they smelled nice. When we were sick we took ishwaqa for stomach-ache.

### **Insangu/dagga**

Old men used to smoke dagga. They would grow it and smoke it like this (he cused and put his hands together and pulled from the thumbs side). They called it “umthunzi wezinkuku/*chicken’s shade*”. They placed a bucket of water. They would smoke with long pipes and when there was smoke they would put their pipes in water in this bucket. There would be bubbles. They would call each other to smoke and eat together foods. As a result, they did not have any diseases. Even the chickens they ate did not have diseases because this chicken ate anything from ezaleni.

### **Question: What can we do to go back to our roots?**

It is not easy because these things are only done when people celebrate their cultural rituals known as umsamo or when they are going to talk to their ancestors. Secondly our children do not want to eat these foods anymore. They tell us, “You are going to eat this grass alone (pumpkin leaves)”. Even the diseases that we have fight against eating them e.g. when you suffer from ulcers you cannot eat beans and cabbage because it will trigger ulcers. Yet these are natural and some of the vegetables which come highly recommended. Growing your own food is very important because even the media always encourage people to grow small vegetable gardens so that anytime you need to you can qhwaya engadini (eat from your garden but our children are lazy and do not want food grown in the back garden. They want fast foods which have a lots of fats and sugar.

#### **4.3.7 Participant C7**

##### **Who is he?**

Participant C7 was born near Estcourt where he works as a chef.

##### **What is he in society?**

Participant C7 has one wife and six children. He is skilled in hunting all sorts of animals. He has six dogs with which he goes hunting. He is sometimes employed to go with the excursion group which wants to hunt the big animals.

## **His history, culture and traditions**

He occasionally slaughters a cow or goat for different types of cultural rituals. His daughter is the one who the researcher went to her umemulo (coming-of-age) party in Estcourt. For him ukuhlabela amadlozi comes naturally. If amadlozi are not happy and are hungry, there will be no peace and prosperity in his house. To satisfy them he sometimes asks his wife to make Zulu beer and leave at umsamo just to appease them. It is not unusual for him to slaughter a goat and eat it with neighbours without there being a big event.

After the umemulo (coming-of-age) event I requested an interview with him in order to get clarity on a number of cultural issues which I could not get while the ceremony was going on.

### **Participant C7 answered the question of how we go back to our cultural consumption patterns to achieve social cohesion: Kungenziwani manje ukubuyisela ubumbano kusizwe sama Zulu?**

*Kudinga sibuyele emhlabathini. Uma ngake kulinywe kungaphela lobugebengu. Kunzima ukulimisa umuntu laba abadala kufanele kuvuselelwe kubo kungalunga, kodwa abancane bona bafuna into esheshayo. Uma singafuya sonke kungalunga ngoba ngingadayisa izinkomo zami.*

We should go back and eat the type of food we used to eat, a lot of which we can plant and harvest from our own gardens. If our people could stop (*ukucwila otshwaleni kangaka*) *drink beer the way they do these days*. The respect of an old man gets thinner if children would see him so drunk and naked. Utshwala (beer) belonged to men and not boys. People used to start by working before they would drink beer. These days you find young men drinking from early Saturday to late Sunday night. That is wrong. Participant C5 mentioned that:

*Kwakuqalwa ngokusebenza lukhona ukhamba lushaywa kancane. Ihlazo nje umuzi ongenankomo, nambuzi, nankuku noma amatshwele ke kona futhi okungatshaliwe ngisho iboza lodwa leli. Lowomuzi uthuka indoda nenkosikazi njengevila voco*

*People would first work while slowly seeping from a small calabash. It is just a shame for a household without cattle, goats, chickens or even chicks. It is worse if in that household there is not even an aloe tree. The husband and the wife in that family should be embarrassed.*

Even in the rural areas there is a lot of cattle theft because people no longer do things together. We should go back and help those that have no cows so that there is no one to stealing from one another.

#### **4.3.8 Participant C8**

##### **Who is she?**

Was born kwesaka Biyela isigodi in 1970 (in the land of Biyela clan). She grew up under Chief uNkanyiso Biyela. She was born by uMaSibiya.

##### **What is she in society?**

She is an active member in the community structures in Chesterville. She also as an active member of the political and development structures. She believes that although she is now a Christian she still harbours the spirit of abaphansi. She sometimes has feelings that something is going to happen and it happens even though not on the same day.

##### **Her cultural historical background**

She grew up as a Zulu girl going through all traditions of the Zulus. Her household had three round houses and the whole family was steeped in the traditional and cultural rituals. I grew up in the cultural ritual of ukuphehla igobongo. It's a dry pumpkin, scooped empty and refilled with umuthi omhlophe. This hollow (iselwa/calabash) is filled white umuthi would be placed on her head to be stirred until the igwebu would flow on her face. Meanwhile an isangoma would be introducing her to the world of isangomas saying something like, "*nina bakwa Ndosini, here is your child*". She was prepared to be an isangoma but she is still young" As that is done goat would be placed on her back.

Her oral genealogy (izithakazelo) are:

*Cele*

*Ndosini*

*Khumbuza*

*Nkomi isengw' ilele ngoba mayimile iya*

Her praise poetry goes like this

*Ngichwasha badle ngemfologo / I sit on top chairs eating using folk and knife. (meaning, "look at me I am refined now. I can sit on the chair and eat using a folk and knife")*

Ms Ndosi answered the following question: **what is the ritualistic significance of food in daily lives of the Zulu people?**

She mentioned that a Zulu man would wake and sit under a tree carrying small calabash known as umancishana. Any man going past would come in as a way of greeting until there were quite a few men "Ibandla lesimotha" amidst laughter and jubilation. The main man would call out to the passerby, "akudlulwa ngendlela indlu yakhiwa". This saying comes from a habit of helping a neighbour if and when he was renovating his house after a storm. When a man goes past and his neighbour was outside he would call out the clan names of his neighbour, "Biyela, Mgavi, Ntshangase". It was easy for a man to slaughter a cow without any due consideration to cost. It was a way for this man to show how wealthy he is or sometimes because of a dream or a request or need revealed to him through a spirit medium such as isangoma. They would solve their problems through talking long before they would be resolved through traditional courts. When a man visited he would say, "Oh Ndabezitha, isisu somhambi asingakanani singangenso yenyoni". What this meant was that as an individual he would not need a lot of food.

#### **Food eaten everyday went like this**

In the morning young and old would wake up with incwancwa (porridge with tartaric). Boys would come back during the milking time with cows and eat amasi orumcaba. If it is harvest time for maize they would grill and eat it. Otherwise they depended on the mountain rats, edible roots, wild berries and nuts (izindlubu). At night the whole family would either eat amadumbe/imfino nophuthu (maize meal and natural imifino or ucadolo. They would also eat inqeke, imbumbi or umkhwili. There were many other food combinations such as isijabane where maize meal is stewed together with pumpkin. The stranger would also share what food he had with his hosts. All these various foods were consumed for their energy and not their taste as they travelled many kilometres to their relatives or even small towns in the 18 00s. After eating they would then take down what they eat by drinking home-made beer known as "Zulu beer/uthswala besiZulu". If there is a man without cattle another man would lend him a cow known as ithokazi. He would lend the poor man a male and female cows. The first calf born out of those cows would belong to the borrower but the second calf would belong to the poor man. When the cows had given birth to enough cows for a poor man to start his own flock, the borrower say, "azibuye emasisweni". Like his neighbour he would be able to milk his own cows. If a poor man wanted to plough the field in the beginning of summer, the man with cattle would borrow him his (the rich man's) his together with sleigh.

### **What a man ate**

A man possessed his own calabash of sour milk. This calabash was hanged outside the kraal so that it would be the first one to be filled up in the morning when cows were milked. It was young men who milked cows but also young women were allowed to milk cows. To adorn herself a young woman would gather cow dung and use it to make her hair, “aphothe ikhanda lonke”. When the man had invited other neighbours to a feast he would dish out through ugqoko for a certain clan “isithebe so Nondaba”. Women would eat inhloko “cow’s head”.

### **As herdsmen**

A man would wake up and take his cattle out of the kraal. He would check out lice in the skin of his herd. A young herdboys would take the cows to graze and bring them back during lunch for them to be milked “zibuya ngenhlazatshe”. The cows would sleep after lunch to then digest food in their stomachs. Boys would eat amasi. Boys use wooden spoons squatting while girls would sit and curl their feet when eating. The right way to eat would be use your right hand to scoop the food from the dish and pour it on the left hand and then eat it.

### **She also answered the question: What can be done to bring back social cohesion?**

When a woman was finally handed over to the new in-laws she knew she would die here as a married woman. She was fully released by her father who slaughtered an umncamo goat. So there was no divorce. Her father is symbolic in that he is saying, “*hamba uyokwakha umuzi*” go and build a new family. I don’t want you back here. In that way kwakungekho divorce/there was not divorce. She is not allowed to come visit before the end of the first three months. She will shave her hair and when she goes back she will take umbondo back with her. If she comes back as a failure in her marriage, she comes back and a goat would be slaughtered. The father would talk to ancestors before he slaughtered the goat and say:

*Nangu u Ngenzeni usebuyile kwa Ngema.*

*Here is Ngenzeni coming back after a failed marriage*

Sicela nimamukele. When she remarries the custom is that the cows (ilobolo) that were paid to her father should now be repaid to the first husband. She cannot fail in her new relationship and continue to fall in love with another person without first coming home. That was not only a taboo but slanderous to her original family and to her clan. You will hear izinsizwa (young men) from another clan saying;

*asizifuni izintombi zakwa Ngcobo/Participant C7 because zibaleka emzini/ We do not want maidens from the Ngcobo/Participant C7 clan because they run away from their marriages.*

#### **4.3.9 Participant C9**

##### **Who is she?**

Participant C8 was born and bred in Pietermaritzburg. She grew up in a very poor family and at home they struggled to put food on the table.

##### **Her history, culture and traditions**

She eventually met another doctor from Austria. They married and moved over to Austria. She teaches isiZulu and ukusina (Zulu dance) to a group of students. These students intend visiting South Africa and spending about two weeks helping learners in Maths and Science in a few primary schools in the Northern Zululand. She came to South Africa and bought the Zulu shield, knobkerrie and a calabash. This happened because way back in Austria she wants to show them what the cultural artefacts of her community looks like. She is also contemplating opening a business where she would sell Zulu artefacts. She remembers that when she grew up her father used to slaughter cows for amadlozi. Her father used to make her wear the wrist skin bangle as a sign that a function had been in her honour.

##### **What question did she answer?**

##### **She answered a question: What foods were eaten in the Zulu homesteads?**

We ate imifino (wild spinach) of different varieties but we were not lazy. We planted huge fields and reaped the rewards in fitness and healthy lifestyle. All these are rich in iron:

*Idliwa nophuthu or pap. It is eaten with phuthu (maize meal). All these types of wild spinach are eaten with stiff mealie meal porridge.*

*Sasidla ujeqe wombila omusha (fresh milies) awusheshi ulambe uma udla wona and unikeza amandla. Sasiphuza umcuku, sense nokhothe uma sihamba indawo ende. Umcuku (isicukwana) is a fermented phuthu: upheka uphuthu ulupholise bese ulivibela ngamanzi noshukela kancane*



English translation

*We ate steam bread made out of ground maize meal. It fills you up and you remain full for a longer period. We drank umcuku (fermented porridge) and made ukhothe (grounded and salted maize). Ukhothe used to be packed as lunch box when we went to the plantations or when we went to harvest maize. It gives an energy and makes you full.*

She also answered a question: **Imiphi imithi eyayisetshenziswa uma ugula kaZulu? (What medicinal plants did you use during your time?)**

Inhlaba (Aloe) sasiyiphuza uma uphethwe isisu. Amafutha engulube ayevikela emimoyeni emibi. Uma uphasile uhlathelwa inkukhu wena mnikazi wayo bese udla iphiko (chicken wing) khona uzondiza uhlakaniphe njalo

English translation

We drank aloe if we were suffering from stomachache. Pig's fat protected us from evil spirits. There was a belief and practice that if a child did well in his or her exams a parent would prepare a chicken and cook it for her the wings so that the child would fly in life

#### **4.3.10 Participant C10**

##### **Who is she?**

Participant C.10 was born in the Ndawana area in Underberg area but grew up in Bulwer where she went to Mandlezizwe High School. She wanted to be either a traffic cop or police.

##### **Who is she in the society?**

She grew up a single child brought up by a single mother. Her home is in Underberg. In the community she works as a member of the ANC Women's League. When she grew up she witnessed the cultural practices such as imbeleko and umemulo (coming-of-age) and virginity testing. She says, of virginity testing;

In Zulu

*Isiko lokunqoba ubusha ngoba intombi isuke iqaphe ukudla kukayise kwangahlathsha ngomkhonto*

English translation

*This is to deal with the wildness of youth. It protects a girl from early sex.*

She is presently a principal of a school in KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. She is also a member of the local Wesleyan church. When she grew up, girls went through virginity testing ritual. This started when girls were 11 years. Her great grandfather used to slaughter cows even for a minor occasion. Concerning food, girls were not allowed to eat eggs and amasi because it was believed that would make them hyper in sex. It was believed that those foods made them to mature at a much younger age. This would expose them to early pregnancy.

In Zulu

*Mina engikwaziyo, kwakudliwa izinkobe zixuxwe namanzi, ziyagaywa zibe ngamasi zibe amasi akufakwanga ngamafutha nengwambi imfuno yamajali ehlangene nempupu namanye uma useyenza. Nayo lempuphu ifakwa umphungu (uyababa and isiza ku B.P and diabetes)*

English translation

*What I know is that we used to eat izinkobe (boiled mealies) mixed with water. They can also be grounded to become amasi. There was no oil used even when cooking. We would also eat isijabane which was mealiemeal mixed with pumpkin. Some mealies would be mixed with umphungu which was very bitter but helpful in lowering blood pressure.*

### **Isijingi**

Senziwa ngamathanga. Yilo lelithanga elenza imifino yamajali uma seliqule lenza isijingi. Umbila namadumbe. Family and personal shrines are used for pouring libations, placing bits of food, performing family rituals, sacrificing and saying prayers. They are the centre of the religious life. They symbolize the meeting point between the visible and the invisible world.

### **What did Zulu people eat and why?**

In summer Zulu people ate fresh mielies and in winter they ate dry maize. The women would grind dry maize on the grinding stone and then put it the gord an dwould cook it fresh for her children. All the mielies and other vegetables were stored in the nqolobane (storehouse) away from rats and other pesticides. There were no boxes of matches as we know them today but they used ukuphehla uzwathi (rotsting a special dry twig in the small opening in a dry wood until it lighted. The light in the dry twig will then be used to light up the dry grass. You can eat it alone eat with meat. Sometimes it is only maize meal made to be dumplings or pancakes. That is why an old people were healthy fit. Even the pumpkins and potatoes came out of the

soil. Ebusika sidla imifino kanye nesqwamba (in Winter we eat pumpkin leaves and a cooked green leaves and mealie meal.

