



Uku(nga)wazi
AMADODA

*Ukuzijonga ngobuAfrika iinkqubo zomthetho
wamadoda kwezesini kuMzantsi Afrika*

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Uku(nga)wazi AMADODA

Ukuzijonga ngobuAfrika iinkqubo zomthetho wama-doda kwezesini kuMzantsi Afrika

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Isandulela

lingcamango zale mihla ngezesini kune nobudlelwane kwezesini kweloMzantsi jikelele zithathwe kakhulu kwiingcamango neembono eziqulunqwe eMantla. Ekuqaphele enjalo ukuxaphaka kwezi mbono, kwincwadi yakhe ethi "Uku(nga)wazi AMADODA" uSakhumzi Mfecane uphonononga ukuzinza nokubhadla kwazo kulo ummandla. Uhlaba umkhosi kwiingqondi zeAfrika ukuba zixoze mphini wumbi kwimbono ngobudoda, nangogonyamelo lobudoda kwimeko-ntlalo yaseAfrika, zisebenzise iingqiyo ngesini ezimvelaphi yazo iyiAfrika, neziqondwa ngamaAfrika. Oku kufuna ukuba kwensiwe iinzame zokuzigatya iimbono zokongama kwendoda, kubuyelwe kwinkqubo neembono zesini zangaphambi kobukoloniyalı. Eli khwelo lobudlelwane phakathi kwamadoda namabhingga malingabonwa ngokungathi liyazifanisa zonke izizwe zeAfrika kulo mba, ingekuko nokuba lithi amaxesha angaphambi kobukoloniyalı wona ayengenazo iingxaki. Ndaweni yoko, malibonwe njengesimemo sokuba kuhlalelwae iincoko zokwakha ubuchule bokupuhhlisa ubungqondi kumaAfrika asemaZantsi azakukwazi ukuqlunqa aphuhlise iingqiyo ngezesini eziselwe eAfrika, kuphele ukusebenzisa eAfrika iingcamango eziphuhlisiswe kwamanye amazwe.

Olu phando lunegalelo elikhulu kwiingxoxo zangoku ezingeenkqubo zenguqu kwezesini ezigonge ekusebenzeni **namadoda** ndaweni yokusebenza **ngamadoda**. Luqala ngeembono ezicingisa nzulu, abanokuthi abazingqondi kwezesini eAfrika bathathele kuzo ekwakheni intsebenziswano namadoda akulo msebenzi wesini.

Lo msebenzi uyinxalenye yeziqendu ezimbalwa zeengxoxo zezikolezesondo, ugawulayo nesini (*Centre for Sexualities, AIDS and Gender*), aphi kuphume khona isiqhamo esibhaliweyo esithe sapapashwa banzi kumaZantsi eAfrika. Abona bantu

baza kusebenzisa olu phando kakhulu ingaba ngamaqumrhu oluntu akwiphulo lesini, abaqlunqi beepolisi, nabafundi abaseyunesithi. Kuyachwayitisa ukuba le ncwadi (olu phando) ikuluhi lweencwadi ezifundwa ngabonyaka wokuqala kwizifundo zoluntu nentlalo (*Humanities*) kwiYunesithi yasePitoli, ekunokuphuma kubo iingqondi kwizifundo zesini.

Justice Medzani
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Intshayelelo



Kweli shumi leminyaka lidlulileyo, uphando neenkqubo zesini kuMzantsi Afrika ziyekelele kwabasetyhini ngoku, zижолise kumadoda, ngakumbi amadoda angamaAfrika. Oku kudale ukuba amadoda enziwe abathathi-nxaxheba kuphando ngesini nakumalinge okungelela, ekubeni ebebonwa eyeyona ngxaki ngaphambili (Peacock & Levack 2004). Ngaphezu koko, kutsho kwadaleka izifundo zokuhlalutya izenzo zamadoda entlalweni yoMzantsi Afrika, nokunika umkhombandlela ngemiba yophuhliso, ungenelelo, nobutsha-ntliziyo (Morrell 2002; Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock 2012; Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya & Willan 2014; Shefer, Kruger & Schepers 2015).

Uphando lubonisa ukuba iimbono nezenzo zamadoda entlalweni ziziqhamo zezithethe zobudoda kwiimeko ezithile zentlalo (Walker, Reid & Cornell 2004; Lindeger & Quayle 2009; Gibbs, Jewkes & Sikweyiya 2017). KuMzantsi Afrika eyona mimiselo yesini iqhelekileyo nenefuthe kwimikhwa egwenxa yamadoda yileyo ikhuthaza ukuphathwa gadalala kwamabhinqa ukuze amadoda abonise ukugonyamela kwavo (Campbell 2001; Walker *et al.* 2004; Jama Shai & Sikweyiya 2015; Mfecane, Struthers, Gray & McIntyre 2005). Uphando luqhuba lubonise ukuba uninzi lweengxaki zentlalo azidalela zona amadoda, ekwazidalela namabhinqa, njengobugebenga, udlwengulo, ubukhoboka botywala, nokungabi nampilo, iingcambu zalo zikule mimiselo ibethelela ubudoda obugonyamelayo.

Kwasekuqaleni, eMzantsi Afrika uphando ngesini luhlala luhamba nobutsha-ntliziyo obusingisele kumakulinganwe zizini zonke (Morrell & Clowes 2016). Bekunqabile ukuba izifundo eziphanda ngamadoda nobudoda bamaAfrika ziqwalasele ezemfundo kuphela. Ndaweni yoko, bezayamene nomzabalazo wamatsha-ntliziyo amabhinqa, nabaphandi, kusiliwa ubusolusapho bamadoda ukuze kuqulunqwe iipolisi zokuphelisa zonke iitlobo zengcinezelo eMzantsi Afrika (Marock, Morgan, Jobson, Soal & Yeoward 2017; Peacock, Khumalo & McNab 2006; Dworkin *et al* 2012; Ditlopo, Mullick,

Astew, Vernon & Mariga 2007). Uphando olunje lwakhokelela ekusungulweni kwamaphulo okungenelela kwimiba yamakhwenkwe namadoda angamaAfrika, kukhangelwe ekuguquleni iimbono nezenzo zabo malunga nokulingana kwezini zonke, ukuphela kobundlobongela, nokuba nenkathalo xa kuthandanwa (Gitting 2018; Marock *et al.* 2017).

Ezi nkqubo zokungenelela – ekuza kuthiwa ngoku ziiMTP (*masculine transformation programmes*)¹ – zande ngokuncomekayo kweli shumi leminyaka lidlulileyo, zabe zifumana neemali kumaqumrhu akumazwe ngamazwe (Jama Shai & Sikweiyi 2015; Marock *et al.* 2017; Ditlopo *et al.* 2007). Ziquka imiba eliqela ngendima edlalwa ngamadoda entlalweni – njengokuba ngumzali, ubundlobongela, ezempilo, ezesondo, nenkathalo, nangona zisekhona iimbono ngobudoda ezsuka - nezithi ziziveze - kwiimeko zasekuhlaleni, ezifumaneka kwiindawo ezithile ngokwengingqi (*situational*), nezihleli ziguquguquka ekuhlalelaneni kwabantu (Dworkin *et al.* 2012: 112). Lingcingane ngobudoda ziyakwazi ukutshintsha nakweyiphi imeko-ntlalo, amadoda namakhwenkwe awanyanzelekanga ukuba abone isini ngendlela ababebona ngayo oyise, oontanga-ndini, nabahlali ababangqongileyo (Shefer *et al.* 2015; Sideris 2005; Lindegger & Maxwell 2007).

Ezi nkqubo ziziiMTP zikhuthaza amadoda amaAfrika ukuba ahlukane neembono “zemveli” ngobudoda, aqwalasele ezi zolingano, ukulunga nenkathalo ekuhlalelaneni, nto leyo ingenze ka ngokwamkela intsingiselo yobudoda entsha. OoGibbs *et al.* (2017: 3) baphawula bathi lo msebenzi mtsha wongenelelo uqalela kwintsebenziswano ephulweni lokuguqupla iindlela zokwenza, kuthathelwa kumsebenzi owenziwa nguPaulo Freire ngo1972. Ngokwale migomo kaFreire, ukutshintsha kwendlela yokwenza kungenzeka kuphela xa amadoda ezibandakanya kwiingxoxo neencoko zothetha-thethwano, nto leyo ikhuthaza ukuzigocagoca, ukucinga nzulu, nokunyusa iqondo lolwazi lwemiba. Kungoko

¹ Ukuthi ubudoda ‘bemveli’ kudla ngokubhekisa kwabo bakwiinggingqi ezibonwa zizezamaAfrika omthonyama. Ndiza kubonisa ukuba le mbono ayiqinisekanga, idinga ukuxoxwa.

kweli shumi leminyaka lidlulileyo kweloMzantsi Afrika ithe yanda kakhulu imibutho yasekuhlaleni, nemibutho engeyiyo ekarhulumente, iimbizo zamadoda, amaqela enkxaso, namaphulo oonondaba, kwilinge lokukhuthaza amadoda ukuba athethe phandle ngezinto ezenzeka kuwo imihla ngemihla, acinge nzulu ngezithethe zobudoda (Collinge, Delate, Figueroa & Kincaid 2013; Marock *et al.* 2017; Ditlopo *et al.* 2007; Jama Shai & Sikweyiya 2015).

lingcinga zam ngezi nkubo zotshintsho lobudoda ziza kulandela mva, okwangoku kwanele ukuthi uphando luthe lwadandalazisa ukuba ezi nkubo ziyaphumelela ekwaziseni amadoda ngeengozi zezithethe zobudoda, zikwabavula ukuba bacingisise ngobomi (Gibbs *et al.* 2017) babo, ze bazibophelele ekuguqukeni nasekuhlalisaneni ngoxolo nangokulingana (Marock *et al.* 2017; Lindegger & Maxwell 2007; Dworkin *et al.* 2012). Amanye kula madoda agqibela esiba sisibonelo, ethetha phandle echasa inkohlakalo kumabhinqa, ngokwawawo amava (Collinge *et al.* 2013). Esona sikhalaZo sikhulu kwiiMTP sesokuba zihleli kakhulu ekufundiseni amadoda ngenguqu, bengabanye, kungasiwa so okokuba bahleli kwindingqi eziyikhuthazayo le ndlela yokuphila (Gibbs *et al.* 2017). Kodwa kwayona le meko-ntlalo iphindza ibe ngumqobo ekutshintsheni kwamadoda kuba asuka abe neentloni phakathi kwamanye amadoda, nabo athandana nabo, xa bengenzi ngendlela elindelekileyo ekwenziwa ngayo ngabanye. Kungoko ezinye iingqondi zikhwezelwa ukuba kwezi nkubo makuguqulwe ukubona nokucinga entlalweni jikelele ukuze kutshintshe indlela yokwenza kwabantu bengabanye (Jewkes, Flood & Lang 2015).

URatele (2017:70) yena uthi uphando lweengcaphephe zoMzantsi Afrika aluqhubi ngempumelelo. Uthi oku kwensiwa kukuba uphando lwakhelwe phezu kweembono eziiska kumazwe asemaNtla, kangangokuba yena undulula ukuba thina baphandi, namatsha-ntliziyo kunye nabahlohlhi

kwimiba yamakhwenkwe namadoda, nobudoda, kufuneka sibone ngendlela eyiyo ekufundeni imeko-ntlalo. Masizame kangangoko ukuba singazahluli sithi geqe kumadoda esiphanda ngawo, singalingi ukuwaguqula ngokusebenzisa izixhobo zaseNtshona singakhange sizigocagoce ukufanelana kwazo nemeko yalapha. Masiyijongisise imeko-ntlalo yala madoda; ukutyeshela oku kwenza ukuba soyiswe kukuwaguqula amadoda, kuba mhlawumbi amaxesha amaninzi asiwaboni nokuwabona (Ratele 2017: 87).

Kweli phepha kushukuxwa imiba ngokufanayo nokukaRatele, ncakasana kubekwa ukuba makuqulunqwe iingcingane nemixholo yobudoda emiliselwe kubuAfrika, ibe lulwalwa lokwakhela uphando neenkqubo zokungenelela. Ukusebenzisa iingqiqo zasemaNtla nje kukodwa akwenzi ngxaki kuba, ngokukaMorrell noClowes (2016: 10), iingqiqo ziyahamba zikhenkethe, zilungiselewe iimeko-ntlalo zeendawo ezintsha. Mna ndibeka elithi iimbono zaseNtla zibe luncedo ekwaziseni ilizwe lonke ngezifundo zoMzantsi Afrika ngobudoda, nokudandalazisa imiba yokuqwalaselwa ngamatsha-ntliziyo, nemayiphononongwe ukuze kungenelelw, nokuqulunqwa kweepolisi ngemiba yesini, kodwa ngelishwa ziye zaneziphumo ebezingalindelekanga kuba zisuke zachwethela bucala izimvo zabo sibaphandayo nesijonge ukubaguqula (Moletsane 2013: 56). limbono zalapha ngobudoda zaye azakhathalelw ngabaphandi boMzantsi Afrika, lwaze uphando lwalapha, kunye neenzame zongenelelo zakhelwa phezu kweengqiqo neendlela zokuphanda zamazwe asemaNtla.

Ukuyila izifundo ngobudoda kweli lalapha kungaluqinisa uphando ngamadoda nobudoda, kuwongeze nomtsalane wazo kumadoda namabhinqa kuba baza kube bekubona ukubaluleka kwezabo izinto abazixabisileyo (Magadla & Chitando 2014: 184). Xa ndithetha ngeengqiqo, nditsho ukuthi ukukhetha izihloko zophando, ukuphonononga nokwenza; kwakhiwe iimbono, kuhlelwe kuthiywe amagama; kuqulunqwe imigomo ekuya kuthi ngayo kukwazeke

ukuchaza imiba nentsukaphi yolwazi (Connell 2014: 521). Ndiphakamisa ukuba kulo msebenzi wokwakha iingqiqo ngobudoda apha kweli makusetyenziswe isigama nezafobe ezisetyenziswa imihla ngemihla kwiindawo zamaAfrika, ekusetyenziswa zona kwimpilo yasekuhlaleni (Nyamnjoh 2017; Hendricks & Spronks 2017).

lingqiqo zaseAfrika ngobudoda mazikhangelwe kukhunjulwa iziganeko zakutsha nje zokulinga ukususa ubukoloniyalu kumsebenzi wokuqlunqa ulwazi kumaziko emfundama Afrika (Nyamnjoh 2017; Musasa 2017). Eli khwelo lihlatywa kuba amazwe asemaZantsi asetyenziswa kuphela njengendawo yokucholachola amanqaku olwazi olungekahlahutywa (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012: 114), kanti awasemaNtla wona azibona eyindawo apho ulwazi lophononongwa luhlahutywe khona, ze kuphume kuloo msebenzi iingqiqo neengcingane ezisetyenziswa kuzwelone (Alatas 2000; Connell 2007). Kule mihi, iingqondi eziliqela zaseAfrika ziyanzinekela ezi ngcinga ngelithi iziganeko zanamhlanje eAfrika zibonisa unqqa-phambili wokucinga oxatyiswe nguzwelone ekusombululen iingxaki (Hendricks & Spronks 2017: 29). Bame ngelithi iAfrika yenza ngokwale mihi, kwaye seyihsabele mgama kunamazwe aseNtshona, itsho iAfrika ibe yeyona ndawo ifanelekileyo ukuba ulwazi lwelizwe lonke luqulunqwe khona (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012).

