

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

TRENDS, MODIFICATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

OF

UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI (VIRGINITY TESTING)

AMONG THE ZULU IN KWAMASHU DISTRICT OF KWAZULU

NATAL BETWEEN 1960 – 2000

NOBUHLE NONHLANHLA KHUZWAYO

TRENDS, MODIFICATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS
OF
UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI (VIRGINITY TESTING)

Among The Zulu In KwaMashu District Of KwaZulu Natal

Between 1960 – 2000

By

Nobuhle Nonhlanhla Khuzwayo

BA (UNISA) BA HONS (UNISA)

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Masters Degree in Orality Literacy Studies

University Of Natal

Supervisor : Dr. T. Magwaza

Submitted : December 2000

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my mother, Sibongile Maphumulo, my living inspiration on earth. I say, 'Godide! Ndlela! Sompisi!'

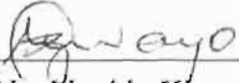
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish I had thousand tongues to say "thank you" to the following people: -

- (a) Dr. T. S. C. Magwaza, my supervisor for her constructive comments, her vast knowledge in the field and the guidance she has offered throughout my research.
- (b) Professor **Edgard** Sienaert for enlightening me as far as Oral Studies is concerned and for paving the way with regard to the choice of my research topic.
- (c) Joan Conolly, the course co-ordinator and facilitator for her endless inspiration and motivations, for her positive input she shared for the development of my thesis
- (d) All my interviewees for their extended generosity and the willingness to expose information about what is traditionally a taboo among the Zulu, that is, virginity testing.
- (e) Mr. Fortune Luthuli for lending me his delicate property, the computer. I say Madlanduna!
- (f) My youngest sister, Bacebile Maphumulo, for her sincere effort to use her spare time to type my work.
- (g) My family, Nicholas my husband, my kids: Nkanyiso, Ntobeko and Thobeka for their patience and understanding in times when I could not fulfil my household responsibilities for the completion of this study.
- (h) Lastly, my friends and relatives who were always on my side and encouraging me to go further with my studies.

DECLARATION

I, Nobuhle Nonhlanhla Khuzwayo declare that, except for quotations specially indicated in the text and such assistance as I have acknowledged, this dissertation is wholly my own work and has not been submitted for a degree in this university and others.



Nonhlanhla Khuzwayo

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	8
Chapter One	9-19
Chapter:	1: Introduction
	1.1 Aims of the study
	1.2 Theoretical Framework
	1.2.1 Finnegan, R (1992): The theory of oral tradition.
	1.2.2 Marcel Jousse, (1990):The theory of microscopic and macroscopic gestes.
	1.2.3 Harriet Whitehead (in Menarche)ed.by Golub:The theory of status in rank conscious societies
	1.2.4 Jan Vansina, (Oral Tradition as History)(1985):Modification theory.
	1.3 Glossary of terms.
	1.4 Codes used for interviewees.
	1.4.1.Participants: Testors (Po)
	1.4.2.Participants: Testees (Pe)
	1.4.3.Non-Participants: Pro. (Np)
	1.4.4.Non-Participants: Against (Na)
Chapter Two	20-24
Chapter:	2:Historical Background of KwaMashu from 1960-2000.
	2.1.Origin
	2.2.Historical background of KwaMashu from 1960-1977.

2.3. Historical background of KwaMashu from 1978-2000.

2.3.1.Recreation

2.3.2 Other facilities.

2.3.2.1.Schools

2.3.2.2.Business

Chapter Three.....25-30

Chapter: 3 Literature Review

3.1.Literature on global and local incidence of ukuhlolwa kwezintombi ritual.

3.1.1.Books and Thesis

3.1.2.Conference Presentations

3.1.3.Newspapers and Magazines

3.2.Literature revealing the theoretical underpinnings of the practice of ukuhlolwa kwezintombi ritual

Chapter Four.....31-36

Chapter: 4. Research Methodology

4.1.Data Collection

4.2.Types of sources

4.3. The interview schedule.

4.4. Conductiing and recording interviews

4.5. Analysis and synthesis of data.

4.6. Views of the primary sources

4.7. Limitations of the study.

4.7.1. Time Frame

4.7.2. Lack of trust.

4.7.3. Secrecy

Chapter Five37-42

Chapter: 5. Zulu Cosmology.

5.1. Ancestral belief.

5.2. The extended men power and rights versus the limited women power and rights.

5.3. Women as primary focus.

5.4. Ownership belief.

5.5. Belief in witchcraft and medicine.

5.6. Belief in music and dance.

Chapter Six43-53

Chapter: 6. Trends of virginity in Kwa Mashu from 1960-2000

6.1 Virginity testing from 1960-1978.

6.1.1 The testees

6.1.2. The role of amaqhikiza .

6.1.3. The testors.

6.1.4. The testing place.

6.2. Virginity testing from 1979-1996(The period of silence)

6.3. Virginity testing from 1997-2000

6.3.1. How did the practise re-emerge

6.3.2. The testees

6.3.3. The testors.

6.3.4. The testing place

Chapter Seven.....54-66

Chapter: 7. Modifications and motivations of the ritual

7.1. How the ritual has been modified in Kwa Mashu compared to its traditional performance.

7.1.1. Ages of abahlolwa (testees) and abahloli (testors)

7.1.2. Frequency of testing.

7.1.3. Place of the tests

7.1.4. Way of testing

7.1.4.1. Virginitiy faking

7.1.4.2 Material used for testing

7.1.4.3. Payments and certificates

7.1.4.4. Cleansing of virgins by non-virgins

7.2. What are the current motivations of virginitiy testing ritual in Kwa- Mashu compared to the motivations of the past.

7.2.1. Motivations of the past.

7.2.1.1 Pride.

7.2.1.2. Lobola (bride price)

7.2.1.3. The reed ceremony.

7.2.1.4. Nomkhubulwane festivities.

7.2.2 Current motivations of virginitiy testing ritual in KwaMashu district.

7.2.2.1. African Renaissance.

7.2.2.2. Crime (rape) and health issues (HIV/AIDS)

7.2.2.3. Teenage pregnancies and fatherless children.

Chapter Eight.....67-72

Chapter: 8.Current debates on virginity testing.

8.1 Virginity testing and gender.

8.2 Reliability of testors.

8.3 Lack of privacy and crime (rape).

8.4 Virginity testing as a solution.

8.5 Workshops and seminars.

Chapter Nine..... 73-78

Chapter: 9 : Conclusion, recommendations and suggestions for future research

9.1 Conclusion

9.2 Findings and recommendations

9.3 Suggestions for future research

Bibliography.....79-82

Appendices.....83-150

- **Appendix A:** Interviews
- **Appendix B:** The certificate.
- **Appendix C:** Map of KwaMashu.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the trends, modifications and motivations of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* (virginity testing) among the Zulu in KwaMashu district of Kwa Zulu Natal.

The study reveals that:-

- *Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* has been historically regarded as a vital social tool to bring pride to the virgin girl, the parents and the community as a whole.
- The big motive was to receive the full *lobola* especially *inkomo kamama* (the eleventh cow).
- Urbanization, industrialization, acculturation, education and religious beliefs led *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* to its near demise in twenty years ago.
- In recent years its resurgence has been noticed in most areas of Kwa Zulu Natal and townships to fight against women abuses, teenage pregnancies and HIV/Aids..
- It is met with a variety of views and emotions with others considering it as valuable while others consider it outdated and irrelevant.
- Virginity testing is regarded as a custom of cultural value and the country is in the process of African Renaissance.
- Regarding the HIV/Aids catastrophe, one can count on 'True Love Waits 'and virginity testing as means of prevention.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

KwaZulu Natal is inhabited with people of diverse cultural beliefs, practices and rituals. These characteristics distinguish one community from the other, respecting its traditions that are based upon an identity of interest that bonds its inhabitants together. Some of the rituals and practices have already vanished, if not they have acquired some elements of modifications. These cultural deaths and modifications are due to acculturation, education, religious beliefs, western civilization, urbanization and industrialization.

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing) among the Zulu in KwaZulu Natal in general and in KwaMashu district in particular, is one of the traditional rituals that are practiced. The practice of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is centuries old but its history is one of considerable flux. While the impact of multicultural contact in the early twentieth century led to its near demise, in recent years we have seen its revival in some parts of KwaZulu Natal including townships.

I adopt the approach of Jan Vansina (1985:114) when he understands that tradition mirrors society. Vansina maintains that as society changes, so both tradition and the motivation modify. This theory was chosen to examine the extent to which the tradition of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* has been modified to mirror the changes in society, with particular reference to the health and crime issues, viz. HIV/AIDS and rape. The study will focus on the trends of the ritual of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* in KwaMashu district from 1960 -2000.

The codes Po, Pe, Np and Na will be used when referring to the interviewees. More clarity is given in 1.4

1.1. AIM OF THE STUDY

In this research project I will investigate the trends, modifications and motivations of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* ritual. The study hopes to make a vital contribution as it will contextualise and provide written document of a practice that is presently in the realm of the oral tradition. Finnegan, R.(1992:7)maintains that oral tradition as strictly speaking . those recollections of the past that are commonly or universally known in a given culture...and have been handed down for at least a few generations.

There has been little that has been documented on the subject most of which is within the limits of print media. Problems associated with the practice, that is, social, cultural and moral, have not been scientifically examined. These problems are thus not receiving the attention they deserve. I believe that social, cultural and moral problems and concerns are closely related with the motives for the *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*, hence the reason for this study.

The documentation of the ritual will result in the collection of data that can be compared and analyzed in terms of the issues related to the practice such as:-

- The reasons for a possible increase or decrease of the practice.
- Varieties of motives underlying such as increase or decrease.
- Current debates about ritual.
- Modifications of the conduction of the ritual from 1960-2000.

There has been an ongoing debate on these issues. This is indeed a complex subject warranting an investigation. It is hoped that the study will contribute to an understanding of socio-cultural factors that influence community responses to illnesses, sexual abuse and the HIV/Aids epidemic. This study focuses on the practice of *ukuhlolwa*

kwezintombi over the last ten years. This will then be compared with the practice of the ritual from 1960 where chastity control was highly practiced. Harriet Whitehead (in menarche ed. Golub) (1976:158) observes that the obsession with the loss of chastity is inseparable from status loss in rank conscious society. Her approach has helped this study: -

- To examine the relationship between the incidence of virginity.
- To view the role of the status as an element in *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* and
- To view the past and current status of the girl, her family and the community in which she lives.

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

- Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi is a ritual that is characterized by the following features.-
- Changing in terms of motivation and the way the practice is performed
- Observable and
- Chastity control

Theories that are going to be discussed below have been used to form the basis of this study.

1.2.1. FINNEGAN, R. (1992) THE THEORY OF ORAL TRADITION

Finnegan, R. (1992:7) sees oral tradition as the way of handing down practices, ideas or values, the products so handed down, sometimes with connotation of being old or having arisen in some “natural” and non-polemical way. Her approach indicates that *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is as old as Zulu mankind and it has been handed down from generations to generations orally. Finnegan also maintains that oral tradition, sometimes means any

rather written tradition, sometimes only traditions enunciated or transmitted through words. This implies that oral people were clever enough to pass the knowledge and skills through oral style.

Other literate or educated people can not conduct *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi ritual*. They lack the skill of examining the girl to tell whether she has been deflowered or not. This shows that *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is an oral practice within oral tradition. That is why Finnegan, R.(1992:7) states that the addition of oral often implies that the tradition in question is in some way-1) verbal or 2) non-written, sometimes or the “folk” usually with the connotation of non-educated, non-elite and/or 4) fundamental and valued, often supposedly transmitted over generation, perhaps by the community or “folk” rather than conscious individual action. Virginity testing belongs to the Zulu society or community as a whole, not to an individual person.

Zulus value their traditions and beliefs. They also believe that fortunes and misfortunes are derived from ancestors. If they do not act according to this beliefs and traditions, misfortunes will follow one after another. That is why *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* as a traditional custom has been maintained. This ritual is always accompanied by songs and dances as one of the features of oral style. Songs and dances accompany all occasions among the Zulu either joyous occasions or sad occasions.

1.2.2. MARCEL JOUSSE: THE THEORY OF MICROSCOPIC AND MACROSCOPIC GESTES.

Jousse, M. (1990) proposes that human behavior is observable from two standpoints, viz., those of microscopic and macroscopic observers. The macroscopic observer is the audience observer, while the microscopic observer is the performer observer.

This theory of Marcel Jousse, whom himself acquired knowledge and skills through oral style, will also form the basis of this study. In this case of *ukuhlohwa kwezintombi*, I have been a macroscopic observer in the sense that I have been observing the performance of the ritual, to collect data as to how the ritual is performed, who performs it, when and where it is performed.

The *abahloli* (testors) and *abahlolwa* (testees) according to Jousse are microscopic observers in the sense that they are the performer -observers. Testors and testees are active participants in virginity testing, that is why I classify them under microscopic geste or performer observers. In order to tell whether the hymen is still intact, the testors have to touch, observe and report to the audience observers, which might be the parents of the testees.

1.2.3.HARRJET WHITEHEAD (IN MENARCHE) ED. BY GOLUB:THE THEORY OF STATUS IN RANK CONSCIOUS SOCIETIES

I adopt the theory of Whitehead, (1976:158) when she maintains that the obsession with the loss of chastity is inseparable from status loss in rank conscious societies.

The Zulus are very status conscious. Around 1960 keeping virginity brought the status for a girl, her parents and the community as a whole. The Zulus believe in ownership. It was a pride to own a virgin girl since the parents would receive the full bride price of eleven cows as a normal number for a girl born from an ordinary family. This in turn would give the parents status of having a large herd of cattle. A man was called "*umnumzane*"(a real dignified Zulu man) when he had a large herd of cattle. To gain those cattle and status, chastity control over the girl should be highly practiced.

1.2.4. JAN VANSINA (ORAL TRADITION AS HISTORY (1985):

MODIFICATION THEORY.

Jan Vansina, (1985:114) proposes that tradition mirror society. Vansina further proposes that as society changes so both tradition and motivation for the tradition modifies.

Ukukholwa kwezintombi is and has been occurring in a changing society. Acculturation, education, western civilization, religious beliefs and other factors cause these changes.

That is why Vansina, (1985:118) when talking about significance; maintains that tradition about events are only kept because the events were thought to be important or significant.

A selection process starts with the eyewitnesses or contemporary reports. As time passes and the criteria of importance or significance change, the selection process continues.

The criteria of importance for virginity testing were status and *lobola*, more especially the eleventh cow, which was not paid if the bride was already deflowered. Currently the criteria of importance for virginity testing are health, which is HIV/Aids epidemic, crime, which is rape and teenage pregnancies.