### **Summer food**

*Isonka sombila uyagaywa. Uthathe inhlana bese isifaka eziko/ Maize meal bread was grounded. It would then be roasted on fire.*

However, Participant C10 says, that a lot of these types of food are no longer eaten because there is no longer enough place to grow vegetables. She says:

*Abantu sebeyavilapha. Kodwa ke emakhaya babulawa ilanga nesomiso. Ngisho nemfuyo imbala iyafa yilanga nesomiso. Abantu abasawazi amasiko abo. Abasawazi namakhambi nolwazi olwalubasiza/ People no longer know their cultures*

English translation

*People are now very lazy but in the rural areas extreme heat and drought destroy whatever is grown. Even animal stock lacks water and no trees for shelter of animals. As a result, they die. They do not know the healing herbs and lack knowledge they used to use. The plants from which traditional foods were obtained are now suffering a double tragedy of genetic erosion and loss of traditional knowledge on how to grow and use them.*

## **CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION**

### **5.1 Introduction**

#### **5.1.1 Summary of chapters**

The first chapter provided a rationale for study through the crafting of a persuasive problem statement.

Chapter two examined literature review on the rituals of consumption and their meaning as practised by the Zulus since the times of King Shaka and how these influenced their social cohesion. It found that in the centre of the eating rituals of the Zulu people is a binding thread of, love of mankind, land, cattle and their ancestral rituals. All eating rituals of the Zulu people are characterised by the following:

- a. Togetherness and sociability
- b. Defence of collective values
- c. Selflessness
- d. Sharing of time and food

Chapter three provided an overview of the ethnographic research design and how participant-observation method yields deep experience in the life of those that are being observed. It characteristically defined the difference between qualitative studies to ethnographic studies. It shows the epistemic and phenomenological pillars of this particular research that informed the values the researcher brings to the research design, sample and the likely biasness brought by his own cultural experiences and his views on both the issues of consumption patterns and pro-social norms.

The study adopted a unique research design suitable for a specific cultural community with the understanding that culture is dynamic. This was done with full awareness of the dynamic nature of the issues of validity of a cultural community where ritual issues which are treated like a secret code of how things are done by a particular family or community are not easily shared with strangers. The success of ethnographic study is determined by the length of immersion and time the researcher spent observing and recording the cultural life and issues of how pro-social norms. A fair amount of interviews from inside the observed sample had to be designed to cover the weakness of cultural misinterpretation brought by the researcher's limitation of some deep ritual and coded ritual experiences.

**A population sample** of families based in Estcourt and Mophela near Hammarsdale were identified as fitting the design of a Zulu traditional rural community who are still practicing the Zulu and specific cultural rituals. The expectation was that their consumption patterns were still that of the Zulu culture with variations brought by the western influences and values. A sample of only those families planning to hold a cultural ritual was planned and executed for a period of a year.

Chapter 4 outlined the **data collection**, the research questions, the exact locations of the sample families, how and how long data was collected with the help of the gatekeeper. It indicated limitations of time of observations, how much access a participant observer could be given or not given in a particular setting. Chapter 3 detailed how data collection aligned with the Research methodology. It ended with the writing of raw data where occasionally it was written in Zulu (as was expressed by participants or a saying used as the cultural proceeding were continuing).

The bi-lingual translation was done in order to strengthen meaning which simply explained in any language other the one used to express it might lose meaning but have a deep meaning for the sampled population, for instance the word "*ilima*" as a concept that means culturally giving your skill and energy to see another benefitting and not once but as an ingrained part of social cohesion. Chapter 4 also indicated that this study used NVivo to collect, create nodes and analyse common themes of the study. As a result, five themes resulted from this exercise. However, the limitation was actually using NVivo which after a long struggle of installing it came as 20-day trial and online software programme

Chapter 5 presented results of observations and participant's responses as well as analysed results obtained through an ethnographic study from two places in the KwaZulu-Natal Province, namely Estcourt, which is 70 kms from Pietermaritzburg in the Natal Midlands and Mophela, 32 kms West of Durban.

## 5.2 Coding and thematic analysis

**Table 17 Observations**

Type	Place/Name	Occasion	Dates
Observation	Estcourt	Umemulo/Coming of age of a Zulu girl	February –May 2016
Observation	Mophela	Umshado/wedding	June to December 2016
Observation	Hammarisdale	Funeral	December 2016

**Profile of respondents - participants were coded in order to hide their identity**

Type	Place/Name	Dates	Age	Question responded to
Participant 01	C1	February 2016 to February 2017	71	Importance of cultural rituals to social cohesion Ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology?
Participant 02	C2	November 2016	67	What are the rituals that go with the slaughtering for Zulu cultural rituals
Participant 03	C3	December 2016	75	What did the Zulu people used to eat and how that contributed to social cohesion?
Participant 04	C4	January 2016	39	What are those social implications? Which cultural rituals do you practice in ritual ceremonies?
Participant 05	C5	February 2016	59	How important is social cohesion in Zulu?
Participant 06	C6	April 2017	57	Ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology
Participant 07	C7	January 2017	46	What did the Zulu people used to eat?
Participant 08	C8	January 2017	54	What is the connection between land and cattle keeping in the Zulu culture
Participant 09	C9	February 2017	61	What are the social implications for not eating the way the Zulu people used to do?
Participant 10	C10	February 2017	47	Where did the Zulu people go wring and what can be done to correct the situation?

**Table 18 Participants' codes**

### 5.2.1 Coding of Information for Analysis

I used NVivo for coding and analysis of this study. However, there was a lot of information that needed to be refined and to be given correct interpretation that caused me to code manually. However, in line with what Gibbs (2007:23) says about coding, it involved gathering all the material about a particular theme or case into a node for further exploration, I had gathered various sources such as video, my own notes, recordings and pictures. With the help of NVivo I divided these sources into themes which would pinpoint, examine and record patterns or themes within data. Boyatzis (1998:34). The idea was to develop themes in terms of grounded theory, and to work out how the themes relate to each other within data as well as continuous discovery and comparison of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings and nuances. This research is essential to view the text in a theoretical or analytical way rather than merely approaching it with a descriptive focus. The themes came about because of the number of the frequency of their appearance as an emotion or points of emphasis.

In this Chapter numerous Zulu phrases, proverbs or quotations have been written as is and given English translation by myself. This is confirmed by Gibson (2006:65) that as researchers we impose meaning on the world; that we inhabit cultural worlds and engage in cultural practices that are defined by shared interpretations. We do not operate as “isolated individuals” in our explanatory actions but share with groups of people, certain interpretations.

This study adopted a six-phase process based on Elo and Kyngas (2007:23):

**Familiarisation with the data:** This phase involves reading and re-reading the data, to become immersed and intimately familiar with its content.

**Coding:** This phase involves generating concise labels or codes that identify important features of the data that might be relevant to answering the research question. It involved coding the entire dataset, and after that, collating all the codes and all relevant data extracts, together for later stages of analysis.

**Searching for themes:** This phase involved examining the codes and collated data to identify significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes). It then involves collating data relevant to each candidate theme, so that you can work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme.

**Reviewing themes:** This phase involves checking the candidate themes against the dataset, to determine that they tell a convincing story of the data, and one that answers the research question. In this phase, themes are characteristically refined, which sometimes involves them being divided, combined, or disposed of.

After reading, listening and re-reading all the written coded source of information I saw the following themes as covering the whole study.

### 5.3 Themes of significance in the response

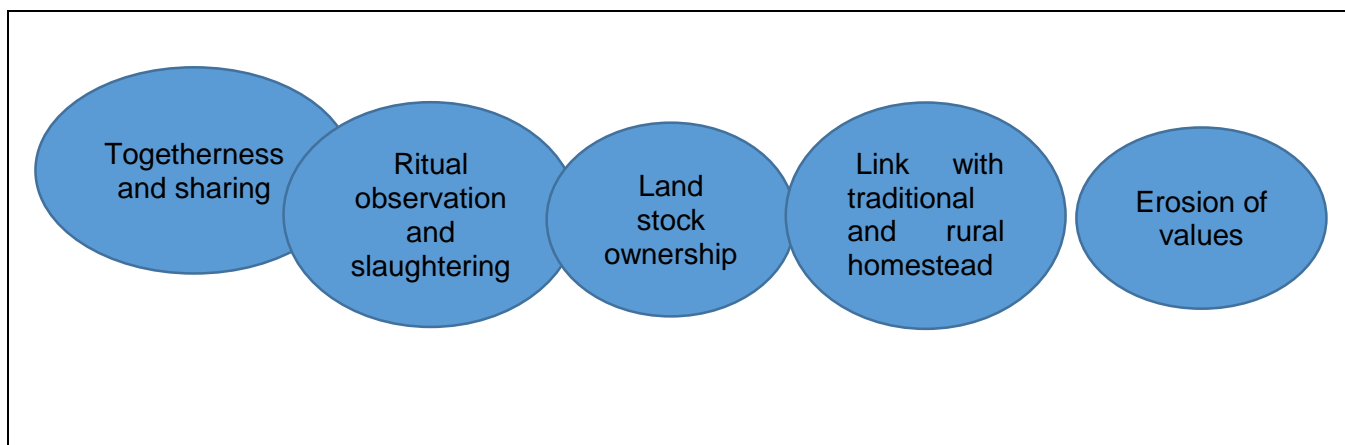
Theme 1: Togetherness (Ubunye) and time sharing

Theme 2: Ritual observation and slaughtering

Theme 3: Land ownership and Stock farming

Theme 4: Maintenance of link with traditional rural homesteads

Theme 5: Erosion of old values and adoption of new ones



*Figure 2: This self made model explains the link of themes as the author sees them*

Based on the key themes of the study, I have analysed the data collection into two interlinking sections starting with the ethnographic observation that took place first in Estcourt and ended in Mophela near Hammarsdale. Secondly I interviewed the research participants some of whom were part of the observed cultural events but others not. I have adopted this approach to do justice to the essence of ethnographic study as a picture of a lived experience and life of the people being observed.



## 5.4 Analysis of themes

### 5.4.1 Theme 1: Togetherness (ubunye) as a representation of social cohesion

The study found that the Zulu people continue to live a life of togetherness characterised by sharing food, with immense sharing of their time for those who are in need in the family or clan. In the three sample population and consequent data collected the following was noted.

- Various clans and scores of people from across Estcourt came to sing, dance and celebrate with the family whose daughter was honoured for her day of celebration.
- Dancing of various clans (*ukusina kwamaqembu ezigodi*) as they are given a chance at the Umemulo in Estcourt.
- Meals were prepared for everybody, every day of the funeral happened as a normal thing whether it was a funeral, wedding or Umemulo.
- For the wedding a large tent was pitched to accommodate all who could attend both the funeral and the wedding, as opposed to only the invited guests.
- Ukulungiselela umcimbi, what in English culture would be equal to an organising committee
- Welcoming everybody without limiting the numbers to attend all cultural events without asking for an identification or questioning me on how one knows the bereaved or the groom and bride.
- Family negotiations (togetherness) and discussions as they prepare for the Umemulo (coming-of-age) to be held on Easters
- Drinking together with neighbours as witnessed when I visited participant C1

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:34) one of the cardinal values of ubuntu is a habit of working together in the spirit of harmony, service and teamwork, in which care is taken to balance individual rights and communal rights. What was very evident in the three processes was that people look forward to more people coming to the event and making preparations for unknown and uninvited guests. Participant C1, 2, 5, 7 and 8 confirmed that in a Zulu cultural event the more people attend your ceremony, the more blessed the event is. People who hold high positions such as the Chief of the place, the teacher and others are given a special welcome and a special place. It was mentioned by the head of the family that if all the people who came had not come, this gathering would not have been successful. He then invited everybody to ensure that they eat and drink.

Bowles and Ginti (1999:4) argue that pro-social norms ensure that come through cultural protocols ensured that even when people were carrying their fighting sticks and used them to dancing a war like dance called *ukugiya* which as a person does the dance other young men recite his praises. However, he would not continue with those praises if they are interpreted as insulting or offensive. In Estcourt one old man was said to be an induna and one of his special job in an event like that is to ensure that no fight breaks out among the young amabuthos. The mention of the words or terms such as *together, at the same place* is mentioned numerous times in Chapter 4. This term is related to the term of Ubuntu that indicates that *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. In the Zulu culture the more people come to your wedding, funeral or event, the more blessed by the izinyanya (ancestors) your event is. "Togetherness" is expressed in the following terms as *Izingane nomnumzane zicosulelana ikhanda lentethe/ children from the same father share even the head of a locust. Siphuza okhambeni lunye (we drink from the same cup); sidla sitsha sinye (we eat from the same plate)* as seen young men, women and men separately gathered together in front of wooden plates of meat.

Ululation was shown when the girl in question for the Umemulo was cheered as she finally danced her song to celebrate her virginity and readiness to take a new stage in her life; that of being a married person. It was shown in a stream of people who came back a day after the event of Umemulo to ukulanda izigqoko where people who had been part of a celebration came back to feast and drink from the left overs (which in Zulu tradition is food put aside for those who arrive late after the party or only arrive on the following day). Kunene (1976:34) contextualises this coming late by saying the distances that the Zulu people walked on foot defied logic. They walked long distances to almost any resource e.g. forest, water or visit relatives. It was therefore possible to leave a few days before the party and because of the fact that one had to cross rivers and streams to get uninvited and were given a feast of meat and beer.

For the Zulu people it was clear that "feeling at home, or make yourself at home" is a very wide and inclusive concept. This is consistent with Nel's (2006:34) argument that Zulu people have a wider concept and understanding of family that interprets family as an emotional unit and which is of the nuclear, extended and multigenerational family. The multigenerational transmission process provides a means of explaining the ongoing functional importance of the ancestors. The ancestors may be dead but they continue to have functional importance for the family especially through the cross-generational family triangles. In it is a sense of importance of a sense of belonging, communion and connectedness. Taking a similar view

Apusignah (2008:2) confirms that the value for and of community in African worldview is cloaked in a sense of belongingness, collective identity and sharing.

What was also noticeable was that food, beer and singing accompanied all these events. As meals were prepared for everybody it became clear that *food and eating in the Zulu culture is about linking families to clans and to their beloved gone. Food is for uniting the families with their roots*. Food is eaten together with other people and izinyanya. As people are eating, Zulus believe that at the same time the ancestors are eating and the sorghum beer placed at the umsamo is a clear expression. That is why at the end of the ceremony they sing together.