Kubalulekile ukukhumbula rhoqo ukuba iAfrika ayilolizwekazi eliyinto enye efanayo, nokuthi xa kuqulunqwa ulwazi ngokwenzeka eAfrika makulunyukelwe ubungozi bokubhala ibali elinye (Adiche 2009) xa kuchazwa intsingiselo yobudoda. Kananjalo, iingcingane nezafobe ezithile zomthonyama ezisetyenziswe ngaphambili ukuqulunqa iingqiqo ngobudoda – ezinjengobudlelwane phakathi komntu ngamnye noluntu ahlala nalo (*communitarianism*) - zithe zagxekwa kuba zingayinanzanga imiba yezithethe zeAfrika ezikhuthaza ingcinezelo yamabhinqa ngamadoda (Oyowe & Yurkivska 2014; Okyere-Manu & Konyana

2018). Oku kunyanelisa ukucingisisa (Byom 2007: 13) ngamava aseAfrika, kuthethwe ngecalalihle nelibi kwiingqiqo zaseAfrika ukuze iAfrika ingabonakaliswa ngokungathi kuluncuthu konke okwenzeka khona.

Eli phepha malibonwe liziingcinga ezinzulu ngophando olwenziwe kumadoda nobudoda baseMzantsi Afrika, olusekelwe kuphando endilwenze ngaphambili, nokubhala endikwenzileyo ngobudoda bamaXhosa, noncwadi olukhethekileyo ngesini kwiAfrika esemaZantsi. Intsusayeli phepha kukuba kuMzantsi Afrika kuyabonakala ukuba sifike kwangqingetye kumba wezifundo ngamadoda nobudoda (Ratele 2017). Iiggiqo ezindala azikwazi kusinika iimpendulo ezintsha; ubugebenga ngakumabhingga, ukuwabulala, ukuwadlwengula kanye nabantwana, nokuzonda abathandana nesini esinye, zonke ziqhubeke kanye ngoku urhulumente nemibutho yentlalo ityale iimali ezinkulu kwezophando, kwimfundo nobutsha-ntliziyi, kumalinge okuphelisa zonke iindidi zokungalingani ngokwesini eMzantsi Afrika. Uphando kanye namalinge okungelela anenjongo enye yokunyathela ubusolusapho, ube ungakhange lo mkhwa ujongwe kwimeko yentlalo neyembali. Sidinga ukubuza imibuzo emitsha, siphonononge izihloko ezinokusigushuzisa, ngaphezulu sibone okuqhelekileyo ngendlela esingayiqhelanga (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012: 114).

Eli phepha limacandelo mane. Elokuqala linika imbali ngentsukaphi yengcinezelo yamabhingga nogonyamelolobudoda kuMzantsi Afrika. Ndiza kuqala ngokubonisa ukuba iindidi zale mihla zobusolusapho zanyaneliswa ngamakoloniyal ngeenjongo zokuvalela ngaphandle amabhingga ekubeni babenamagunya (Mama 1997; Brink 1990). Oku kuthetha ukuba iinkqubo mazisekelwe ezimbalini, kulandwe uxabiso lobuAfrika olwaluphethe amabhingga ngentlonipho ekuhlaleni. Okwesibini ndixoxa ngembali yobudoda. Ngokukodwa, ndizama ukubonisa ukuba ubudlayedwa obafika nobukapitali bamakoloniyal,

buye bukhula eMzantsi Afrika kwezi ntsuku (Mbeki 2006). Ubudlayedwa, osebungumkhwa wobomi bemihla ngemihla, bube nefuthe elibi lokukhuthaza iindidi zobudoda ezinxamnye nobuntu, ezingenankathalo, nezicinga kuphela ngomna (Magadla & Chitando 2014:184).

Icandelo lesibini lilifaka eli phepha kwiingxoxo zangoku zeengqondi ngeengqiqo zesini kumazwe asemaZantsi (Connell 2014; 2016; Morrell & Clowes 2016). Ndixhasa imbono kaConnell (2016) yezifundo ngobudoda emakususwe kuzo ubukoloniyalı. Kwelesithathu icandelo ndilinga ukwenza izinto ezimbini. Okokuqala, ndibonisa ukuba kwiimekontlalo zeAfrika kukho iingcingane zobudoda ezamkelekileyo ezinokunceda kuphando nakumalinge okungenelela. Ndiyibonisa le ngcamango ekubhaleni kwam ngengcingane yendoda esiXhoseni (Mfecane 2016). Okwesibini ndixoxa ngeqhalo lesiXhosa elithi 'akukho butho lingenadyongo zalo' – ukubonisa indlela yamaAfrika yokuqqa ngamanqanaba okushiyana ngokwesini (*hierarchy*). Kwintsukaphi yendalo iphela (*cosmology*), ngokwamaXhosa, ebonakala kwintsingiselo yeli qhalo, abantu abalingani ngendalo.

Libalulekile ifuthe lale nkolelo ekubetheleleni ezingqondweni ukuba izini ezi azilingani. Icandelo lesine liza nezindululo ezintlanu zokuza nefuthe laseAfrika kwiinkqubo zenguqu yamadoda eMzantsi Afrika. Ndiphetha ngesishwankathelo seengcingane ezingundoqo zeli phepha.

Imbali ngobudoda



Ubukoloniyalı bashiya umzila ongenakucimeka kwiziseko zesini – nemizimba yabantu – kumhlaba wonke, noMzantsi Afrika awasinda (Connell 2012; Morrell 1998; Cock 1990; Delius & Glaser 2002; Mama 1997). Ngokweenjongo zeli phepha kubalulekile ukubeka umnwé kwimiba emibini. Owokuqala ngowokuba ubukoloniyalı bawasusa amabhinqa kwizikhundla ezibalulekileyo ababekuzo ngaphambili bababeka emakhayeni (Walker 1990a; Sesanti 2016). Owsibini umba kukuba ubukoloniyalı, nemigomo yabo yemveliso, bawabonisa amadoda ubudlayedwa, nokuthi ukwenza imali bobona budoda, nto leyo eyaphazamisana nendima yamadoda eyayifudula ikukuba ngabakhuseli bengingqi.

Ngamafutshane, ubukoloniyalı babuze ‘ngephulo lokuphucula’ iAfrika esemaZantsi (Martens 2009; Pierres 1989) ngokuguqula imimiselo yentlalo ekwakuphilwa ngayo ifaniswe neengcingane zasentshona zenkqubela. Ubukoloniyalı baqinisekisa ukuba umgangatho akuwo umfazi uchaza inkqubela-phambili, kutsho kuthetheleleke ukutyhudisa kobukoloniyalı kwindlela ekwakuphilwa ngayo malunga nesini kwintlalo yamaAfrika (Martens 2009). Umzekelo, umsebenzi bekunikezelwana ngawo ngamadoda nabafazi ngaphambi kobukoloniyalı kumaZantsi eAfrika. Abafazi babelima amasimi, amadoda wona, ngakumbi amadodana, esalusa iinkomo (Hodgson 1986; Guy 1990). Ezooqosho kwiindawo zamaphandle ubukhulu becala zazixhomekeke ekusebenzeni kwabafazi, ulawulo lusezandleni zamadoda; kungoko amadoda kwimimandla ethile ayethatha abafazi abaninzi – isithembu – ukuze kwande abasebenzi ababengaba bafazi kunye nabantwana ababebazala (Guy 1990).

Ukusebenza nzima kwamabhinqa kwakubonwa ngabalawuli bamakoloniyalı njengokwenziwa izicaka namakhoboka ngamadoda abo. Babegxeka nesithethe sokulobola, besithi kukuthengwa kwabafazi ngamadoda. Isithembu naso sasibekwa amabala, sibonwa njengowona mzekelo

woburhalarhume bamaAfrika (Martens 2009: 128). Kungoko, ukususela kwiminyaka yoo1830, amakoloniyalı aseBritane aqulunqa iqela lemithetho, iipolisi nemigaqonkqubo, kusenzelwa ukukhulula amabhinqa angamaAfrika kwingcinezelo yamadoda, 'nokuphucula' amadoda antsundu (Hodgson 1986: 192; Walker 1990b: 180).

Ukucacisa kule ngxoxo kungakhankanya zibe mbini ezi polizi: irhafu yemitshato nerhafu yezindlu. Ndicaphula ezi zimbini kuba zikhankanya kuncwadi olukhoyo njengezaba nelona futhe linzima ekunyattheleleni phantsi inqanaba lamabhinqa antsundu ekuhlaleni (Morrell 1998: 612; Walker 1990b: 185; Ranger 1997: 212). Irhafu yemitshato yasungulwa eNatala ngo1869 ukuze kulawuleke imitshato, nokuphelisa isithethababengasifuni sesithembu. Umthetho wanyanzelisa irhafu kuyo yonke imitshato yabantu abantsundu, yacudisa isithethesokulobola, kwanyanzeliswa nokuba umtshakazi atsho isivumo sakhe phambi kwengqina ukuze umtshato lowo ube nokuma (Martens 2009: 128). Le rhafu yayihlawulwa ngemali eziinkozo ngomhla womtshato, ixabiso layo laliqingqiwe zizophathamandla zamakoloniyalı (Walker 1990a; Carton 2014).

Imithetho yerhafu yezindlu yanyanzelisa kwiAfrika yonke ngamakoloniyalı aseBritane, iyindlela yawo yokwenza imali, nokunyanzela amaAfrika ukuba abe ngabasebenzi kuqoqosho lobukapitali bamakoloniyalı. Le rhafu kuMzantsi Afrika yanyanzelisa ngamaxeshsha ahlukeneyo ukususela ngoo1860 kwiindawo ezinjengemida (frontier) yeMpuma Koloni, eNatala, iKoloni yeKapa nemimandla engaphakathi (South African History Online 2016). Kwakunyanzelwa yonke imizi ihlawule irhafu nyanga zonke ngemali eziinkozo, ngemfuyo okanye ngezilimo. Ukudingeka kwemali eziinkozo, kune nokuntsintsitheka kweziqhamo zolimo, nokubulawa kweenkomomo zizifo – zonke ezi zinto zakhokelela ekubeni amadoda amaAfrika angene kwinkqubo yokujoyina (*migrant labour*) ukuya kusebenza emigodini,

nokusebenza ezifameni, nasemizini yabelungu (Walker 1990a; Mchunu 2009; South African History Online 2016).

Ngolo hlobo zabe ziyaguquka iindlela eqhutywa ngazo imiba yezesini kwimimandla yabantsundu boMzantsi Afrika ukususela kumbindi wenkulingwane ukuya phambili. Amabhinqa ajika angabantu bokujikelezana nekhaya, aze amadoda yangawo abonelelayo ekhayeni ngale ndlela enza ngayo amakoloniyalı kwinkqubo yawo yobusolusapho awayingenisa kwimimandla yamaAfrika (Mama 1997). Ngokuka Walker (1990b: 180), kwintsusa yokuqaleka kokufakwa kwamabhinqa antsundu phantsi kobukoloniyalı kodwa bengabommandla wasemakhaya ngendalo. Oku kugcinwa emakhaya kwamabhinqa antsundu ahlala emaphandleni kuqhubeke kwada kwayiminyaka yoo1930 ukuya phambili (Walker 1990a: 177).

Amabhinqa amaninzi antsundu alwa noku kunyanzelwa negehaya, ngoo1910, 1920 ukuya phambili aqalisa ukufuduka esiya kwiindawo ezisezidolphini efuna umsebenzi (Glaser 2005; Bonner 1995: 118). Abaninzi kubo babengatshatanga, okanye beyiqhawule imitshato, bezama inkululeko kwingcinezelo yamadoda (Walker 1990b). Njengoko kwakulindelekile, amakoloniyalı awayephethe zange asithande isenzo sala mabhinqa sokutshijilela inkqubo yokuphathwa eyayize nawo. La mabhinqa ayethiywa amagama kusithiwa awalawuleki ngokwentlalo nangezimilo, kusithiwa basisiphazamiso emadodenı (Glaser 2005). linkosi, namanye amadoda emaphandleni, zazingafuni ukuba amabhinqa antsundu afuduukele ezidolphini kuba ayeza kuphulukana nelobola yawo, kwanamandla awo ekusebenzeni. Kude kwiindawo ezininzi kumaZantsi eAfrika iinkosi namadoda endawo akha ubumbano olungaqhelekanga namakoloniyalı (Walker 1990b: 180) ukuze banqande le mfuduko yamabhiqa ukuya ezidolphini. linkosi zacela uncedo kumakoloniyalı, aze wona apasisa imithetho eyavulela ukuba amabhinqa ahamba

engakhatshwa mntu ezidolophini abanjwe avalelw, aze afuduswe abuyiselwe emakhaya aphi ayenyanzelwa ukuba ende (Walker 1990a: 186). Ngale ndlela, iimbono ngesini zomcinezeli nomcinezelwa zathi zahamba kune zidibene ngomcimbi wamabhinqa (Walker 1990b: 180).

Emva koku kungentla, kungatshiwo ukuba imbalu yabafazi kumaZantsi eAfrika yimbali yengcinezelo yabo (Guy 1990: 34). Nangona kunjalo, iingqiqo zesini ezazilawula le ngcinezelo zazingafani. lingqondi ezininzi ngezobuAfrika zixoxa zithi imeko yeenkqubo zesini eAfrika kwimimandla yangaphambu kobukoloniyalu noko yayikwazi ukuyekelela xa kuthetha-thethwana; ikwazi ukuwanika amabhinqa umtyhi wokuba athathe inxaxheba kwicimbi yasekuhlaleni (Ranger 1997; Oyewumi, 2006; Amadiume 1987; Walker 1990b). Xa uthlekisa, ubukoloniyalu beza nenqubo eyayiluhuni kakhulu kwiingcingane zayo ngesini, incedisana nokuvaleluwa kwamabhinqa ukuba angaxhamli kumanqanaba olingano, nasekubaphuceni amagunya (Morrell 1998: 612). Ndiphakamisa ukuba ubukoloniyalu buphinde beza nenqubo yokuxabisa umna, ukuba ngumthuzimele, eyiyenye yeenkalo emaziqwalaselwe xa kuhlalutya iinkqubo neengqiqo zale mihla xa kufuneka kuqwalaselwe ubudoda kwiinginqi zabantsundu eMzantsi Afrika.