1.3 GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. Isibaya - cattle byre
2. Ukubuyisa - bring the spirit back home
3. Ucu - specific article of beadwork given to a chosen male lover by a girl to say "I agree " I also love you
4. Idlozi - spirit
5. Emula - come-of-age-to draw the public attention to recognise her marriageable state.
6. Umfasankomo - the flesh behind the knees.
7. Umfazi - (as status)- a married woman

U mfazi - as an insult -a girl of no worth meaning she has engaged herself in sexual behaviors like a married woman.
8. Isifebe - a female with more than one lover
9. Ukugudla - semi-penetrative sexual intercourse.
10. Ukuhlolwa - to be tested

U kuhlolwa kwezintombi- virginity testing
11. Ukujutshwa - given permission to answer the wooers by the iqhikiza
12. Izikhece - the curved part under the eyes.
13. Inkomo kamama/umqhoyiso/ingquthu beast - the personal property of the mother of the girl and is usually slaughtered and eaten by women of

the bride's kraal. It is eleventh cow indicating the virginity of the bride.

- 14. Lobola - the bride price - the means whereby the loss to the girl's people is in some measure compensated for.
- 15. Umhlonyane - puberty rite.
- 16. Umzimba - body
- 17. Ingculaza - (AIDS) Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- 18. Ingqondo - mind
- 19. Inhliziyo - heart
- 20. UNkulunkulu - (the old, old one) is the creator of or First Cause.
- 21. UNomkhubulwane - the female principle, immortal virgin, mother and protector of all Zulu girls and source of growth and creation.
- 22. Umnumzane - The house hold head- a real Zulu man.
- 23. Intandi - meeting where the permission of girls to choose lovers is discussed.
- 24. Amaqhikiza - The older girls who already have sweethearts. They are the only ones who give permission to answer boys who are proposing for love.
- 25. Qoma - to accept a love proposal by an *itshitshi*.
- 26. Ukushikila - pulling up the skirts and shake the buttocks.

27. Isiko - a conventional and traditional action which does not of necessity involve religious engagement.
- 28 Ukusoma - non-penetrative sexual intercourse.
29. Isithunzi - (lit. meaning -shadow), (contextual meaning -dignity).
30. Iso - (lit. meaning -eye), (contextual meaning- the hymen).
31. Isoka - (i) A male with many lovers.
(ii) (as in isoka lakhe) a male lover.
32. Itshitshi - uncommitted young girl.
33. Utokoloshe - a spirit of a short evil man whom it is believed that he was risen from death to be used as a messenger of bad witchcraft
34. Intombi-nto - A real virgin
35. Zithukiwe - insulted of being deflowered.

1.4. CODES USED FOR THE INTERVIEWEES.

The following will be used: -

- 1) For participants who are for virginity testing who are testors: Po symbol will be used.
- 2) For participants who are testees: Pe symbol will be used.
- 3) For Non-participants who are for virginity testing: Np symbol will be used.
- 4) For Non-participants who are against virginity testing: Na symbol will be used.

They will be arranged alphabetically and placed in respective categories I have illustrated above.

1.4.1. PARTICIPANTS: TESTORS (Po)

1. Dube	Mrs.	61
2. Khanyile	Sizile	42
3. Ntuli	Nomathemba	71
4. Shandu	Doris	47

1.4.2. PARTICIPANTS: TESTEES (Pe)

1. Cele	Maphindi	12
2. Dludla	Dumile	11
3. Maphumulo	Seyve	36
4. Mbongwa	Nothando	14
5. Mphumela	Nothando	08
6. Ndlovu	Nosipho	12

1.4.3. NON-PARTICIPANTS: PRO (N_p)

1. Khumalo	Nomthimba	42
2. Maphumulo	Mlamuli	40
3. Memela	Thembi	45

1.4.4. NON-PARTICIPANTS-AGAINST (N_a)

1. Busani	Khosi	44
2. Gumenke	Nonhlanhla	41
3. Mdletshe	Gugu	39

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KWA MASHU

2.1. ORIGIN

The name “Mashu” originated from the name of a White man, Marshal Campbell, an informant said. Marshal is father of Killie Campbell who donated with his house at the corner of Essenwood and Marriot roads in Durban to be used as an Africana Library/ museum. Marshal loved the Zulu people and could speak Zulu very well hence he related with them. Marshal was a farmer. Where Kwa Mashu Township is today, it was his cane farm land. He donated the area to the black Zulu people to build their houses. People called Marshal “Mashu” that is how the township “Kwa Mashu” got its name.

The scheme of building Kwa Mashu was embarked upon in 1952. The first occupants moved in on 22 March 1958. This black township lies North of the city of Durban at Duffs Road. The total area of the township is about 2 600 acres.

2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KWA MASHU FROM 1960-1977

The inhabitants were coming from different rural areas of KwaZulu Natal. Most of the inhabitants came from Cator Manor after its demolition. They moved to Kwa Mashu in February 1960 (Natal Mercury 3-02-60). When Kwa Mashu was first used as a township there were 1883 single houses, 804 semi-detached houses, 236 site and service and 85 single rooms on site and service. Total completed houses in 1960 were 3008. Some of the inhabitants of Cator Manor in Booth Road were against their removal from their slums. They protested at the Durban City Hall holding posters bearing the legends,

“We never had it so bad” Saracens are Nazism, Kwa Mashu means ruin”, Hear our case, “Don’t throw us out of our homes etc.

(Daily News 10-02-60). Edwards (1989) I. L. states that Cator Manor Protest Committee led by ANC “stalwarts” was formed which was fighting against their removals.

The hostel accommodation for 2464 people was provided. The cost of building a single house was \$ 242.10.0 and semi detached house was \$ 3.2.0. Houses could be purchased a period of 30 coming years. Two football fields were built and one was still to be built.

Trading stores, general dealers, butcheries were still in the process of being established.

A municipal clinic was already functioning. Buses and trains were available as means of transport. The train was cheaper than the bus. There were three Lower Primary schools, one Higher Primary, and High School, one nursery school and crèche. Two churches were already functioning. Potgieter, P,J (1960). In April 1958 there were clashes concerning high rentals of houses. The rentals were too high in relation to the average native income, which was R10 a month. Costs could be reduced only on two conditions:-

- (i) Allowing increased use of Native service Levy fund for capital expenditure
- (ii) Extend the period allowed for the payment of houses from 30 to 40 years.

(Daily news 24/04/1958 and Natal Mercury 14/04/1958).

In December 1958 there were crises concerning the built of squatter camps. These squatter camps would be built as the house-building project was very slow, but there was a fear that the camp would expand and become a shield of illegal practices (Natal Mercury 10/12/1958). Another Crisis emerged concerning the right to be in an urban area. Action would be taken against a native who was illegally in an urban area (Natal Mercury 27/01/1959). In 1959, transport problems emerged. People boycotted buses which were costly. Those were the Durban Transport Department buses. The Public utility Corporation of Johannesburg took over and people were very happy.

Virginity testing was regarded as a protection of girls from township boys. Testors were women from rural areas whom at first came for visits and afterwards settled in Kwa Mashu on permanent basis.

2.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KWA MASHU FROM 1978 - 2000

In May 1979, Cosas was formed as a student movement after SAM had been banned in October 1977. Cosas represented black, coloured and Indian school pupils in the tradition of black consciousness. It's primary aim was to fight for compulsory, free and democratic education in a democratic society. (Booth, D, G 1987:164)

From 1979 the following facilities were available to Kwa Mashu residents: -

2.3.1. RECREATION

11 soccer fields, 5 junior soccer fields, 3 netball fields, 2 swimming pools, 5 halls, 1 cinema, 6 tennis courts, 1 tribal dancing ground, 2 stadia (holding 30 000 spectators) 2 playgrounds. At that time there were no libraries or parks.

2.3.2. OTHER FACILITIES

2.3.2.1 SCHOOLS

36 schools (3 of which were Senior Secondary) 376 classrooms, 418 teachers and 20 365 pupils, 5 clinics, 12 crèches, 48 churches, 1 youth centre.

2.3.2.2 BUSINESS

The following businesses were licensed. 40 hawkers, 32 painters, 26 general dealers, 20 butcheries, 14 tinkers, building contractors and bricklayers, 37 taxi operators, 27 market stalls, 19 casual domestic, 11 fresh produce dealers, 7 dry cleaners, 1 undertaker, 1 scrap metal, 8 beer halls and liquor outlets, 7 cartage contractors, 4 driving schools, 4 tailors,

dressmakers, 3 book-keepers/attorneys, 3 wood and coal, tea room/ fresh produce, 1 bottle and bone, 7 rating houses, 6 shoemakers, 3 herbalists, 4 hairdressers, 3 medical practitioners and 4 bottle stores. (South African Institute of Relations Natal Region: Kwa Mashu-A black Township Information Sheet No 2/1979)

In 13 December 1982 the Public Utility Transport Company (Putco) increased its number of buses by 13 percent. Its commuters boycotted it. The DTMB too had increased their fares by 12.5 percent. On 13 December 90 buses were stoned in Kwa Mashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda areas. (Booth:1987:186)

Most of the youth in peri-urban townships were under the United Democratic Front (UDF) which is an affiliate of ANC against Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Boycotts in Kwa Mashu in 1980 started after the youth fought the security forces and Inkatha -backed vigilantes for the first time. In Stollers terms, I was an insider as I was doing grade 12 that year and my school at Kwa Mashu was one of the schools which had boycotting children. The police dispersed us with teargas. Other kids were killed, other classmates who were in front had to hide themselves because they were threatened to be arrested. For the whole year there was no proper education. All other townships like Lamont, Umlazi, Chesterville etc. were disturbed (Booth: 1989:200) states. Those pupils in Kwa Mashu returned to school at the beginning of the third term.

From 1979 many facilities were available in Kwa Mashu, like swimming pool, soccer field, cinemas, etc. The focus then diminished from virginity testing and it was stolen by those facilities. Parents including mothers had to go to work because of the cost of living of the time. The housing rentals were high for the fathers' wages, which compelled the mothers to work too in order to help their husbands. So the mothers or testors had not sufficient time to conduct virginity testing. Lastly, very few individuals practiced it.

At present, on top of the facilities mentioned earlier, there are 2 libraries, chemists are enshrined in the other facilities like general dealers. KwaMashu inhabitants face violence and crime, which is rape, burglary, car hijacking, pick pocketing etc. KwaMashu commuters feel that the facilities they have are not enough to stop their children in engaging themselves in different kinds of delinquencies.

In 1997 Andile Gumede revived the practice because of teenage pregnancies, HIV/Aids, rape and child abuse. Another motive, which brought the ritual back, is the Black Government, which came to power. People saw the need to go back to their roots.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW.

In this chapter I will look at the global and local incidence of virginity testing and identify its theoretical underpinnings in terms of selected studies dealing with the topic, their relevance for my study. I will look at published and unpublished works, articles rendered in conferences and newspapers.

3.1. LITERATURE ON GLOBAL AND LOCAL INCIDENCE OF UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI RITUAL.

3.1.1. BOOKS AND THESIS

Christians believe that a human body is a temple of God. The Bible too emphasizes the importance of being "*intombi nto*" before tying the wedding knot. Deuteronomy 22: 13-17. says: -

"If any man takes a wife and goes in to her and detests her, and charges her with shameful conduct, and brings a bad name on her, and says, 'I took this woman, and when I came to her I found she was not a virgin.' Then the father and the mother of the young woman shall take and bring out the evidence of the young woman's virginity to the elders of the city at the gate. And the young woman's father shall say to the elders; I gave my daughter to this man as wife and he detests her. Now he has charged her with shameful conduct, saying, 'I found your daughter was virgin,' and yet these are the evidence of my daughter's virginity, and they shall spread the cloth before the elders of the city."

In Krige E. J. (1965) we find that Zulu mothers used regularly to examine their girl's pudenda by way of supervision against defloration. The girls would not eat meat at the wedding of a seduced girl, that meat is said to be unclean. This implies that non-virginity meant isolation by both sexes of the community.

Scott, G. R. (1953) states that in ancient Greece it was customary for the godfather and godmother of the bridegroom to satisfy themselves as to the virginity of the bride, and announce their satisfaction to those awaiting the news.

In reference to the marriage rites the Mandingoes in the interior of Africa says: -

"The new married couple are always disturbed toward morning by the woman, who assemble to inspect the nuptial sheet and dance around it. This ceremony is thought to be indispensable nor is the marriage considered valid without it."

The fact that virginity has, in so many countries, been regarded highly has led to attempts being made at simulation or restoration. These measures usually take the form of tightening up the relaxed vaginal walls by the application of astringent lotions or surgical restoration of vaginal conditions by suturing. (Scott, G.R (1953:34-35).

Paige, K.E.(1983:157) states that virginity tests at marriage are a particularly crucial test, if a daughter proves to be a virgin, her family retains its honor, but if she fails her family is shamed and its fragmentation becomes a real possibility. This means that keeping virginity is not only rewarding to a girl but also to her parents.

Around 1960 "*Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* was conducted by the old women. The work of Brindley (1982) has been observed concerning this issue. She states that the King would order the old women of the tribe to examine the equivalent age-grade of girls to verify their virginity. This is witnessed by the interviewee Po-1 when she states: -

"*Kwahlolwa umuntu osemdala ongasayi esikhathini*". (Testing was done by an old person who had reached menopause),

3.1.2. CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS.

Provincial Conference on virginity testing 12-14 June 2000 by Lissan T J Mtalane. It is said that virginity testing procedure starts before the girl reaches puberty, The girl lies down on her back, knees drawn up, heels together and separates her knees wide a part, to expose the vestibule to see whether the hymen is still intact.

.In the paper presented by Suzanne Leclerc Madlala at the University of Natal on (05/07/2000) she states that contemporary virginity testing events take place in a wide variety of settings that range from the privacy of the family home, the kraal of the village, school halls, community centres or large, public sport stadiums. Again in the Mail and Guardian of December 10 to 16 of 1999, Madlala asserts that virginity testing has struck a sensitive cultural chord, with some people even arguing it to be a sort of "cultural right," Her views reveal debatable issues regarding virginity testing.

T.S.C. Magwaza in her article: A Re- thought on the resurgence of the Zulu cultural customs (1999) states that the starting period of virginity testing is determined by receiving of the menses by a girl, maintaining that the testing was done to prevent crisis like pregnancies.

3.1.3. NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES.

In the "YOU" Magazine of 14 September 2000 Dr. Willie Botha of the Dutch Reformed Church says that although it is difficult for young people but he feels that it is necessary to adhere to the Bible viewpoints that sex is meant only for marriage.

In November 2000 Bona magazine there is a debate on the ritual. Andile, the recent founder of virginity testing, is blaming the Gender Commission as they feel that virginity

testing is a violation of children's rights. Andile Gumede feels that virginity testing as a traditional custom must be continued, as it will reveal the sexual abuse of children.

The Daily News of 23 August 2000 has also contributed in reporting about the topic. It states that an old Zulu tradition is enjoying new popularity. The tests were conducted by the elderly woman of the neighborhood, who broke the early Saturday morning cold in Pietermaritzburg for the practice. They hope it will drastically reduce high levels of sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies.

In the Daily News of the 30 May 2000, there was a comment on *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*. The comment was made by Phumelele Ntombela-Nzimande on the conference of the Gender Equality in partnership with the Human Rights Commission. The two constitutional bodies felt that, that was a complex issue that could not be left to a school debate-like level.