Krige (1968:24) argues that the Zulu are fond of singing as well as dancing. He speaks of singing and ululating that would ensue as the goat was gutted and placed, hair, legs, and head, on top of the fire. The dancing and singing of isangoma or many zangomas is ecstatic and follows some rhythmic patterns and getting into trance. (Kunene (1979:36). The regiments had gone through rites of passages which included consumption of meat, beer, dancing and singing. Kunene (1979:35) contends that the singing and eating as these activities were being performed ensured that even the children growing up would know what each song meant and how to dance for it. Singing, dancing and eating was part of the Zulu culture. The Zulu dance was and still a sign of happiness. It occurs at significant events like wedding, child birth and funeral. Zulu men also participate in this part of the ceremony, singing and mock fighting. When I visited participant (C1) I had also noticed that although he now lives in a township and continuing with the traditional ways of living, he was sitting outside with two of his neighbours while in front of him was sorghum beer. He regularly makes and keeps the sorghum beer to entertain any visitor. He believes that when he is sitting and basking in the sun or reading an old magazine at least one man will come and sit with him because akudlulwa ngendlela indlu yakhiwa (a saying that it is an insult to go past a man's house without coming in and paying respect by drinking beer with them). When his neighbours left he told me that they had sat with him since the morning. One of them had decided to buy meat which had just been cooked when I arrived. I partook at least one small piece. I did not have to be invited except to say, "ayihashi" meaning that if I don't eat the meat I would be meaning it is a horse's meat. That is regarded as an insult by the Zulu people as they do not eat horse meat. Not eating the meat or partaking in the eating and drinking would have been regarded as ubuthakathi (witchcraft). Zulu people associate an anti-social life as ubuthakathi (witchcraft), inhliziy o embi (evil heart) and selfishness. The concept of togetherness in the Zulu culture was best portrayed by participant C4 when he pointed out that although he is married his mother used to call all his other married brother to eat inside the same room. She would say:

*ukudla amathe kamfowenu yikhona kanye okwenza ubumbano eZinganeni zomndeni, zikhule zinokwazisana nokuzwelana lapho omunye kukhona okumvelele.*

English translation

*Eating or tasting your brother's saliva brings unity in your children. They grow up loving each other. (p.24)*

She believed in the Zulu saying that *izingane zomnumzane zicosulelana ikhanda lentethe* (p.24) children of the same women divide the head of the locust (meaning no matter how small the piece of food is, children of the same mother nibble together without regard of the germs or diseases that can come from licking the same small piece of food. Terms such as *amadla ndawonye* (popularly referred to the Tripartite Alliance of COSATU, ANC and SACP) comes from the concept of togetherness and literally eating together as has been practised over centuries by the Zulu people.

In the observation of the pre-wedding as well as the *umemulo* plans as well as the funeral plans the need to plan together and to eat together, (*ukuhlanganisa amakhanda*), warranted that family had to wait for one of the members who in terms of the Western cosmology did not matter because he has extremely limited financial resources, was regarded as central to the all-embracing discussions and success of the upcoming event. A goat or chickens depending on the type and gravity of the ritual event would be slaughtered even for a few members of the planning committee. As pointed out by Kunene (1979:37) one of the cardinal values of Ubuntu is a habit of working together in the spirit of harmony, service and teamwork, in which care is taken to balance individual rights and communal rights (Mbigi 2005:24). is not just about collectivism, but also about the principles of inclusions, interdependence and reciprocity (Botha 2006:34). As argued by Krige (1976:113) this that part of the rituals was to slaughter a beast process of interchange of cattle between the families as means of bringing them together in friendship; then on the death of any important member of society. Kunene (1977:34) confirms that through the female principle of UNomkhubulwane the seemingly irreconcilable elements are brought together.

Participant C1 shook his head in disbelief when I wanted to know more about his reasons for providing beer and his neighbour providing meat for free without budgeting. I had asked why they would not charge for electricity, oil and spices as well as without charging his neighbours for the preparation of the food. He mentioned that:

*The principle of eating, working and dying together was King Shaka's s outstanding acumen and skill in bringing together and unite various small tribes into one powerful Zulu nation. This was one way of building a powerful nation, by building the strong formations of amabutho or regiments.*

By the time the Umemulo event ended the girl being celebrated had a lot of paper money that had been placed on her head. As each person was placing the money she would dance. I witnessed and experienced the spirit of doing things together when I was at the Umemulo at Estcourt when young men and women from different surrounding clans coming in with their different *ukusina* (zulu dance) styles which are then used to compete with other clans and eventually merged together to form one unified socially cohesive style of *ukusina isigekre* (a unity Zulu dance). All participants and observations I made were that performance of these rituals bring together all the communities and bind the community in a socially cohesive manner. Kunene (1977:34) emphasised that the analysis above made sense in the African thinking by confirming that that African people derived pleasure in helping others. In the African and Zulu culture no visitor or guest is ever charged any money for sleeping over, given any help as an inborn trait of Ubuntu ensured that the gesture is reciprocal (Kunene:1976:37). Life was not individualistic and ensured that there was no desperately poor or hungry person

### **Sharing: time and food**

It was noticeable throughout the observed events how much friends, relatives and neighbours would give off their time to the families that were preparing for the wedding, umemulo and the funeral. In the African culture time is not for sale. Obvious in the event and processes to the events were that the Zulu people gave off and share their time instead of money, food and any other resources to make the other succeed.

### **The terms representing sharing of time are:**

- to pray all the days of week prior to the funeral that was held on a coming Saturday.
- Entire community began pouring in as soon as they heard about the passing away of the head of family or their neighbour.
- if there was another death in the vicinity that had happened first, the latest death or even wedding would have to wait until the other death had happened before the latter one.

As I ended up an interview with participant C6 she said to me, “*I am going to give you a pumpkin which I had planted in my garden further saying, “My ancestors are happy we met”*) Mageu was used for everybody, young and old also drank in a sharing style, with a pot or bowl of amageu being passed around. I interviewed participant C for several days without him saying he was too busy for me. Participant C1 indicated to me that when you are slaughtering something your neighbours would bring something to support you (p.30). Kunene (1976) argues that this was a mutually beneficial transaction is based on kindness and love of humanity, but also on the idea of reciprocity, sharing wealth in the interests of building the community as a whole (Kunene:1979:24).

Zulu people are characterised by sharing of food whether it's a funeral, wedding or any other cultural function. Apisigah (2008:2) confirms that in joy and in grief, the African people defer to and depend on one another for support. For a Zulu person, there is no way you visit your relatives or your friends and not bring *Umngena ndlini* (a parcel of food that serves as a token of your appreciation to be accepted in the house. This is done irrespective of the time it took to consult with him or her. This can be done at the beginning or end of the visit. It can also be done by the person who was hosting you in appreciation of your visit. In the visit and interview I conducted with participant C6. I was given a big pumpkin and was not asked to pay a cent.

Consequently, the pro-social cultural practices of the Zulus such as giving food and shelter to a stranger (*awuhambi ungaphuze ngisho itiye* (a visitor must be offered at least tea no matter how long the visit is) and *isisu somhambi asingakanani* (I only need the bare minimum of food for a night as a stranger). Nel (2006:24) argues for the Zulu it is important to belong to a family, especially to a multigenerational family. The sharing of food and time was manifest more when there is a funeral where people bring and cook food for the grieving. One of the observation I attended was a funeral and it was impressive how for the whole week neighbours kept bringing and cooking food for everyone that comes to grieve. The Zulu term for "family" (*umndeni*) includes all the people staying in and out and far away the homestead who are related to each other, either by blood, marriage, or adoption. Drinking and eating from the same plate was and still is a sign of friendship and a visible sign of believing in each other's' fate. Consequently, the pro-social cultural practices of the Zulus such as giving food and shelter to a stranger (*awuhambi ungaphuze ngisho itiye* (a visitor must be offered at least tea no matter how long the visit is) and *isisu somhambi asingakanani* (I only need the bare minimum of food for a night as a stranger) define the Zulu way of life. The following terms came out strongly in the interviews I had with all various participants from C1 to C10: *girl presented with a beast; which food was served for which group of people; observed food rituals and food eaten* are indicative that in the Zulu cosmology is for sharing and not only for one person.

Kunene (1976) confirms that in the Zulu culture no food was left to rot as it was easy for the one with plenty of food to send a child with a packet to give to a neighbour who had not asked for it. Terms such as '*izandla ziyagezana*' also are closely related to the idea of sharing which is, "*you help me and I help you*". The joy of eating food comes from sharing with not only your family but neighbours, strangers and those in need. As indicated by participant C3 it was common for a stranger on his way to a farway land to stop at the gate at night and announce, "*Isisu somhambi asingakanani, singangenso yenyoni* (a stranger's stomach take as little to fill as of bird's size of stomach". Having heard that the head of the family next to which the stranger was standing would invite the stranger in, give him a place to sleep and prepare ukhothe (a grounded and powdery roasted maize).

Participant C1 confirmed that on the following day the host would send a stranger off on his way with enough food, having saved him from hunger and danger of animals. The Zulu term for 'family' (*umndeni*) includes all the people staying in a homestead who are related to each other, either by blood, marriage, or adoption. Participant C4 confirmed that when he was young his parents thought them to eat from the same plate. He cannot even remember when that was stopped. Drinking and eating from the same plate was and still is a sign of friendship. I experienced and took part in eating from *isithebe* in Estcourt and Mophela. All the clans present at the event were given their own *isithebe* (meat and dumpling dished out in the wooden plate) which they would not share with any other clan present because as far they know they matter most in this household in their own rights. (Kunene1976:56) points out that it was customary for old people to greet a stranger and ask him to share his snuff with him while giving a taste of his. Although the practice of always having ready-made mageu and sorghum beer is no longer common, I found that the families that I observed kept a bucket of amageu ready for visitors. Bryant (1949:24) confirms the sharing that mageu was used for everybody, young and old also drank in a sharing style, with a pot or bowl of amageu being passed around. In the African and Zulu culture, those that had more shared with those who had less.

### **Zulu people share their time**

Zulu people share of their time to help and care where the western world would make money. In the three events observed I discovered that if a relative is to have a wedding, funeral or any such cultural event, it is in the habit and custom of the Zulu man or woman to stop everything he is doing and go and spend time to heal, to cook, to spend money from his or her pocket and feed and care for the other without charging any money. Sometimes he does this at the

expense of his own life or family. In the data collection in particular as I observed that people did not need money to walk and support someone with their hands. Scores of relatives and friends came together days before the Umemulo, wedding and the funeral to cut, peel, wash, cook, sit and talk with the person who needs that kind of help. This would happen until after the function. It was instructive that a person does not need to be well known in that particular family for him or her to offer help of one kind or another. In the funeral I observed, people dedicated their time, money and even their homes were closed down to be able to come and support the grieving family. Kunene (1976:34) confirms that this practice derives from a "share what you have" belief which is part of ubuntu (humane) philosophy. Credo Mutwa (1976:44) defined ubuntu in a way that support the time and sharing of yourself to see another getting, "Ubuntu is nothing more than compassion brought into colourful practice" Apusigah (2008: 3) argues that authenticity of Africans was their communal way of living. Although he used the word "socialism", he hastened to say that African socialism differed from European socialism in that it was not based on class struggle or class contradictions, but on brotherhood, community life and mutual love.

#### **5.4.2 Theme 2: Ritual observation and slaughtering of a goat/cow**

In the entire data collection, it was found that rituals are at the centre of Zulu patterns of consumption. They take various forms, interesting to the western cosmology eye but have a deep meaning for the Zulu people. Many rituals are performed before food is served and need only a spirit medium such as umthandazi C6 or who confirmed this as her job, an isangoma to mediate on behalf of the families that need special mediums. Rituals are performed using impepho (incense) some without the slaughtering of any animal. However, many rituals are performed through the killing of specific type of animals. The cry from a goat or inyongo or any parts of the animal is burnt as the speaker of the family or isangoma is communicating with the amadlozi through a trance. Blood of the slaughtered animal is used as a cleanser or a linker. (Muthwa: 2006:33)

In many ways Zulu culture depends on the rituals to communicate and link the living with those that have passed on. Terms with rituals in the data collection as seen on the field are:

- a. *they did not follow the cultural rituals of their forefathers*
- b. *the practice of ukuthelelana amanzi (washing off hands together; this one taking a bowl of water as the other one washes his hands and vice versa).*
- c. *Slaughter a cow for ancestors*
- d. *Some bones were kept and there would be a day to burn them together with other ritual function known as "ukugezwa (40).*



e. *Cultural ritual of ukuphehla igobongo*

This study found that numerous participants such as C1, C6, C9, and C4 had places they regarded as umsamo and all of them had small calabashes in which they put sorghum beer. C5 and C3 went on to claim that they have built smaller rooms in their houses to accommodate their private rituals and where umsamo is located. Much as I wanted to come very close to this sacred place I respected it as much as the owners did. The study also discovered numerous rituals where only the family was invited inside a room. At the wedding preparations, there were some parts of the meat that were burnt under scrutiny (p.6) so that no mistakes could happen. Participant C6 confirmed that her she works as an isangoma where people who are going to have cultural ceremonies ask her to come and clean up the area. She however said that she could not tell me how much that is, as that is determined by her ancestral spirits at that particular time. She however informed me that half of the goat of sacrifice is given to her after she finished working. What the study discovered is that for the participants and events observed blood and special foods such as head of a cow or skin to be hung on the entrance served as facilitating the communication and the message.

Blose (2002) argues that:

*A large part of African worship is concerned with rites of birth, puberty, marriage and death, the four great passages of life. It is the natural consequence of the strong belief in African Religion that human life does not terminate at the death of the individual, but continues beyond death.*

Through ritual consumption, Zulu people always draw from their ancient past with the aim of projecting and forging the future. As Ngcobo (2012) points out a ritual is not complete without Zulu beer and incense is essential when doing a ritual particularly for ancestors.

**The ritualization of food and effect on social cohesion**

As part of these rituals slaughtering of a goat or a cow at the place of the event is at the centre of the Zulu culture. The ritual meaning of a centre seems to be in everything the Zulu people do or say. The celebration of Zulu traditional ritual ceremonies are performed for a certain purpose at the centre of which there is slaughtering of cow or goat. It is unheard of for the Zulu family or person to buy already slaughtered cow or goat to bring to the event. In the three events I observed cows were bought by people with cultural knowledge of which cow of what age to buy. I was also struck by the fact that even a white man from Cato Ridge where the wedding cow was bought asked us, “*nifuna eyamsebenzi muni inkomo/ what type of ritual are you buying the cow for*”?

He started calling out each type of cow in a commercially promoting fashion:

“Eyomemulo?” – Is it a cow culturally slaughtered on the rites of a girl who gets off-age?

“Eyomqhoyiso? - Is it a cow that is given to the mother as a gift to her for looking after her girl child not to get pregnant before marriage?

“Eyomncamiso” – Is it a cow slaughtered given by her father to her as a present before she gets married?

“Inkunzi noma isihlangu”- It was clear that some of us as Zulu people do not understand the names of the cows?