Ukumilisela ubudoda obungenabo ubuntu

Ubomi bamadoda bubunjwa bulawulwe yimigomo neenkqubo ezixatyisiweyo kwiindawo aphi kuzo imihla ngemihla. NgokwaseMzantsi Afrika, uMbeki (2006) owayengumongameli welizwe [1999-2008] waphawula ukuba wonke ummi weli lizwe uphila ngokulawulwa yinkqubo yoxabiso yobukapitali, nobudlayedwa obeza nabambalwa abamhlophe (Mbeki 2006: 9). Ngamafutshane, ubudlayedwa yifilosofi eqiqa ngokuthi abantu ngamagatya ame odwa geqe, anamalungelo angenakuphazanyiswa (La Fontaine 1985: 124; Rapport 1997: 6). Ngokwale mbono, izenzo zabantu zezokufezekisa izidingo

zomntu omnye nokuba sekumnyama entla. Kuyakhabana oku nengqiqo ethi kubaluleke isininzi, ethi izidingo zomntu omnye azibalulekanga ngaphezu kwezabantu ekuhlaleni, kude kubonakale ukuba umntu abubonelwa nto ubuntu bakhe (Lienhardt 1985). Ubulayedwa bahlukile ekubenitumgumntu buqu, okuthetha ngobukho babantu emhlabeni kodwa ngabantu-siqu abanegunya lokwenza umsebenzi (Rapport & Overring 2000: 178).

UMbeki (2006) uthi iinkqubo zopolitiko zasemva kwengcinezelo (*post-apartheid*) zadala amathuba ezoqoqosho anjenge *Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)*, eyinkqubo yokuvulela abantu abantsundu amathuba okuba bashishine, kodwa kwaxhamla igcuntswana elingamadoda ikakhulu, laba zizityebi, kodwa ubutyebi babo zange babusebenzisele ukonyula uluntu ekuchwethelweni bucala, nakwintlupheko eyeza nobukoloniyali. Ubutyebi ngoku buyinto yabathile, kuthengwa ngabo iimoto, impahla nezindlu zeemali ezinkulu. Kubantu boMzantsi Afrika ngoku sekuzinze umoya wokukhuphisana nokunyoluka otsho kwaphela ukufelana ebantwini, kuba wonke umntu unamaphupha ubusuku nemini okuba sisityebi (Mbeki 2006: 13). Uqhuba athi uMbeki kucaca mhlophe ukuba abaninzi kuluntu lwethu bathe bakusezelale le nkqubo yoxabiso lobukapitali bagqiba ukuba impumelelo nokwaneliseka ebomini kufumaneka ngokuthi umntu abe sisinhanha nokuba sekumnyama entla, nobo butyebi aqhayise ngabo ngendlela eyothusayo (Mbeki 2006: 14).

Olu hlalutyo lungafihliyo luka Mbeki boMzantsi wasemva kocalulo lungaba luncedo kwizifundo ngamadoda nobudoda, kuba ndithatha ngokuthi ubhekisa kwindlela amadoda antsundu oMzantsi aziphethe ngayo, kuba ngawona axhamlayo kwipolisi ezilolu hlobo. Kuvuka iqela lemibuzo kwabafunda ngezi meko, kwanabo benza ungenelalo lokulwisana neengozi zobudoda obungenabu ubuntu kwiinginqi zabantsundu kuMzantsi Afrika. Le yimibuzo enjengale: saqala phi, nini, esi simo sobukapitali

sokuba ngumthuzimele ukutyhutyha iingingqi zabantu abamnyama eMzantsi Afrika? Sasibonakala njani ezimbalini, saze saveza ntlobo zini zobudoda? Sizibonakalisa njani xa kungoku? Yintoni enokwenziwa ukuphelisa esi simo sobukapitali bokunyoluka ukuze amadoda antsundu abe ngabantu abanenkathalo, abathanda uluntu, abanoxanduva, abachasanayo nobugebenga, nenqatho, nokuxhaphaza abanye ngokwesondo kuba beziva amandla negunya?

Akukho zimpendulo zilula zale mibuzo. Okuza kulantela ziingga zam ezandulelayo, amacebiso, nokuxhokonxa okuphuma koko ndikubonileyo nakuphando olusaqhabay. Ndiza kuqala ngokubalisa ibali elinomdlala langexesha babuvela ngeempondo obu bumthuzimele kumaXhosa asemideni kwiMpuma Koloni ekuqaleni kwenkulungwane yesi19. Kuloo maxesha ubomi bamaXhosa babuphilwa ngendlela yokubambisana ekuthiwa namhlanje bubuntu. Ukuba ngumntu kwezo ntsuku kwakubonakala ngokuthi uzinikezele ngokunyaniseka kuluntu olukungqongileyo. AmaXhosa ayesithi ngoko umntu ngumntu xa esenza ngobulungisa, esenza izinto zokunceda kulunge kwabanye abantu. Babesakuthi umntu akangomntu xa esenza ngokujongene nesakhe isiqu kuphela, engakhathali nokuba uluntu luchaphazeleka kakubi na. Ubuntu babufezeka ngokuye umntu edlula kumanqanaba ngamanqanaba okukhula ukususela ebusaneni, abantu bonke ekuhlaleni bembukele.

Lo mhlati kaBokwe (1914), osowunqabile ngoku, uzoba umfanekiso ocace gca wobomi bamaXhosa bokubambisana, nendlela ekwakufikelelwya ngayo kwibakala lobudoda:

Kwakungekho zikolo ebantwini abamnyama (*Kaffirland*) ngalo maxesha, isithi inkwenkwe nje ukuba igqibe isibhozo seminyaka ikhutshwe iye kwalusa iibhokhwe neegusha. Yakuba minyaka ilishumi elinanlanu ibinyuselwa yaluse iinkomo. Ebequalisa ukufunda ukusebenzisa intonga yakhe, afunde nokugibisela

umkhonto ekuzingeleni nasekukhuseleni ubuhlanti bukayise. Ngale ndlela wayezilungiselela ukuba eza kulwa amadabi enkosi. Yayinye into yokunxiba iluhele lwegusha; ukuba uhlambe kanye kwiinyaka ezintandathu wayesukuba esebeenze kakhulu, enyanisweni akukho mntu wayekhathalele kuhlamba kwankwenkwe.

Ukusuka kwibakala lokolusa, kalandela elinye ibakala ekunyuselweni kwenkwenkwe. Kwenziwa umsebenzi okhethekileyo phambi kokuba amakhwenkwe amkelwe kwinqanaba lobudoda, abe kwiqela lamadoda alwela isizwe. Ngexesa lo msebenzi usenzeka, amakhwenkwe ahlala odwa endle, kude lee namakhaya awo. Baqatywa udongwe olumhlophe ukusuka entloko ukuya ezinyaweni, babe kweli xesha bebizwa ngokuba ngabakhwetha. Bamaña besiya kwiilali ezikufuphi xa kukho ukucula, ukuxhentsa nokutya nokubethwa kwezikhumba zenkomo ezomisiweyo. Le mibhiyozo ibiqhuba iiveki okanye iinyanga, de inkosi ikhuphe umyalelo wokuba abuye amakhwenkwe. Ngomhla wokubuya kwawo, luyahlanjwa udongwe olumhlophe. Ayahlanganiswa amakhwenkwe ndawonye aze aphulaphule eyalwa ngamadoda amakhulu exelelwa ngentsingiselo noxanduva lobudoda. Emva koku bayakhutshwa ngokusesikweni esidlangularalen.

Lo mhlathi uyabonisa ukuba ubudoda kukuba noxanduva ekuhlaleni, nokuthi ikumkani okanye inkosi namanye amakhwenkwe akhuliselwa ekuyazini indima yawo kwasebuntwaneni babo. Ngexesa lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe ayemka aye kuhlala odwa endle, bengekho abanye abantu, kuculwa kuxhentswa kusabelwana ngokutya, injongo ikukuqinisa ubumbano, nokubafundisa ubudlelwane nokukhathalelana bengamadoda. Kangangokuba uStapleton (1994) uphawula ukuba iqela lamadoda amaXhosa ayeluke kunye noMaqoma [1798-1893], izibulo likaKumkani uNgqika wamaRharhabe [1778-1829] baba noqilima lobuhlolo, bafunga ukuba baya kuma noMaqoma

owayeza kuba yinkosi yabo. Baye bathiywa ukuba ngamajingqi, igama elalilelenkunzi yenkomо awayeyithanda kakhulu uMaqoma, bathi ukuphuma kwabo esuthwini bahamba baya kuhlala naye ekhayeni lakhe elitsha.

UJanet Hodgson (1986) kwinqaku lakhe ubonisa isiqalo sokuphazanyiswa kwezi zithethe zobudoda eluntwini olwalubambene – ziphazanyiswa kukusondelelana namakoloniyalı amhlophe. Indoda eyayiliqina ekwakusithiwa nguSoga [owabhubha ngo1879], wakhuthazwa, waxhaswa, ngamakoloniyalı ukuba abe ngumfama oshishinayo emva kokuba imfuyo yakhe nezilimo zatshatyalaliswa ngabelungu ngexesha lemfazwe kaHintsa eyaqala kweyoMnga ngo1834 (Hodgson 1986: 191). USoga nosapho Iwakhe wayehlala eTyhume ngakuQoboqobo eMpuma Koloni kwiminyaka yoo1800. Wayengumcebisi omkhulu kaKumkani uHintsa, eligqobhoka kwawokuqala kaNtsikana [1780-1821]. UNtsikana wayekumaXhosa okuqala ukuguqukela ebuKristwini (Williams 1983; Mangcu 2012; Bokwe 1914).

Ubukho bamakoloniyalı badala amathuba amatsha orhwebo kunye nenqubela phambilı yabantu emaXhoseni nanjengoko beza nempahla, iingubo, imihlakulo, amakhuba kunye neendlela ezintsha zokulima. USoga wabusebenzisa ngokupheleleyo obu buchwepheshe. Wayelima ii-ertyisi, itswele, irhasi, umbona, amazimba kunye neetapile. Wathenga amakhuba amabini, wakha umjelo wamanzi, wade walimela nabanye ebahlawulisa. UHogson (1986: 194) umchaza uSoga njengomRharhabe wokuqala ukusebenzisa ikhuba, owokuqala ukunkcenkceshela umhlaba wakhe, nowokuqala ukuthengisa izityalo zakhe. UDonovan Williams (1978: 8) yena umchaza njengevulandlela elikuthambeleyo ukulinga izinto ezintsha nokuba zimkhupha ngaphaya kwemida yobu-Afrika.

Ngele kokuzisa utshintsho olukhulu kuqoqosho IwamaXhosa, iimbono zikaSoga zazidala uloyiko ebantwini (Hogson 1986: 194). USoga wawatysesha amasiko, waqhawula neentambo

kunxibelelwano oluthile kwezentlalo ngenxa yenkolo yakhe yobuKristu (Hogson 1986: 194). Umzekelo, uSoga wamalela unyana wakhe uTiyo [1829-] ukuba enzelwe isiko lamaXhosa lokususwa ebukhwenkweni asiwe ebudoden - ulwaluko - ngenxa yenkolo yakhe yobuKristu (Ndletyana 2008). Mhla kwakutshata unyana wakhe uFestiri, wala ukuxhela inkomo okanye kubhiyozwe kuxhentswe (Hogson 1986: 194). Kubaluleke kakhulu kule ngxoxo ukuphawula ukuba kwakusabelwana ngokutya esiXhoseni. Xa kuxhelwe inkomo, wonke umntu ebexhamla. Kwakusithethe ukubuyekeza izenzo ezihle njengaxa kulinywayo, wonke umntu wayethatha inxaxheba ibe lilima. Umninimzi wayebaphekela xa kulinywa kwakhe, isidlo nokuqhekezelana kwakubaluleke njengomsebeni lo uzokwensiwa kulo mzi. USoga wasityeshela esi sitethethe ngokuthi abahlawule umvuzo abantu abaze kusebenza kwakhe. Xa abasebenzi bakhe becela ukutya, wayengabaniki, esithi ndikuhlawule ngomsebenzi wakho, nawe ndihlawule ngombona wam. Xa exhele inkomo wayeyithengisa inyama endaweni yokuba ibe ngumbhiyozo kutye wonke umntu (Hogson 1986: 195).

Kungatshiwo ukuthi ibali likaSoga lingumzekelo wokuba sebenza ukuze uzuze, ingekuko ukuba umntu ufunu ukuba ngudlayedwa. Kusenokuba wayesebenzisa amathuba ayefumaneka kwinkqubo yokusebenza, kodwa ezingca enyanisekile ekubeni ngumXhosa ongumcebisi omkhulu kaNggika. Zahlala ziphikisana ebomini bukaSoga ezi nkqubo: eyobuKristu kanye neyokuba nelunda ngobuAfrika bakhe (Williams 1983; Hogson 1986). Walwa ezimfazweni ezazisilwa nabamhlophe wade waya kubulawa kwimfazwe yesithoba yomda [1877-1879] (Hogson, 1986). Waba ngumntu owaziwa ngobungqwabalala bokumela le nkqubo intsha yobukapitali, otyeshele amasiko neziseko zobuXhosa zokwabelana, kodwa kungatshiwo ukuba uSoga waba kwabokuqala ukuyiqonda indima yokuba umntu azimele ngoku kanye ephila phakathi kwesiNtu semveli saseMzantsi Afrika.

Kubalulekile ukugxininisa ukuba ubukoloniyalı abuzange buzicime mpela iimbono ngokwesini kwintlalo yabemveli boMzantsi Afrika. Kungoko kwiinkalo ngeenkalo zamaAfrika amadoda amaninzi aqhubeke nesithethe sokulobola ukuze kwakhewe umzi, kukhuselwe isithunzi sendoda, ngoku sekudlule iminyaka emininzi oyiswayo amaNgesi (Mchunu 2009). Zikhona iingxelo zamadoda awayengoomthuzimele - ingakumbi awayesemisebenzini ekude namakhaya awo - seledele nooyise kuba enemali yokulobola nokuhlawula irhafu yezindlu. Babesithi bona badala bangamadoda, beyixhokonxa indebe endala yokuba ngubani omdala ekhayeni (Carton 2014; Delius 2014). Kodwa kwabona abazange bafane noSoga namanye amadoda awaba zizifundiswa ezingamaKristu kwindima yamasiko abo; bahlala kwiziseko zezithethe zobuntu nobudoda entlalweni yesiNtu (Erland 2006; Ndletyana 2008; Hughes 2011).

Kule mihla kungatshiwo ukuba eza zithethe zangaphambi kobukoloniyalı zazilawula isini eMzantsi Afrika zisenjalo nangoku. Nangona seziguqulwe kakhulu, basazenza abantu abaninzi. Amakhwenkwe amaXhosa asalenzelwa isiko lolwaluko ukuze abe ngamadoda amkelekileyo ekuhlaleni. Kunjalo nakumakhwenkwe akhetha ukuthandana namanye amakhwenkwe (Lynch & Clayton 2016; Ntozini & Ngqangweni 2016). Nemitshato isaqhutywa ngendlela yesiNtu kwizizwe ngezizwe zalapha, bebambelele kubu-Afrika babo. Kunjalo nakumadoda akhetha ukutshatana odwa (Ratele 2017). Uninzi Iwamantombazana antetho isisiZulu asaqhubeka nokwenzelwa umemulo ukuze amkelwe ebuntombini, kuhlahlelwa indlela eya ekwendeni bezakuba ngoomama abanesidima (Magwaza 2009). Ukulobola kusamkelekile kuyo yonke imimandla yabantsundu eMzantsi Afrika, nesithembu sikwavumelekile kumaqela ahlukaneyo ngokolwimi oluthethwayo.