.3.2. LITERATURE REVEALING THE THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING OF THE PRACTICE OF UKUHLOLWA KWEZINTOMBI RITUAL

To understand *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* (virginity testing) in KwaMashu, one should study the assumptions, thought meanings, feelings, beliefs, customs and historical background of the people who practice it. *Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is an oral ritual within Zulu traditions, which is passed from generations to generations. The theoretical underpinnings should cater for: -

- The way in which the ritual establishes identity, both at the level of the group and of the individual concerned,
- The connection between the identity of the group as a whole and the sense of being each individual within the group.

Eclectically use of literature will take place in order to look at the above aims and purposes.

- Jousse (1997) gives the theory of microscopic and macroscopic geste” in reflective practice. He proposes that human behavior is observable from two angles that, is, those of the macroscopic observer is the audience-observer while the microscopic observer is the performer observer. In this study the exploration of the macroscopic and microscopic gestes of the testors and testees will be involved in *ukuhlohva kwezintombi* (virginity testing) through a process of interviews.
- In Stoller’s terms (Sensuous Scholarship 1996) valid scholarly observation is largely determined but the degree of implication of the scholar, that is, whether the scholar has an informed insider view of the issue being investigated qualify as an implicated scholar in that I am a Zulu woman who have stayed in the place of research for twenty four years and have experienced *ukuhlohwa kwezintombi* as a testee.

As “*ukuhlohwa kwezintombi*” is an oral tradition, Finnegan (1992) feels that the word “tradition) is used variously of culture as a whole, any established way of doing things whether or not of any antiquity, the process of handing down practices, ideas or values, the products so handed down, sometimes with the connotation of being “old” or having arisen in some “natural” and non polemical way. The addition of “oral” often implies that the traditional question is in some way 1) verbal or 2) non-written, sometimes also or alternatively belonging to the people or the “folk”, usually with the connotation of non-educated, non elite and or 4) fundamental and valued, of ten supposedly transmitted over generations, perhaps by the community or folk rather than conscious individual action.

Seligman (1989) differentiates between oral tradition and oral history. He feels that oral tradition includes traditions of a people or a tribe that is transmitted to future generations

via various means. Likewise *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is practiced by the Zulus and the knowledge of testing is passed from generation to generation. On the other hand he sees oral history as a subject dealing mainly with the present and the recent past, encompassing a relatively short span of time. Although *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* started in the far past it has been practiced in the recent past and present

I also adopt the theory of Vansina (1985) as a modification theory. *Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is a resurging practice and it is taking place within a changing society, due to certain factors surrounding it. Vansina states that traditions change and the motivation for the tradition changes. Motivation for *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* has changed from status, lobola etc. to health (HIV/Aids) and crime, which is rape.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research of trends, modifications and motivations for *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* (virginity testing) among the Zulus in the KwaMashu district, qualitative methods of observation and interviewing were sources used to gather information.

4.1. DATA COLLECTION

Data was gathered through observations and by interviewing women who have conducted virginity testing from 1960 including those who are currently conducting it, and those that have been tested around those years and currently. A sample of non-participants was also chosen. There are those that are not taking part in virginity testing but who are for its sustenance and continuity, including men and those that are not taking part too but who are against the practice of ritual.

Those primary sources were required to share their experiences on:-

- (i) What were / are the trends of virginity testing from 1960 to 2000.
- (ii) What are the modifications of virginity testing compared to its traditional performance.
- (iii) What motivated the testers and testees to engage themselves in virginity testing in the past forty years and present years.
- (iv) How has the status of a virgin changed currently compared to the past.
- (v) What impact are the changing motivations for *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* in respect of traditional values to rituals.

4.2. TYPES OF SOURCES

The sources of information used consisted of primary sources, that is, people interviewed, observations and myself as a primary source because of my experience in the ritual as a testee, and secondary sources. Secondary sources included journals, conference papers, newspapers, theses, local and international publications and unpublished documents.

A search from the computer was undertaken with the assistance of subject librarian, tracking the research cited on the topic. The research analyst was given the key terms such as virginity, Zulu rituals, adolescent girls, AIDS, testing, traditional customs, KwaZulu Natal, rural areas, teenage pregnancy, sexual behavior. A printout was obtained and a selection of pertinent sections were read for information and further sources which were then followed up. Index cards were used to record the bibliographic citations and were chronologically arranged. A short analysis of each source relevant to the problem noted down on note cards using phrases, abbreviation and quotation marks with page numbers.

By providing with an analysis of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* ritual among the Zulu in Kwa Mashu district, it is believed that the study will help us to understand the practice of those people who are still maintaining the ritual. The sources were compared and contrasted as to the way they contributed or failed to contribute to the study.

4.3 THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The schedule for interviews was 1 April to 30 May 2000. Due to the time constraints there was no fixed time of the interviews. The availability and the flexibility of the interviewees determined the interviewing time. The official ritual performance took place

once a month in Kwa Mashu sports ground by the name of *Engomeni*. That is when I could make an appointment with the testors and testees to interview them.

4.4. CONDUCTING AND RECORDING THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews took place in the place of the interviewee or the venue preferred by the interviewee. The question and answer method usually took place and notes were taken. I had questions prepared before hand but at times I was forced to divert from fixed questions. The type of question to be asked was sometimes determined by the nature of the interviewee, that is, was it a man; a testor; a non-participant who is for or against the practice etc. For example; I could not ask the man this question “How do you test them”. At times, the following question to be asked was determined by the answer given in the previous question.

With the permission of the interviewee a tape recorder was used. The photos were taken with the permission of the testee, sometimes during the performance of the ritual. The non-participants had also to be interviewed in order to balance the data gathered and to hear more about the ritual. The background information of the interviewee was recorded in order to analyze his/her responses in conjunction with his or her background information.

The interviews were conducted and recorded in Zulu, but a translation to English for each question and its response was made for the accessibility of non Zulu speakers.

4.5. ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF DATA

After the data had been collected it was analyzed and synthesized. The bits and pieces of it were put together. It was compared and contrasted with the information found in the books and other relevant sources. The data that was found useful was the one that would

answer the key questions asked before. The data was analyzed to provide an understanding of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*'' within the parameters of its trends; modification and motivation.

4.6. VIEWS OF THE PRIMARY SOURCES.

Most of the informants are eager to revive and restore the ritual feeling that it is culturally right. African renaissance is reminding people to go back to their roots. (Po-1) emphasizes the importance of virginity. If a girl is deflowered she can not participate in other joyous activities of the community. This informant (Po-1) states that if the girl is already deflowered the reed splits in the middle. This point evokes that virginity is a certain status in a girl; the parents and the community. Deflowered girls bring expenses to their families, as they have to pay penalties as Po-3 states that a deflowered girl had to pay two cows, one for the family and one for the king and a goat to cleanse the girls.

Most of them agree that virginity testing is one of the ways of preventing HIV/AIDS. When the girl abstains from sex she cannot acquire sexual transmitted diseases unless the child was born with the disease as Na-3 tells that testing is done to prevent HIV/AIDS. As these kids tend to keep quiet after *ukuhlukunyezwa* (abused). Testors believe that testing helps to trace back the date of abuse using virginity testing records.

The eleventh cow (*inkomo kamama*) was a big motive behind virginity testing in the sense that it was not paid for a non-virgin. Pe-3 states

“umqhoyiso wawungakhishwa((kongasentombi)” (the eleventh cow was not paid for the deflowered girl).

Most of the non-participants show dissatisfaction regarding the practice of ritual. Na-2 feels that the practice invites crime, that is, rapists as it now lacks secrecy as the girls get certificates, broadcasted in the radios, appear in newspapers and magazines. Na-3 feels

that virginity testing violates the rights of children that is, the right of privacy. Na-3 has a concern about inadequate knowledge of the testors, stating that her neighbor's child became pregnant and was always claimed to be full during all testing sessions.

The aim of this research is to reveal the truths about its performance and pave the way for further study for other researchers.

4.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is limited to the people of KwaMashu. The sample was chosen from different angles of the township. I chose sixteen interviewees, four testors, ages ranging from forty two to seventy one, six testees, ages ranging from eight to thirty six, non participants who favours virginity testing with ages ranging from forty two to forty five and non-participants who are against virginity testing with ages ranging from thirty nine to forty four. Because of the given scope, direction and time limit I could only come with what I came with. This document is compiled with the information and data collected from my honorable interviewees and information from my personal experience of the ritual.

4.7.1. TIME FRAME

As a worker; a mother and a wife given a restricted time frame to finish my academic work; was difficult for me. The free time for me was not a free time for my interviewee. For example, as I finish work at 3pm, my interviewee might finish at 6pm. So I should be flexible and travel at night because the interviewee would come home and finish his/ her duties first before attending me. Some would allow me to interview them during their short break times and I should make another appointment to finish my interview.

4.7.2. LACK OF TRUST.

As S.A is full of crime it is difficult to trust anybody. I should try to convince my interviewee of my innocence. Others think that you want to remove them from political parties of their interests and involve them in the others they dislike. When I asked for a background information, when I was leaving one said “You mustn’t write my name in the _____” stating a political organization. Others think that you would make money using their names.

4.7.3. SECRECY.

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi’ is considered by some people as an unethical practice that degrades female dignity. For others it was not easy to tell about the ritual. Even during observations they use to question me of my intentions. Very few permitted me to use the tape recorder. As the ritual is surrounded by taboos, informants did not prefer group interviews in order to talk freely.

I had great difficulty in interviewing children. Some were very shy to talk about it.

CHAPTER 5

ZULU COSMOLOGY

The Zulu people, like any other cultural group have their own beliefs that are peculiar to them. These beliefs drive them to perform certain rituals and traditional customs, which they believe without performing and honoring them, things might go wrong.

5.1. ANCESTRAL BELIEF

Zulu people believe in their ancestors. They believe that their ancestors are always with them and they should listen to their commands. Ancestral belief goes hand in hand with religion.

The ancestors are looked upon as the source from which help and guidance can be found. Help and guidance can be achieved after appropriate sacrificial offerings. They also believe on the supernatural being “UNKULUNKULU who is (a creator of everything on earth). The Zulus believe that human beings have a body (*umzimba*), *ingqondo* (brain) understanding) and the *isithunzi* (shadow, personality). They believe that *isithunzi* becomes the ancestral spirit after death, that is, after the *ukubuyisa* has been performed, during which the spirit is brought back home. The Zulus distinguish two classes of sacrifice. The thanks giving (*ukubonga*) which takes place when something good has come about and the (*ukuthetha*), a scolding sacrifice which take place when things seem to go wrong and the individual feels persecuted. Sacrifices are usually of cattle or goats and are performed according to ritual and the strict observation of procedure and protocol, as if these are not followed the sacrifice may bring no benefits and could be dangerous. (Magubane, P.1998: 62).

It is through the fear of ancestors that even today they have decided to revive the *isiko lokuhlohwa kwezintombi* (virginity testing ritual). They know that if the girl has restored virginity she definitely qualifies to dance and celebrate in the reed ceremony. As Nomkhubulwane is an ancestral entity, girls are tested in order to try and qualify for (Nomkhubulwane) status. Berglund, A (1976) states that the Princess (Nomkhubulwane) is looked upon as being a virgin. She is closely related to the young marriageable as well as to fertility, mankind, animals and groups

5.2. THE EXTENDED MEN POWER AND RIGHTS VERSUS WOMAN POWER AND RIGHTS

The Zulus believe that men have power over women. Men dominate women. Even if a property belongs to a woman but it is taken as of a man Magubane,(1976: 61) says:-

“Each *umuzi* was under the control of the *umnumzane* (household head) who was responsible for keeping order and dealing with any domestic or local disputes that might arise.

The fact that chastity is mostly expected from females is derived from men's power over women. It is of late that women have rights. Traditionally it was a matter of give and take in terms of men and women respectively.

Rosaldo, M, etal 1974: are also of this view that women have a subordinate power compared to men. They state that all contemporary societies are to some extent male dominated and although the degree and expression of female subordination vary greatly, sexual asymmetry is presently a universal fact of human social life. This is due to the belief that a woman's body seems to doom her to mere production of life, on the other hand, lacking natural creative function, the man assist his creativity externally through the medium of technology and symbols. He creates relatively lasting, eternal,

transcendent objects, while the woman creates only perishable -human beings (Rosaldo M, etal (1974:75).

Traditionally men were allowed to many lovers or wives. To women, having many lovers was not allowed and was a disgrace. A male person with many lovers had a good name “*isoka*” a good sign of becoming a true *umnumzane* (a real Zulu man) whereas a woman with more than one lover was given a very negative name “*isifebe*” a worthless woman. Even today that perception is still preserved in Zulu minds and beliefs. This perception has been carried over to the present era where Aids epidemic is uncontrollable. Women are taken as incubators of HIV/Aids. That is why the focus of virginity testing is on women. Suzanne Leclerc Madlala in a paper presented on 15/07/2000 talk about this Zulu belief. She states: -

The term “*isoka*” is used to describe such a young man and to be called an “*isoka*” status in one’s youth is often said to be part of the preparation for manhood, part of the process of becoming a *umnumzane*, a real Zulu Man.

However, the perception that girls today are doing just like the boys, striving to be *amasoka* by chasing and acquiring many boyfriends, is the antithesis of proper Zulu girlhood and preparation for womanhood. For the cultural ideas are one of a demure, soft-spoken woman who serves her husband, her children and her in-laws.

5.3. WOMEN AS A PRIMARY FOCUS

There is a belief among the Zulus that the status of the home is brought up or down by a woman. As I have mentioned under power and right that a man could have many lovers but the woman is prohibited. When a woman is doing like wise (having more than one lover) she is said to destroy the homestead (*ubulala umuzi*). Even when the kids are raised, there is a great focus on the upbringing of a girl compared to that of a boy.

Umhlonyane (puberty rites) are done for a girl. Then afterwards the girl has to *emula* (come of age) to show the community that the girl is marriageable and then the girl undergo marriage. Keeping virginity is focused on girls to be exemplary to their kids as the duty of taking care of the kids was traditionally for them. When the child is born the first person to embrace him or her is the mother. Women are regarded as the flowers of the nation. Virginity testing is conducted to safeguard these flowers to beautify the nation.

There are duties that man cannot perform, like examining girl's virginity. Women have a task of teaching kids from childhood to adulthood the manners and the proper ways to behave in order to become full-fledged members of the culture.

5.4. OWNERSHIP BELIEF

The Zulus believe in the importance of ownership, especially the livestock. Virginity testing was primarily conducted in order to gain many cattle in the form of *lobola*. A deflowered girl could not be a source of eleven cows which is a complete number of cows expected for *lobola*. This shows that there was a great pride and status in having a big herd of cattle. Magubane, PI (1998) states that each *umuzi* had its own cattle and supply of milk.

The belief of ownership among traditional Zulu led the fathers to the extent of choosing marriage partners for their daughters. A daughter was compelled to marry a man he disliked because that man had a large herd of cattle. In order to get these cattle they had to protect their daughter's sexual reputation. Paige, K.E (1983:157) states that when daughters as well as sons inherit property, attempts are made to exert maximum control over the marriage partner, since there is always the possibility that the husband family may usurp that property, thereby fragmenting the patrimonial estate. Even Na-3

emphasises that the primary aim of virginity testing was to get many cows. (*igugu kawukuthola izinkomo eziningi*)

5.5. BELIEF IN WITCHCRAFT AND MEDICINE

The Zulu believe in witchcraft and curing medicines. When one is ill or the member of the family is ill one will think someone is (*inyathakathwa*) sent with evil spirits. There is a distinction between the (*inyanga yokwelapha*) herbalist who administer medicines made from plants and animals, and the (*inyanga yokubhula*) who smells out or divines the cause of complaints by using bones, shells, seeds and other artifacts.