It was clear that some of us as Zulu people do not have the knowledge that has been so well commercialised by other cultures and sold back to us. He insisted that if we do not know well he would not sell us as people come back and blame him to say. *“the ceremony did not go well, the ancestors turned their back on the ceremony because it was discovered it was a wrong cow”/umcimbi awuhambanga kahle noma amadlozi awufulathele umcimbi ngona kusetshenziswe inkomo e wrong*”. It was made clear that even though the wedding is for the living, in the cultural belief of the Zulu people the ancestors would not approve if it was a wrong cow. As part of a consumption pattern this belief and practice has carried on for centuries. It does not matter whether a person still live in the rural are or suburb, that the cultural advisers like the old ladies and uncles would insist that only the right cow matters. In the story of Jesus in the bible towards the Passover celebrations he sent one of his disciples to Jerusalem and he told him to go to the first house he came across and tell them Jesus needed the lamb (this is a specific type of a lamb). Therefore, this practice that the ancestors want a specific lamb is as old as life itself.

### **The ritualization of food**

One of the issues observed and confirmed by participants was the ritualization of food. As confirmed in Chapter 2, eating in Zulu has a meaning that links back to their cultures and ancestors. For instance, the young bride whose wedding I observed was told that she would not be able to eat all the foods such as amasi, eggs and meat before her new father slaughters a goat that allows her to eat those foods in the new family. As mentioned in Chapter 2 and observed in all the scenes of research, I observed and confirmed that skinning of a cow or goat is done by boys and young men and not the owner of the house or ceremony. His job is only to come when the cow has been killed and azokwetha, that is decide and instruct how he

wants the beast to be skinned and who should get which part of meat. In Estcourt and Mophela and Hammarsdale I observed men cooking meat as is the custom in the Zulu culture. Talking about what he calls the 'politics of eating' Mnguni (2006:56) comments like this:

*Singeyiphathe-ke indaba yamasi. Kuthokoza bonke abantu uma amagula egcwele. Bajabhe omakoti abasanda Irugana ngoba bengakalinikezwa ilungelo lolrudla amasi ngoba bengakaphuci.*

English translation

*Let us not even talk of the new brides. Everybody at home is happy if the calabashes are full. The only people that get disappointed are the newly married brides because they have not been given the right to eat amasi and their heads have not been shaved as part of the ritual to start a new life.*

Blose (2002:24) posits that ritual ceremonial performances constitute a significant life blood and a philosophical outlook of life of a people as they take their rightful place in the cosmos accorded to them by the Almighty. The departed are regarded as very far from the living and need an intercessor to talk on their behalf. That intercessor is done through the incense (impepho) is burned every time a need to talk to the beloved departed. In all food preparation, food cultivation, land preparation for cultivation up to a point where harvest had to be made cultural and ritual guidance and observance was strictly followed. Terms such as pre ritual procedures; umemulo perform a ritual dedication, consumption of ritual private and traditional rituals cultural processes and ritual and observe food rituals. All successful rituals are accompanied by ululation as a sweet sounding noise which beckons ancestors to listen to what is going to take place in their homestead. Nel (2007:34) explains the source of rituals from a religious point of view:

*The Zulu four family transitions of birth, puberty, marriage and death all have biological roots are characterized by an increase in anxiety that creates a disturbance in the family's homeostatic balance. The anxiety associated with family transitions triggers an imbalance in the family togetherness and intensifies relationship processes. During these transitions, traditional Zulu families have sought the assistance of their ancestors who bind the family's anxiety and assist in restoring the balance of togetherness*

I found that many people Zulu in the townships of Estcourt, and suburbs have taken to new architecture where they build one extra room which they call umsamo or umzi wamadlozi (sacred place or the room or house of the late relatives/ancestors). This room is usually round

in shape and might have a kind of door which forces anyone who enters to crawl, meaning it cannot be accessed standing. It is usually dark and is only entered when there is some ritual to be performed. It is only accessed in the same Zulu ritual which dictates only one man or woman has to get in there. No one sleeps there. Krige (1977:35) confirms that:

*Women cannot be priests at a sacrifice, but an old woman beyond child - bearing age is in Zulu society regarded as a "man" and very often such a woman is asked to call upon the spirits at a sacrifice because she knew those who are dead, and therefore they will be more inclined to listen to her prayers.*

It has no furniture only some accoutres such as a calabash with or without malted beer and a few artefacts depending on the religious beliefs of the practitioner. For instance, believers in the African traditional churches such as Shembe or the Zion Churches would have their worship sticks right at the chosen umsamo (sacred place). This agrees with Chapter 2 where UMbiti (1975: 148) confirms the importance of keeping rituals in the Zulu. Family and personal shrines are used for pouring libations, placing bits of food, performing family rituals, sacrificing and saying prayers. They are the centre of the religious life. They symbolize the meeting point between the visible and the invisible world. Blose (2002:29) again confirms by saying that in all the facts of animism and ancestor worship, of the cult of the dead, and the communion between them and --the living, we see a constructive, pragmatically valuable denial of death, and affirmation of the permanence of human values and the reality of human hope

### **Slaughtering**

I also observed that in the three cultural events the ritual blood had to come from either a cow or goat. In the funeral I was told and witnessed the buying and the slaughtering of cow. I was made clear that if a man of the house had departed an inkunzi (heifer) would suffice. To do otherwise or less would be insulting to the dignity of the man. Therefore, the widow has not much say to decide otherwise in these matters of her husband. While she may choose the most expensive coffin and decor for her late husband she leaves the cultural intricate decisions to the uncles as failure to do could be interpreted as a plan to buy a wrong or inexpensive cow. I also noticed that if the man had not possessed such a type of cow, at his death his wife and uncles, they would negotiate with another man who has to give him two of the normal big looking cows and he would give them this specific heifer for "accompanying the late man of the house" In that way the ancestors would be happy.

Participant C1 confirmed this practise of buying the right cow when he said:

*There is no domestic animal bigger than a cow. This means the herd of the family is gone. That is why the largest heifer must be slaughtered for him*

Slaughtering is deeper than just killing a cow or a goat. It is through the blood and the cry of a goat or a cow that inside a kraal regarded as a sacred place because that is where ancestors sit. It is also a place where (umnumzane) the head of the family is buried. For certain rituals this is where the tip of the finger is buried inside the kraal. Slaughtering is therefore a serious central point of eating in the Zulu cultural community. I also noticed that the slaughtering of a goat is mostly done as part of initialising the ritual period. For instance, in the three ceremonies mentioned respectively a goat was slaughtered on a Thursday. Participant C1 mentioned that this cultural practice is done for two reasons and that the offal of the goat (umswani) would be mixed with water so that people especially those coming from the graves would together wash their hands in the mix water as a sign that they are together in the spirit with the family in accepting that the head or any man of the family is finally gone. This happens just before everybody lines up to get food.

Participant C1 confirmed that in the olden days there was no spread of food that ranged from the traditional to the modern day food to beer and spirit as observed at least with the wedding and to a lesser extent with umemulo. I was told both at the preparation of Umemulo and the wedding at Mophela that the second reason for slaughtering a goat on Thursday is to fulfil all demands such as reporting to the ancestors and requesting that they bless the upcoming ceremony and ensure the unity of people so that they would not fight. This is because all clans that come to the ceremonies were carrying their fighting sticks decorated according to their regiments in their clans. It is possible that there be a fight after people have eaten and drunk beer if the goat has not been slaughtered for the ancestors and ceremony not reported to them beforehand. If such happened and people started fighting and blood was shed, it would not make ancestors unhappy and make them continue to “turn their back on the family” but it would cause a socially disunited community and could start faction fights and wars that go on for years.

In other people's houses people would fight on the day of the big feast and we would know that they did not follow the cultural rituals of their forefathers. Participant C6 confirmed that it is a job of an isangoma to assist the family connect with the ancestors when slaughtering a goat. She claimed it is her job. She mentioned that the goat serves as an introductory sign to ancestors. Early in December 2015, as part or allowed to be part of the Umemulo preparation meeting, a goat was slaughtered by the family as they met to begin the process of the ceremony that would be held in May 2016. I was asked to get when they took the goat inside

to perform a ritual of dedication. I listened as the goat cried under a slaughter knife and saw that when they came back from the room they were happy. I was told that the cry of the goat was the reason, it, and not the sheep is used for the ritual occasions

Participant C1, C5, C4, C9 all confirmed that this goat is only eaten by the family and that it should be eaten and finished the same day it was slaughtered. From these observations the Zulu people have continued with this cultural knowledge for centuries and it is not written down as a set of rules but is being passed from one generation to another by word of mouth and occasional practice. However, participant C2 decried that the children born in the township and have no or do not want to go back when their parents visit to perform certain rituals, do not know or appreciate these eating rituals. According to him it is for this reason the children who grow up to be teenagers end up being criminals and commit all sort of misdemeanour because they have lost the respect and knowledge that come with understanding not to only their culture but the eating rituals of the Zulus. He quoted an African saying, "when the gods are about to destroy you, they first make you crazy. He quoted the craziness that the funeral of "amagintsi" (car thieves) has turned in the graveyard. He said, "*akubona abelungu abenza lezinto*". He told me that he attended a funeral where young people were driving flashy cars, where the girls sat with short skirts, some on top of the cars or protruding outside the windows of a car while dancing to the blasting music of several cars which were driven in a zigzag way to the funeral. He mentioned that one car was burnt and left in the funeral. He went to say the young people who we redoing that were Zulus.

Blose (2002:15) warns against this lawlessness

*Social ostracism is one of the things most feared in the traditional community. When this is no longer feared traditional morality is undermined (cooment)*

I also noticed that people who lead the cultural rituals insist on the details and cleanliness. As they came into the umsamo they removed their shoes. The umsamo is believed to be clean and pure. Before any slaughtering take place hands are washed off to ensure ritual cleanliness as the ancestors are more associated with cleanliness and purity. It is for this reason participant C1 said that this is the cleanliness that unite the society. *Abantu abafika emcimbini wakho benezinto zokubuyisela amagqubu bayaxoshwa la ngoba bazosusa uthuthuva/ People who come with wrong motives can be sensed by the ancestors and are chased away because they might start a fight.* Blose (2002:24) mentions what type of people would be regarded as unclean and not expected to lead in the performance of rituals and slaughtering:

*"Unclean" people include pregnant women, women with young children (abadlezane), people who have had sexual connection (abanentsukwini), people who have recently been to a burial, have handled a dead body or had anything to do with a corpse.*

Through any cultural ceremony, the izinduna representing the chief or the chief himself would promote peace and unity. Participant C2 confirmed that in his rural town, even a funeral is used as place to give announcement to send a message for people to unite and fight against the ills most seen in that particular society. Blose (2002:24) again confirms the unity brought by occasions such as a funeral so that the food eaten there is meant as a symbol of hope and longevity:

*In all the facts of animism and ancestor worship, of the cult of the dead, and the communion between them and --the living, we see a constructive, pragmatically valuable denial of death, and affirmation of the permanence of. ---human values and the reality of human hope*

He confirmed to me that wherever there is ceremony where a cow has been slaughtered there are men known izinduna that represent the chief to ensure that there is no fight and anyone who in his singing or ukugiya (dance poetry moves) used his stick to hit someone or said something of his izibongo, self-praise poetry that sounds offensive, that person is sent away. As pointed out by Forrest and Kearns (2010:23) social cohesion can emphasize the need for a shared sense of morality and common purpose, aspects of social control and social order. That is how each occasion end up with feasting, singing and dancing. Mnguni (2006:24) mentioned that the the gender of the beast must match the gender of the deceased. (Mnguni: 2006:45). As mentioned in Chapter 2 slaughtering is not done outside the kraal nor can it be done at the relative's house or by people who are not designated to slaughter.

The cow was slaughtered at the right place and was never allowed to suffer because that meat would taste bad and therefore not fit for human consumption, let alone honouring to the core the ritual the particular food is being eaten for. Blose (2002:35) argued that the purity of spirit, mind and body as well as respect goes along with the whole process of slaughtering. It is for this reason that a person who had a criminal was never given a status of being called idlozi. A criminal or bad person was never allowed to slaughter for any ritual as amadlozi would reject the entire mcimbi (or ritual event). In Chapter 2, Bryant (1949:34) confirmed that this cow was killed at the right spot by a chosen relative. All participants agreed that there is a problem with correctly following all these details of slaughtering and feeding people that is clean and pure.

Blose (2002:32) argues that:

*Ubuncane bezindlu okuhlalwa kuzona kwenza amanye amachopho okugcinwa kwalo abe ngumfuziselo nje/ the houses in the township are so small that many important part of the rituals are faked.*

They agreed that it is therefore one of the reasons why some people go to their rural homestead when they have to perform their cultural rituals. This is to ensure the presence of ritual purity. The issue of suburban bye-laws that control how slaughtering in the suburbs should be done is also a problem that the Zulu people (C1, C6, C3, C7) find unfair as it favours a western cosmology which regards the cultural practices of the Africans as backward and barbaric as well belonging to the dark ages. As Alcock (2010:12) the community's cultural feasts (the Royal Reed Dance-*uMkosi woMhlanga*, the Harvest Celebration-*ukuNyatela* etc.) involve youth and sexuality education, skills taught (slaughtering, tanning etc.) and social cohesion and as a result are very useful as strengthening the social cohesion of the Zulus.

#### **5.4.3 Theme 3: Land ownership and stock farming**

It became clear that both the issues of land and stock ownership is an emotional, political and at the base of consumption patterns. Numerous emotional statements that were mentioned during the observation and interviews were:

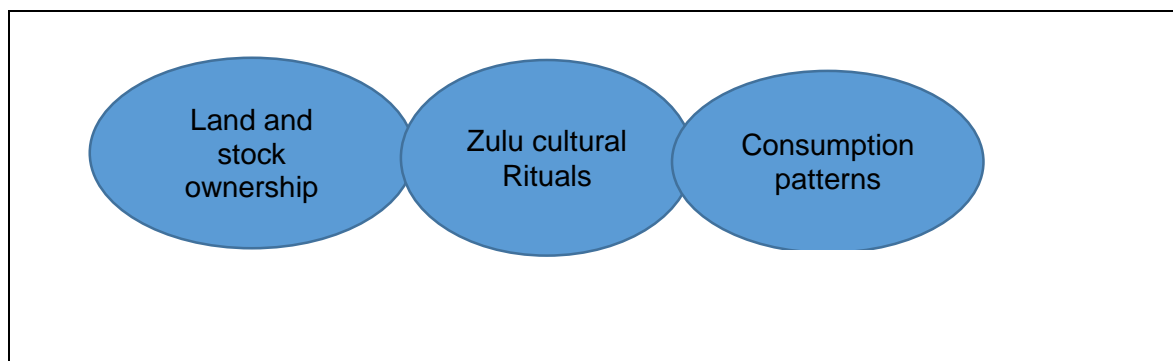
- a. Whites took the land.
- b. We had land in Greytown but Whites did not want our cows.
- c. They forced us to reduce the number of our stock.
- d. Because they now owned the land they did not want our animals in their land.
- e. Some White people would take your own cattle to auction to show you they are serious about you reducing your cattle in their newly acquired land. (C5)

The above statements were meant to explain to me the journey C5 had to go through because of the Land laws that deprived him of his land and cows. It also reflected on the horrors of a racist society that demeaned people's dignity by forcibly removing their cows to the auction (C5) without their permission. The auction was run by the White farmers and no black person was managing it except the lowly manual work of prodding cattle into the cattle pen. Therefore, these cattle were like a gift to them as they would determine the price. Participant C5 identifies of having his own land to plant and rear his cattle stock. Right now he has been living in an informal settlement in Pietermaritzburg while his brothers and other members of an extended family are in Pomeroy. He says that his roots and ancestors are back in Pomeroy and he does



not want to invite them formally here because as soon as he has enough money he would buy the land back in Pomeroy next to where his late brothers are buried. That is where he wants to die. The story of C5 is similar to that of C2 and actually represent the story of the Zulu people from 1910 when the Zulu people were handed over to the then Republic Van Suid Afrika.