Ngokokubona kwam, okutshintshileyo kule mihla kukuba abantu baphilela ukujongana nempumelelo yeziqo zabo

kuphela, abajonganga ukuba badale imeko apha isini sinikwa indawo yaso efanelekileyo umhla nezolo (Garfinkel 1968). Umntu uzithathela nantoni ayidingayo eluntwini ukuze azakhe, abe yindoda enesithozela, kodwa akakhathalelanga kuyinyamekela intlalo yalapho nezithethe zayo zesini². Oku kungathetha ukuba kwezi ntsuku, nangona umntu esenzelwa amasiko afanelekileyo esiNtu kumanqanaba onke okukhula ngokwesini sakhe (*njengolwaluko*), ukhetha ukuphila isini sakhe ngendlela ethandwa nguye yedwa.

Kungeso sizathu ukuba ngoku izithethe zesiNtu eziwelisela amakhwenkwe ebudoden i-e-Afrika zibe azisathethi kuthi indoda iza kuthatha uxanduva lokukhonza isizwe (Bokwe 1914; Mchunu 2009). Azisawathunuki amadoda ukuba akhe imizi (owakhe okanye owabazali), okuluphawu lokuba umntu uzinzile futhi uyatyla kule ngingqi (Hunter 2010; Mc Allister 2006; Carton 2014); okanye bavuse imizi yooyise (Ngwane 2006); basebenze nzima sibe sikhula nesidima sabo ekuhlaleni (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012); bathande abantu, benononophelo, bewakhusele namabhinka (Mager 1998; Mager 2005; Mc Allister 2006). Ezi zithethe ngoku seziyindlela yokuba umntu abange amalungelo akhe obudoda, kwanamaqithiqithi afumanekayo xa umntu eyindoda, njengala: umtshato, ukuhlonitshwa ngamabhinka, ukufumana ukutya, inyama, utywala kangangoko efuna, kwanezesondo (Vincent 2008; Mager 2005; Mavundla *et al.*; 2005; Ntombana 2011).

Ndibona ngathi ingxaki yokuba ngudlayedwa kuluntu loMzantsi Afrika imbaxa kakhulu, isuka ekufikeni kwamakoloniyalu ukuza kuthi ga kule mihla. Ayikokusuka nje uzibhaqe sowusidla wedwa (Mbeki 2008: 10), okanye ukungabi namdla wabantu (Dumont 1986: 26). Imikhwa yobudlayedwa kubantu abaNtsundu ikwindlela abaphila ngayo abantu ekuhlaleni. Oku kurhwaphiliza ubutyebi athetha ngako uMbeki (2006) kuyalambatha xa kungekho bantu baninzi baza

² Luyawuveza lo mba uphando olwenziniwe kumadoda amaXhosa athandanayo athi aye esuthwini kuba efuna ukuhlonipheka ekuhlaleni, kodwa awafuni kuwahlonipha amasiko amaXhosa obudoda emva koko (Lynch & Clayton 2016)

kubukela berhaliselwa ngempahla neemoto ezibiza iimali ezitshisiwego. Ezi zinto ziyadekwa ke ngendlela ebaxe kileyo ngeenjongo zokuhlonitshwa ngabantu. Kuxa kunje apho uZakes Mda (2009) athetha ngeedayimane ezimnyama – ethetha ngabo bazuzileyo kumathuba ezoqoqosho avele kwiipolisi ezaqulunqwa emva kokuphela kwenkqubo vocalulo, abahlala kwiindawo zodidi oluphezulu ezazifudula zizezabantu abamhlophe, batyelele ezilokishini, apho kuhlala khona abaninzi abamnyama, bafike batye, basele, baqhaye ngobutyebi babo. Impawu zobutyebi babo zibonisa umgangatho wobomi abakuwo (Goffman 1951: 294).

Isimanga sesokuba oku kuqhaya ngezinto zodidi oluphezulu kwiindawo zabantu abamnyama eMzantsi Afrika akubonwa njengokujongela phantsi imeko abakuyo abo bahluphekayo. Ukusuka apho abahlali basuke bazibuke ezi zikhakhame la zeedayimani ezimnyama, bezihlonipha, ufile benelunda besithi "ngowakuthi" okanye "ngowethu", bade nabo bazibone bebandakanyeka kobi butyebi kuba nje kwenzekile ukuba babe bayazana. Kuyabonakala ukuba singene zwabha kuMzantsi Afrika omnyama isithethe sokuqhwabela izandla umntu okwazileyo ukuzenzela, kodwa ejongene nesakhe isiqu kuphela, ukuzenzela kwakhe ikukuphumelisa iinjongo zakhe zokunyoluka. (Nyamnjoh 2002: 117). Yiyo le nto abantu abangazimiselinga kusebenzisa izinto abanazo ukunceda uluntu besamkelwa, bengalivinjwa neqonga lokubonisa ezi nkanuko zabo njengoko kusenziwa kwezinye iindawo e-Afrika (Nyamnjoh 2002: 116). Ukusuka apho bathathelwa phezulu xa kuhleliwe kunye kuncokolwa, babekwe kumgangatho wamadoda amakhulu, babizwe ngamagama amnandi abonisa uthando (Selikow, Cedras & Zulu 2002), basisibonelo sokuba injani impumelelo yobudoda.

Amadoda angenanto yakuqhaya avinjwa iqonga, achwethelwa ecaleni abelapho akhuphisane odwa ngokubaluleka nokuzikhukumalisa (Mfecane, Stathers, Gray & Mc Intyre 2005) – uhlobo oluthile lokucalulana kodwa

anibalulekanga xa ninonke (Ratele 2017: 72). Kukwesi sithuba apha uphando lutyhile imeko engathandekiyo: amadoda amnyama ahluphekileyo oMzantsi Afrika athandana namabhinqa amaninzi ngexesha, kanye ngoku kugquba ugawulayo, ngeenzame zokuzuza ukuhlonipheka nokuzinyusela umgangatho koontangandini (Hunter 2010). Ukungabiyonto nokuchwethelwa ecaleni luluntu, nokuzivela ubudoda bakho budelekile, kuko okunyusela phezulu ubundlobongela ngakumabhinja. Ubundlobongela buba yindlela yokubuyisela isidima nobunganga bobudoda (Erlank 2002; Niehaus 2002; Ratele 2015).

Ngokwale mbali yndlalwe apha, nditsho nam ukuba luyafuneka utshintsho kwiinkqubo zokutshintsha iimbono zobudoda kwimimandla esemaZantsi, kungafundiswa indoda ibe nye ngexesha ukuba mayitshintshe, koko kuxonxwe izithethe zasentlalweni ezilawula ubomi bamadoda bemihla ngemihla (Jewkes, Flood & Lang 2015; Gibbs, Jewkes & Sikweyiya 2017). Ndiwaluxhasa uphengululo olukhawulezileyo lokujongana nentshela eshiywe ngulo mtshato uphakathi kobukoloniyalu nocalucalulo – intshela yentlupheko, ukucalulwa ekuhlaleni, umgangatho womntu entlalweni, ubuhlanga, njl. – njengendlela yokukhulula amadoda angama-Afrika (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock 2012; Ratele 2015). Andivumelani kodwa nezixhobo emazisetyenziswe ukufezekisa ezi njongo. Ezi ngqondi ziymele into yokusetyenziswa kweembono neengcingane eziqulunqwe kumazwe asemaNtla – ezinjengobudoda omabulawule, ukuthungelana kwezi ngxaki (*intersectionality*,) – ukuzama ukuxonxa ngokutsha isimo sesini eMzansi Afrika ngeenjongo zokuphelisa ugonyamelo, kuphathwane ngenkathalo. Ndichasa ngelithi ukuze isebeenze inguqu makubhenelwe kwiimbono, iingcingane neendlela zokwenza ezelwelwe apha kweli, ezimxhelo-mnye neembono nempiro yemveli yama-Afrika (Mfecane 2018; Magadla & Chidando 2014). Okulandelayo kweli phepha kukunaba ngalo mxholo: lingqiqo ngobudoda ezisekelwe e-Afrika.

Iingqiqo zasentshona ngamadoda aseAfrika



Photo by the Trappist Mission, Mariann Hill, Natal.

A ZULU MEDICINE-MAN FIGHTING A COMING HAILSTORM.

lingqiqo kwakhelwa phezu kwazo ekufuneni ulwazi kulo lonke elimiweyo, ekufuneka kubekho iingqiqo ezifanayo, ezinakho phofu nokuphikisana, ngemiba ethile. Kungenjalo, iingqondi zinganzinyelwa kukuthethana zifikelele kwizivumelwano ngee-ajenda zophando, ngeendlela zokwenza, kanokwenza. Kunjalo, iingqiqo aziveli nje zibekho emoyeni, futhi ke mazingabonwa njengezixhobo zophando ezingakhethe cala (Arowosegbe 2016, 325; Connell 1987: xi). lingqondi zibanezazo iinjongo, imikhetha, nee-ajenda, ezinokuba nefuthe kwindlela ezisebenzisa ngayo iingcamango zazo, okuthetha ukuthi nazo azicingi okweerobhotti.

Ngokwezale mihla iingqiqo neengcingane ngobudoda, kuphawuleka ukuba ezininzi zivela kumazwe asemaNtla, apha ziqlunqelwe ukuhlalutya iimeko zakhona zesini (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1985; Connell 1987; Kimmel 1994). Kungoko kuhlala kultyalwa umba obaluleke kakhulu ngabaphandi basemaNtla, lo wemo yentlalo (*context*). Xa bethetha ngeembono zabo ngesini sukube becinga nelizwe elintetho isisiNgesi (Connell 1995: 44); uluntu lwaseMelika lwale mihla (Herek 1987: 567); ilizwe lobukapitali lale mihla (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1987: 590); inkcubeko yethu (Kimmel 1994: 125; Herek 1987: 569); intlalo yethu (Herek 1987: 567) okanye inkcubeko yaseNtshona (Schrock & Schwalbe 2009: 280). La magama ngawenginqi, ekubonakala ukuba ababhali abathethi ngesini ngokokubona kukazwelonke, koko babhekisa kwezabo iingqinqi.

Kungxamiseke kakhulu ukuba sinabise ukucinga kwethu ngobudoda, singapheleli kumava eengqondi zamazwe asemaNtla. Umsebenzi kaRaenwyn Connell wakutshanje ngesini kumazwe asemaZantsi uyawudandalizisa lo mba, kungoko ndiwusebenzisa njengesiseko seengcamango zam ngobudoda obusekelwe e-Afrika (Connell 2012; Connell 2014; Connell 2016). UConnell (2014) uyimele into yokuba kukho iingcamango ngesini ezizezasemaZantsi, ntonje zona azigqibanga lizwe lonke njengezasemaNtla. Ngenxa yoko

iingqondi zamazwe asemaZantsi zithatha ngokusebenzisa iingcamango neengcingane zamazwe asemaNtla, baqhube ngazo uphando, baqulunqe iinkqubo zokunceda, bengasiqwaleslanga isimo sentlalo nembali ezibe negalelo kwimeko abakuyo. linkqubo ezinjalo ubukhulu becalalziyahabana nembali (Connell 2016, 613).

UConnell (2014:524) uthathela kumsebenzi wengqondi yase-Afrika enguHintouji xa ebeka elokuba iingqondi zasemaZantsi zikhola ngokuba ngabantu abaphandle (*extroverts*). Oku kuthi aba basemaZantsi baqeqeshwa ezixekweni ezikhulu, baze bapapashe umsebenzi wabo kwijjenali (*journals*) zakhona, babe zizihlonipheki zalo mazwe. Ukuze kwenzeke konke oku kufuneka bathobele amagunya obungqondi basemaNtla (Connell 2016: 304). Ngenxa yoku uConnell (2014: 523) uyavuma ngokusetyenziswa kweengcamango zamazwe asemaZantsi, kuba esithi nasemacaleni iyakwazi ukuvela ingqiyo – ingqiyo enzulu nebalulekileyo.

Izimvo zikaConnell zibaluleke kakhulu kweli phepha kuba, njengoko uMorrell noClowes (2018: 18) bebonisa, uninzi lwezfundo zobudoda ezisisiseko kumazantsi e-Afrika zisebenzisa umsebenzi kaConnell. Kungokunje uConnell unkqenkqeza phambili phakathi kweengcaphephe zobudoda eMzantsi Afrika, nengcingane yakhe ngokulawula kobudoda isetyenziswa kwiinkalo ngeenkalo: kwezempiro, ubundlobongela, ukuba ngutata, ugawulayo, ezokhuko, nenkathalo (Morrell & Clowes 2016, 18; Morrell, Jewkes, Lindeger, Hamlaal, 2013; Gitting 2018; Jewkes et al.; 2015; Dowkim, Flemming & Colvin 2015). Kuba uninzi luwuthathelle phezulu umsebenzi kaConnell eMzantsi Afrika, kuyalityalwa ukuba wazikhusela ngelithi iingcamango ngokulawula kobudoda zibhekisa kwinkqubo yesini yaseNtshona (Connell 1995, 78).

UMorrell noClowes (2016) baphinda bazigxeke izimvo zikaConnell ngabaphengululi besini emaZantsi.

Bathi abaphengululi basemaZantsi abasebenzisi nje kuphela ezabantu baseMantla izimvo ngesini – koko bayazahlengahlengisa ezi zimvo ukuze zifanele ezabo iimeko-ntlalo. Ngaphezu koko, ukuqulunqa iingqiqo akuhlali kujonge ecaleni elinye kuphela, kuba nophando olwenziwe kumaZantsi lubenalo ifuthe kwiingxoxo ngemiba yasemaNtla; kwangokunjalo, izimvo zasemaNtla zimana zisetyenziswa ukuxonxa izimvo zabasemaZantsi. UMorrell noClowe (2016) baphinda bangakwamkeli ukuba kukho umntu onokuthi ingqiqo ethile yeyakhe. Ukuba ingqiqo ethile yavela emntwini ohlala okanye osebenza kwiimeko zasemaNtla, loo nto ayithethi kuthi loo ngqiqo iya kuhlala inele futhe lemeko-ntlalo yakhe (Morrell 2016: 10).