Magubane P I (1998) identifies other two categories of diviners: the *isangoma*, which is a liaison who can make contact with the ancestral spirits and prescribe medicines according to their dictates which are obtained from *inyanga yokubhula*. The other category is *isanusi*, which is a diviner capable of “smelling out” sorcerers and other evil doers.

Traditionally medicine people occupied a very high status in the community.

Currently, although Zulus are mingled within a cosmopolitan society, they still believe in Zulu medicine and witchcraft. When Pe-4 was asked, “what scared you when you were about to be tested?” She replied:

“Ngiye ngizwe kuthiwa abanye boniwa yisilwane, ngizitshela ukuthi nami sizongona bese kuthiwa angiziphethe kahle”. (I sometimes hear that virginity is sometimes destroyed by evil spirits (*utikoloshe*), so I fear that it might destroy mine and then be misjudged and found not a virgin)

Bryant, AT (1966) states:

“For all urethra and vaginal discharges or sores of a generally venereal nature, as in gonorrhea or glee (*uGloa*, *iKlilabhu*, *iDilophu*, or *iQondo*), a large pill is made of the pounded leaves of the *uZipho*, which is then thrust into the vagina or penis, and allowed to remain”

The power of the diviners is believed to be derived from the ancestors. They should keep a constant touch with the ancestors and make sacrifices to the spirits to make their revelation clear.

5.6. BELIEF IN MUSIC AND DANCE

Music and dance accompany each and every occasion or celebrity among the Zulu. Music and dance has traditionally formed an important part in Zulu life. Dancing and singing accompanied by sometimes drum forms the central core of each and every event, either a sad or a joyous one.

The common drum of the Zulu is “*isigubhu*” which is made by stretching a piece of goatskin over the mouth of a large earthen pot (*imbiza*) and played by tapping with the hand or sticks. The puberty rites ceremonies, *emula* ceremonies, *umshado* ceremonies etc. are all accompanied by music and dancing. The tone of music and dance differs depending on the occasion which is taking place in a particular moment. For example the tone in a marriage song differs from the tone of a death song.

Magubane P (1998) is of this opinion when he states that dance has always been important in maintaining a sense of group solidarity, particularly during times of stress, joy and change. That is why songs and dances also accompany virginity testing ritual. These takes place before or after virginity testing. For example: *Awe kanjani amabele ejongosi okusho ukuthi seliphuma kanjena*. (How did the breast of a teenager fell, it means she has started bad ways).

CHAPTER 6

TRENDS OF VIRGINITY TESTING AMONG THE ZULU IN KWAMASHU DISTRICT OF KWAZULU NATAL FROM 1960-2000

Virginity testing refers to the practice and process of inspecting girls to determine if they are still virgins. The girl has to lie down on her back, knees are drawn up, and heels together and the knees are wide apart, then the vestibule is exposed to check whether the hymen is still intact. This ritual is as old as mankind among the Zulus in KwaZulu Natal. Among oral traditions that were practiced in Zulu culture, virginity testing was also of valuable importance. White, (1978:141) sees culture or civilization as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. This implies that *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* ritual belongs to the Zulu society not to an individual person.

6.1 VIRGINITY TESTING FROM 1960-1978

The inhabitants of Kwa Mashu were families from Cator Manor who moved in in 1960. Other inhabitants were men from rural areas of KwaZulu Natal who moved in for industrial purposes. Women from rural areas had to come to visit their husbands although although action would be taken against a native that was illegally in an urban area as Natal Mercury for 1959 stated. These women from rural areas had knowledge of virginity testing. They had to use their knowledge of the past to examine virginity of the girls who were coming from Cator Manor and their girls who later followed their parents for schooling purposes. Those mothers were scared that the girls might lose their virginity because of the area, that is, township life.

6.1.1 THE TESTEES

Forty years ago virginity testing did not only imply the actual performance of looking at the girl's vagina. It also included mostly looking at certain parts of a girl's body. The muscle tone of a virgin is taut. Po-3 is of this opinion when she states:

Umzimba uyaqina. Iminyaba iyathula iqine emva kwezitho. Uma engasentombi iyadonseka. Izihlathi ziyehla, zingabe zisaqumba. Idolo liyaqina (The body becomes firm. The stretch marks behind the knees becomes firm. If she is no longer a virgin, the stretch marks looks bad. The cheeks lose their boldness. The knees on top are firm (when she is still a virgin).

Others add to this by stating that the stomach of a virgin is tight and high, the buttocks are held high and not flabby. The breasts are firm and abdomen is flat and taut.

Through *ukushikila* (pulling up the skirts and shake the buttocks) old ladies could easily see whether a girl was a virgin or not. Msimang, (1975; 226) when commenting about the body look of a virgin, states;

Intombazane enezitho ezilengayo namabele asewile kwakube akusentombi yalutho.
(A girl with flabby legs and breasts was worthless woman)

The physical performance of virginity testing (touching the girls' genitals to check whether the hymen was still intact) was a secondary option. It had motives behind, which will be dealt with in depth under 'Motivations of virginity testing'. Restoring virginity until marriage was highly regarded and it was a socially regulated norm. Even on a wedding eve; virginity testing was done to ensure that the grooms were not losing their cattle. In this regard Paige, 1983; 157 states

"Virginity tests at marriage are a particular crucial test; if a daughter proves to be a virgin, her family retains its honor, but if she fails her family is shamed and its fragmentation becomes a real possibility"

The girl's genitals were referred to as *inkomo kamama*, *ingquthu* or *umqholiso* (the eleventh cows). This means that maintaining virginity, beside restoring the pride of the girl concerned, the parents and the community, its motive was to qualify for eleventh cow to be paid by the groom's family. If the girl was deflowered, the eleventh cow was deducted from lobola. *Umqholiso* or *ingquthu* refers to the woman's genitals that were split to bore the girl. Krige, (1965:131) states:-

To the mother of the girl must always be given the ingquthu beast, for looking after her daughter and for her virginity.

A testee was a person who had already chosen a future husband. There was no need to examine a teenager without a lover. No girl was tested before puberty. Po-3 was twenty - three (23) years old when she was tested for the first time. It was three months before she got married. Girls were also tested if one or the regiment was insulted of being *umfazi* or *abafazi* (a worthless woman/women respectively). This was done to clear the girl or girls names. If the girls were still pure normally the insulter had to pay the cow and a goat as a penalty to cleanse the girls. If the insulted girl was already deflowered, her parents had to pay two cows, one to cleanse the King's palace and one to cleanse the girls. Another informant mentioned that in rural areas if the boyfriend or lover had forced penetration and the girl reveals there and there, the girl's family had the right to go to the boy's home and choose two cows and a goat from the cattle byre. One cow was for the King, one for the mother (*umqholiso*) and the goat to cleanse the girls. The girls had to cleanse themselves with the waste from the offal (*umswani*) after tearing the goat with their hands (Po-1)

Another way used for chastity control was *ukusoma*. This was practiced by lovers before marriage. It is an intracrural sexual activity that does not include penetration. The girl

holds her thighs tightly together to give sexual pleasure to a man. This was socially suitable. Vilakazi, (1962:51) further states that soma is definitely not coition and that traditionally the *soma* visit by the lover follows a week after the *qoma* ceremony.

6.1.2 THE ROLE OF THE AMAQHIKIZA

It was the responsibility of the *iqhikiza* to see to it that girls under her regiment keep their virginity. (Krige, 1977; 104) sees *amaqhikiza* as the older girls who already have sweethearts. They were the only ones who gave permission to *amatshishi* (uncommitted young girls) to answer boys who are proposing for love. An *intandi* had to take place before the girls are *jutshwa*. An *intandi* was a meeting where the permission of girls to answer the wooers and to choose lovers was discussed. The *jutshwa* ceremony was where the *amatshitshi* (feminity unfolding period) were given permission to answer the wooers by the *iqhikiza*. (Krige, 1977:104)

It was the right of the *amaqhikiza* to scold and reprimand a girl who practiced *ukusoma* over the genitals. This was called *ukugudla*. In this regard (Po-4) states:

Uma egudlwa wayethethiswa, kwakubonakala ngemihuzuko yokungcola. (If she was doing semi penetrative sexual intercourse, she was scolded, that is seen by friction and it becomes dirty).

Brindley, (1982:93) adds by saying that the male does not penetrate but plays alongside the vagina (*ukugudla*).

6.1.3 THE TESTORS

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi was conducted by the kings' wives or any other nominated women who qualified to do so. It should be an old person who had reached menopause. It should also be a person who was no longer engaging herself in sexual practices. Brindley, (1982: 90) supports this when she mentions that prior to the king granting regiments the freedom to marry he would order the old women of the tribe to examine the equivalent age-grade of the girls to verify their virginity. Women who were examined as young women conducted virginity testing. They had the experience in the field Po-I is of this opinion when she states:

Nami ngangihlolwa, ulwazi luyadhluliselwa kwabalandelayo... umuntu omdala akasenamanyala, uma esaya ocansini ohlodayo usuke eyilinga nengane ayihlodayo ukuba nayo ifune ukuya ocansini. (I was also tested, the knowledge is passed on to the successors...an old person is pure, when the testor still visits her husband sexually, she is tempting the girl to also have lust for sex.)

The actual performance of the test included inter alia, putting down the grass mat on a steep hill and checking whether the hymen was still intact. The lower abdomen was always on the upper side for the checking to be easy. When the girl was found a virgin, the testors used to ululate, kiss the girl on top of the vagina and advised the girl to further restore her virginity. It was a disgrace if the girl was found deflowered. The testors used to spit over the girl's genitals and report to the other testors and the mother of the girl about the results.

The testors, the *iqhikiza*, and whole community had to make sure that the virginity of the 'flowers of the nation' (girls) is restored. Deflowered girls would not participate in the reed ceremony. The reed ceremony is a yearly customary event, which usually takes place in spring in the king's palace. The girls had to cut their reeds in the afternoon of the

day preceding the ceremony. The reed of a virgin remains fresh and straight until the next day. The reed of a non-virgin bends or splits apart. In contemporary societies, during this ceremony the girls dance, sing and each carry a reed, showing off their breasts, buttocks and abdomen. Sometimes the king chooses his future wife from these virgin girls. Po-1 states that the king used to say to his *inceku* (helper) : *hamba nyongishayela ihawu laphaya 'inceku bese ithatha umhlanga entombini* .(Go and beat the shield there for me, meaning go and fetch that girl for me, then the helper would take away the reed from the girl).

6.1.4 THE TESTING PLACE

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi usually took place in the King's palace. The permission and the date of the testing was granted by the King. The girl's relatives were allowed to conduct occasional virginity testing driven by certain motives and to prepare the girl for the official testing which was done or conducted in the King's palace. The non official one was done outside the house in a hidden place. Secrecy of the ritual was highly regarded. The relatives were mostly concerned with full *lobola*. The full lobola comprises of eleven cows with inkomo kamama (eleventh cow). Krige 1977:121 sees *ilobolo* as the means whereby the loss of the girl's people is in some measure compensated for.

6.2 VIRGINITY TESTING FROM 1979-1996

(THE PERIOD OF SILENCE)

From 1979 KwaMashu was well equipped with facilities the youth liked most. There were swimming pools, tennis courts, cinemas etc., as very few houses had televisions to view the films. Youth formed student movements like Cosas.

There was a political youth movement which was called 'United Democratic Front (UDF) which was an affiliate of African National Congress (ANC). Most youth of KwaMashu joined that political movement to fight for their rights like free education. Then the focus shifted from virginity testing to the environment of the time. That is why I call this as a period of silence. It doesn't mean that there was no testing at all. Very few individuals were tested in KwaMashu and others were tested in their rural areas during visits there.

Housing rentals were high for the income of the time. Transport fares were becoming higher and higher. Food was a problem as there were not enough plots to plant the crops to eat like in the rural areas. Women were then forced to seek employment in order to supplement the salaries of their husbands to accommodate the cost of living of the time. Then slowly, slowly virginity testing lacked attention in the testors' minds. Here we witness the impact of western civilization and acculturation on the demise of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*.

6.3 VIRGINITY TESTING FROM 1997-2000

In 1997 we witnessed the resurgence of the practice which is now coming back for different reasons from those of forty years ago. That is why Vansina (1985:157) proposes that tradition mirror society changes, so both tradition modify. Forty years ago the motive behind *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* was status and *lobola* especially the eleventh cow. Nowadays the practice has a benefit that of guarding against HIV/Aids as well as deciphering sexual abuses and teenage pregnancies.

6.3.1 HOW DID THE PRACTICE RE-EMERGE

Andile Gumede revived the practice of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* in 1997 under the regimental name “*Isivivane Samasiko*”. She believed that the revival of dormant Zulu customs like virginity testing as a practical way to reclaim elements of culture that may help to solve modern day problems. The indicator S.A. (Vol. 15 no3) by Georgina Hamilton mentioned that Andile Gumede knew about virginity testing when she was seven years old. Her grandmother used to take her aunt behind the house to inspect her. In 1993 she was working in the Magistrate’s Court in a rural area of KwaZulu Natal. She realized that most teenagers who came for identification documents did not know their fathers but have mothers only. This was a big motivation for her to revive the ritual. She realized that black people have children but no families.

She regarded “praise” as an essential factor. After a girl is found “full” she will be praised and thus encouraged to keep virginity. According to her, certificates are a form of praising the girls. She revived the ritual under the name of *Nomkhululwane*.

✓ 6.3.2 THE TESTEES.

The interviewees reveal that the age of the testees range from five to twenty five years of age. The reason for testing young girls as early five years old is that they don't tell when they have been sexually abused. Another reason for testing early ages is that nowadays girls long for sex very early. Po-3 states: -

Ukuze nesiganga isheshe ibonakale (so that the girl who is sexually misbehaving is seen promptly.)

Amaqhikiza are no longer there to decide whether the girl is ready for love life or not. A girl has to decide for herself and the influence of the age-mates plays a major role.

Some testees reveal that they are tested weekly, others once in two weeks and others are tested monthly. Other testees mention that they are scared before the tests. Pe-4 mentioned that she was scared before the examination because her friends told her that sometimes evil spirits can deflower a virgin. Some testees carry their notebooks to note down the last day of the test. Testors feel that this way help to trace back the date of abuses if the victim is quiet about it. The testees wear short skirts, others beaded and others are plain. The colour and the make of the testing skirt is determined by the choice of the testor and the place where the group is coming from. The testees form the line, lie down and checked. If she is found a virgin she is patted on the thighs and is dabbed with white clay on the forehead. The testors believe that whiteness shows purity. The non-virgin is dabbed with red clay as a sign of impurity. Then they go to pay fifty cents. Others state that these cents are used to buy soap for the testors, while others state that it is used to transport the testors. At the end of the year the virgins get certificates.

The testing usually starts or ends with singing and dancing. One of the song is:-

Awe kanjani?