I came up with a model that I think best exemplify the route and causal link between land/stock ownership to rituals to consumption patterns.



**Figure 3. The continuum from the land and animal stock that are the basis for rituals and contribute to food patterns. (Source: Researcher prepared for this study.)**

Participant C7 put it like this:

*He was very affected by the process of land tenancy where each member of the family had to work for six months and allow another member to work.*

Mthembu (2009) makes a point that:

*Nanamhlanje imfuyo isabalulekile. None zindodla ezingakanani zemali kudingeka ashintshisane ngazo ngokuthenga inkomo uma ezogcina imisebenzi enjengokulobola, ukuthetha amadlozi nokunye.*

English translation

*Even to date the cattle stock is still very important. Even when a man has millions of money, he still has to trade in with his money to buy a cow for him to be able perform cultural rituals such ukulobola and connecting with his ancestors.*

Mthembu (2002:39) convincingly argues that given a choice between a few cattle and 100 hundred donkeys a Zulu man would choose cattle. He continues to say:

*Akekho umnumzana oke avuke ekuseni ayokuma esangweni lesibaya sezimbongolo zakhe azibuke ukuthi ziyaphila zonke na? Cha, lokho kuyilungelo lezinkomo.*

English translation

*There is no Zulu man who wakes up in the morning and stand at the gate of his donkeys' pen and becomes happy and proud that all of them are well. That is the right of the cows (to be appreciated like that every morning).*

From these quotations it appears that the Zulu man has big twin dilemmas. He wants to own stock in order to perform rituals. Rituals cannot be correctly performed in a land that does not belong to you. Mthembu continues to argue that:

*kulesi sizwe, izinkom zithathwa njengomgogodla wempilo/ In this (Zulu) nation cattle is regarded as the backbone of life.* Therein lies the essence of consumption patterns of the Zulu people from the times of Shaka to date.

Participants C2 said

*Let us go back to basics. For instance, into yakudala lapho abantu babebekwa endaweni (given a piece of land to build and plant). If they see you have no cows, they will "Sisela" inkomazi nenkunzi. Babengafuni ulambe bese unikwa indawo ozotshala kuyo ukuze wondle abanta bakho (you would be given a heifer and a cow and a piece of land to plant for your children).*

The issue of land is very linked to cattle ownership as a source of food and its use for traditional economy. In all the observation and consequent interviews, it is difficult to separate the two matters as expressed by the Zulu people. Both carry a heavy meaning and emotions and are linked to both cultural and ritual consumption patterns and social cohesion in a way that is intricately difficult to separate.

Many terms and phrases expressed in the data collection indicated the importance of how the Zulu people feel about the land issue as a source of food and life:

- a. cattle and land ownership- the source of food
- b. given a piece of land; Whites took the land
- c. Had land in Greytown (in the newly acquired land)
- d. Luswazi now owned the land
- e. process of land in the Biyela clan
- f. gardening for vegetables

- g. vegetable come highly recommended
- h. place to grow vegetables and
- i. food items e.g vegetable
- j. vegetable eaten from her own garden
- k. gardening and agriculture
- l. took me to his garden
- m. do gardening

Participant C1 indicated to me that he never buys vegetables, “*Angiwathengi amaveji* (Zulu name for vegetables) Sgomane/ *I don’t buy vegetables but grow my own*. Angibazi abantu banqamuka izingalo yini/ I don’t know whether many people (who do not plant vegetables) had their arms cut. He indicated that in his former married house in Hammarsdale he had planted fruits such as bananas, peaches over and above the vegetables. However, Hammarsdale had more rain than Chesterville he also planted pumpkin and pumpkin leaves.

All these terms indicate the importance Zulu people have always wanted to own their land where they grow food unique to them such as ubhatata (sweet potatoes); umbila (maize) and many others. Participant C2 and C6 indicated that in their areas people still practise ilima where each day during the rainy and planting season people together come and plant for you without being paid a cent. What the owner of the field to be planted presented was amagewu only. Participant C2 confirmed that that working together particularly in the planting season is still one cultural habit Zulu people still follow. Friedkin (2006) argues that the members of a highly cohesive group, in contrast to one with a low level of cohesiveness, are more concerned with their membership and are therefore more strongly motivated to contribute to the group’s welfare, to advance its objectives, and to participate in its activities.

Bowles (1999:24) argues that communal societies have a strong sense of mutuality and a tendency to cooperate towards common ends. The Zulu people, particularly on issues communal have source from deep within them to help on another and to work one another so that no is without a house after heavy rains, without food (*ukunanela ukudla/borrow me you’re a little or some of your harvest while I do not have enough of it now*), without cows as a source of milk and pride of being a man, one neighbour or two would sisela give you his male and female calves so that you build your own stock and plant your own garden to feed your children.

The Zulu people have always taken their culture of cultivating and planting their own vegetables wherever they are. In data collection, the mentioning of the following terms indicate that a Zulu person always wanted to have a small garden or vegetable patch to plant vegetables and keep small animals like poultry, in addition to having a big insimu (a large place to cultivate or plant milies and pumpkins. This is also seen in the township as many people still retain their cultural link with the rural areas and their old cultural life, where even if there is not enough space to grow, many people still plant spinach, cabbages and other vegetables and fruits. Despite having moved from a rural area many years ago one of the participant showed me his small place but very rich in vegetables. Another participant C8) presented me with a big pumpkin from her garden. It appeared that she keeps a lot of them to give to her visitors. The men played little part in agriculture; they merely hew the bush where new fields are to be cultivated, and at harvest or in spring may sometimes help with the reaping (Krige 1977:24). Though agriculture is the province of women, a Zulu man may, when he is quite old, have a garden of his own for the cultivation of tobacco for his own use, but he never plants food crops. Zobolo and Mkabela (2006:57) emphasizes this point by saying the African homestead (Muzi) garden contains a mixture of spiritual, protective and medicinal plants. The 'garden' refers to plants grown adjacent to the buildings in areas where they can fulfil their functions. Various medicinal and food plants were found in the home gardens and were meant to protect a family from dark spirits (Kunene 1979:34, Bryant 1949:45). A garden crop field did not possess a regular shape and enclosed only when protection is needed against animals

During the study I drove from Mbumbulu to Mophela and noticed that all places whether they are reserves or township had fields of mainly maize planted. Maize is accompanied by many other vegetables planted inside it's the rows. I found out that many people planted vegetables and pumpkin and its leaves seemed to be a favourite. Participants C1, C6, C10, C5 not only had these vegetable planted but in my visits to their houses added maize to the meal they gave me. I found it common that Zulu people are gracious and giving, particularly of the own field harvest. It was not uncommon that at the end of a few days with them, having been fed for free, all the time, when I also wanted to thank them by giving them an envelope with money, my Western payment of equivalent worth of service, they would either react or take it with complaint, saying:

*Thina Sgomane besenza nje*  
*Abukhokhelwa ubuntu*

*We appreciate your money but our welcoming of you into our house was our expression of ubuntu. One does not charge and cannot pay for ubuntu.*

But at the same time they would then show me a bunch of either mealies, pumpkins or even spinach to show how happy I came. Participant C1 gave me a big packet of spinach just I had decided to buy him meat. He again called his neighbours to come and which he had ended braaing some and inviting the same three men to come and share the braai of the same meat I had given him. It was important to note how the Zulu people emotionally linked food, sharing of food, sharing their harvest even with a stranger to their satisfaction and unknown to them, social cohesion. As I left the umemulo event I was accompanied by not only the gatekeeper but a few other people I had come to know. A song of Zulu dance had started as some of the visitors had begun to leave. In the Zulu culture there is no set time to leave the feast, even on the second day where people had come to “ukulanda izigqoko” to come and enjoy what is supposed to be leftovers but that became a culture century ago so that the father in this house still has visitors the next day. He and his sons continue feeding them beer and meat until they leave. When asked the research question, “*where did the Zulu people go wrong and what can be done to correct the situation*”, numerous participants (C1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), responded by complaining about the loss of values of the Zulu people. However, the talk would then move to talking much to the matter about land policy without necessarily referring to it as policy but as lack of enough space to grow vegetables (participant C10) –this was referring to the need for people to be given space but also motivated to plant their own vegetables

*Need for government to reintroduce subject of agriculture (participant C2) – this was in reference to the issue that the subject of Agriculture needs to be destigmatised in the present curriculum and not as in the past. Participant C1 was referring to the past years where the Agriculture as a subject was understood as a way by the Nationalist government to make Africans only to work in their gardens and become “garden boys”. The problem is now we don’t want to work with our own hands. (Participant C2). Even if we live in the suburbs one can still grow food. It’s our type of education that makes us lazy. Gardening and agriculture must be taught at schools. Teach education which is about work with your hands. Ogogo used to tell stories (fairy tale) about cannibals.*

This indicated to me that people would rather have their right to own cattle to produce their own milk and may be taught to produce milk products, use their cows to plant, that at school a subject of agriculture that was looked down upon be reintroduced and be supported so that learners would like it. In that way it will produce people who like even if they might not have huge fields to plant. The policies of taking land from the Zulus and forcing them to reduce their own cattle stock that had been sustained by the natural resources of the time resulted in wars such as the Bambatha rebellion of 1905 and the battle of Isandlwana of 1879 (Guy 2001:3). These policies would eventually result in the dispossession of the Zulu people of their

livelihoods, their means of existence and their consumption patterns as for the first time they would have to buy food than plant it. For the first time those working as domestic helpers ate food left over by their bosses (Participant C1). It is also instructive that the politics of food would manifest itself in the fact that the new bosses never ate or offered to eat in the same table with their servants, agreeable that it was all Africans other than just Zulu people.

The above sentiments of the need for land ownership and restoration all argue that Zulu people have a strong and special relationship with their land as in traditional beliefs and Zulu cosmology, the land belongs to the living, to the unborn and to the dead. As pointed out by Krige (1977:35) for centuries the Zulu people have practised numerous customs which were done to dedicate the land as dwelling place and land as a place to cultivate and feed one's cattle. The land allocated to the burying the dead was deeply respected and was regarded reverently as a place to bring all the people of the clan together. Graves united people and brought all Zulus together to mourn and to celebrate the life of the dead through ritual practices and sharing of slaughtered cows and beer. The Zulu people could never be separated from the gravesites of their people. This belief causes a lot of grief and conflict when rural or farm people are forced to evacuate the land belonging to a new owner who do not want the farm workers in his new place.

The land reclaim processes restored dignity and enabled the Zulu people to reclaim their identity, a feeling of social cohesion. With rightful land, land of 'our forefathers people continued their inheritance of cultivation and stock farming skills in order to provide food for the families and the whole community through the processes of ukusisela (landing a milk cow to one without). According to Apusigah (2008:2) the African prosocial lifestyle is more than just for families to become the cycle of positive change but is meant for the whole environment as it rallies against the selfishness and individualistic attitude.

Food, consumption and land ownership was inseparable. As pointed out by Kuhnlen (2009:23) indigenous peoples' right to food is inseparable from their rights to land, territories, resources, culture and self-determination. Kunene (1979:74) makes appoint that the idea of buying food one could grow in one's own field or make with one's own hands was alien to the Zulu people. It was mockingly referred to '*as ukudla ezitolo*, meaning to only eat food bought from a shop a saying meaning one is wasteful and lazy to plant food in the garden. In this was wrapped a meaning that one "had a lot of money to be buying from the shops instead of planting his own food". Land is an important natural endowment that has no exchange value. Participant C concurred that in the rural areas, the chiefs were and are still the custodians of the land and are responsible for allocating it to members of the community; a newcomer in a community

would be allocated land without payment but would be expected to serve under the chieftainship of the community. Thus, land was passed down from generation to generation, a practice that has lasted to the present day. A plot of land always belongs to the people who once lived there and may only be transferred with the permission of the local chief. De Beer (1994:2) and Vorster (1981:55) both indicate that land is life, which man cannot do without. Van Niekerk (1992) states that land is security and that the grave is a pathway to the ancestors; therefore, the land where graves are located cannot be used as agricultural land.

As pointed out by Kunene (1979:24) in Chapter 2 graves in Zulu are not just the resting place for the dead, but carry the memories and are a centre of the community; where the spirits of the ancestors reside, a place for consultation, to receive instruction and to perform rituals particularly of those who died away from the graves of 'obab umkhulu' to be brought back to them. As pointed by Ngubane the belief in ancestral spirits forms the core of the traditional religion of the Zulus, and that is why a sacred place is desirable, to put the dead to rest with the spirits of their ancestors. Failing to bury the dead with the ancestors might be seen as a disturbance of the dead person who has now become an ancestor. Ngubane (2015:26) and Kuhnlen (2009:12) confirm that the land reclaim processes restored dignity and enabled the Zulu people to reclaim their identity, a feeling of social cohesion. With rightful land, land of 'our forefathers' people continued their inheritance of cultivation and stock farming skills in order to provide food for the families and the whole community through the processes of ukusisela (landing a milk cow to one without). Food, consumption and land ownership was inseparable. Kuhnlen (2009:35) confirms that the indigenous peoples' right to food is inseparable from their rights to land, territories, resources, culture and self-determination.