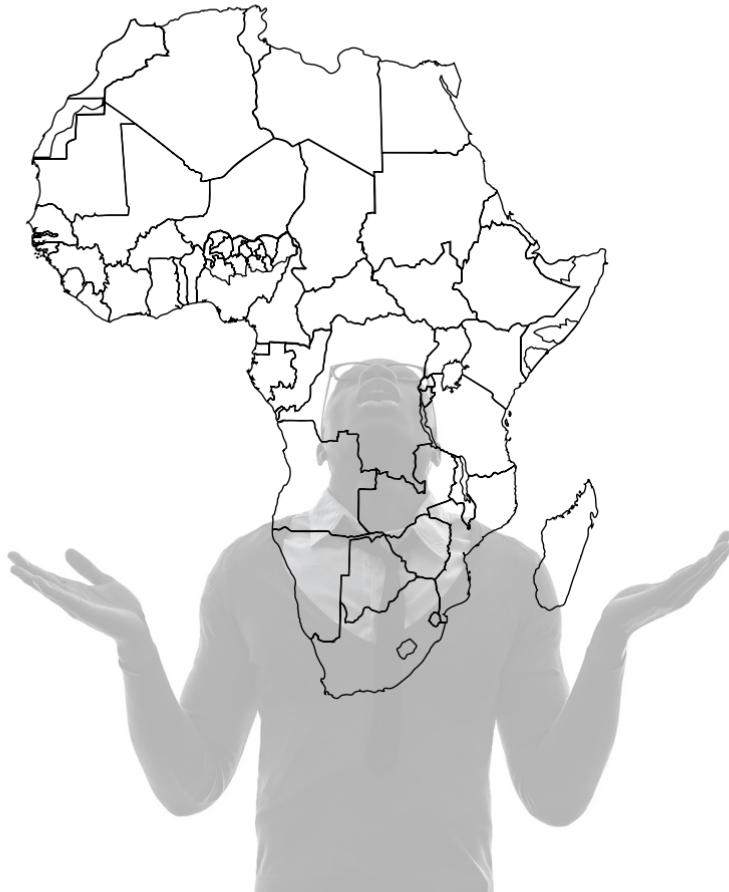
Umsebenzi kaMorrell ngobudoda baseMzantsi Afrika, nothathe amashumi amabini eminyaka, ungginelana neembono zikaMorrell noClowes (2016). Nangona uMorrell elusekele kwiingcingane zasemaNtla uhlalutyo lwakhe lwasini, utha waluhlengahlengisela iimeko ezimbaxa zoMzantsi Afrika ezinjengobume ekuhlaleni, ubuhlanga, kunye nokuba semaphandleni okanye ezidolphini (Morrell 1998; Morrell, Jewkes, Lidegeer, Hamlaal 2013; Morrell 2002). Kwangokunjalo uRatele, owenza uphando ngobundlobongela kunye nobulungisa (*justice*) kwezesini, unobuchule bokusebenzisa iimbono zesini zaseNtshona ukwandalalela amava neemeko ezinzima zokuba yindoda kwiimeko-ntlalo ze-Afrika yale mihla. Ubuza imibuzo ebalulekileyo ngexabiso lobufazi kumadoda antsundu, ekhuthaza ubu-Afrika kumatsha-ntliziyo ezesini (Ratele 2013). lindlela ezbunjalo zokuhlengahlengisa iingqiqo, iingcingane nezibonelo (*models*) ziyasetenziswa kumsebenzi wenguqu ebudoden'i kwiimeko-ntlalo ezininzi kuMzantsi Afrika, njengoko senditshilo ngaphambili.

Olu phononongo lungqina ukuba iingqondi zezizwe ezisemaZantsi azithathi ngokukopa nje umsebenzi owenziwe kwizizwe ezisemaNtla. Endaweni yoko, ziqulethe umfanekiso ombaxa weengxaki zentlalo yasemaZantsi, nophando lwazo

lunganegalelo kuxonxo lweengcamango kwezinye iindawo (Morrell & Clowes 2016). Kodwa ingxaki eyabonwa nguConnell (2014: 521) yona isekhona. Ukuthiya amagama, ukuhlela nokuqulunqa iindlela zokwenza (*methodologies*), nezikkhokelo zeengcamango, nezizathu zophando, zonke zithathwe kumazwe asemaNtla. Kodwa kunjalo, akwanelanga ukuba abasemaZantsi bathathe okwasemaNtla bakulungiselele eyabo imeko-ntlalo, okanye bongeze eyabo inkxalabo ngeemeko ezithile zabantu basemaZantsi ababaphandayo ukuze batyebise iingcingane abazifunqule emaNtla. UConnell (2016: 304) ufunu iingqondi zibusiphule neengcambu ubukoloniyalu kwizifundo zobudoda.

Ukubhala kukaConnell ndikubona kungqinelana nengcingane Yam yokuzisekela e-Afrika iimbono ngobudoda ezbeka phambili ulwazi lwaseNtshona, nokugxinisa kwimbali yezobufazi yala maxesha asemva kobukoloniyalu. UConnell akaphikisani nokuba lunchedo kweembono zasemaNtla kwiimeko-ntlalo zasemaZantsi, kodwa ubeka lo mbono: Zingasetyenziswa ngobuchule iingqiqo zasemaNtla, zithathwe njengesixhobo kunokuba zibe ngumgaqo, kuze kuhanjelwe ngaphambili kuzo kunokuba kurhorhozelwe emva kwazo, ngokwamava eemeko zasemaZantsi. Ukubonisa ukuba i-Afrika iyakwazi ukuziqulunqela olwayo ulwazi (Connell 2014: 523), ndiza kuxoxa ngengcamango yesiXhosa yobudoda, kunya nezaci ezikhaphayo.

Iingcamango zaseAfrika ngamadoda aseAfrika



Ukuyila ingqiqo ngeNdoda

‘Indoda’ ligama lesiXhosa, xa emaninzi kuthiwa ‘amadoda’. Ligama elichaza umntu omdala (ominyaka ili-18 ukunyuka), osisini sesiduna, ontetho isisiXhosa, oselenzelwe isiko elimkhupha ebukhwenkweni limsa ebudodeni ekuthiwa lulwaluko (Mfecane 2016). Eli siko libandakanya ukusikwa kwenyama ethile kuye, kulandele ukuhlala qelete nemizi iiveki ezithile echacha, ze ibe ngumbhiyozo ongumgidi mhla ebuyela ekhaya (Kepe 2006; Mayekiso 2016; Ngwane 2004; Ntombana 2011). Ulwaluko lunyanzelekile emaXhoseni, umntu omdala ongolukanga kuthiwa yinkwenkwe (isininzi: amakhwenkwe). Akavumelekanga ukuba atshate, engenakuthatha nxaxheba kwizithethe namasiko asekuhlaleni (Mavundla, Netswera, Toth, Bottoman & Tenge 2010). Indoda ivumelekile ukutshata, yakhe umzi, ithathe nenxaxheba kwimicimbi yezenkolo nezithethe.

Kwelinye iphepha langaphambili ndizibekile iingcamango ngentsingselo yobudoda (Mfecane 2016). Apha ndifuna nje ukubonisa ukuba ubudoda bunobumbaxa nobunzulu obungenakufikelelwa ngendlela obubonwa ngayo ubudoda emaNtla. Ngokwezi ngqiqo zasemaNtla, ubudoda yinto eyakhiwa luluntu ekuhlaleni, ebonakala ngeempawu ezingaphandle zokuba umntu umile njani, ukuzinza kwengqondo nokusinga, indlela aphila ngayo kanye nezinto anazo (Kimmel 1994; Herek 1987; Nye 2005). Ubudoda bugqibeleta ngokunxibelelana nabantu ekuhlaleni, ngokuxhomekeke kwiimeko zentlalo kumaxesha athile kwimbali yesizwe. Oku kwenza ukuba ukugqibeleta kwesini kuhlale kuyinto eqhubekayo, engenaxesha ekuthiwa igqityiwe ngoku. Nobudoda ke ngoko buya kuhlala buroxwa, kuboniswana ngabo, kuba umntu akazalwa enabo, baye bungenazimpawu ziphathekayo. Ubudoda yinto ebunjwa ziimeko zentlalo, nazizinto ezenzekayo.

AmaXhosa akwakholelwa ekubeni umthombo wobudoda lulwaluko. Ukuze ube yindonda yomXhosa kufuneka

kuqala waluke ngokupheleleyo. Konke okuza kulandela okwenziwayo, nangomziba lo, okubonwa njengeempawu zobudoda (Kimmel 1994), kuxhomekeke kuphawu lokoluswa olukwilungu lakhe lobudoda (Mfecane 2016). Olu phawu lobudoda lungahlolwa nanini na xa kukho imfuneko; umzekelo, xa kukho amathandabuzo ngokuba umntu uyiyo na indoda (Mfecane, 2016; Vincent 2008).

Le ngxoxo ibalulekile kwinqiqo ngesini kuba ixhokonxa incoko ngokubaluleka kokwahlula phakathi 'kwendoda' 'nobudoda', izinto ezimbini ezihlala zibhidaniswa. Indoda ngumntu okwinqanaba lobudoda kuba woluswa. Ubudoda zizenzo ezibonwayo zemihla ngemihla zomntu oyindoda ongumXhosa, ezenza esidlanggalalen - atsho awongwe ngegama lobudoda. Apha kuqukwa indlela yokunxiba neyokuthetha, isimbo somzimba, ukondla usapho, ukutshata nokuzala abantwana ngexesha elililo. Indoda icacile, ibonakala lula ngokwenza nje uhlolo ngamehlo, ayixoxisi, iphikisana phofu nenkolo yaseNtshona yokuba ubudoda zizenzo nje kuphela (Shrock & Schwalbe 2009: 279). Ubudoda bona busekwenzeni kwemihla ngemihla, aphi kukho nomngcipheko wokungaphumeleli kulo mizamo. Kwezi meko ade avakale amaXhosa esithi: 'Lo wolukile nje; akayondoda'. Le yintetho eyenyalisa ubudoda bomntu, esetyenziswa xa umntu esoyiswa kukuziphatha kakuhle naphambi kwabantu, kodwa ayikususi ukuba uyindoda kuba unophawu emzimbeni olungenakuze lucimeke, nakwiinkumbulo zabantu. Umntu ke ngoko uya kuhlala eyindoda nokuba akanandlela iyiyo yokuziphatha. Indoda ayihliselwa ebukhwenkweni kuba ingaziphethanga njengendoda, kuba sekuthetheni nje kuphela ukuthotywa kwayo.

Uphando Iwakutsha nje malunga namadoda athandana namanye luyayidandalazisa le yantlukwano yeengqiqo. Luveze ukuba amadoda amaninzi athandana odwa olukayo enzela nje ukungena kwinqanaba lamadoda ukuze abe nesidima ekuhlaleni. Kodwa ayala ukuzibandakanya kwizinto zobudoda

ngezenzo zemihla ngemihla, kuba ubudoda buphethe izinto ezenzeka kubomi babantu abathandana nesinye isini – awalungi la amadoda ngenxa yobume bawo bezesondo (Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016; Lynch 2016). Aba abasuswa kwinqanaba lokuba ngamadoda kuba bebutyeshela ubudoda. Umntu akabi yindoda ngokusuka nje enze izinto zobudoda, kodwa kufuneka aqale oluswe azokuba nelungelo lokunkwa eli gama nokuba selezenza izinto zobudoda. Inkwenkwe yomXhosa xa isenza izinto ezenziwa ngamadoda, nokuba kukunxiba impahla yamakrwala, okanye ukusebenzela ukondla ikhaya, ukwenza konke oko eyinkwenkwe. Uya kuhlala eyinkwenkwe nokuba wenza ezo zinto.

Umahluko phakathi kwengqiqo ngendoda kunye nengqiqo ngobudoda iyakuntsokothisa ukufunda ngesini kumaXhosa; sekuhleli kuxoxisa kakade, kugxekwa nokugxekwa. Kukho imbono engaphesheya kule, ethi yona ngokwengqiqo yemfundo kuphuthile ukwahlukanisa ukuba yindoda (ngokwenyama) nobudoda (ngokwezenzo) kuba le yokuqala ixhomekeke kule yesibini³. Umzekelo, indoda entetho isisiXhosa iqale ibonise iimpawu zobudoda ukuze ifaneleke ukubizwa ukuba yindoda. Ayinakutsho esikakra isikhalo, okanye ibonakalise ubuthathaka ngela xesha yoluswa ngalo (Mayekiso 2016). Kufuneka ibonise ukukhalipha kuyo yonke inkqubo yokwaluswa kwayo, ukusebenzele nzima ukuphila kwenxeba kodwa ingabonisi kuziva iintlungu. UMayekiso (2016: 94) uchaza athi:

Intlungu lumphawu olumandla ekwakhiweni
nasekuvelisweni kwamadoda kuluntu lwabeNguni
(amaXhosa). Iimpawu zokuba akakwazi kumelana
neentlungu zinefuthe elibonakalayo kubuntu
bakhe ekuhlaleni ekuhambeni kwexesha. Lintlungu
ezinyanyezelwayo ukusuka ngomhla wokwaluswa ukuya
kuloo mini yokuphila azithetheki. Izithomalalisi zeentlungu

³ Ndiyabulela kuThoko Siphungu ngale nginga, awayithetha kwisifundo soluntu (public lecture) lonke ngesi sihloko eRhodes University: <https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/digitalpublications/Staff%20Newsletter%20May%202017.pdf>

azivunyelwa. Okhe waviwa engxola unikwa igama lokuba ngusisi okanye ngumfazi, okutsho ukuthi akayondoda ngokwaneleyo, usisifede.

Kungoko kufanelekile ukutsho ukuthi ukuba yindoda nje kukodwa ngumsebenzi omkhulu, kukwasiso nesenzo esincomekayo – akulophawu nje olukhoyo kwilungu lobudoda, nto leyo nayo iluphawu Iwezinto ezincomekayo njengokomelela, unyamezelo, njl. Nokuba kunjalo, lo mbandela uyadinga ukusiwa iso nakubantu abantetho ingesosiXhosa. Kungaluncedo ukwazi ukuba ezinye iintlanga ezalusayo apha e-Afrika nakuzo kubalulekile ukuyenza yonke inkqubo – neziya zinto zikhaphayo ezinjengokunyamezelza iintlungu – kube kwanele ukuba umntu abizwe ngokuba yindoda, nokuba uza kuziphatha njani na njengendoda ukubheka phambili. Kungatsho kuperhenduleke ukuba azifunwa ngabuni iinkqubo zamadoda ezinjengolwaluko Iwakwagqirha/Iwasesibhedlele (*medical male circumcision - MMC*) kuba kusoyikwa ukuba likheswa nokucalulwa ekuhlaleni (Peltzer & Kanta 2009).

Ukuyila iingqiyo ngamanqwanqwa olingano ngokwesini

Kuluntu oluntetho isisiXhosa kukhe kuthiwe: ‘Akukho butho lingenazidyongo zalo’⁴, okuthetha ukuthi ukungalingani kukho kuzo zonke iinkalo entlalweni. Le ntetho yaqaleka kwindlela amakhwenkwe amaXhosa azihlela ngayo ekushiyaneni kwawo, ngakumbi la ahlala ezilalini. Amakhwenkwe elali enye ayadibana amanyane ukuze akhuselane - ekhusela nesidima selali - xa esedabini namakhwenkwe ezinye iiilali. Kula mabutho kukho amakhwenkwe amadala, aphakathi, namancici – la kuthiwa ziidyongo.