Amabel'ejongosi,

Sekush'ukuthi,

Seliphuma kanje!

English version

How did they fall?

The breast of teenager,

It means,

She started bad ways!

Another song is:-

U-Andile siyamazi,

Uhlo!; izintombi

Jikelele; jikelele

Jikelele; jikelele

Jikelele; jikelele!

English version

We know Andile

She tests the girls

All over all over

All over all over

All over all over!

6.3.3 THE TESTORS

The age of the current testors ranges from 18 to 71. Pe-2 witnesses this when she mentions that her testor is eighteen years old. KwaMashu current testors, the actual performance of virginity testing takes precedence over looking at the girl's certain parts of the body to tell whether she has been deflowered or not. Most of the time the latter does not get the focus at all. The girls have to show their genitals to be tested first before it can be seen whether they are still virgins or not.

Some testors lay the grass mats for the testing. Other add the sponge while others add the blanket on top of the sponge. Other testors use one pair of gloves to test all the testees.

Others use one pair for each testee. Po-2 states: -

Ingane ngayinye inamagloves ayo, ngoba sixhaswe yi Department of Health, (each child has her own pair of gloves because we are sponsored by the Department of Health).

Others do not use the gloves at all. During testing they rarely show dissatisfaction to their testees, when they do they sometimes suggest that the testee should stop using chemical soaps. They sometimes suggest Zulu (*muthi*) medicine or that the testee should see the doctor.

6.3.4 THE TESTING PLACE

Individual inspection takes place in a girl's respective home or neighborhood. Most testees mention that the testing usually takes place inside the house. The individual tests which are frequently done prepare the girls for the formal monthly ones. The monthly tests takes place in a sports ground where testees and testors from different corners of the township meet.

CHAPTER 7

MODIFICATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS OF THE RITUAL

7.1. HOW HAS THE RITUAL BEEN MODIFIED IN KWAMASHU COMPARED TO ITS TRADITIONAL PERFORMANCE.

Vansina: 1985 proposes that tradition mirror society. Vansina further proposes that as society changes so the traditions change. Traditions about events are maintained because the events they celebrate are thought to be important or significant. Traditionally a selection process starts with eyewitnesses, with performance and contemporary reports. As time goes by the criteria of importance or significance changes, but the selection process continues. The motivation for virginity testing currently differs from that of the past. Among the Zulu the practice of *ukuhlohwa kwezintombi* is centuries old, but its history is one of considerable flux. While the impact of multicultural contact in the early twentieth century led to its near demise, in recent years we have seen its revival in some parts of KwaZulu Natal in general and in KwaMashu district in particular.

7.1.1. AGES OF ABAHLOLWA (TESTEES) AND

ABAHLOLI (TESTORS)

In the past only a girl who had chosen a future husband was tested to keep herself pure until marriage. It was also done when a girl or girls had been insulted of being *abafazi* (a woman who has already engaged herself in sexual practices). A girl was also tested on a wedding eve, so that if she is no longer a virgin the eleventh cow is withdrawn from *lobola*.

Currently at KwaMashu virginity testing is done among girls as from the age of five years. This is due to uncontrollable crime rate, which is rape and health issues which is H.I.V/AIDS. Most kids keep quiet when they are raped. The records of the testing dates and certificates helps in the sense that you can trace back to the testing date and assume when the victim was raped.

In the past the testors were women who have reached menopause. It was also women who do not visit their husband sexually. They were people who were also tested when they were young and who were trained by their predecessors to do the work. Mostly the kings' wives or any old nominated women who qualified to do the work did it.

Currently at KwaMashu testors' ages range from 18 years of age. Looking at their ages there is no doubt that most of them have not reached menopause they still practice sex. This is believed to be the cause of temptation for most girls. Informants who are against virginity testing doubt if these testors have the adequate potential to do the work.

7.1.2. FREQUENCY OF TESTING

Around 1960 testing was done when there was a need to do so. As I have mentioned earlier, it was conducted among insulted girls, when the girl had chosen a future husband or on the wedding eve. It was also done when the girls were prepared for the reed ceremony. Presently, *ukuhlolwa* sometimes happen daily or weekly. The girls are tested daily or weekly in their homes or in their neighborhood. The interested parties from different corners of the township practice the formal monthly testing together in the sports ground. It has become a daily bread for the testors and testees.

7.1.3. PLACE OF THE TESTS

Forty years ago, virginity testing for all the girls was done in the king's palace. Individual testing usually took place outside the home in a hidden place. Currently individual testing takes place inside the houses. The formal testing takes place in the sports ground. In KwaMashu it takes place mostly in Engomeni sports grounds in E Section.

7.1.4. WAY OF TESTING

When you compare virginity testing in the past, you can detect many differences with nowadays testing, like virginity faking, material used for testing, payments and certificates and cleansing of virgins by non virgins.

7.1.4.1. VIRGINITY FAKING

Due to insufficient knowledge most testors of nowadays cannot tell whether a girl is a virgin or not before the test is done. That is why the testees are able to fake virginity before they are tested. Another interviewee said: -

"Bafaka i-ayisi balenze iso. (They put ice in the place of the hymen).

The other one said that some testees put meat fat in the place of the hymen. Even if there is no hymen, other testors fear the mothers of the testees and let them pass the test even if they are no longer virgins. Another informant who is against virginity testing said *"Enye ingane la ngakwami yakhulelwa kade ihlolwa, kungakaze kuthiwe ayiyona intombi* (Another child from my neighborhood fell pregnant and not even once was she accused of not being virgin.

7.1.4.2. MATERIAL USED FOR TESTING

In the past only the grass mat was put down for the testees to lie on. Currently at KwaMashu, they sometimes put the sponge and a blanket, so that the testees can lie on. This is due to acculturation and exposure to modern technology. As Vansina 1985) suggests this mirrors the change in society.

In the past there were less sexual transmitted disease. Most of them were curable unlike nowadays where there is this incurable disease which is HIV/Aids. So currently most testors use gloves when touching the girls' private parts. Other testors use one pair of gloves for one testee. Others use one pair of gloves for all the testees present on that particular testing day.

In the past the testors could kiss the top of a vagina when the testee was found to be a virgin but because of these incurable diseases, now they pat on the thigh or say it verbally that the girl is a virgin.

7.1.4.3. PAYMENTS AND CERTIFICATES

In the past no money was paid for the test. Nowadays after the test the testee has to proceed to the second line to pay 50 cents. This fifty cents is sometimes used to transport the testors. In the past no certificates were issued for the testees who have passed the virginity test. Currently the girls receive the certificates. The non-participants who are against virginity testing feels that this exposes girls to criminals who have a lust to have sex with virgins. Other people believe that if you have HIV/Aids and have sex with young virgin you become cured. The non-participants who are against virginity are not

happy about the certificates, appearance of virgins in the magazines and the announcements in radios.

7.1.4.4 CLEANSING OF VIRGINS BY NON-VIRGINS

Both in the past and present, a girl who is found not to be a virgin had to cleanse the virgins. What differs is the way of doing it. In the past a girl whose virginity has been destroyed had to pay a penalty of two cows to cleanse the King's palace and one to cleanse the girls of the community. *Umswani* was mixed with water and white bead was added. Affected girls had to cleanse themselves early in the morning in the river.

Currently in KwaMashu a goat is paid as a penalty to cleanse the girls. A silver coin is added in the place of a bead. This cleansing rarely takes place in the river. It usually takes place outside the home of a testor or inside the house. Sometimes this penalty is not paid at all.

7.2. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT MOTIVATIONS OF VIRGINITY TESTING RITUAL IN KWA MASHU TO THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE PAST.

Historically, *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* has always been regarded as a vital social tool to restore a girl's virginity. Paige: 1983 in Menarche states: -

...if a daughter proves to be a virgin, her family retains its honor, but if she fails her family is shamed and its fragmentation becomes a real possibility.

Due to acculturation, western civilization, Christianity and other factors, *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*, in the early twentieth century led to its near demise. In recent years, due to certain motivations that I will outline below, the revival of the practice has been seen in some parts of KwaZulu Natal and in KwaMashu district in particular.

7.2.1. MOTIVATIONS OF THE PAST

7.2.1.1. PRIDE

Virginity brought pride to the girl. If a girl has been deflowered virginity goes for good. That is why (*ukufa*) death is figuratively used for a girl who has lost virginity. Even if a lover would dump a girl and she was still a virgin, she wouldn't bother because she had lost nothing. You could hear adults talking together saying "*Yintombi ingane yakho isaphila*" (Your daughter is a virgin she is still alive). Even men together would say "*ziyogcwala isibaya ngalentombi yakho* (the cattle will amount your kraal because of your daughter). So the girl's virginity brought pride even in the family of a girl. Even in the community the parents of a girl or girls restored their virginity were highly respected. Even the king respects the father of girls who keeps their virginity. Even (*iqhikiza*) sociological sister was proud if the girls under her regiment were keeping their virginity. She would encourage a girl to do *ukusoma*. *Ukusoma* refers to the intracural sexual activity that does not include penetration. By holding her thighs tightly together, a woman could give sexual pleasure to a man.

Isoka (future husband) was proud with his virgin lover. He would test the girl to see whether she was weak or not by tempting her to do sex. Among her lovers he would choose a virgin to be a wife. Getting into marriage being a virgin formed a firm foundation of trust and good relationship in a marriage.

7.2.1.2. LOBOLA (BRIDE PRICE)

It was common among the Zulus to hear a man saying to her daughter “*Hamba nyongilandela izinkomo kuloyamuzi*” (Go and fetch the cows for me from that home). To have many cows was a big thing. People would even bewitch a neighbor who is having more cows than theirs. To have a girl was a blessing because she would bring many cows through *lobola*. Cattle were used as the foremost form of bridewealth transaction known as *ilobolo*. The usual number of ten cows could be supplemented by an additional head, “the eleventh cow, if the girl was originally intended to assure the purity of brides. On a wedding eve the bride was checked or examined if she was still a virgin. If she was found already deflowered the eleventh cow would be withdrawn.

Paige, 1983:157 states

“Virginity tests at marriage are a particular crucial test, if a daughter proves to be a virgin, her family retains its honor, but if she fails her family is shamed and its fragmentation becomes a real possibility.

Significantly, female genitalia are also referred to as *inkomo kamama*. The payment of an additional cow, the eleventh one, given to the girl’s mother was a sign of gratefulness for the bride. So it was the duty of the parents and the community to re-instill the value of premarital virginity.

Talking to girls about the importance of maintaining virginity before marriage formed part of traditional puberty rituals known as *umhlonyane* (Krige 1968). This ritual was celebrated at the commencement of a girl’s menses, and was marked by ritual seclusion and instruction by elderly women on how to sit properly (*ukuhlala ngentombi*) and generally how to conduct oneself with modesty and dignity as a fertile young woman.

She would soon be deemed ready for courtship. So, she needed to be taught ways to ensure that she would not expose *inkomo kamama*, which is losing her virginity.

7.2.1.3. THE REED CEREMONY.

The reed ceremony was also a motive behind virginity testing. Only virgins had to attend and dance for the reed ceremony. It is where the chief or the King could choose a future wife.

The reed dance ceremony was a yearly traditional or customary event. The reed of a virgin remained fresh and straight until the following day. If a girl was no longer a virgin the reed would split in the middle or bend as Po-1 suggest. On the day of the ceremony, the girls sing and dance in front of everyone and the King. Each one is carrying her reed, showing off the breast, abdomen and buttocks. They should wear beaded skirts, which shield the front and expose the buttocks. A peer leader *iqhikiza* would lead her regiment with pride. The girls, parents and the community would admire the beauty of these pure girls, which are the flowers of the nation. Checking the young woman before going to the reed ceremony to establish her virgin status was the responsibility of elderly female relatives of the girl's family. The reed ceremony motivated good behavior among girls.

7.2.1.4. NOMKHUBULWANE FESTIVITIES.

Virginity testing has long been a tradition in KwaZulu Natal, as a part of the Nomkhubulwane festivities to celebrate the goddess of rain and the fertility that the rain represented. Nomkhubulwane was another motive for girls to keep their virginity. This festive (Nomkhubulwane) was usually held in spring. The overriding theme of the festivities was to ask Nomkhubulwane to show her favors in the form of good crop and

plentiful harvest. These fertility rites were also intended to ask the Goddess to bless her people with lots of children. Burglund, (1976:64) mentions that the Princess is looked upon as being a virgin. As such she is closely related to the young marriageable girls as well as to fertility in mankind.

Virgins had to dig up a patch of land and plant crops specifically for Nomkhubulwane's consumption and pleasure. This was done to thank the benevolent goddess. Only virgins were considered to be pure and good enough to prepare the soil that would usher forth Nomkhubulwane's garden of delights. These were rituals of a rural, agrarian people whose survival in terms of food and lineage links depended on the generosity and goodwill of Mother Nature. Nomkhubulwane was a female principle, immortal virgin, mother and protector of all Zulu girls and source of growth and creation. If she was not propitiated with customary obedience and due ceremony, the land and people may be attacked by violence, drought, conquest and diseases. Virginity testing ceremony aimed at re-instituting the rituals and behavior that would unleash the benign, mediatory and creative forces of the goddess and the ancestors.

7.2.2. CURRENT MOTIVATIONS OF VIRGINITY TESTING RITUAL IN KWAMASHU DISTRICT.

7.2.2.1. AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

The term African renaissance refers broadly to the philosophy of re-awakening and developing all that is essentially African. The concept of African renaissance has been widely embraced by black intellectuals especially and the theme has come to be associated with the current era of Mbeki, administration as a type of national guiding

philosophy (Mbeki 1998). Virginity tests have come back as people think it is culturally right. Virginity testing is a custom of cultural value and the country is in the process of African Renaissance. Virginity testing is revived to encourage the revival of black consciousness. Modern testors and testees feel that we have ignored our cultural practices and the values they bring to us as people. *Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is a cultural practice, which we need to revive in order to demonstrate our commitment about going back to our roots. That is why testors and testees coming from all corners of the township, dressed in colorful traditional Zulu regalia to engage themselves in *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*. They are confident and determined to undergo virginity testing as a traditional ceremony, which has re-emerged as part of Zulu culture.

7.2.2.2. CRIME (RAPE) AND HEALTH ISSUES (HIV/AIDS)

Rape is an unlawful intention to have sexual intercourse with the woman without her consent and penetration of the vagina takes place. (Pillemer, (1999:112)

In this country, the rate of child abuse is increasing, KwaZulu Natal is said to be worse. Informant reveal that abusers are not only strangers. They include immediate relatives such as real fathers, stepfathers, brothers and uncles. In townships such as KwaMashu children are raped now and again, that is why this *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is revived. Most of the kids when they are raped seem to keep quiet about it. Testors believe that *ukuhlolwa* (testing) help to reveal if the child has been raped. Some testors make testees to mark the date of testing in the testees notebook. They believe this can help to trace back the date of rape. Certification too is believed to help in this regard.