De Beer (1994:2) and Vorster (1981:55) both indicate that land is life, which man cannot do without. Van Niekerk (1992) states that land is security and that the grave is a pathway to the ancestors; therefore, the land where graves are located cannot be used as agricultural land. The issue about the land and understanding Zulu culture should be encompassed in the land policy for land reform and development. Apusignah (2008:2) argues that to alienate culture from development is actually to alienate people from their roots. Avendano (2013) argues that land ownership, harvest and food provided a sense of social cohesion that far surpasses the modern ownership of money and other luxuries. The Zulu peoples' sense of social cohesion derives from the fact that the land is where they keep their cattle, and it contains the memories through the rituals such as *ukubuyisa* (cleansing ceremony). According to Apusignah (2008:2) the importance of social cohesion or strong sense of community was manifest in Nkrumah's who was the first President of Ghana who espoused conscientization philosophy which drew on the values of community as a mobilization tool for national reconstruction

Additionally, the land is where they cultivate and harvest their sources of nutrition. Just as the livestock is the pride of man, land was the pride of a woman (Kinsman 1870:21). The land was a place where the women fed their families from, making various dishes to be served to large and small families. Participant C7 (research participant interviewed on 29 March 2016) argues that with land made arable to cultivate, graves to bury their loved ones, stock to raise and eat from. Analysis indicated that other people would rather have animal stock and land than a lot of money. Participant C4 said he preferred to go back to Greytown so that he could have cows. As far as he is concerned the money he earns has a lower value than the cows with their milk as services such as tilling the land. It is important that the Land Restoration Policy fast track the communication routes of the rural areas while maintaining the infrastructure which is also slowly crumbling in the urban and semi urban areas. People should participate in their own development, cultural rights, and priorities of development. Interestingly many Zulu people who live in urban cities still have one or two cows, goats, pigs and chicken kept by remaining relatives back in the rural homestead. Von Kapff (1977:28) argued that for the Zulus, cattle represent wealth, power and status. In a study of *Perceptions of fortune and misfortune in older South African households* (2003:3) Moller and Radloff found that mainly rural respondents valued their cattle wealth and their vegetable gardens, and stated they enjoyed their gardening activities. This confirms that the possession of cattle means food, clothing, and all possible comfort and desirable luxury.

### **What did the study find to support or deny this statement?**

If a man had cows, there was amasi kept eguleni (calabash) C6

- *We had land and many cows, goats and chickens in Greytown but Whites did not want our cows (C6)*
- *his father would sell one or two cows to get enough money to send him and his sibling to school, particularly to places of higher learning (C6)*
- *Cows (impahla) was used for planting, milk, skin for wearing (ibheshu and isidwaba), milk as well as covering a dead man before the advent of coffins. But these days we gave people borrow money with interest (C6)*
- *We should go back and sisele those that have no cows so that there is no one to steal from another*

These findings were a confirmation of a long held desire for the Zulu people to get their cows back in one way or another. It strengthens the case in the literature review of this study.



Rowlstone (1980:23) continued to enrich literature by stating that many Zulu tales and sayings are about cattle for example, 1. “*indoda ifel ezinkomeni* which by translation means, “A man dies with his cattle/ a man will do anything to save his cattle and 2. *Ukuba yinyama* meaning something is *sought after*”. As pointed out by Kruger (1977:23) ownership of a large stock of cattle formed the backbone of the ‘tribal’ economy. Mhiriri (2009:19) however uses a less loaded term for tribal economy and calls it’s a “cattle economy”. He contends that, of all the activities which are considered the special sphere of men, the most important in tribal economy is certainly the rearing and the care of the cattle.

According to Mnguni (2006:23)

*Izinkomo ziyafelwa esizweni samaZulu. Emandulo inkosi ibiphaka impi ukuze amabutho ayoyidlele izinkomo/ Zulu people were always prepared to die for their cattle.*

However, it was also found that many people are now discouraged to have cattle because of the high theft particularly in the Northern areas of Zululand. It is possible to get over 20 cows having gone at night. It is alleged that thieves are heavily armed and can easily overpower or do worse to the people that look after animals. As a result, many people decide to sell their cows before they lose them to theft. With the security issue aside, the Zulu man still want to keep cattle, goats and chickens. I observed that the least many families do to practice the skill and love of keeping some type of animals is to keep chickens. Almost every rural house in Estcourt had a chicken coup of varying sizes and shapes. Although they complain of foxes or some type of a wild rats that eat the chicken and theft by humans, participant C1 mentioned that:

- *It is just a shame for a household without cattle, goats, chickens or even chicks. It is worse if in that household there is not even an aloe tree. The husband and the wife in that family should be embarrassed.*

#### **5.4.4 Theme 4: Maintenance of link with the traditional rural homesteads**

##### **Summary of theme and findings**

The introduction of paid labour, dispossession and forced reduction of cattle numbers contributed to a change in the history and consequently consumption patterns of the Zulu man and woman. Consequently, the Zulu people crossed the Tugela River to look for work in Durban while keeping their wives and children and some stock back in the rural area. This study was about analysing consumption patterns of the Zulu people and the effects on social

cohesion. Leaving the rural area affected both their consumption and social cohesion. This study, however, found that many participants not only expressed their desire to keep this life of both worlds but they are happy with their participation in the rural life. They pay allegiance to chiefs and pay whatever dues such as “Khonza fee” which is an annual fee for showing one’s allegiance to the chief of the place.

**What I observed in Chapter 4 was that:**

- All my participants had rural homesteads
- All of them go back to perform cultural rituals
- They all believed that the city/town is a temporary place for work but the real home is back in town
- All of them believed that their urban dwelling belongs to their fathers whether alive or dead.

This was confirmed by participant C1, “*Ngesi Zulu lomuzi akuwona owami kodwa okababa wami/ According to the Zulu culture this house is not mine but belongs to my late father.*”

All participants except C8 have varying forms and sizes of vegetable patches where they plant from all sorts of vegetables, but interestingly those that are more like the ones planted way back in the rural areas e.g. maize, beans and pumpkins.

I have observed a number of traditional weddings in which people who have been married for a number of years, decide that their marriage is incomplete without a traditional Zulu wedding. Participant C2, who works as a male nurse informed me that he is not yet married, yet he wore a wedding ring. When I asked him further, he mentioned that he mentioned that his first wedding was a Christian wedding. Although he did the perform all the rituals before and after the “white wedding” he feels that his ancestors are not happy. Without saying more, he said: *ingakho izinto zami zingahambi kahle/ that is why there are things in my life that are not going well.*

I found that half the participants who are mostly male have wives back in the rural areas but they work in town. Participant 4’s wife and children live in the informal settlement outside Pietermaritzburg on the way to Greytown while he works at a school as a security in the school in town. He goes home on weekends. Participant C7 and 3 have their families in the rural areas of Estcourt while they both work in the Bed and Breakfast establishment and only go back home once a month. They spend their weekends, festive times and sad times visiting their relatives there. The city where they live and work is very lonely. They long for food from home. Participants (C2, C7 and C9) confirmed that when they come visiting their rural

homestead their families brew sorghum beer for them, even they are not going to drink, but for the neighbours who might realise they are home. On their way back at the end of that specific visiting time the wives would give them beer in a small tin to drink back in town. I also learned that some have paid for their future graves in the rural when the inevitable times come. Participant C1 confirmed that everybody at home knew where he will be buried and what kind of cultural food would be prepared and served. He has even chosen the big cow the family would slaughter when he dies. They pay rural dues such as land tax to traditional leaders. Some have traditional positions and other roles and responsibilities which give them special privileges. They may prosper and start thriving businesses in town but when the time comes to retire they remember that:

- The rural lifestyle is more affordable than the western economy
- It would be better if they would go back and *bafuye* (keep livestock) and plant their own large fields and even make money out of that
- That the rural lifestyle provides for fresh vegetables and fruits and fresh air

Every time there is a cultural event that must be performed *ukulungisa izinto* (to ensure performance of a ritual) they know that *umsamo* is back home where *kukhona isalukazi noma ikhehla nabakithi asebalala* (where the granny to my children and my ancestors are buried). At the umemulo event I learned that performing any cultural rituals in the suburb is frowned upon by both the ancestors and the Zulu people in general. Many relatives would not come to the event if they know that the host has violated the cultural norms and expectations. Participant C2 confirmed that anyone who is forced to perform a cultural ritual at home, would first visit *umsamo*, perform some rituals to invite and apologise to ancestors for doing this particular event in the place outside his expected rural homestead.

Participant C4 and C5 also made it that they use the services of an isangoma to come and perform a cleansing ritual and to apologise on behalf of the family. For this a goat or and a few chickens could be sacrificed and eaten by the family the same night. If he had to do it, he would have done like my participant C1 where he already a special place in the house he regards and respects as *umsamo*. For him to be forced to conduct such a ritual would mean that:

- he would have to apply for a licence to slaughter a cow
- he would have to have a place big enough to hold all people who would attend
- Need a room set aside as *umsamo* to hang the meat and talk to *amadlozi*
- Get an isangoma to come and cleanse the area as he cannot go around sprinkling *intelezi* to protect his site or place.

- The town house is regarded as a temporary space for the Zulu people living in town (Setsiba: 2006:35)

In the preparation and the holding of the Umemulo event, I observed that the head of the family, who was a father to the girl who would be celebrated, was working and staying in town. He has also had a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) house in the township he bought from his friend many years ago. However, for the Umemulo of his daughter to suit all the cultural forms he performed this function in his rural homestead. The other reason the link is maintained is a claim by all participants that it is not easy to have umsamo in the township because there is not enough space. They claim it is worse in the informal settlement or RDP houses. The only interesting participant was C8. C8 is a Zulu who married an Australian citizen and they both live in Gratia, Australia. She has deep roots and love of her Zulu traditions. She occasionally brings her new family to KwaZulu-Natal. However, she cannot practise her cultural traditions overseas as such practices are regarded through Western cosmology, as barbaric and backwards.

#### **5.4.5 Theme 5: Erosion of old values, adoption of new bad and good values**

The Zulu people led a balanced consumption lifestyle. What the study found from personal experiences of the participants is that the Zulu people who live in the urban areas still prefer the rural life when it comes to the following issues:

- a. A socially cohesive community where people know and greet each other
- b. Where people still care and visit each other
- c. Where the bones of their ancestors' lie
- d. The air is still clean
- e. They can still own a big field of land and grow any type of vegetables
- f. They can still have stock of their size
- g. They can still perform rituals of their ancestors
- h. Life and the standard of living is relatively low

As a result, many people who are working in the city go back to retire in the rural area. However, some of them do not like the rural area preferring to use it as place for specific rituals, their parents' graves cannot be moved from their old rural homesteads to the city. These people complain of the following about the rural areas:  
Roads are mostly gravel and not made

- a. Amenities such as shops and other many amenities taken for granted in town are either non-existent or very far
- b. One still has to come back to town to receive a lot of up-to-date services
- c. Faraway rural places have no electricity, schools or places of employment better than working in the farm
- d. Development is slow or non-existent
- e. There is drought anyway and therefore there is no prospect of gaining from the soil is growing plants or vegetables
- f. While government is electrifying and bringing development to the most rural areas, it is very slow for a person who is used to urban life
- g. Occasionally there is serious crime whose violence far exceeds that of the urban areas.

Some of the terms used by participants about their past experiences of the rural life are that:

- a. They used to and still walk long distances to any place which they say contribute to a healthy lifestyle
- b. Food was and is always accompanied by beer, singing and dancing (ukusina, ukugiya) characterising different types of cultural functions- a form of exercise. I personally witnessed this at both joyful functions of umemup and a wedding.
- c. Beer was never prepared to be taken alone without food. In fact, it was only given after food had been served. As a result, there was no beer hall as there was no need for one. As a result, people never had crime, alcoholic problems and diseases associated with diabetes (uncontrolled sugar).
- d. Food and beer was served, followed by dancing, singing and ululating.
- e. In the past sorghum beer was drunk as a beverage after eating meat.
- f. Sugar was never as bad as it is. These days the Zulu people have been affected by the consumption patterns of the West where sugary foods such as soft drinks, beer in an empty stomach is consumed in large amounts.

As I attended the cultural events such as a wedding and funeral, it was also saddening to see how many people are now cast away as alcoholics, continually wanting to consume hot alcoholic drinks without wanting to put food in their stomach and becoming addicted to this horrible lifestyle. It was also instructive to see how many younger people had bought expensive 'after tears' whisky or beer to drink even though the event was supposed to be a sad one and deserved respect for the family and relatives. Some of those young people were in the stage generally categorised in the township as 'alcoholic'. They are thin, sickly looking, drunk and unhealthy.

The Sunday Times newspaper of 15 February 2016 a #supportugartax launched a campaign against excessive sugar (Taylor: 2016:4). It stated:

*Support the sugary drinks tax and support our kids' health- at the current rate, 3.9 million school children will be overweight or obese by 2025. Obesity is linked to type 2 diabetes, heart disease and stroke. Don't drink yourself sick.*

The same article (ibid) reported that South Africans are among the top 10 consumers of soft drinks in the world. Consequently, the country has the highest rate of obesity in sub-Saharan Africa, with obesity-related diseases such as heart disease and diabetes, accounting for 43 of deaths in the country (Taylor:2016:4). However, these diseases can be largely prevented by implementing proven, cost effective and balanced lifestyle. This includes the following:

- eating natural foods
- reducing sugar and sugary foods that contain a lot of sugar
- exercising and doing chores such as gardening and other chores at home.

The values guarding the Zulu cultures which has at its centre consumption of food and beverages have been severely eroded. In many families the cultural foods are eaten on special traditional occasions when a ritual is being observed (Mnguni: 2006:45). Like most other African tribes in South Africa, their consumption patterns have been influenced by the Indian consumption culture, White culture and other fast foods marketed by the media. While this is not a bad thing per se, it is f people abandon their traditional and healthy foods and consume fad foods which is unhealthy and even addictive. Khumalo (2017:5) argues that consumption cultures grow and change over time. People adapt to new tastes, previously unknown. However, food is not without hidden but intended political and economic gains for those in power. It is for that reason that certain product continues to be sold without any written warning. This is because this produces big business and capital for the multinationals of the world and enable their economies to control the food industry of the world. In that way control the poor countries of the world.

The researcher observed that cultural events are performed in line with two cultures, that is Zulu/African and western cosmology having taken over in the youth sector. The poor are torn in between. The new tastes are attractive, too sweet to resist, expensive and unaffordable, the traditional need land to plant and keep stock from chicken to goats so that they live. However, in the drying climate where a person needs work so that he provides for his family, movement to the already overpopulated and expensive towns become inevitable. This throws

the rural person back to the town economy that rejects him and make him poorly unfed, a criminal or adopt unscrupulous ways to get money and eventually drugs.

According to participant (C5);

*Akuselula ngoba izingane azikudli ukudla kwesiZulu*

*Izingane azisakufuni ukudla okuluhlaza njenge mifino yezintanga nabo madumbe*

English translation

*It is not easy to convince our children to eat the Zulu foods*

*Our children do not like the green vegetables such as pumpkin leaves and amadumbes*

However, each generation passes on its customs and cultural values through food consumption, narration and storytelling in particular rural areas has hardly been documented (Dyn 2012). As pointed out by Kunene (1979:16) one of the cardinal values of ubuntu is a habit of working together in the spirit of harmony, service and teamwork, in which care is taken to balance individual rights and communal rights (Mbigi 2005:15). Taking a similar view, Jeannotte (2000:24) defines social cohesion as the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity. This discouraged a habit of eating at the wrong time as well as obesity. With the loss of cultural values, correct eating rituals, obesity has become a major problem. As expressed by the Heart and Stroke Foundation of South Africa (Taylor 2012:2) South Africa has the highest overweight and obesity rate in sub-Saharan Africa, with up to 70% of women and a third of men being classified as overweight or obese. Culturally based values are the pervasive foundation that underlies consumer preferences for functional food. However, the loss of values to raise and look after one's own animal stock makes mockery of the notion that for Africans animal stock is their bank.