Amakhwenkwe atshatshelyeo ekubetheni iintonga anikwa

⁴ Esi saci ndasiva ngotat’ uNqevu, ingcaphephe kwizithethe nenkcubeko ehlala imenywa kuMhlobo Wenene, ngojuni ku2017

inqwanqwa eliphezulu, ehle ngokwesakhono kude kufikwe kula angamagangxa okubetha, kunye nala angafuni kulwa kwaphela, kuthiwe ke aba ngamagwala. Ezantsi ngala asemancinci amakhwenkwe, wona ke ziidyongo. Enkcochoyini yamanqwanqwa kuhlala inkwenkwe ekuthiwa likhwahla, okanye isanyongo, okanye lula nje inkwenkwe endala. Ithanda ukuba ndala kunamanye amakhwenkwe, inamadabi amaninzi awalwileyo, seyidlulelwaa nalixesha lokwaluka. Idyongo zibekwa kwelona nqwanqwa lisezantsi eqeleni. Kufuneka zibonise ukuthoba kula madala amakhwenkwe, akukho nto zinokuyiphikisa naxa kuthethwa. Zihlala zixhatshazwa, maxa wambi zithelekiswe zilwe, aba badala bezonwabisa ngaloo mlo. Ukuzikhupha kwinqanaba leedyongo kufuneka idyongo yoyise inkwenkwe endala, okanye ephakathi – ekuthiwa ke kukuzixhoma (into ethetha ukuzibulala).

Xa ibinzana elithi 'akukho butho lingenazidyongo zalo' libhekiswa kubomi boluntu jikelele, iba yindlela yokuphila yamaXhosa wona angenayo ingqiqo yokuba bonke abantu bayalingana. Bayashiyana abantu ekuhlelweni kwesiXhosa, okusekelwe ikakhulu ebudaleni babantu. La manqwanqwa okushiyana abonakala kwiindlela zokwenza ezinamagama anjengooBhuti nooSisi ekuboniswa ngawo intloniphoo kwabadala kunabanye, njengokuthi Tata, Mama ebantwini abadala elalini. Wonke umntu kwimpilo yakhe yemihla ngemihla kulindeleke ukuba athobe kwezi ndlela zokuthetha zentloniphoo.

Indlela yokuhlala xa kukho umcimbi okanye umbhiyozo ihamba ngokwezikhundla nobudala babantu abakhoyo. Amaxhego ahlala kweyona ndawo ibonakalayo ebuhlanti. Bahlala kanye ngasekungeneni, nezithebe ziqala kubo. Eyabo inyama kunye nokuselwayo kuthi xhaxhe kunabanye abantu, kodwa kulindelekile ukuba babelane nabanye – umzekelo bayabasikela babarhabulise abanye, bebonisa ububele bekwaqinisa ubudlelwane. Abafazi nabo banawabo amabakala okushiyashiyana, umzekelo

kuyohlukwa ngamanqanaba phakathi koomama, abafazana, oomakoti neentombi. La manqwanqwa yindlela yokuhlela indlela yokwenza xa kudityenwe: ukuhlala, amalungelo, ukuxhamla, nemisebenzi yokwenziwa.

Eli binzana 'akukho butho lingenazidyongo zalo' livula umnyango weengqiqo ngamanqwanqwa okushiyana ngokwesini kwintlalo yesiXhosa – mhlawumbi nakwezinye iindawo kumazantsi e-Afrika – zibe zingaveli kumaxwebhu eengqondi zangaseNtla. Ngokukodwa, ndibona ukuba eli binzana lingakhe ligabule inkungu kumbandela wokungalingani okungaphakathi, oshiywe ungaxoxwanga kwiingcamango zikaConnell ngokulawula kobudoda, ngokwengqwalasel kaDimitrious (2001). Ngamacutshane, umxholo wesikhundla esibalulekileyo samadoda ekuhlaleni waqulunqwa nguConnell (1995) kunye noogxa bakhe (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1987) ngelokuba kuqondwe ukucinezeleka kwamabhinqa kwintlalo yaseNtshona. Ubhekisa kolona hlobo Iwamkelekileyo lobudoda nakweyiphi na imeko-ntlalo (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1987). Olona phawu lubalulekileyo lokongama kobudoda kwiimeko zesini eNtshona lolu lokuba kudibene izini zozibini (*heterosexual*), kuqhamshelene nomtshato, kubandakanya nezinye izithethe ezigcina amabhinqa edotyelelw ngamadoda (Connell 1987).

UDemetriou (2001: 343) uthi ingcingane yokongama kobudoda ixhathise ngeengcingane zobubhinqa ezibeka phambili ukonganyelwa kwamabhinqa ngamadoda. Ngenxa yoko ayiphumelelanga ukuziphonononga kakuhle zonke iindidi zocinezelo ezikhoyo emadodeni ngaphandle kokuzibona njengeqhinga lokudobelela amabhinqa phantsi kwamadoda (Carrigan, Connell & Lee 1987). Oku kongama kobudoda kuqhubele kusiya kutshintsha ngokutshintsha ngenxa yokugxekwa nokumana kulungiswa (Beasley 2008; Connell 2016; Connell & Messerchmist 2005; Misserchmidt 2012). Okona kubaluleke kakhulu kule ngxoxo ngoku kukuba iingqondi zokongama kobudoda azisakuboni ukonganyelwa

kufana nokucinezelwa kwabafazi (Messerschmidt 2012). Ukongama kobudoda bubhekisa ngqo kwizenzo zamadoda ezivumelana nokucinezelwa kwabafazi, kutsho kuvuleke umtyhi wokuba kuthethwe ngobudoda obongamayo, bube bungabukhuthazi ubusolusapho (Messerschmidt 2012).

Kodwa ke endikubonayo kukuba eza ncincane zokuqala ngobunganga bobudoda, ezazibhidanisa ukucinezela kunye nokongama, zisagguba ngamandla eMzantsi Afrika. Yiyo le nto uphando esilwenzayo, nobutsha-ntliziyo bethu, obuxhomekeke kule ncincane, buphonononga kuqala ukucinezelwa kwavo onke amabhinqa ngamadoda. Kukho uqwalaselo olungayanga phi kucinezelo lwamadoda ngamanye amadoda, ngaphandle kwalapho luppenjelelwa zezesondo nabubuhlanga. Ngaphezu koko, uphando neenkqubo zokutshintsha ingqiqo yamadoda ngobudoda ziqhutywa ngeenjongo zokuphelisa ubusolusapho, kungoko kuqalwa ngobunganga bangaphandle (okokuthi ifuthe elibi lamadoda kumabhinqa), endaweni yobunganga bangaphakathi (okokuthi ifuthe elibi lamadoda kwamanye amadoda) (Demetriou 2001: 341). Imingcipheko angena kuyo amadoda ngenxa yezenzo zobudoda ezinobungozi luseluncinci uphononongo olwenziwayo kuyo okwangoku.

Eli binzana lesiXhosa likhankanywe apha ngentla linawo amandla okuyoyisa le ngcamango inomkhethi, ngeendlela ezimbini. Okokuqala, lisusa amehlo ekongameni kwangaphandle liwase koku kwangaphakathi. Liyasivumela ukuba siphande ngengcinezelo eyenzeka phakathi kwamaqela amadoda kodwa kungekho nenjongo yokuphindaphinda ubusolusapho – ukutsho oko, ukudobelela okungebubo ubunganga (Misserchmidt 2012). Eli binzana lixhathise ekuthini ngendalo yawo, okanye ngenxa yembali yawo, amaqela asentlalweni ayingqokelela yabantu abangalinganiyo, ibe le iyinto ezibonakalisa mihla le kunxibelelwano lwala malungu. Onke amalungu eqela ngalinye kulindeleke ukuba athobele imiqathango yokushiyana kwabo, eyasekwa bengekabikho

bona, kungenjalo basemngciphekweni wokudliwa ngenxa yokudelela ummiselo owabekwayo. Oku kungalingani kwabantu esiXhoseni kuchaphazela onke amaqela entlalo nokuba buthini ubudala, isini, inkolo, okanye imfundo.

Okwesibini, eli binzana lesiXhosa linganceda ekufumaniseni unobangela, ngokwemveli, wengcinezelo ekhoyo kula maqela. Khange ibe khona le ngqwalasela kwiimpixano zesini eMzantsi Afrika ngenxa yokusetyenziswa kjesilungu ekuphononongeni ingcinezelo yamabhingga kwiinginqi zama-Afrika. Iba ngamagama kazwelonke, angathanga ngqo, angathethi ncambenqebelo zezithethe zawo kwizenzzo zobundlobongela. Umzekelo, uPeacock, uKhumalo noMcNab (2006) baqaphele ukuba aphezulu amaqondo okubulalana kwamadoda kwiinginqi zaseMzantsi Afrika, nto leyo ingasiwanga so ngenxa yokujolisa ekubulaweni kwamabhiqa ngamadoda. Zithi ezi ngqondi ingxaki isegameni, besitsho besithi ukugonyamelana kwamadoda kuyindlela yamadoda yokubonisa ubungangamsha. Xa kusithiwa le ngxaki yeysini atsho amadoda acacelwe bubukhulu belahleko edalwa bobu budoda bunogonyamelo, abe naso nesizathu sokuhangela ezinye iindlela zokubonisa ubudoda ezinoxolo (Peacock *et al.* 2006: 74).

Nangona kunjalo, ayikokuthiya amagama kodwa ekufuneka kutshintshile; kukwabalulekile ukuba ukuthiya kuhambelane neentsingiselo ezivunyiweyo zezelelo engingqini. Ukuthiya izenso zokugonyamelana phakathi kwamadoda kuthiwe zezesini, liqalo elihle lokwazisa abantu ngelahleko ebangelwa bobu budoda bunobuzaza, ukuze ekuggibeleni kudaleke inguqu edingekayo entlalweni. Ukuthiya kukodwa akuthi sakutsho sibaqonde oonobangela abaphenjelelw zizithethe zethu. Umzekelo, kukhe kwaziswa ezindabeni kutsha nje ngokubulawa komntu kwithaveni eseKimbali kumNtla Koloni, ngenxa yendoda ethe kwenye 'kwedini'- igama lesiXhosa elidelela ubudoda bomntu (Phillips 2017).

Ukwedini ligama ekubizwa ngalo amakhwenkwe angekoluki, elifana nokuthi dyongo. UBhekithemba Mpaliweni, owatyholwa ngokubulala, ethetha ngokwenzekayo okwamkhokelela ukuba abulale, uchaza enjenje:

Ndibe nokuxambulisana okungephi nomfi xa ndisiya kuzithengela isiselo ebharini. Umfi akamanga emgceni wandityhala wandigqitha. Ndimxelele ukuba uyadelela. Saxambulisana kancinci. Ndithathe isiselo sam ndabuyela kubahlobo bam. Emzuzwini ufikile ehamba nomhlobo wakhe wandixelela ukuba akandoyiki wandibiza kwedini (Philips 2017).

Ukubizwa ngekwedini lolona Iwaphulo-mthetho lukhulu kwinzululwazi yendalo yobudoda emXhoseni. Akoneli nje ukumhlisela umntu kwelona nqwanqwa lisezantsi kumanqanaba obudoda, koko kumlahlela ngaphandle komfutho ofumaneka kwisigqeba samadoda asekuhlaleni. Kuxusha phantsi umsebenzi ongako awawenza ukwaluka kwakhe esebezela ukuba nesidima sendoda yasekuhlaleni, enyamezele iingqaqambo ezichazwa nguMayekiso (2016) ngokucacileyo kuphando Iwakhe. Eli gama libeka umntu kumgangatho wobukhwenkwe, nto leyo ichaphazela amalungelo akhe eluntwini nakwiindawo zikawonke-wonke. UMPaliweni uqhubeka nokuchaza:

Ndiye kwigumbi langasese ndafika umfi engaphakathi. Uthe amakhwenkwe mawaphume phandle kuba awanakuchama namadoda. Kwandicapukisa gqitha ke oku, saqala sathukana. Abantu ababekhona apho bathetha naye umfi, mna ndaphuma. Mzuzwini nje ndeva ngomntu endikrweca egxalabeni esithi kum kwedini kwakhona.

Kwisigama sesiXhosa, ‘ulwaphulo-mthetho’ olwenziwa ngumfi lungachazwa ngokulula nje ngokuthi umkhwenkile. Intsingiselo yeli gama inzulu; ingaphaya kokumbiza nje

ngobukhwenkwe (Phillips 2017). Umfi unyathele ilungelo elisisiseko lendoda, eli lokunikwa intloniphlo entlalweni. Isenzo sokujongela phantsi ubudoda benye indoda siphethe isohlwayo esinzima kumenzi waso. Umtyholwa angade agxothwe phakathi kwamadoda ade ahlawule umdliwo aya kube egwetywe wona, akugqiba acele uxolo ngesenso sakhe phambi kwamanye amadoda. Lo ucaphukiswe ngulo kwedini wade wenza okumanyumnyezi uye afumane uvelwano kuninzi lwabantu kuba yonke indoda ekhoyo iyayazi intlungu yokudelelwa ekubeni wanyamezelwa iintlungu zokwaluka.

Emva kwale ntsukaphi, ndiphakamisa ukuba uphando kunye nongenelelo olusekwe kwezi mbono ngobudoda lulo olunokunika iinkcazeloo ezityebileyo ngengcinezelo yamabhinqa nokungalingani. Ingcinezelo eyenziwa ngamadoda eengingqi zoMzantsi Afrika ayinakujongwa njengengcinezelo eyenzeka kwamanye amazwe, kwiimeko zaho zokungalingani ngokwesini, nobunganga bobudoda bakhona (Demetriou 2001: 341). Inengcaciso yayo etho ngqo ebeka elubala ingqiqo-jikelele yabantu benkcubeko ethile, ingenakulungiswa ngokusebenzisa iingcamango ezaqulunqwa kumazwe asemaNtla, ziqlunqelwa iimeko-ntlalo ezahlukileyo (Connell 2016).

Ukuthatha iqela ngalinye lentlalo eMzantsi Afrika njengomfuziselo webutho (iqela labantu abangalinganiyo) kusenza sikhazi ukuphononononga nzulu ngodobelelo olwenzeka kula maqela (ubunganga bangaphakathi) singakhange siyidibanise nengcinezelo ekwamanye amaqela (ubunganga bangaphandle). Ukwenza oku kubonisa ubukho bengcinezelo kuyo yonke indawo eluntwini, kwizikhakhamela ezinamalungelo, ababuthathaka, abathandana besisini esinye, abathanda abesinye isini, abadala nabatsha. Kusinceda ukuqwabulula okwezwelonke kwahluke kokwengingqi (Alatas 2000: 46), kunye nokuyila iinkqubo zongenelelo ezlungiselelwane kanye iimfuno zeqela ngalinye, ingalityelwanga inkalo yocinezelo ngokwesini nangasezimalini.

Akunakulunga, umzekelo, ukuba kungathunyelwa ikrwala – kungatsarha nangokwesithethethi – liye kuzakuzela utshintsho lobudoda kwiqela lamadoda amadala angamaXhosa. Kaloku ikrwala alinagunya lakubafundisa libajike nendlela yokuziphatha. Lisabonwa njengedyongo kuba lisanda kwaluka, kusafuneka liphulaphule live iziyalo zabadala, ndaweni yokuba lona liyalele, lifundise, alitamatise bona. Unglelelo olunobulumko ingaba kukufumana ulwamkelo lwale nkqubo kwiinkonde ezo kuba zizo ezinamagunya nempembelelo kwiqela liphela.