Considering HIV/Aids catastrophe one can count on 'True Love Waits' and virginity testing as means of prevention South Africa has the fastest growing HIV and AIDS epidemic in the world KwaZulu Natal is the most afflicted province and more especially in townships of KwaZulu Natal. It is believed by the testors that the practice has a benefit of guarding against HIV/Aids. The informants believe that virginity testing protects the girls from different types of evil. It helps to avoid HIV/Aids and many other diseases. So health issues motivated the come back of virginity testing. The informants are positive that virginity testing actually presents a culturally appropriate way to combat things like teenage pregnancy and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/Aids.

Virginity testing is trusted as a solution to prevent new diseases and the need to worry about contraceptives and condoms. Women's bodies are believed to be like nests, where not only babies grow but where potential deadly germs including HIV/Aids grow and hide. That is why they are seen as the incubators of HIV/Aids and hence the victims of it. The KwaMashu society has realized that in its youth cultural values and natural sexual behavior, *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is the answer and weapon against HIV/Aids. Total abstinence from sex is the best cure for HIV/Aids and teenage pregnancies. In this regard informants see virginity testing as a tool to achieve abstinence. Informants who are against virginity testing show dissatisfaction when one pair of gloves is used for all the testees claiming that they are transferring the disease to other testees.

7.2.2.3. TEENAGE PREGNANCIES AND FATHERLESS CHILDREN

Due to the vast number of teenage pregnancies informants feel that virginity testing is the only way to re-instill what they view as lost cultural values such as chastity before

marriage, modesty and self respect. According to them regular virginity testing represents the surest way to repair the frayed moral fabric of society that has led to the ever-increasing problems of teenage pregnancies. Some testors are against the use of condoms especially in teenagers, feeling that condom promote lust for sex. High numbers of teenage pregnancies are as a result of the fact that the involvement of *iqhikiza* (sociological sister) in a love affair of teenage couple was replaced by individualized or private love affair.

In KwaZulu Natal there is a number of regimental groupings, which operates in virginity testing. Those include all African cultural group (Amagugu ase-Africa, Isigqi Sesintu, Isivivane Samasiko) and many more. In KwaMashu Isivivane samasiko operates. Its founder Andile Gumede was motivated to revive the ritual of virginity testing under this regimental name in 1997. She believed that the revival of dormant Zulu customs like virginity testing as a practical way to reclaim element of culture that may help to solve modern day problems. She knew about virginity testing when she was seven years old. Her grandmother was always taking her aunt behind the house to inspect her. In 1993 she was working in the Magistrate Court in a rural area of KwaZulu Natal. She realized that most teenagers who came to apply for identification documents did not know their fathers but have their mothers. This was a big motivation for her to revive the ritual. She realized that black people have children but no families. She regarded 'praise' as an essential factor. After a girl is found to be a virgin she will be praised thus encouraged to keep virginity. In 1993 she got four grannies to help her with the examination of girls. She then also learned. She believes that parents should sit down with their girls and explain to them about being a virgin.

According to her, certificates are a form of praising the girls. Sometimes certificates enhance *lobola* for the girls. She is reviving this ritual under the name of *Nomkhubulwane*.

CHAPTER 8

WHAT ARE THE CURRENT DEBATES ON VIRGINITY TESTING

Virginity testing has invited many debates in South Africa. Interviewees who are for virginity testing claim that it is a cultural practice and it has taken place long time ago. Some non-participants are asking whose culture is it, who defines the parameters of culture? People in Gender Studies view it as a gender practice, as the focus is on girls only.

8.1 VIRGINITY TESTING AND GENDER

Some interviewees feel that virginity testing is gender based. They feel that it focuses only on women and neglect men. In the Mail and Guardian (1999) Suzanne Leclerc-Madlala claims that there is nothing done about the boys. She claims that most women in this country, their first sexual experience have been one of coerced sex. Losing their virginity has obviously not been their choice. Agenda (44 of 2000) witnesses this when it says: -

“Aids campaigns set up women as targets for intervention and in the process, often presented them only as victims waiting for rescue or empowerment.” Attention was focused on women’s particular vulnerability to the Aids epidemic- a vulnerability that was both physiological and social (women are more likely to be subjected to coercive sex and less able to negotiate safer sex).”

This shows gender inequality. Agenda (44 of 2000) sees gender inequality as the imbalance when analysing the position and status of women in relation to the position of other women.

Men are proved to have many sexual relationships than women. So with HIV and Aids women are conceived as natural containers of HIV infection, whereas men are likely to be the most spreaders of the disease. Leclerc -Madlala in her 15 July 2000 paper feels

that examining girls to determine their virginity status is another thread to reinforce a web of meaning that places women and women's sexuality at the epicenter of blame for the current Aids epidemic.

8.2 RELIABILITY OF TESTORS.

From 1950 to 1965 virginity testing was conducted by old ladies who had reached menopause. As Po-1 suggests most interviewees who are against virginity testing question the reliability of the results of the current testors. They claim that they are too young for the task. The feeling is that when the young testor tests the virgin she is tempting the latter to have a desire for sex. Na-4 feels that because of the lack of experience current testors may claim that the girl is no longer a virgin even if she still is. Other testors let the girl pass the test because they fear the parents of the girl in question. Most testors claim that they have the skill of testing whereas some don't.

Na-3 claims that her neighbour's child became pregnant and yet she passed as a virgin during testing session. Po-3 reveals that some testees fake virginity. Some put ice in the place of the hymen. Some interviewees claim that some testees put white meat to fake virginity. The testors sometimes do faking of virginity to acquire the status of good guardianship in their areas. Interviewees feel that the faking is sometimes promoted by the behavior of the parents. Other parents have a tendency of compelling their daughters to go for virginity testing. Then the child go there even if she knows that her virginity has vanished. The other one who has no courage of faking is embarrassed in front of others and her parents. Her dignity and that of the parents is lowered.

8.3. LACK OF PRIVACY AND CRIME (RAPE)

The interviewees feel that there is not enough privacy when these testings are done. They are conducted in the sportsgrounds where boys use to play. The shield done is not enough as boys can peep and see what is happening. Na-1 and Na-2 feel that certification, announcement in the radios, magazines invite criminals to rape virgin girls. There is a belief that if you have sex with a child, HIV/Aids is cured. In this way when the victory of a girl who has passed the test is announced and appears in papers and magazines, rapist are invited. The Pe-4 states that other testors give testees trophies when they are twenty-one and have passed the virginity test.

These victimised girls are not catered for as far as virginity testing is concerned. Na-3 feels that the raped child is punished for the sin, which she did not commit. This happens when the child is raped and keeps quiet about the incidence. When the child goes for virginity testing she is scolded in the same way with those who destroyed their virginity intentionally. Other testors claim that it is possible to see that the child is raped. Her labia are deeper shade of pink, vaginal opening slightly bigger, the vagina is not tight and the walls are slightly lubricated. The white dot and lacey veil show the evidence of disturbance (abuse).

The interviewee Na-3 states that the girls at school are taught about their rights. She feels that virginity testing is nothing less than the violation and violence against women. This group of interviewees argue that virginity testing counter to stipulation that are in the national constitution that uphold rights to privacy, bodily integrity and outlaw all forms of gender discrimination. South Africa's 1999 Human rights report submitted to the United Nation's recommended that the SA government take specific steps to change traditional views advocating virginity testing in those communities where it occurs.

8.4. VIRGINITY TESTING AS A SOLUTION

Most testors believe that virginity testing is a prime strategy in the fight against Aids. Andile Gumede, the founder of virginity testing in 1997 believe that virginity testing is the way to re-instill what is viewed as lost cultural values such as chastity before marriage, modest and self respect. Regular virginity testing represents the surest way to repair the frayed moral fabric of society that has led to the ever-increasing problems of teenage pregnancies; sexual transmitted diseases and HIV/Aids, which is destroying the community.

These testors believe that *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* becomes a rescue after a child has been abused in tracing back the date of abuse as these kids do not tell after their victimization. Some interviewees who promote virginity testing feel that when you are tested there is no need for contraceptives and condoms. To them these protections promote misbehavior among women. Np-2 states that virginity testing helps in the sense that sometimes you pay full lobola and yet the girl is deflowered, so if she is tested you know of her condition.

In November 2000 Bona, Thabile Majola (19), Gugu (17) and Banothile Mthembu (25) enjoy virginity testing. They state that no one compels them to go for the test. All of them live in KwaMashu. Gugu Gumede feels that virginity testing will help her to grow well and will also enable her to take positive and solid decisions about her future.

Again in this magazine, Andile Gumede compares initiation where body mutilations are done, with virginity testing. She states that in the former people die, whereas in the latter no one dies. Reggie Khumalo and the Deputy of Women's Health Care Centre, Fiyani Marina in this Bona, see virginity testing as of great help in preventing teenage pregnancies and HIV/AIDS. They see virginity testing as a determining factor in the

payment of *lobola*, as to how many cows must be paid for a girl. They state that virginity testing helps in chastity control so that the girls can grow enough before they can think of sex.

8.5. WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS

The outbreak of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has shaken the whole world. Many measures have been tried and tested to be the solution to this killing disease. One of those measures is virginity testing. This ritual is back after its period of silence for sexual transmitted diseases especially HIV/AIDS. Virginity testing has evoked many workshops and seminars. In these workshops and seminars, there is always a diversity of opinion. People under Human Rights and Gender Commissions see it as a form of violation and violence against women. The other side sees it as an essential tool, which is culturally right, and as an answer to modern day problems, which are facing our youth.

Few of those seminars will be tabulated below:

DATE	VENUE	TOPIC
12 - 14 JUNE 2000	RICHARDS BAY	Commission on Gender Equality, : Provincial Conference on Virginity Testing
13-17 July 2000	ICC DURBAN	XIII International Conference on AIDS

17 July 2000	University of Natal	Social inequality, Community on Mobilization and AIDS Vulnerability
--------------	---------------------	--

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

9.1 CONCLUSION

In Zulu traditional history, virginity before marriage was highly regarded and was a socially regulated norm. Only a girl with a suitor was tested. Virginity before marriage brought dignity and status for the girl, the parents and the community concerned. Cattle were used as the foremost form of brideweath transaction known as *ilobolo*, more especially the eleventh cow (*inkomo kamama*). *Ilobolo* was a compensation for the girl's parents for losing their daughter to the groom's side. It was the responsibility of the old women of the community and the *amaqhikiza* to see to it that the *itshilshi* (young uncommitted girl) did not expose the *inkomo kamama*, that is, was keeping her virginity. Currently the role of the *amaqhikiza* has been substituted by individual love life. The peers appear to have a great influence in this regard. *Ukusoma* is no longer practiced due to the unavailability of *amaqhikiza* role. Parents should take the role of *amaqhikiza*. They should sit down with their girls, explain the consequences of sexual intercourse before marriage. Virginity testing is back for different reasons, that is, teenage pregnancies, child abuses and sexual transmitted diseases like HIV/Aids. Zulu people are facing a dilemma. Sex and love lives are traditionally taboos in Zulu people. It is not easy to talk about it especially to children. That is why a girl in the past could not accept a proposal verbally. *Ucu* was a means of communication in this regard. Schoeman (1975) sees "ucu" as a specific article of beadwork. Due to multiculturalism in South Africa, mutual influence is inevitable. This influence causes another leg of the black person to be across the river while the other one is still on the other side. Change in society is also

inevitable as Vansina (1985:114) proposes that tradition mirror the society. Vansina further proposes that as society changes both tradition and the motivation for the tradition modifies.

9.2 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi is currently practiced in girls as early as five years of age. This is because of the changing motivations, which are no longer *lobola* and status but teenage pregnancies, abuses and incurable sexual diseases. There is a belief in abusers with HIV/Aids that if they have sexual inter-course with young children HIV/Aids can be cured. People should be taught about the falsehood of this belief. People should be given adequate knowledge about the disease especially that, “prevention is better than cure” as far as this disease is concerned. Even if we can accept changes in our lives but we should guard against the impacts which will negatively affect the traditional values of our rituals.

Testors should have training centres where they can acquire adequate skills of performing the ritual. There are still old people who know very well about the procedures of the ritual. Those people should be given the opportunities to share their valuable knowledge with the modern testors. Secrecy of the ritual should be regarded as an important essential to protect the testees from the abusers. The shields they use in the sports grounds when the testing is in process are not enough. They use bed sheets or towels to hide only the testee on that particular moment. They should build like portable tents to ensure privacy. Sometimes you find boys playing in the sports ground while testing is in progress.

Adequate knowledge of the testors will alleviate the complaints on the part of non-participants. They feel that insufficient knowledge puts the testees on jeopardy of misjudgments. Their concern is that some testors declare some testees deflowered even if

they are still virgins. There should be enough clarity given to the testees about *ukuhlolwa*. Girls should be encouraged to go for testing but should not be forced. As I have mentioned that some victims of abuse do not tell about it, they seem to be punished for the faults of the abusers when they are found deflowered during testing sessions. This brings forth to say that children must be encouraged to talk about their experiences either good or bad.

Adequate knowledge can again help in producing valid results. Some non-participants feel that some interviewees fake virginity by putting ice and meat fat in the place of the hymen.

Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi is in some way of great help in preventing teenage pregnancies and sexual transmitted diseases like HIV/Aids as it promotes abstinence from sex. It doesn't help if the child is born with HIV/Aids. It also does not help if a person is injected or incised with affected equipment. The former way of acquiring a disease, which is sex, is more common. That is why virginity testing seem to play a major role in this regard.

The impact of multicultural contact led *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* to its near demise, but coming of black government into power in 1994 might be an additional factor to the revival of *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*. It reminded black people about their roots. *Ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* has also evoked other rituals and ceremonies, which had shown signs of disappearance. Those rituals are *umhlonyane* (puberty rites) and *umemulo* (coming of age ceremony). After conducting *umhlonyane* for their girl, the parents are encouraged or become keen to perform *umemulo* ceremony for the girl. To ensure that the girl undergoes *umemulo* being a virgin, the parents have to apply chastity control through virginity testing.

Andile Gumede, the founder of virginity testing in 1997, feels that certification is used as a means of praise. Some interviewees feel that certification enhance marriage proposals from a large population of young men who prefer to tie the wedding knots with virgins. On the other hand some interviewees feel that certificates invites abusers who always have a lust for virgins. This means that certificates and other means of praise for testees, who pass the tests, have a dual impact, that is, positive and negative ones.

The health department should be actively involved as far as virginity testing is concerned. Some informants are not happy about one pair of gloves which is used for all the testees involved on that particular day. Their concern stems from the fact that these testors might be the transmitters of the disease from one testee to the other. Health department should provide enough gloves and health staff should be present during testing sessions to ensure healthy procedures.

People who are involved in gender studies, and other interviewees feel that *ukuhlolwa kwezintombi* is gendered and politically inclined. They feel that the focus is only on girls and not on boys. Chastity control should also be applied to them. Youth centres should be formed where virginity is stressed also in boys. Testors should be workshopped to be able to inspect the boys too.

9.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It should be researched whether virginity testing should be continued or discontinued due to the current debate based on the ritual. Gender commissioners see virginity testing as means of violation of children's rights. On the other hand participants on some non-participants see it as a preventive measure as far as teenage pregnancies and incurable sexual diseases are concerned. The latter side of people believes on the principle of "prevention is better than cure."

Certification, trophies and publication in media seem to be essential from the participants' point of view. Some non-participants and those who are against virginity testing feel that these forms of reward for the successful testees, invite crime, that is, rape. This needs further research whether these forms of reward are essential, if not, what could be alternatives?