### **Destructive antisocial norms and values**

I also noticed what has become a new trend mainly in the townships of what is called 'after tears party' where people meet next door or a few houses away from the family that are grieving. They then have drinks such as beer and meat till late in the evening. Although some studies have been done about this new practice, it is still not embraced as a cultural practice, seen by other traditional people as directly unsympathetic to the pain the family is feeling. The opposing view is that the 'after tears people' are trying to console the family, particularly if the deceased member also took part in the after tears meetings of the other families. Soon thereafter they gather in a group where they begin the 'after tears' party, eating and drinking beer. There is a raging debate as to whether they add to social cohesion or not. I found that

they support only each other but are generally regarded the same way as people who come to show off their expensive and latest clothing; both these types as anti – and anti-African.

Blose (2002) quotes Wilson that

*beyond all these often come others who are attracted not so much by grief and sympathy, nor even by the obligation to express these feelings, but rather by the crowds and the possibility of getting some meat*

### **Purity of body and mind**

Democratic principles, feminism, Christianity and many post- modern principles conflict some of the cultural values of the Zulu people. Way back in the times of Cetshwayo women who had tasted the freedom that comes with working away from home, just when the Zululand were annexed, began challenging the Zulu kingdom regarding being forced to marry men they had not chosen themselves (in the old tradition of a newly men's regiment asked to choose from a newly released women's regiment). They sent a word of rebellion to the King Cetshwayo by saying, "*Ucu alulingani*" meaning, "*we do not and we cannot accept love proposals from the men chosen for us*" This began a breakaway and challenge to Zulu customs associated with women. Virginity testing falls into that category of issues. The debate rages on whether virginity testing performed only for girls does indeed prevent teenage pregnancy. However, the King of the Zulus is continuing with the practice in the Reed dance ceremonies.

Leaving the new and anti- African grouping of latest dress styles, after- tears and beer, I was told that there are still funeral steps to follow the funeral, all of which will have ritualistic food and beer served in them. According to Sunday Times (5 February 2017) poorer households (read blacks) in the lower deciles spent close to 40% of their total expenditure on food. On the other hand, households in the top decile (read white) spent only 8% on food, although in real terms they significantly outspent the poorer households. Wealthier households typically spend much more on housing and transport, therefore reducing the proportion of spending that would be allocated to food. The survey shows that black African headed households accounted for over half (52, 8%) of all households' consumption expenditure.

Linked to this economic trend is socially depraved new ways some Zulu people, like many other African people of South Africa, are beginning to take. One of them is the way cultural events such as the funeral have been turned into a social party where people show off of their latest and flashy cars, clothes that are more revealing of their bodies and indulge in a new trend of a ceremony more known as the 'after tears'. The researcher observed this side event



where the latest big cars and with men and women who had expensive taste in clothing, began drinking and making noise as a big group next door. In a way they were a spectacle as culture or people regarded as traditionalists shied away from this group who act the values that cannot neither be called African nor Western except that what they are consuming is a western type alcohol. On discussing this issue participant C8 quoted an African saying which says, “*when the gods want to destroy you, they first make you crazy*”. He was saying this group of people have left their culture and the ancestors are angry with them and are consequently making them crazy.

Also associated with the erosion of African and Zulu cultural values is the drug problem. Young people smoke dagga and mix it with other drugs. In the olden days, dagga smoking was for old people and was smoked after eating. One of the participants, C5 put it like, “old men used to smoke dagga. They would grow it and smoke it like this. They called it “*umthunzi wezinkuku*”. They placed a bucket of water. They would smoke with long pipes and when there was smoke they would put their pipes in water in this bucket. There would be bubbles. They would call each other to smoke and eat together foods such as a bark. As a result, they did not have any diseases. Even the chickens they ate did not have diseases because this chicken ate anything from ezaleni (a place directly a few metres in front of kitchen where water and all types of unused or rotten food was thrown).

However, this study also found that there are new and good consumption practices that are turning into patterns. For instance, while the programme continues in an event or ceremony in the township or rural areas, guests are served with water and fruits such as apples, oranges and bananas and water. This is to ensure that people do not become hungry or suffer the effects of diseases that need them to have a few bites of sugary fruit or sweets. In the olden days *amahewu*, *amantshontsho* and *utshwala* (Zulu beer) would be served while the invitees were still waiting for to be served meat and beer.

## **Conclusion and recommendations for further studies**

The study addressed the following questions: (1). What are the factors that contribute to social cohesion in the Zulu community? (2). What is the ritualistic value of food in Zulu cosmology and (3) How are cultural rituals linked to social cohesion?

### **5.5.1 Factors that contribute to social cohesion**

The first question was about the ‘factors that contribute to social cohesion in the Zulu community’. The study concluded that the Zulu people regard ubuntu as a natural way of dealing with other humans, animals and the world. They performed or practiced this without paying attention or wanting or expecting to be rewarded for it. After and beside warm greetings to both strangers and visitors and taking time to know who the stranger is, they offered a cup of tea or even food. The examples of all people bringing food such as cakes in the funeral was a symbol of familyhood. The Zulu people see themselves, generally, in relationship to others. The household, family, community and the ethnic group serve as important forces that join individuals to a single body and give them a unique identity. In joy and in grief, the people deferred to and depended on one another for support. The critical factor underpinning such relationship is the shared value and belief system of caring and support, which are indicators of pro-social behaviour.

### **5.5.2 The ritualistic value of food in the Zulu cosmology**

The second question was about the ritualistic meaning of food. Food ritual was placed central to the issue of respect and of social cohesion. Zulu people strongly believe that to be a fully recognised Zulu one needs to perform the correct rituals and follow them strictly.e. g slaughtering or even when one has to till the land. While those in the urban areas do not regularly perform these practices, however they keep the cultural artifacts such as a calabash, Zulu attire of different assortments and the harvest in their gardens reflect the type of food they would like to eat.

It was instructive to observe the love of planting vegetables in the back gardens of the rural and township areas (see Appendix A). Green vegetables such as maize, green beans, amadumbe and other vegetables patches of various sizes decorate the inside and even edge-of-the roads garden patches. Depending on the type of fruits that can grow in locations along the South Coast area one could find fruits such as banana, paw-paw, avocado pears, mango and amadumbe and sweet potatoes being sold on the side of the N2 South highway. In the

dry hinterland one found fruits such as peaches and pawpaw. Even though the KwaZulu-Natal Province has experienced numerous drought seasons in the past decade the damp sea air enriches the soil to pumpkins, and pumpkin leaves (known as imfino yezintanga) and beans make which are foods that contribute to protein and vitamins in the communities living in these areas.

### **5.5.3 How cultural rituals link to social cohesion?**

The third question was about cultural rituals and their links to social cohesion. The study concluded that planting, harvesting are some of the practices that create and strengthen social cohesion among women. Older women find time to talk girl issues to their daughters and to teach them about growing up and womanhood in general. The study concluded that Zulu people are very close to their land and soil. Various cultural practices are linked to the tilling and harvesting. Even in the township people still hold a belief that they should build and set aside a special room for them to connect with their ancestors. The study concluded that Zulu people believe that the people in the graveyard, which are usually below the tilling land inside the premises, are not “dead” but asleep. Hence, they are still able to ‘look after’ their families. Numerous rituals are done regularly by families to achieve their own spiritual equilibrium.

Many Zulu people complained that they do not want to go and live in the suburbs as they fear that they will not have place enough to plant both their small or big gardens, rear or have chicken runs and would be forced to be separated from their loved ones when they depart the land of the living. However, these viewpoints about planting and graveyards are not necessarily all shared by everyone. Many Zulu people have overtime moved on to live in the suburbs and work in towns. They love the new life but the study found that they long for the rural life for reasons of planting and eating, types of food such as vegetables, fresh milk and the issue of their link to the graves of their fathers. Hence those tha still have some relatives back in the rural areas, keep some stocks and regularly go back to perform their rituals. In a very strong sense Zulu people do not want to be separatred from their roots. This is the point Apusigah (2008:2) makes that to alienate culture from development is actually to alienate people from their roots. He asks the questions, “What is the point of holding on to a value system that imperils the majority of the people or even endangers their lives?”

## Livestock

The study concluded that Zulu people are as fond of their animal stock as they are of slaughtering and land ownership. They see themselves in a biocentric relationship with the land, animals and their culture (Apusigah: 2008:2) where all things have an equal right to exist, live and blossom and reach their own individual and self realisation. The study concluded that when talking about food including beer one gets a strong sense that for the Zulu people food is a symbol that confers dignity and uniqueness of their culture. A good example is how many times 'red meat' was associated with men and by extension white meat or chicken is associated with women and boys. A saying that 'indoda idla inyama/ a real man eats meat (red meat) is said more by the Zulu people for in other cultures e.g Xhosa women eat a lot of red meat. For the people living in the rural areas it was unthinkable that a man can live without cattle, goats and chickens. It is in this spirit and a pro-poor agenda that the Provincial Departments of Land and Agrarian Reform (Sasateli 2014:48) have had strategies and plans for Green Revolutions by which they encourage families and Cooperative business formations to acquire land and plant and feed both the local and international markets. Part of that strategy is:

- Giving seeds to cooperatives
- Giving tractors and ploughing tools
- Giving cows, goats and chickens

The idea is form self sufficient local economic development not only to end poverty but generate strong local markets which exports its product to international markets (Sasateli 2014:48). The study found that many Zulu people living in the cities keep a number of livestock in the rural areas, employing someone to look after the cattle. Many people still cherish the idea of going back and retire in the rural areas, hence keeping some stock which they hope to rear as fulltime business when they retire. The study concluded that some people have lived long enough to realize their dreams but others find that it hard to go back and live a life they left many years ago.

All participants concurred that for a century since being conquered the Zulu people have continued to experience a conflict in their cultural identity. They live and work in the city because they have to get better employment. While some have established themselves well conditions and a cost of living in the city make them talk of going back to the rural lifestyle. The study also concluded that for many Zulu men working in places like Durban and Johannesburg, investing in buying cattle back home is seen as more profit than any money

they are saving in the bank. This theory and practice agrees with a 6-year study conducted in Lesotho which found that investing in cattle earned farmers the equivalent of a 10% interest rate, while a bank account lost 10% because of inflation. It is therefore not surprising that farmers - and many non-farmers - put their money in livestock rather than banks (Waters-bayer et al, 1992:6)

However, it was instructive to observe how close to their land, cattle, rituals and other people Zulu people are. This is the connection Apisugah (2007:2-9) calls a biocentric life. According to him this life begins with the realisation that we as individual humans, and as communities of humans, have vital needs which go beyond such basics as food, water and shelter to include love, play, creative expression, intimate relationship with a particular landscape as well as intimate relationships with the humans and other vital need to spiritual growth, for becoming and mature human beings. At close range one observes that to the Zulu people food is eaten for healing relationships:

- ritual slaughter
- to heal a rift in the family
- to heal the body
- For peace
- And connecting to the Supreme Being

The study concluded that the present cost of living particularly for those living in the city, many of whom live from hand to mouth, results in them not having enough food to eat. They share the limited food bought out of meagre pay. As a result of this situation there is a need for support for small vegetable patches. Food becomes the centrepiece for discussion which enables the Zulu people to make new relationships with neighbours and distant relatives. It does not matter how small or inadequate, a person would call out to his neighbour or homeboy and say

*ake uze sithi ukubambamba iqashana. Phela selafa izwe, inyama isibiza ngendlela eyisimanga/ come, let us share in the piece of meat I have. Things have changed, meat is unbelievable expensive."*

There is a romanticisation of "going back to culture" or eating the cultural way'. Many of the participants who belong to the older generation confirmed that they plan to literally go back to the rural place "lapho amathambo obaba elele khona/where the bones of our forefathers are buried"

## **5.6 Contribution to knowledge**

The research contributes to the management literature in several ways. It will provide a deeper understanding of social cohesion from the perspective of rural and indigenous people and the role foods play to unite the Zulu people over a century to date. It will also yield data that will provide evidence on whether the Western notions of social cohesion hold in a rural setting in South Africa. In a country that is rebuilding itself such evidence will inspire crafting of policies that speak to different cultural and socio-economic contexts. In the context of finding of 'unity in diversity' where racism and xenophobia are rearing ugly heads and dividing the people, the way of the Zulu people in accepting strangers and caring and accepting people of any colour might provide a solution to such problems in the country

The project by the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Land and Agrarian Reforms (Sangweni 2014:24) to teach and encourage Zulu people to cook and eat traditional foods begins to renew a sense of pride in their cultural food and its meaning. This project is done annually and produces a book with recipes on how to cook different traditional foods using products from the garden. This project and many others like it will offer training and development for young entrepreneurs who will open businesses in food cultures and open more tourism opportunities for many other unemployed people of South Africa.

The study concluded that there is a need to strengthen policies of land restitution to enable the Zulu people to practice their culture. This will allow them to cultivate the land, look after their livestock and continue with their cultural practices. As Apusigah (2007:30) confirms that the practical implications of this intuition or norm is that we should live with minimum rather than maximum impact on other species and on the earth in general. Apusigah (2007:2) concludes that in an era of sweeping globalization with its devastating effects on humans and environment, a return to indigenous knowledge and cultural values offers enormous opportunities for mitigating sustainable change that is culturally and ecologically appropriate. In this regard more people should be encouraged to plant more fruit trees. They should be encouraged to share or document their knowledge of various traditional recipes for some of these have herbs for healing. The radio programmes on 'gardening and such related matters should be continued and competitions for small viable gardens can be made to be part of the calendar of the rural people.

The findings of this study concurred with Bowen's theory of family (Nel 2007:142) that for the Zulu people a family includes not only the close relatives but everybody that aligns himself or herself as a member of this family. According to Nel (2007:143) central to Bowen theory is the

concept of the family as an emotional unit that includes all generations, including the ancestors. This is what Rudwick (2006:15) calls 'Zuluism', which is a concept indicating that in the broader scheme of things a Zulu person could be anybody who aligns himself with the practices of the Zulu people.

The Zulu culture of ubuntu has in its essence this expansionary and inclusive state of mind. Any person irrespective of colour who speaks, dances and behaves like a Zulu is regarded "*lo mlungu "Ngu mZulu phaqa", or "Proper Zulu"*. In other words, they have earned themselves a right in the heart and family of the Zulu people. The famous singer from a band known as 'Juluka' was given his praise songs and named the "White Zulu" (Mkele 2017:8)). Johnny Clegg was accepted by the Zulu people at large as one of their own. As a result, he was able to visit places like Zulu men's hostels and be able to spread his music. This study also concluded that the Zulu people believe in the cleanliness of the heart, peace and reconciliation. The concepts of multigenerational transmission process and triangulation in Bowen theory offer effective theoretical bases for interpreting the ongoing relationship Zulu families have with their ancestors.