Ndakhe ndakwimeko ebufana nale ingentla ngexesha endandisebenza eBushbuckridge, kwiphondo laseMpumalanga. Bendibamba iincoko namadoda aseKildare, ilali endandihlala kuyo, ngeHIV, iAIDS, uvavanyo IweHIV, amachiza iiARVs, isondo elingakhuselekanga, njl. Ndandibalisa ngamatsha-ntlizyo ezempilo awayehambisa amachiza iiARVs endakhe ndadibana nawo ezikliniki, bethetha noogxa babo nakwabasanda kuzazi ukuba baneHIV bebefundisa ngeeARVs, ngokuthandana, nangokuphila ixesha elide nale ntsholongwane (Mfecane 2013). Omnye wala madoda, owayeminyaka ingama-38 ubudala, wala ukufundiswa ndim ngeHIV, esithi:

Andinakufundiswa ngumfana ongatshatanga nokutshata. Ndifuna indoda engangam kuba idibene namanzithinzithi obom. Ndingayijonga ndithi le ndoda iyayazi le nto ithetha ngayo. Ndingakha nto kuyo. Umfana akazi nto. Ufundisiwe ngeAIDS kodwa akakabi namava ngobomi; wenza nje le nto ayixelewla ekliniki (Fieldnotes 2006).

Apha, umfana useyidyongo ngenxa yobudala bakhe nangenxa yokungabi namava ebomini, nto leyo imenza abonwe engenakho ukufundisa, atamatise, aguqule ukwenza kwendoda eliqina. Oku kubonisa ukubaluleka kokuyiqonda imvelaphi yabantu ngokwesithethethi zabo, nokubaluleka kwamanqanaba obudala, ngakumbi xa usebenza kwiimeko-

ntlalo zase-Afrika. Ngaphezu koko, zisusa inkwethu kuvele imiqobo adibana nayo amatsha-ntliziy ezesini eAfrika ekuzameni ukuguqula oontanga babo bamkele imiyalezo engolingano ngokwesini (Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya & Willan, 2014; Shefer, Kruger, & Schepers 2015). Njengoko uDworkim, uFlemming, noColvin (2015) bebonisa, amanye ala matshantliziy angaqeqeshwanga achwethelwe ecaleni ekuhlaleni, kodwa kulindeleke ukuba babe sisibonelo kuluntu lwabo. Mhlawumbi bayoyiswa kukuphembelela utshintsho kwindlelala yokuziphatha kuba bajongelwe ukuba baziidyongo ekuhlaleni.

(Ukunga)wazi AMADODA: Ukuzijonga ngobuAfrika iinkqubo zomthetho wamadoda kwezesini kuMzantsi Afrika

Uyilo lweenkqubo zenguqu yobudoda ezisekelwe eAfrika



Kucacile koku kungentla ukuba iinkqubo zotshintsho lobudoda eMzantsi Afrika kufuneka zisebenzise iingcamango eziyilwe apha, zingqinelane namava neengqiqo zase-Afrika ukuze kwenzeke inguqu eyiyo. Apha ndiphakamisa iindlela ezintlanu zokwenza ukuba iinkqubo zotshintsho lobudoda eMzantsi Afrika zibe zezaseAfrika. Okokuqala, ezi nkqubo mazimiliselwe eAfrika, zinqwale apho iinkqubo zesini zincombekayo eAfrika ezathi zaphazamiseka ngexesha lobukoloniyalı.

Umzekelo, uphando lubonisa ukuba isini kwimimandla yaseAfrika kwiminyaka yangaphambi kobukoloniyalı sasiyinto engekho ngqingqwa, enokuxoxwa kuboniswane ngayo; eyayingalawulwa bubuni bendalo yomzimba kuphela (Amadiume 1998). Amabhinqa aseAfrika ayebonakala ekwiindawo eziphezulu (Sardukasa 1986, 91), amanye engabalawuli abakhulu ababekwazi nokubhengeza ukuba kuliwe iimfazwe (Sesanti, 2016; Farrar, 1996). Ezi nkqubo zanyathelelwa phantsi bubusolusapho baseYurophu kwiAfrika iphela (Ranger 1983, 493). Ngoku, ubusolusapho baseYurophu eAfrika sebuqhelekile, nemballi yokumiliselwa kwabo ayisiwa so nakwiingxoxo zezifundiswa (Oyewumi 2011). U-Oyewumi (2011, 30) ubhekisa koku kumiliselwa kobusolusapho baseYurophu eAfrika njengemeko yesini: yingcingane yokuba ulawulo lwamadoda kwimicimbi yoluntu lukho kuzwelonke, lwaba kho kwamhlannene. Lusenokuba nguzwelonke namhlanje, kodwa lunembali, kuba lufike ezindaweni ezahlukaneyo ngamaxeshha athile asakhunjulwayo.

Ndibona ngathi uluntu oluntsundu loMzantsi Afrika Iwanamhlanje lubanjwe ngunoxhaka zezi ngcamango zobusolusapho zeza nobukoloniyalı, ngingane ezo ezelwenza uluntu lunyamezele lo mvambo wogonyamelo nobundlobongela bamadoda kumabhinqa obugqubayo namhlanje kumazwe amaninzi eAfrika akuba emkile amakoloniyalı (Mama 1990). Kungoko inxalenye yeqhinga emalisetyenziswe ekuguquleni obo budoda maybe kukutyeshela ingcingane yobukoloniyalı yokuba amabhinqa adalwe angaphantsi kwamadoda. Endaweni

yoko, esa sithethe semveli sasinentlonipho kumabhinqa mayibe siso esingumqolo weenkqubo zenguqu kwezesini (Ranger 1983: 494; Sesanti 2016: 483).

Oku kubandakanya ukuthi kutyeshelwe nalo nomgogwana wesiko elithi amadoda angamaAfrika ngawo amawondle amakhaya (Gibbs *et al.* 2017). Njengoko ndibonisile, kumaxesha angaphambi kobukoloniyalı abafazi yayingabo abondli bokuqala bamakhaya (Guy 1990). Ngoko ke, imbono yokuba amadoda ase-Afrika kufuneka abe ngababoneleli sisinyanzelo nobusolusapho esenzelwe ukubhukuqa abafazi kumagunya olawulo (Brink 1990). Iinkqubo zotshintsha lobudoda kufuneka ziqaqambise le mbali intle yabafazi baseAfrika abangababoneleli, ukuphikisa le ngcingane kazwelonke yokuba abafazi badalelwé ukuhlala emakhaya (Ortner 1974). Oku kungawuthomalalisa lo moyo wamadoda wokuziva ephungulwe ubudoda xa exhomekeke ebafazini, okanye esamkela imali engeneno kweyabafazi. Kungatsho kudaleke nomoya wokuhalisana ngoxolo, ngenxa yokwamkela ukuba kuyalinganwa.

Okwesibini, iinkqubo zenguqu kubudoda baseAfrika kufuneka zikhokelise indima entle eyadlalwa zizithethe zaseAfrika – ezisayidlala nangoku - kubomi bamadoda, kuze kuthi xa kunokwenzeka kubonelwe kuzo xa kuyilwa ezi nkqubo. Okwangoku amaphulo okungenelela ekuguquleni ukucinga kwamadoda – nokulingana ngokwesini – ayawanyevulela amasiko nezithethe zaseAfrika. La maphulo agunyaziswa nguzwelonke ukuba enze zonke iinzame zokutshintsha iinkqubo zemveli ezilawula ukuziphatha koluntu ngelokuthintela nokuphelisa ubusolusapho nezinye iingcamango ngesini, izithethe nokuziphatha ekuhlaleni okukhuthaza ukungalingani, ezibona abafazi namantombazana bengaphantsi kwamadoda namakhwenkwe (UN Women, 2016: 4).

Eli phulo lingxamisekileyo lokulungisa/lokuphelisa amasiko ‘ayingozi’, livala ikroba lokuba kubuyiswe izithethe nenkcubeko

zokwakha uluntu ukuze kudaleke inguqu elungileyo kwiinginqi zamaAfrika (Sesanti 2016: 479). Nangoku impumelelo yeenkqubo zokungenelela ibonwa ngokukwazi kwazo ukuguqula indoda kwiimbono zayo zobuAfrika ngesini – nendlela ephila ngayo ubomi bayo – iijke ibone ngendlela yasentshona. Impumelelo ifezekile xa amadoda ase-Afrika eginya aphinde agabhe ezo mbono ngebhongo phambi kwamanye amalungu eqela, nabaguquzeleli, nabeendaba, nabaphandi, kunye noosozimali baseNtshona (Umzekelo bona ku: Colinge, Delate, Jigueroa & Kincaid 2013; Ditlopo *et al.* 2007; Gibbs, Jewkes & Sikweyiya, 2014; Marock *et al.* 2017; Robins & Colvin 2009; Lindegger & Maxwell 2007; Sideris 2005).

Uphando lwam lukhomba ukuba inani elivakalayo lezi mbono ‘zintsha’ zobudoda (Colinge, Delate, Jigueroa & Kincaid 2013), ezikhuthazwa kulawa maqonga otshintsho lobudoda, zazikhona kuluntu lwase-Afrika kwakude kudala ngaphambi kokufika kwamakoloniiali amhlophe. Masithathe ukusela ngendlela efanelekileyo njengomzekelo, inkqubo endala eyayixatyisiwe kwiindawo zaseAfrika. Ikumkani yamaZulu uCetywayo [1826 - 1887] wayethelekisa ukuselwa komqombothi ngamaMaZulu nokuphungwa kwekofu ngamaBritane, ukubonisa ukuba wawuselwa ngobungcathu (La Hausse). Ezinye izizwe zamaAfrika ezinjengamaXhosa zazingenalo isiko lokudidiyela, zahlala zingabuseli utywala kwade kwafika amakoloniiali notywala kwiminyaka yoo-1800, kwafika namaMfengu ayedidiyelela uKumkani uNgqika umqombothi (Bokwe 1914; Williams 1978). Kananjalo, kwiindawo ezininzi zemveli zaseAfrika utywala babubobabantu abadala kuphela, ikakhulu amadoda. Babuselelwa nje ukuthambisa ulwimi kube mnandi, nokwenza kube lula xa kusetyenzwayo, naxa kusenziwa imisebenzi yesiNtu (Karp 1986; Mager 2010; McAllister 2010). Afika amakoloniiali notywala besilungu yacima yonke imigaqo eyayilawula ukuselwa kotywala, bajikwa utywala bayinto yokwenza imali, baselelwa ukunxila ngabantu. Yinguqu le eyeza nobunxila obungalawulekiyo,

nokwenziwa kotywala obungekho mthethweni, bathengiswa ezishibhini ezilokishini (Khuzwayo 1996; Mager 2010).

Kungalulutho ukuyila iinkqubo zokulwa nokuselwa kotywala ngendlela enobungozi, futhi zingaphumelela xa kunokuthiwa ziinkqubo zokubuyisa isidima senkcubeko yethu, kungathiwa zezokuphelisa izithethe ezinobungozi. linkqubo ezinje mazichule ukunyathela xa ziphethe umcimbi wezithethe zakudala, kananjalo maziqwabulule zisuse ubukoloniyali kubuAfrika. Kungayilwa namaphulo aqhutya nabeendaba (*media*), kuba abeendaba bebekhe baphambili kwiphulo lokubuyela eAfrika ekulweni nokuzibhubhisa ngotywala (Mfecane 2011). Kule minyakana idlulileyo bekukhe kwakho intengiso yegrangqa iCommando, utywala besilungu obuthandwa kakhulu ngamadoda angabasebenzi, intengiso isithi iCommando luhawu lwendoda yoqobo. Enye yayisithi iCarling Black Label lisiko lam – kodwa yeypahesheya (Mfecane, 2011, 11). Kudala ibhiya yayenza into yokusebenzisa izithethe zamaAfrika, iziqwebe ide iziggwethe kuba ifuna ingeniso (Mager 2010, 48). Izijongela phantsi neengcingane zemveli ngesini kwiingingqi zaseAfrika.

Okwesithathu, iinkqubo zenguqulelo mazibeke phambil Ubuntu xa kucingwa ngendlela yokubuyela kwisithethe sokukhathalelana, okuyindlela abonwa ngayo umntu oyindoda, okwayinxalenyen yabanye abantu – aqhutwe **bubuntu**, hayi ukuba **ngumuntu** (Magadla & Chidando 2014: 184). Njengoko bendiphawule ngaphambilana, esi sitethethe sobuntu sokukhathalelana yayisiso esasilawula ubomi bamaAfrika bemihla ngemihla. Sasuka saphazanyiswa kukufika kwamakoloniyal neenkqubo zawo zobukapitali nobudlayedwa. Ubuntu, obusisixhobo sokuguqula ukucinga ngesini, bungumthombo wezinto zemveli ezinokusetyenziswa ngamatshantlizyo ezesini, kutsho kuphele nokuhlala begxekelwa ukuza neembono zamanye amazwe ukulungisa iingxaki zaseAfrika (Magadla & Chidando 2014: 184).

Ubuntu yifilosofi yobomi kumaZantsi eAfrika ethe yagxekwa kutsha nje ngelithi ikhuthaza amadoda ukuba acinezele amabhinqa, ewanyanzela ukuba ababonelele (Okyere-Manu & Koyana 2018). Ukanti ubuntu bukhe bagxekelwa ukuba bukhuthaza amadoda amnyama ukuba asasaze ugawulayo (Leclerc-Madlala 1997). Nangona kunjalo ndiyibona ingcamango yobuntu isisixhobo esibalulekileyo sobu-Afrika sokuguqula ubudoda obunobunganga, kuba ubuntu bunesiseko esithi abantu yindalo yabo ukuba bakhane: umntu ngumntu ngabantu (Magadla 2014). Eli gama 'umntu' kule ntetho ngelinye ixesha linganika umfanekiso wendoda (Okyere-Manu & Koyana 2018), kodwa ezi ntsingiselo zobuntu azibopheleli. Njengoko bephawula uMagadla noChidando (2014: 190), ubuntu yingcamango enakho ukuguquka, futhi iyaxoxisa kakhulu.

Ngokokwam ukubona, ulovo loBuntu luyangqinelana nengqiqo kaChristina Toren (2006) yokuzandisa ngokwakho (*autopoiesis*), ethi abantu bayazandisa, ngendalo nangokwembali. Njengokutsho kwale ngqiqo, sithwele imbali esizenzele yona ngokwethu, kwanembali nokudlelana kwabantu ababephila ngaphambi kwethu. Sighakamshelene ngegazi lokuzalana, nangembali. Siluluntu, nto leyo isenza abantu, kuba sizalelwla eluntwini oludlelanayo oluthi lwakhe into esiza kubayiyo, kodwa akutsho ukuba umntu uyayeka ukuba nobuntu bakhe siqu, ophila ubomi abe nawakhe amava (Toren 2002). Oku kwenza ukuba ingcamango ethi umntu sisiqu esizimeleyo – esiphila geqe kwabanye abantu – ibe yingcamango engamampunge (Toren 2002).