The way of conducting the ritual has been modified greatly. To mention a few changes: - lack of privacy, frequency of testing, modern rewards, virginity faking, age of testors and testees and current motivation. Future research should look at the impact of these modifications in terms of the traditional value of the ritual and the related ones like *umhlonyane* (puberty rite) and *umemulo* (coming of age).

Future research should find out whether virginity testing should be further conducted by traditional testors or by professionals in medicine, that is, doctors and nurses or whether the juxtapositioning of the two is essential. I feel this needs further research because other people feel that some testors can be the transmitters of incurable from one testee to the other. This transmission can be due to the incorrect use of the testing tools, like using the same pair of gloves for all the testes or non use of the glove at all. Certain testors declare chemical soaps as destroyers of virginity. Some people believe if the girl usually sleeps facing upwards, virginity goes away. Some feel that bicycle cycling and related games can destroy virginity. Maybe the presence of the medical profession can be a solution to this controversy.

Research should also be undertaken on boys' virginity testing since the focus has been mainly on girls. Focusing on girls' virginity testing while boys are neglected does not solve the entire problem. This is due to the fact that sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/Aids and teenage pregnancies are mostly acquired through the sexual meeting of a

male and a female. Most instances of rape come from the male side. Boys take the initiative as far as love life is concerned. That is why I feel that boys should also be tested.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Berglund, A. I. (1976) : ZULU THOUGHT PATTERNS AND SYMBOLISM. Hurst, London.
2. Blose, R.T (1998) : TRANSFORMATION AND CONTINUITY IN THE UMIMULO CEREMONY.M.A. Thesis, University of Natal.
3. Brandley, M.(1982) : THE ROLE OF OLD WOMEN IN ZULU CULTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THREE TRIBES IN THE INKANDLA DISTRICT. Doctoral Thesis, KwaDlangezwa, University of Zululand.
4. Bryant, A.T. (1966) : ZULU MEDICINE AND MEDICINE MEN. Struik, Cape Town.
5. Edward, J. (1985) : LANGUAGE, SOCIETY AND IDENTITY. Basil Blackwell.
- X 6. Finnegan, R. (1992) : ORAL TRADITIONS AND VERBAL ARTS.A guide to research practices. London and New York.
7. Fuze, M.M. (1979) : THE BLACK PEOPLE. University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg.
- N 8. Jousse, M. (1990) : THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF GESTE AND RHYTHM. Edited from the original French by

Edgard Sienaert and translated in collaboration
with Joan Conolly. University of Natal. Durban.

9. Krige, E.J. (1965) : THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF THE
ZULU. Pietermaritzburg, Shuter & Shooter.

X 10. Magubane, P. (1998) : VANISHING CULTURES OF SOUTH
AFRICA. Struik Publishes (PTY) LTD.

X 11. Msimang, C. T. (1975) : KUSADLIWA NGOLUDALA. Shuter & Shooter.

X 12. Paige, K. E. (1983) : VIRGINITY RITUALS AND CHASTITY
CONTROL DURING PUBERTY :
CROSS-CULTURAL PATTERNS. In S. Golub (ed.)
Menarche : The Transition from Girl to
Woman. Massachusetts: Lexington Press.

13. Pillemer, B. et al (1999) : A. B. C. OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN SOUTH
AFRICA. University of Natal. Durban.

14. Potgieter, P. J. (1960) : BANTU. Vol. 7&8. Killie Campbell. University
of Natal. Durban.

15. Schoeman, H. (1975) : THE ZULU. Purnell, Cape town.

16. Tryrell, B. (1971) : SUSPICION IS MY NAME. Killie
Campbell. University of Natal.

X 17. Vansina, J. (1985) : ORAL TRADITION AS HISTORY. James
Currey. London.

18. Vilakazi, A. (1962) : ZULU TRANSFORMATIONS. University of Natal, Press, Pietermaritzburg.

19. White, N. R. (1978) : ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES. Vol. 1
University of Natal.

ARTICLES

1. Hamilton, G. : (Indicator S A vol. 15 no3) VIRGIN TESTING
ONE ANSWER TO THE AIDS
EPIDEMIC. Research office, University of Natal.

2. Leclerc-Madlala, S. (2000): VIRGINITY TESTING FOR AIDS
PREVENTION :CONSOLIDATING THE
GENDERED EPIDEMIC. School of
Anthropology and Psychology, University of
Natal.

3. Magwaza T. S. C. (2000) : RE-THOUGHT ON THE RESURGENCE OF
THE ZULU CULTURAL CUSTOMS. IsiZulu
Programme, University of Natal.

4. Mtalane, L. J. T. (2000) : COMMISSION ON GENDER
EQUALITY: PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE ON
VIRGINITY TESTING. Richards Bay.

MEDIA

1. Daily News (30 May 2000) : VIRGINITY TESTING TALKS LONG OVERDUE.
2. Daily News (23 August 2000) : VIRGINS AS YOUNG AS SIX PAY R5 TO PROVE THEY ARE PURE.
3. Daily Mail & Guardian (25 September 1999): VIRGIN TESTS MAKE A COME BACK.
4. The Independent on Saturday (17 July 2000): VIRGINITY TESTS NO ANSWER.

MAGAZINES.

1. Bona : (November 2000) NGABE KUSADINGEKA ZIHLOLWE IZINTOMBI?
2. You: (14 September 2000): SEX BEFORE MARRIAGE.

APPENDIX : A INTERVIEWEES

(i) PARTICIPANTS: TESTORS (Po)

(1) NAME : Dube Mrs (Po-1)

AGE : 61

DATE : 15 May 2000

DURATION : 30 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wasuka ngaphesheya koThukela eNtembeni. Ungumama kaPhewula Dube oke akhulume ngezamasiko esintu emsakazweni ngeSonto. Uzinze KwaMashu esigcemeni sakwa D. Umyeni wakhe wayewathanda amasiko ewadlulisela ezinganeni zakhe.

She moved from across the Tugela River at Ntembeni. She is the mother of Pewula Dube who sometimes talks over the radio about Zulu traditional customs on Sundays. She stays at KwaMashu in section D. Her husband loved traditional customs and used to pass them to his children.

Q:1. Waqala nini ukuhlola?

When did you start conducting virginity testing?

A: Eminyakeni emihlanu eyedlule la KwaMashu.

I started in five years ago here at KwaMashu.

Q:2. Walutholaphi ulwazi lokuhlola?

Where did you learn the testing skill?

A: Nami ngangihlolwa, ulwazi luyadluliselwa kwabalandelayo.

I used to be tested before, the knowledge is passed to the successors.

Q:3. Kuqala kwakuhlolwa umuntu ongakanani?

In the past from which age was the testing conducted?

A: Kwakuhlolwa iqhikiza,ingoduso, inkehlili noseyoshada.

Testing was conducted on iqhikiza,a committed girl and the one who is about to marry.

Q:4. Kwakuhlola umuntu ongakanani?

What was the required age for the testor?

A: Kwakuhlola umuntu ongasayi ezinsukwini zakhe osemndala.

Testing was conducted by a person who had reached menopause, an old person.

Q:5. Yini kuhlole umuntu ongasayi esikhathini?

Why should it be a person who has reached menopause?

A: Phela kuthiwa umuntu osemndala akasenamanyala,uma esaya ocansini lo ohlolayo usuke eyilinga nengane ayihlolayo ukuba nayo ifune kuya ocansini.

It is said that an old person is pure, when the testor is still practising sex, she is tempting the testee to do sex.

Q:6. Kwakubakhona bani ngesikhathi intombazane ihlolwa?

Who should be there during the testing session?

A: Unina wentombazane wayengavunyelwe ukubuka.

The mother of a girl was not allowed to watch.

Q:7. Kwakuhlolwa kanjani?

How was the testing conducted?

A: Intombi ibilala ibheke phezulu kubukwe iso ukuthi isaphelele yini.

Ikhanda libe sezansi esingezansi sibe phezulu ukuze kusheshe kubonakale.

The girl used to sleep facing upwards and the testor would look for the hymen. The head should be on the lower level and the abdomen should be on the upper level, so that testing should be easier.

Q:8. Kongasentombi kwakwenziwanjani?

What was done if the testee was already deflowered?

A: Abahlolayo babehlangana ngamakhanda baphimise amathe.

The testors used to negotiate about the matter and spit.

Q:9. Wawufakwa yini umcako esiphongweni uma umuntu esehloliwe?

Was the forehead dotted with white clay after testing?

A: Ngaphesheya koThukela eNtembeni wawungafakwa.

Across Tugela River at Ntembeni that was not done.

Q:10. Babenzenjani uma bethola ukuthi ohlolwayo useyintombi?

What was done if the testee pass the test?

A: Babemqabulakhona enkomeni zingakandi kanje izifo.

They used to kiss her on top of the vagina before these diseases were spread.

Q:11. Uyabonakala yini ukuthi umutu uyintombi engahlolwanga?

Can you tell before the test whether the girl is a virgin or not?

A: Yebo intombi nto iyabonakala. Izikhece phansi kwamehlo uma engasentombi ziyabonakala. umfasankomo emva kwezitho uyaqumba uma useyintombi. Kwethukiwe kwakufakwa izinzipho emaceleni obuntu bakhe uma zingena wayengasentombi.

Yes, the true virgin can be seen .You can see under the eyes (izikhece).

The *umfasankomo* (part behind the knees) became firm if the girl was a virgin. If the girl was insulted of lost virginity, she was pocked on the thighs near the vagina with the nails .If the nails enter she was no longer a virgin.

Q:12. Kuphathele yini ukuhlola nomkhosi womhlanga?

Is virginity testing related with the reed ceremony?

A: Yebo ngoba uma ungasentombi umhlanga uqhekezeka phakathi.

Umhlanga lona waqala oSuthu, kwaba yisEnyokeni emzini kaMamchiza.

Abanye bezinye izizwe njengamaSwazi aphatha ibhandela kodwa uma eza

kwaZulu aphatha owodwa umhlanga. Wenziwa ngoSeptember. Yilapho

inkosi ikhetha khona umkayo wangomuso. Iye ithume inceku ithi

kuyo” Hamba uyoshaya ihawu laphaya” inceku bese ithatha

Yes, because if the girl was no longer a virgin the reed would split in the

middle. The reed ceremony started at oSuthu then Enyokeni in

Mamchiza’s homestead. Those from other cultures like the Swazis bring a

bundle of reeds but they are celebrating with the Zulu should bring only

one. This ceremony is celebrated in September. It is where the king

chooses his future wife. He used to send his helper and say:” Go and beat the shield there for me” (Go and take that girl for me) The helper would take away the reed from that chosen girl.

Q:13. Wayehlawula ngani ongasentombi?

What was the penalty for loss virginity?

A: Umfana oyilimazile wayekhipha inkomo kanina, eyenkosi kanye nembuzi yamantombazane. Amantombazane ayeyiklebhula ngezandla, idliwe yizinja hageze ngomswani wayo. Umfana okhulelisile wayekhipha inkomo yesidikli noma ingezamagceke, ebulawa kwantombazane, eyenkosi.

A boy who destroyed virginity should pay a mother's cow, one for the chief and a goat, it was torn by the girls, eaten by the dogs and the girl cleanse themselves with the waste from the offal (umswani) The boy who made the girl pregnant had to pay a cow for cleansing the home (inkomo yesidikli or ingezamagceke) which was slaughtered in the girls home and the cow for the king.

Q:14. Kuhlangene yini ukuhlola noNomkhubulwane? Is virginity testing related to Nomkhubulwane?

A: UNomkhubulwane uphathelele nokuvuna okuhle nemvula. UNkulunkulu womhlaba. Abantu asebebadala ababelima insimu kaNomkhubulwane bengakahlambi. Amantombazane ayengangeni ensimini kaNomkhubulwane.

Nomkhubulwane is related to fertility and rain. She is the earth God. Old ladies used to plough Nomkhubulwane's field before they wash. Young girls were not allowed to enter into Nomkhubulwane's field.

Q:15. Yini othanda ukuyengeza?

Is there anything you want to add?

A: Ukudla okudliwa namuhla kuyakhuluphalisa umuntu angaze ayethuke ingane. Uma intombazane ijwayele ukulala ibheke phezu, iso liyehla. Today's food make people fat, a person can insult a girl of lost virginity because of her body even if she is still a virgin. If the girl is used to sleep facing upwards the hymen lowers.

(2)NAME: Khanyile Sizile (Po-2)

AGE: 42

DATE: 9 August 2000

DURATION: 13 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Ukhulele KwaMashu. Usebenza KwaMashu Polyclinic, ungumhlengikazi onguSister. Uhlala esigcemeni sakwa J khona KwaMashu. Uhlola abantwana bakhe kanye nabomakhelwane.

She was raised at KwaMashu. She works at KwaMashu as a nursing sister. She stays at KwaMashu in J section. She tests her girls and those of the neighbours.

Q:1. Waqala nini ukuhlola?

When did you start virginity testing?

A: Ngo 1998.

From 1998.

Q:2. Nihlola nini?

When do you conduct the testing?

A: Njalo ngenyanga.

Once a month.

Q:3. Nihlolelaphi?

Where do you conduct the testing?

A: Engomeni Stadium KwaMashu, Sinohla lonyaka wonke.

At Engomeni Stadium at KwaMashu, we have the schedule for the whole year.

Q:4. Uyazihlelela yini?

Do you do the testing yourself?

A: Yebo.

Yes.

Q:5. Ubona ngani ukuthi umuntu useyintombi?

How do you see that the girl is still a virgin

A: Ngibona ngehlo, imbobo ingabibikho.

By the hymen and the absence of the hole.

Q:6. Yiluphi ushintsho olubonayo uma uqhathanisa ukuhlola kwamanje nokwakudala?

What modification do you notice if you compare the testing now

and in the past?

A: Ukusebenza kwamagloves, kwakuhlola izalukazi.

It is the use of the gloves and in the olden days it was old ladies who conducted virginity testing.

Q:7 Niwasebenzisela amagloves?

Why do you use gloves?

A: Ukuba singazitheleli izingane ngamagciwane. Ingane ngayinye inamagloves ayo, ngoba sixhaswe yiDept of Health. Ngoba noma ingane yonakele iyelulekwa osonhlalakahle.

To protect the testees from our germs. Each testee has her own set of gloves, because were sponsored by the Department of Health. Even the testee who is no longer a virgin is referred to social workers for counselling.

Q8: Nenzenjani uma umuntu engasentombi?

What do you do if the girl is no longer a virgin?

A: Ingane eyonakele siyibizela eceleni sitshele nomzali wayo.

We talk to that child in private and we tell the mother.

Q:9 Niyazikhipha yini izitifiketi?

Do you issue the certificates?

A: Zikhishwa kanye ngonyaka, siwu -R5.

They are issued once a year and the testee who has passed the test pays R5 for it.

Q:10 Bayakukhokhela yini abantwana ukuhlolwa.

Do they pay for the testing itself.

A: Bakhokha isihlanu.

Yes, they pay 50c

Q:11 Kuhlangane yini noNomkhubulwane?