It was also clear that the role of the Isangoma or umthandazi is to ensure that both the living and the dead accept reconciliation before people can partake of eating together. In this case food is also used as to bring reconciliation. Nel (2007:99) confirms this in his study that reconciliation functions to restore harmony and balance and brings a renewed openness and flexibility to the family system. This is what is needed at this juncture in South Africa and the Province of Kwa Zulu-Natal; a spiritual renewal to touch people's hearts and renew. All respondents concurred that if the Zulu people go back to their cultures the level of crime caused by lawlessness by young and old would go down. The study thus confirmed a relationship amongst various theories which indicate that societies that care for each other, show empathy and a sense of collective responsibility for collective development carry the potential to deal with their common problems more effectively than individualistic societies (Giddens 1990:223-225). They have values that bind individuals to one another preventing their lives from disintegrating into chronic conflict and chaos. These societies have a conventional symmetry which is a tolerance level for anyone who subscribes to their rule. This equilibrium level is inclusive than exclusive.

Berglund (1976:45) argues that the sharing of food was an important matter as was the atmosphere in which the sharing takes place.

*For if there is anger in the minds of any of the participants, including especially the shades, or there is suspicion, 'then the spirit of eating is bad. That is not the*

*atmosphere of umsebenzi (ritual celebration). Everybody must be cool and pleasant. That is when everybody is happy and can eat nicely without some thoughts. ' . . . Anger, suspicion and hatred are all geared towards ubuthakathi (witchcraft and sorcery), and occasion when many people get together as at ritual celebrations are the occasions par excellence for committing (sic) ubuthakathi'*

The study concurs with the objectives of a movement to renew the Ubuntu or the Regeneration movement as well as the African Renaissance indicate a rethink by Africans that Western cosmology may not yield results hoped for when Africa was emancipated from colonialism. In this study, the Zulu people confirm the point by Apisugah (2007:7) that as the recipients of the ancient customs and beliefs of our ancestors our situation in the historical context, as both inheritors and transmitters of an intellectual tradition makes it necessary for us to consider well what we commend as 'rational' to ensure sustainability.

The role of women in livestock keeping was not mentioned much by respondents. However, since rural women formed 51 % of South Africa's population ((Statistics South Africa, 2017:1), it is important that they are closely involved in the decision making of the know how of buying, rearing and selling of livestock. This seemed to be an exclusive domain for men who are unfortunately far from home to make such decisions. According to Waters-bayer, 1992:9 women's role in pastoral systems becomes even more important in societies under pressure as a result of commercialisation of production and changes in land use. It makes more sense to involve women in sustaining rural economy and acceptable consumption patterns. The study concluded that knowledge-transfer and knowledge repository of livestock husbandry is by culture a preserve of the men. One rural woman whose husband used to own over 200 cattle when he was alive soon found herself wanting when the husband suddenly passed away.

She did not know how many cattle she had and who was owned what cattle by her late husband. As a result, the widow depended on the shepherd for information about the cattle. Crying, she confessed to the researcher:

*ubaba wathi angingangeni ezinkomeni zakhe. Wathi angibheke ikhaya kuphela*

English translation

*My late husband told me not to interfere in his management of the livestock. He told me to concentrate on running the house*



Waters-bayer (1992:12) concludes by saying it is necessary to examine livestock development trends, to assess which ones render the soil-plant-animal-human live-lihood system less sustainable, and to establish ways in which it can be made more sustainable. It was clear from the responses and visits that many small rivers have run dry for some years.

Livestock-keeping can make productive use of areas which are not easy to use for agriculture and human settlement. In ecological terms, animal-based systems are particularly suitable for making use of dryland resources. Interactions between livestock husbandry and cropping can involve both transfer of nutrients and energy from grazing areas to cropland and intensification of the nutrient and energy cycles. In cases of increasing landuse intensity, the role of trees also becomes more important. In traditional systems of intensive land use with few external inputs, the livestock, field crops and woody species are closely linked. When new land is cleared for farming by traditional means, i.e. without mechanised clearing equipment, important economic trees are left standing. Seedlings close to the homestead may be protected, for example, by surrounding them with thorny plants, and some seedlings may even be transplanted. The findings, however, did not clearly put the implied issue of sustainability on the table. The assumption was that consumption patterns of the Zulu people is closely linked to sustainable development of the rural areas for them to be able to continue with planting and rearing livestock.

It was also clear that it would be difficult for any government to entice people to leave the cities with tap water, electricity and other comforts to go back to desertified areas without running rivers, grass for animals and without government addressing issues of crime and implementing policies of sustainable development in agriculture through dealing with:

- water issues
- road and infrastructure
- crime
- cattle theft
- and integrated and sustainable development

However, the issue of sustainable development was implied but outside the scope of the study. According to Thompson (2005:27) the concept of sustainable development can be interpreted in many different ways, but at its core is an approach to development that looks to balance different, and often competing, needs against an awareness of the environmental, social and

economic limitations we face as a society whereas the environmental aspect is quite clearly defined to be the sum of all bio-geological processes and their elements. He continues (ibid) to say that sustainable development is all about deliberate decision making in order to direct global development and system evolution towards a more sustainable route. Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (ibid).

For sustainable and all inclusive development to happen, the development programme cannot be allowed to favour only modern lifestyle and consumption patterns at the expense of our 37 percent rural areas of South Africa. (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 1). While not neglecting our cities and towns to become drug dens and chase away tourism, the pro-poor policies need to ensure development of people where they are. The craftwork produced by rural people can be seen and found in the streets of Europe. The question is whether the crafters have benefitted to the export economy of their products. Apisugah (2007:5) refers to this type of development as endogenous development which has been variously described as the indigenization, localization and humanization of development toward the effective integration of traditional and modern knowledge and values. The relevance of a new development approach can be related to the need to re-shape the inter-cultural global society and to seek mechanisms for justice, poverty reduction, sustainability, human rights and peace in all corners of the globe in an era in which humans have achieved a tremendous new potential for intercultural communication and exchange through the internet, mobile phones and mobility.

The endogenisation will include the renewal of indigenous knowledge systems and will make the rural people confident. It was made clear by the respondents in the study that the Zulu people are caught in the two worlds; one the city world that promises employment and money, but gives them neither and the cultural world left behind that connects them to their cultures but is not sustainable. This is happening while the whole world is getting smaller and technology is passing by. Their children have tasted both but without opportunities for employment in the cities, they would also add to the rate of unemployment. It is for this reason that development should be directed to the study of beliefs, knowledge, technologies and practices of living peoples. The argument for endogenous development is that, like all other cultures and people, we should model our pursuit of social progress around our natures, systems and resources. Cultural values remain peripheral to development planning and policy making. Apisugah (2007:3) argues in favour of policies that link people to their environment without taking away their right of migration. The state of the destruction of Africa's natural resources and livelihoods place particular imperatives on not just governments but also

scholars, technocrats and communities to seek sustainable ways of developing and utilizing resources.

Apisugah (2007:3) correctly argues that unless we are able to sustain our cultures we cannot sustain our development because we will set ourselves up for integration and enculturation. The earth is viewed as a living entity with a soul of its own. The earth in its material form as land is held in high esteem for its generous support of human, plant and animal life. Indigenous knowledge and values demonstrated understanding of the need to promote the sustainable exploration of resources and even went further to engineer solutions to environment challenges long before the menace appeared. An appeal to the care ethic will require that plants, on which humans depend so much, be viewed as part of the cycle of life. Human dependence on plants for food, energy, medicinal and/or shelter, require a viewing that can reflect plant life as an extension of the cycle of human existence. To foster this relationship, humans, who tend to possess the destructive edge, will have to take steps to ensure that plant life is sustained. Effective land management will entail shifting from the traditional notion of using land efficiently to support human needs irrespective of the implications of such use for other beings, to embrace the culture of preservation and conservation more seriously.

Apisugah (2007:5) correctly argues that land owns people, meaning the people reside in, preside over, use and manage land. It is the reason why people rise against traditional rulers who sell their land, for it is the people who own the land and not the rulers. The rulers can control its use but not its existence. For land is considered an embodiment of the existence (i.e. lives and livelihoods) of the people. Through its giving and protection, land becomes an embodiment of not just natural resources but also the people who reside and depend on it. Building adaptive capability within governance systems requires a balance of structural features determined by a mass of contextual elements, including goals, social memory, heterogeneity, redundancy (resilience), learning, adaptive capacity, and trust. (Apisugah 2007:4)

To paraphrase Chris (2009:9) about the future of Negritude, giving back the land and enabling thme to practise their cultural way of life which includes cattle farming and agriculture, is a question of placing our nation not only in the Africa of today, but also in the civilization of the universal yet to be built. He continues to argue that to alienate culture from development is actually to alienate people from their roots. Preserving the environment means conserving water and energy, using agricultural techniques that enrich the soil and ensuring a clean, healthy living environment (National Development Plan (2014) Government policies must be about synchronizing people to their land in order to help the greatest number of families move

toward resourcefulness. The issue of preserving the environment means conserving water and energy, using agricultural techniques that enrich the soil and ensuring a clean, healthy living environment (ibid).

As Apisugah (2007:4) argues those who bring children to the world and those who are in that world at the time have the responsibility of bringing up the children to become responsible adults. Their collective responsibility includes socializing the young into age-old family and community traditions and values as well as conserving and expanding resources for generational transfers. Older generations commit themselves to teaching their traditions and values to the young and in acquiring resources that can be passed on to their next generation.

By that virtue, indigenous wisdom upholds the values of inter- and intra-generational sustainability in their dealings in the environment. African states and the entire continent need to draw from and build on the core values of shared living to be able to reach the plurality that holds people of diverse nationalities and ethnicities together as citizens. For the 70 percent of the world's poor who live in rural areas, agriculture is the main source of income and employment but as stated Statistics South Africa (2014:5) depletion and degradation of land and water pose serious challenges to producing enough food and other agricultural products to sustain livelihoods here and meet the needs of urban populations.

The six priorities of the Department of Rural and Land Reform mentions the following six priorities that promise to deal with this biocentric development as mentioned above. In the State of the Nation Address (Zuma:2016) the President of the Republic of South Africa mentioned that government would ensure that agriculture is a catalyst for growth and food security to transform rural economies. He further stated that government would ensure:

- Improved land administration and spatial planning for cohesive development in rural areas.
- Sustainable land reform (agrarian transformation).
- Improved food security.
- Smallholder farmer development and support (technical, financial, infrastructure) for agrarian transformation: One Household, One Hectare.
- Increased access to quality basic infrastructure and services, particularly in education, healthcare and public transport in rural areas.

- Growth of sustainable rural enterprises and industries characterised by strong rural urban linkages, increased investment in agro-processing, trade development and access to markets and financial services resulting in rural job creation.

The President (ibid) stressed that sustainable development is possible and within reach if it is integrated with peoples' cultures and the correct and proper use of their knowledge system.

### **5.7 Limitations and avenues for further research**

The study was limited in terms of its time and scope. More time was needed to visit and spend with various groups of Zulu people to get their latest trends of consumption. However, this approach might not have yielded new consumption patterns unknown and not practiced by rural people where the research was undertaken. This is because the media such as radio and television have played a big role and had a lot of impact in the consumption patterns of the Zulu people. The study, however, raised numerous issues that need further research. The first is the issue of consumption of sugary drinks and the concomitant diseases caused by it. Bloomberg: (2005:2) confirms that South Africans are among the top 10 consumers of soft drinks in the world and it is no coincidence that South Africa has the highest rate of obesity in sub-Saharan Africa, with obesity related diseases such as heart disease and diabetes accounting for 43 % of deaths in the country.

The Zulu people are part of the statistics of the poor in many areas of South Africa. Khumalo (2017:5) argues that poorer households spend close to 40% of their total expenditure on food. The article continues to argue, "Poor blacks are barely surviving, while rich whites are prospering". Moller and Valerie (2013) confirm this point in their study of fortune and misfortune in older South African households by stating that rural black households were less likely to pay cash for food, and more likely to be in debt for their grocery bill and to borrow from a money lender in times of financial difficulties. Notwithstanding the fact that racial salary disparities need to be corrected and other opportunities of making extra money open to the poorer people in general, rural people could be enabled to have livestock and enough land to plant vegetables and fruits.

Another limitation of the study was that it did not deal with the influence of the "americanisation" of consumption patterns particularly in the younger generations exposed everyday at schools, colleges and universities to fast foods that include fizzy drinks which contain a lot of sugar,

salty snacks and subsidized university food that is given in large portions. (Statistics South Africa, 2017:1)).

This generational cohort is a powerful determinant of the future consumption patterns of the semi rural Zulu people. However, the young generation are not impressed with the traditional food and do not see any point to the talk of going back to the rural areas or eating such foods. It is proposed that further consumption pattern studies of the Zulu cosmology be undertaken in this cohort. Based on the above discourse the following are recommended studies:

- A generational cohort particularly young African college students and link to wellbeing
- A study of the mental load and observation of women about Zulu cultural protocols as far as they affect them, for instance, this study found that women “were not allowed to eat amasi, inyama’ etc, what do they think in as far as women emancipation and culture is concerned.
- Lastly, the role of women of culture (those real typical rural women) to any sustainable development. Are they playing any role? What about the fact they have to consult with their husbands in everything?
- Further studies on what type of food the rural Zulu people spend their money given this cultural belief on food.

If the rural landscape continues to be parched and unyielding of food, it will continue to force people to move closer to towns where they do not have land to plant and keep livestock. Away from their rural homestead, their children would carry on regarding African values and eating traditional foods such as amadumbe and pumpkins as backward. In that way there is little or no prospects of the Zulu people going back to their roots and passing on their culture to their offspring.

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## APPENDIX A





## APPENDIX B

Zulu traditional food recipe (a project of the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform: KwaZulu-Natal:2013)



### BLACK-JACK AND SWEET POTATO PORRIDGE

375 ml mealie meal  
1 l water  
250 ml grated sweet potatoes  
500 ml chopped young black-jack leaves  
5 ml salt

- Cook grated sweet potatoes until soft.
- Add black jack leaves and cook for 10 minutes.
- Add salt, mealie meal and stir at 10 minute intervals to prevent the formation of lumps.
- Leave to simmer for 30 minutes.
- Serve hot or cold.

Original recipe submitted by Tikekile Ngcobo (Ixopo: Sisonke).

### IPHALISHI LIKAQADOLO KANYE NOBHATATA

375 ml impuphu  
1 l amanzi  
250 ml ubhatata owudliwe  
500 ml uqadolo osemncane oqotshiwe  
5 ml usawoti

- Pheka ubhatata emanzini ayilitha uze uvuthwe.
- Faka imifino kaqadolo upheke imizuzu eyishumi.
- Faka usawoti kanye nempuphu ugoqoze njalo emuva kwemizuzu eyishumi ukuze kuvikeleke izigaxa.
- Yeka imizuzu engamashumi amathathu ukuze kuvuthwe kahle.
- Kudliwa kushisa noma sekupholile.

Umsuka walesesiphi siyinikezwe ngu- Tikekile Ngcobo (Ixopo: Sisonke).