Kwinzululwazi yendalo yeAfrika kukholelwa ukuthi akwanelanga ukuba abantu bethwelene, bethwele nemballi yabo, koko bathwelene nakwelinye ilizwe elilelemimoya, bekunye kulo (Tefo & Roux 1991). Izinyanya, amaggwirha, kunye nemimoya ziyadibana ngaphakathi emizimbeni yethu ziphembelele iingcinga zethu, ukubona kwethu, kunye nokuziphatha kwethu kwemihla ngemihla, kude kudlule

ukuqonda kwengqondo (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012G; Gottlieb 1998; Tuotola 1959). Oku kwenza ukuba ngendalo bonke abantu abakwimimandla ethile yenkcubeko babe nokunxibelelana ngokomoya. Ngoko ke, ezona mpawu ziphambili zoBuntu ezixgininisa ukukhathalelana, ukwabelana, nokuxhasana, zivela kolu lwazi lokuba abantu bayazibona omnye komnye, nokwazi ukuba sikunye nakwilizwe lemimoya.

Le ngcamango ngobuntu ekuvunyelwana ngayo ngabantu ibe yiyo engumthombo wobumbano kwintlalo yaseAfrika, yawanceda amaAfrika axhathisa, oyisa neenzima ezinkulu zobomi, ezinjengezi: ubukoloniyalu, ucalucalulo, intlupheko, ukufa, izifo, njl. linkqubo ezindululwe zezi ngcamango nezithethe zobomi zingawakhuthaza amadoda ukuba acingisise negezinto ezibalulekileyo kuwo, ade mhlawumbi akhethe ukwakha ubudlelwane nabanye ngendlela yobuhlobo, engeyiyo eyokukhuphisana, eyokuxhaphaza, neyokugragrama, zinto ezo eziqhelekileyo kwizithethe nobukapitali basentshona (Mbeki 2006; Nyamnjoh 2002).

Okwesine, njengoko benditshilo kulo lonke eli phepha, iingqiqo ngobudoda ezijolise eAfrika kufuneka zisekelwe kwiimbono nezaci ezikhoyo kwiimeko zaseAfrika, zixhase ubomi obuphilwa imihla ngemihla. Apha ndinqwenela ukulumkisa ngengozi yokungcwalisa iingcingane neentetho eziphuma eAfrika. Kuthiwa zizifundiswa zoMzantsi Afrika indlela yesiXhosa yokubona indoda, umzekelo, kukuba ichwetheli ecaleni abafazi kune namadoda athandanayo (Mavundla *et al.* 2005; Ntozini & Ngqangweni 2016; Vincent 2008). Obu budoda bukhokelele kwisigama eseneyelisayo esinjengesi: Ikwekwe yinja. Amagama anje anganegalelo kwizenzo zobundlobongela, ukuchwethelwa ecaleni, nocalulo ngakubantu abangolukanga abangamaXhosa (Mavundla *et al.*; 2005; Mfecane 2016; Vincent 2008). Kwangokunjalo, intetho yesiXhosa endiyicaphule ngasentla - 'akukho butho lingenazidyongo zalo' - isekelwe kwingcingane ethi abantu entlalweni abalingani ngendalo, kube oku kungalingani kungenakuxhokonxwa,

ngaphandle kokuba umntu ufunu ukohlwaywa okanye abulawe, kwade kwasetyenziswa igama lokuzixhoma.

Le ndlela yokuzoba izakhiwo zentlalo iyangqinelana neengqiqo ezibona intlalo nezithethi izizo ezabakho kuqala kunomntu. Le ngingane ijongela phantsi ukukwazi ukuzenzela kwabantu, icinezela nobuchule babo, nokucinga, namaphupha abo ngentlalo enomahluko (Burridge 1979; Rapport & Overring 2001). Esi saci xa sizimele nje asinakhwiniba lakukhuthaza ingcinizelo, kodwa linganalo igalelo ekucinezelweni kwabo babuthathaka emaqeleni abo, bengenakubhenela ndawo ukuze batshintshe amanqanaba eqela. Ngoko ke esi saci asimilelanga ukuba sibonelele ababuthathaka, sikho kuphela ukuba sibonelele iimfuno zamalungu asemagunyeni.

Ke ngoko, abaphandi kune noogxa bethu bongenelelo mabangazisebenzisi ezi mbono bengabuzi mibuzo.

Kufuneka bafunde iqela lamaqhalo nezaci bekhangela iindawo ezivumelanayo neziphikisanayo kuwo, ukuze baphume nezona zizizo zokuyila iinkqubo eziza kusebenza kubomi bemihla ngemihla bala madoda. Ukucazulula iintsingiselo ezininzi neziphikisanayo zeengcingane namaqhalo aseAfrika lelona qhinga linokusebenza ukuze kudilizwe le ntsomi yeza namakoloniyalu yokongama kwamadoda kwiingqiqi zaseAfrika.

Okokugqibela, asinakuthetha ngokuvelisa iingqiqo zobudoda, nangeenkqubo, ze singawuqwaleseli umsebenzi onzima wokuvvelisa izifundiswa ezimnyama zalo mxholo, bona izakuba ngabo abaza kubhexesha esi sifundo sitsha. Kufuneka singapheleli nje ekongezeni amanani ezi zifundiswa, phofu abaninzi kubo ingamaNgesi amhlophe. Ndikholelwa ekuthini ezimnyama iingqondi ziza nolwazi olukhethekileyo neendlela ezahlukileyo zokuphanda ngentlalo ezinokuzala iingqiqo neengcamango ezintsha. Banokuluthetha ulwimi oluthethwayo, bazazi nezaci

zalo ndawo kuphandwa kuyo, basenakho nokuba bakhe bayiphila bafumana amava ayo nale nto ize kuphandwa.

Yingxoxo-mpikiswano endala lena kwizifundo ngabantu namasiko abo (*anthropology*) kodwa isesemxholweni nanamhlanje. Kufuneka ivele nakwizifundo zobudoda kuba eMzantsi Afrika kule mihla izifundo zobudoda zijika zibe zizifundo ngamadoda amnyama aseAfrika. Nangona kunjalo, uninzi lwabaphandi abamnyama - amadoda namabhinqa - ababonakali kwinkqubo yokuqulunqa ulwazi ngele kokuba babe ngabasebenzi abaphumayo baye kwiindawo eziphandwayo, abaguquleli, kunye nabaququzeleli bamaqela ezintlanganisweni zophando. Oku kuye kwawajongela phantsi amazwe aseAfrika kwizifundo zobudoda, kwaqhubela phambili ingxaki engapheliyo yokuxhomekeka kumazwe asemaNtla. Izifundiswa zaseAfrika kufuneka zithathe indawo yokukhokela kulwazi oluveliswa ngeAfrika, ukuvelisa iingqiyo ezichaza ngcono imeko-ntlalo yaseAfrika.

(Ukunga)wazi AMADODA: Ukuzijonga ngobuAfrika iinkqubo zomthetho wamadoda kwezesini kuMzantsi Afrika

Isiphele



Ubudoda buyakwazi ukutshintsheka, kanti namadoda eMzantsi Afrika ayatshintsha (Morrell 2001). limeko zokungalingani kwezesini, ekuthiwa zazigquba kwimimandla yoMzantsi Afrika, zithe zaphikiseka zaphazamiseka ziinguqu kwezopolitiko nakwezoqoqosho eMzantsi Afrika emva kokufumana inkululeko kwezopolitiko ngo1994. Namhlane amabhinqa oMzantsi Afrika akwizikhundla zobunkokheli ebezikade izezamadoda, ngeli lixa lilikhulu inani lamadoda angaphangeliyo eMzantsi Afrika. Ngoko ke ayisengommiselo ukuba amadoda abe ngababoneleli kunye neentloko zamakhaya. Kwangokunjalo, amabhinqa awanakuhlala ebethelelw ekuugcineni amakhaya; baphangelela amakhaya, bangabazali abangenabalingane, baziintloko zamasebe karhulumente kunye neenkampani zamazwe ngamazwe. Ezi nyaniso zibonakala ngamehlo zizishukumisile iingcamango ngesini ebesezamkelwe, zakhokelela kutshintsho ekuchazeni ubudoda eMzantsi Afrika. Kananjalo, zibe negalelo elihle ekuguquleni izithetho ezithile zesini.

Ukanti ngoku kunjalo, iingcingane zobusolusapho zisekhona, zihleli zinobungozi kubumbano lwentlalo. Zizo ezinegalelo kwiziganeko ezingapheliyo zokubulawa kwabantu namabhinqa, ukudlwengula kunye nolunye ulwaphulo-mthetho olwenziwa kumabhinqa eMzantsi Afrika mihla le. lingcingane zobusolusapho zinegalelo kwiyantlukwano entlalweni, kukho noloyiko lokubuyisela umva iinzuso zamhla kwaphela ulawulo localucalulo. Kwezi meko, sicacile isizathu sokuba uMzantsi Afrika uhlale uliziko lobutshantliziyo, uphando, kunye neenkqubo zokulwa ubundlobongela obusekelwe kwisini. Le meko ikwacacisa ukwanda kwemibutho exhaswa ngezimali, kunye nabantu abazinikele kwimicimbi yokulingana ngokwesini, kunye nophuhliso lobambiswano phakathi kwala maqela kunye norhulumente, amatshantliziyo kunye nabaphandi. Zizonke ezi nzame zokusebenzisana zezokubuyisa iinzuso ezafumanekayo ngokufika kwenkululeko, kunye nokuqinisekisa ukuba bonke abemi boMzantsi Afrika bakhuselekile nokuba basini sinjani na. Ukubhenela

emadoden'i kutshanje kwezi nkqubo kuchane ucwethe njengoko kubeka phambili indima yabo kumaqabane abo.

Injongo ephambili yeli phepha kukubaluleka kokuqinisekisa ukuba izixhobo zethiyori zokufunda ngengcinezelo yesini nokuyilwa eMzantsi Afrika ziwingene umthamo okhoyo. Kulo mba, eli phepha liphakamisa ukuba kwensiwe isiqqibo sokuzama ukwenza izixhobo zethiyori apha kweli, ezisekwe kwiingqiqo eseziqaziwa, eziza kugqala ubomi bemihla ngemihla. Ukuyingen'a ngolu hlobo kuza kudala ukwamkeleka kubantu kuba iinkqubo ziphethe iifilosofi zabo. Eli phepha liphakamisa ungenelolo olukhobelisa phambili ulwazi lwembali ngeenkalo zentlalo yase olukhobelisa phambili okwakukuhle nge-Afrika okwajongelwa phantsi ngamakoloniyal'i, njengenqanaba eliphezulu ayekulo amabhinqa ase-Afrika, kunye nezithethe ezithile ngokubhekiselele ebudodeni. Nangona kunjalo, oku akuthethi ukuba ixesha eladlulayo masilibone ngokungathi yonke into yayilungile; koko kudingeka sicingisise nzulu ngexesha eladlulayo (Byon 2007).

Lo msebenzi wokuyila iingqiqo neefilosofi apha kweli awululanga, kodwa njengoko bendibonisile ngaphambili (Mfecane 2016), singaqala ngokujongisisa imeko-bume (*environment*) yethu yangoku, sihlale sibaze amehlo kwizinto ezingathi azinamsebenzi, ezibethwa ngoyaba ebomini (uGoffman 1959). Lingqiqo zinokuyilwa ngokudibanisa iimbono nezaci ezikhoyo phakathi kwethu, zibe lumphahla lobudlelwane babantu kubomi bemihla ngemihla. Ukwenza isiqalo, ndithethe ngeengcingane ngamadoda nangobuntu ezithandwayo ngamaXhosa, kunye namaqhalo athandwayo esiXhoseni ngethemba lokuba le ngxoxo iza kuxhokonxa umdla wokuphanda nokubhexesa ezi nkqubo zale miba kuMzantsi Afrika nangaphaya kwemida yeli.

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Malunga nombhali

USakhumzi Mfecane ungunjingalwazi kwiYunivesithi yaseNtshona Koloni. Uyingcali kwizifundo ze-anthropoloji yamayeza, lwabe uphando lwakhe, namaphepha ezifundo awabhalileyo, ejolise kwezempiro yamadoda kwanogonyamelo lobudoda. Ngaphambili, uSakhumzi wayesebenza kwiqumrhu lophando ngezeluntu (*Human Sciences Research Council, HSRC*), apho wayengumphandi ophezulu kwicandelo lemiba yokuchaphazeleka koluntu ngugawulayo (*Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS*), ukanti usebenzile nakwiziko lokupuhhlisa nokuphanda ngogawulayo (*Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation - CADRE*). Ukwasebenzile njengomcebisi kwezophando (*research consultant*) kumaqumrhu angekho phantsi korhulumente ajongene nogawulayo kunye nempilo kweloMzantsi Afrika. Kulo nyaka udlulileyo izifundo zakhe bezigxile ekuqulunqeni iingqiyo ngobudoda ezisekelwe kubuAfrika. linjongo zalona umsebenzi kukukhuthaza iimbono ngesini ezingcambu zazo zilapha; ukwagxeka neengcamango zasentshona ngesini ezitshotsha phambili kwiinkqubo zokusombulula iingxaki zamadoda angamaAfrika. Lo msebenzi ufunxe kakhulu kwiifilosofi (*philosophies*) zaseAfrika kuba zisisiseko sokudiza ubugwenxa bazo zonke iindlela zokucinezelana entlalweni yoluntu, ezisinceda ekuqulunqeni iinkqubo zokusombulula ezhambelana gingci neenkqubo-ntlalo zaseAfrika.

In *(Un)knowing Men*, Professor Sakhumzi Mfecane shares his critical reflections on research around men and masculinities in South Africa. In South Africa, he argues, there seems to be an impasse in scholarly accounts of men and masculinities: Old theories do not provide new answers; violence against women, homicide, the rape of women and children and homophobia persist despite heavy financial investments by the government and international NGOs in research, education and activism that seeks to end all forms of gender inequality in the country. Research and interventions, Mfecane points out, tend to centre on the same goal of subverting patriarchy without locating it in its full social and historical context.

Weaving together Mfecane's own research and writings on Xhosa masculinities with colonial historiographies of gender and masculinities, this monograph argues for the importance of taking into account local contexts, idioms and meanings when theorising about masculinities in South Africa.

In 2021, the CSA&G Press published a reprint of Mfecane's original (2018) text after it was taken up widely by scholars and students in the field of critical gender and sexualities studies. Following the reprint, our team undertook to have the text translated into two African languages – isiXhosa and isiZulu – as a means to contribute to growing movements towards the decolonisation of 'evidence' in this important field. Our hope is that these translations will encourage critical exploration of the potential for increasing epistemological access by social justice actors through the translation of English academic texts.

An incredible book for re-thinking men and gender in the African context. It's time for African gender scholars to take a step back and reflect on gender conceptualisations that draw from and speak to the local contexts.

- Justice Medzani



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