Is the testing connected with Nomkhubulwane

A: Yebo kuhlangane, ngoba ozolima insimu yakhe kumele kube yintombi nto.

There is a connection in the sense that a girl cannot cultivate Nomkhubulwane's field if she is no longer a virgin.

Q:12 Nenze njani ngabafana?

What do you do about the boys?

A: Kumele nomfana aziphathe kahle, kodwa asikenzi lutho.

The boys too should behave themselves, but we have not done a thing.

Q:13 Yini eyakwenza wabona isidingo sokuhlola?

What made you to conduct virginity testing?

A: Ukuthi nginamantombazane.

Is that I have girls.

Q:14 Nihlola kusukela eminyakeni emingaki?

From which age do you involve in the testing.

A: Eminyakeni emihlanu.

From five years of age.

Q:15 Bayageza yini uma bezohlolwa?

Do the testees wash themselves before testing?

A: Bahlolwa begezile, bayatshelwa ukuba bangagezi ngezinsipho ezinamakhemikhali.

Yes, they do and they are advised not to use soaps with chemicals on their private parts (vaginas).

Q:16 Nimenzenjani osesikhathini?

What do you do about the one who is menstruating?

A: Naye siyamhlola, liyesulwa igazi.

We test her after wiping off the blood.

Q:17 Uyakhulelwa yini usoma?

Is there any chance of falling pregnant if you apply ukusoma (non-penetration).

A: Yebo kuyenzeka osomayo akhulelwe ngokungena kwesidoda ebe eyintombi.

Yes, it happens if the sperm enters.

3 NAME: Ntuli Nomathemba . (Po-3)

AGE: 47

DATE: 12 July 2000

DURATION: 20 minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa endaweni yase Mhlathuzane eShowe. Unabantwana abane

asebekhulile. Wafunda waphasa ibanga lesihlanu. Ujwayele ukuhlola
amantombazane eMhlathuzane. Uholo impesheni

She was born at Mhlathuzane at Eshowe. She has four children who are grown
up. She passed standard five. She used to test the girls at Mhlathuzane. She is a
pensioner.

Q:1 Ubona ngani ukuthi umuntu useyintombi.

How do you see that a person is still a virgin?

A: Ngengubo emhlophe. Uma usesikhathini kuba bomvu.

By the white cloth (iso). If she is menstruating, it becomes red.

Q:2 Kose sikhathini kuthatha isikhathi esingakanani ukuba kubuyele kube
mhlophe?

After menstruation how long does it take to become right again?

A: Kuthatha isonto elilodwa kuye kwamabili. Iso kodwa alipheli. It takes one
to two weeks but the hymen does not vanish.

Q:3 Wawungakanani uqala ukuhlolwa?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time?

A: Ngangino 23. Ngahlolwa sekusele izinyanga ezintathu ngishade.

I was 23 years old and it was three months before I got married.

Q:4 Uma kutholakala ukuthi awusentombi kwakwenziwa njani?

What happened if a girl was found not to be a virgin?

A: Inkomo kanina yayephuka uma ukhulelwe.

The eleventh cow was not paid if you were pregnant.

Q:5 Kwakuhlawulwa ngani?

What was the penalty?

A: Ngezinkomo ezimbili, eyeNkosi neyokugeza umuzi, uxoshiwe uhanjiswe emzini .

Two cows, one to cleanse the girl's home and one for the King's palace.

You were expelled to a grooms place.

Q:6 Wawuye uzizwe unjani ungakahlolwa?

How do you feel before the testing?

A: Awesabi lutho ngoba usuke uzazi. Uma usuhloliwe watholakala uyintombi uyajabula, lo okuhlolayo akunike iduku elimhlophe.

You feel free because you know yourself. If you are found a virgin, even the testor becomes happy and gives you a white handkerchief.

Q:7 Kwakuhlalelwaphi?

Where about in the home was the testing done?

A: Ngaphandle komuzi.

Outside the home.

Q:8 Obani ababehlola?

Who conducted virginity testing?

A: Omama. Uma ungasentombi babekuphimisela ngamathe enkomeni. Uma useyintombi bakuyale.

Old ladies, when you are found not to be a virgin they spit over your vagina they gave you guidelines if you were still a virgin.

Q:9 Kwakuhlolelwa?

Why was testing done?

A: Ukuba intombazane ingoniwa umfana.

So that a girl's virginity is not destroyed by the boy.

Q:10 Kwakubonakala ngani ukuthi intombi ayikoniwa ngale kokuhlolwa?

Which signs showed that a girl was no longer a virgin before the test?

A: Umzimba uyaqina. Iminyaka iyathula iqine emva kwezitho. Uma engesentombi iyadonseka. izihlathi ziyehla, zingabe zisaqumba. Idolo liyaqina ngaphezulu. .

The body becomes firm, stretch marks becomes firm behind the knees. If she is no longer a virgin the stretch marks looks bad, the cheeks lose their boldness. The knees are firm when you are a virgin.

Q:11 Usahlola namanje?

Do you still test the girls?

A: Angisahloli ngenxa yamehlo.

No, I no longer conduct the testing because of my poor eyesight.

Q:12 Uma uqhathanisa okwamanje nokwakudala yini oyibonayo?

When you compare virginity testing in the past and nowadays, what can you say?

A: Kuthiwa kufakwa u-ayisi kuthiwe yiso.

The girls sometimes fake virginity. They put ice in the place of the hymen.

Q:13 Yini eyayigqokwa uma umuntu ezohlolwa?

What did you wear to be tested?

A: Owayethanda ukunquna wayenquna. Ngikhohliwe, ibele lentombi liyathula lithi du. Noma ngabe liwile liyaqumba. Uma uthatha isisu libamnyama ukuzungeza ingono.

If you wanted to be naked you were allowed. I forgot the breasts for a virgin are firm, even if they are fallen. When you are conceiving, it becomes dark around the nipples.

Q:14 Yini manje izingane.zisheshe zihlolwe?

Why does testing starts in the early ages now?

A. Ukuze nesiganga isheshe ibonakale.

So that the girl who is misbehaving sexually is seen promptly

4 NAME: Shandu Doris
AGE : 47
DATE: 02 August 2000
DURATION: 18 minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa wakhulela eMnambithi unomtwana oyedwa. Umntwana wakhe ufunda eMandlenkosi High School. Yena usebenza kwa NDC uhlanza imigwaqo.

She was born and raised in Ladysmith and she has one child. Her child is attending at Mandlenkosi High School. She is working at NDC as a area cleaner.

Q:1 Wawungakanani ngenkathi uqala ukuhlolwa?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time?

A: Ngangino 16 years.

I was 16 years old.

Q:2 Wawuhlolwa ubani?

Who tested you?

A: Ogogo abathathu.

Three ladies

Q:3 Babekuhlololaphi?

Where was the testing done?

A: Ekhaya ngaphandle komuzi.

At home outside the house.

Q:4 Babekuhlola kanjani?

How did they test you?

A: Kwendlalwa icansi lencema ulale, uvule imilenze.

They would put the mat down, then you open your thighs.

Q:5 Uma bekuthola uyintombi benzenjani?

What do they do if they find that you are still virgin?

A: Bayakikiza bajabule.

They show happiness and ululate.

Q:6 Wena uye uzizwe unjani?

How do you feel yourself?

A: Uyajabula.

You feel happy.

Q:7 Abatholakala ukuthi abasezintombi babenziwa njani?

What do they do with those who were found not to be virgins?

A: Kwakungajwayelekile, oseqomile wayesoma, uma egudla wayethethiswa, uma egudlwa kubonakala ngemihuzuko yokungcola.

It was rare. The one who had a boyfriend had to do non penetrative sexual intercourse (ukusoma). If she was doing semi-penetrative sexual intercourse (ukugudla), she was scolded, that is seen by friction and it becomes dirty.

Q:8 Kwakuhlawulwa kanjani?

How was the penalty paid?

A: Abazali babekhipha inkomo yokugeza izintombi.

Uma usho ngalesosikhathi ukuthi umfana usekonile
abakini bavuka bayoyikhetha esibayeni sakubo mfana inkomo.

Abakubo ntombi abakhiphi uma sebekhiphile
abakomfana.

The girl's parents should pay with a cow for cleansing
other girls. When you say there and there that a boy has
destroyed your virginity, people from the girl's side
wake up early in the morning to go and choose any cow
from the boy's kraal to cleanse the girls with. If the
boy's side had paid that cow, the girl's side does not pay.

Q:9 Kwenzekani ngenkomo kanini uma engasentombi?

What happens with the eleventh cow if the girl is no
longer a virgin?

A: Ayikhokhwa.

It is not paid.

Q:10. Ikhona yini indlela yokubona ukuthi umuntu

akasentombi engahlolwanga?

Is there any way you can tell that a girl is deflowered
even if the test is not done?

A: Kuyabonakala emva kwezitho iminyaba iba mibi.
amabele ayathamba.

It is seen behind the legs, the stretch marks look bad, the
breasts become soft.

Q:11. Yiluphi ushintsho olubonayo ekuhlolweni kwamanje
nokwakudala?

What change have you noticed if you compare virginity
testing of the past and present?

A: Kusukela ku12 weminyaka kuya phansi wayengahlolwa. Kwakuhlolwa
othombile. Okunye ukuthi abahlolayo manje abalibeki iqiniso, basaba
abazali bezingane. Okunye ukuthi abaziyo ngokuhlola bayancipha ngoba
intombazane ibonakala isikhulelwe kade ihlolwa.

2 years and below was not tested. You were tested after puberty. Secondly
the testors now do not tell the truth if the girl is deflowered, they fear the
girl's parents. Thirdly there are very few people who know about virginity
testing as sometimes you can find the girl pregnant after she has been
tested.

Q:12. Akwenzeki yini ikhulelwe kade igudlwa?

Can a girl become pregnant after non-penetrative sexual
intercourse?

A: Kuyenzeka. Umthungo uma ikhulelwe uyagqama.

It happens. If the girl is pregnant the line in the stomach
to the vagina broadens

Q:13. Ungathini ngomkhosi womhlanga?

What can you say about the reed ceremony?

A: Manje ziyakhelelwa umhlanga, kanti ngenkathi
izikhelela, umhlanga uyagoba uma ingesentombi.

They now pick the reed for the girl, whereas if the girl
picks the reed and she is no longer a virgin, the reed
bends.

(ii) PARTICIPANTS : TESTEES (Pe)
I. NAME: Cele Maphindi (Pe-1)
AGE : 12
DATE : 1 August 2000
DURATION: 15 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa wakhulela KwaMashu esigcemeni sakwa K. Ufunda esikoleni esixube izinhlanga. ESiyanda la ehlolwa khona kungakwa K, esabelweni lapho abantu bezakhela khona. Ufunda ibanga lesine.

She was born and raised in KwaMashu in K section. She is attending in a multiracial school. At Siyanda where she is tested is a slum area where people are allowed to build houses of their own choice. She is doing standard four.

Q:1. Nihlolwaphi?

Where is the testing done?

A: ESiyanda.

At Siyanda place.

Q:2. Nihlolwa nini?

When is the testing done?

A: Kudlula isonto elilodwa sihlolwe ngesonto ekuseni.

We are tested on fourth night basis on Sunday mornings.

Q:3. Nihamba ngani ukuya khona?

How do you get there?

A: Ngezinyawo.

We just walk.

Q:4. Nisuke nibangaki?

How many are you who are tested there?

A: Sibaningi nabanye esingabazi.

We are many. We do not know the others.

Q:5. Nihlolwa abantu abangaki?

How many testors who test you?

A: Umuntu oyedwa.

One testor.

Q:6. Nihlolwa umuntu ongakanani?

How old is the testor?

A: Mhlawumbe uno 45.

She is about 45 years old.

Q:7. Ubani owathi hamba uyohlolwa?

Who told you to go for virginity testing?

A: Umama.

My mother.

Q:8. Wathini kuwe?

How did she tell you?

A: Wathi kumele ngiyohlolwa ukuze ngizokhula ngizazi

ukuthi ngiyintombi noma cha.

She said that I should go for checking so that I will grow knowing whether I am a virgin or not.

Q:9: Uma nifika nenzenjani?

What do you do when you get there?

A: Sima umugqa bese siyacula.

We stand in a line and sing.

Q:10. Bese nenzenjani?

And then what happens next?

A: Sibizwa ngamunye siyohlolwa endlini. Sihlololwa endaweni eqondile. Ipenti ulikhumula ngoba ususendlini yokuhlolola, bakuvule amathanga babheke.

We are called one by one to be tested inside the house.

We are tested in a flat place. You take off your pantie when you are inside the house, then they open your thighs and check you.

Q:11. Benzenjani uma bethola ukuthi uyintombi?

What do they do if they find that you are still a virgin?

A: Bayakutshela ukuthi usemuhle, kumele uziphathe kahle ngaso sonke isikhathi.

They tell you that you are still right you must behave right every time.

Q:12. Uma bethola ukuthi awuziphethe kahle benzenjani?

What do they do if they find that you are misbehaving?

A: Bayakushaya ngesandla bathethe. Abakini baletha imbuzi

yokugeza bonke abahlolwayo. Sigezwa ekuseni ngo 5

ngamanzi abandayo. Sigezela endlini. Amanzi achithwe kugeze

omunye. Imali efakwa emanzini uyiphatha wena. Iqala ku 20c bese

sicula

They hit you with the hand and they tell your parents to bring the goat to

cleanse all the testees. They cleanse us with cold water at 5 am in the

house. You bring your own coin from 20c upward for cleansing. We don't

use same water. Water is taken off after one finishes, then we sing.

Q:13. Uye uzizwe unjani uma uzohlolwa?

How do you feel before the testing?

A: Ngisuke ngesaba.

I feel scared.

2:NAME: Dlodla Dumile

AGE : 11

DATE : 6 August 2000

DURATION: 19 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa wakhulela KwaMashu.Uyedwa kubo.Uhlala nabazali bakhe bobabili Wenza ibanga lesibili KwaMashu.

She was born and raised at KwaMashu.She is the only child at home.She is living with her two parents.She is doing standard two at KwaMashu.

Q:1. Waqala uneminyaka emingaki ukuhlolwa?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time?

A: Ngangino 9 weminyaka.

I was 9 years old.

Q:2. Watshelwa ubani ukuthi ukuthi kumele uyohlolwa?

Who told you to go for the testing?

A: Ngatshelwa umama wathi angihambe nomngani wami ngiyohlolwa.

I was told by my mother that I should go for testing with my friend.

Q:3. Nihlolwa ubani?

Who tests you?

A: U-anti uNtombenhle mhlawumbe uno-18.

Aunt Ntombenhle, she is about 18 years old.

Q:4. Nihlalelwaphi?

Where about is the testing done?

A: Endlini

Inside the house.

Q:6. Wenzenjani uma ezonihlola?

What does she do before she tests you?

A: Undlala icansi nengubo.

She puts down the mat and the blanket.

Q:7. Kusuke kukhona bani?

Who else is usually present there?

A: UNtombenhle nomama wakhe. Kungena ngamunye

Ntombenhle and her mother. We come one by one.

Q:8. Besenzenjani?

What does she do next?

A: Ufike athi asikhumule yonke into.

She tells us to take off everything.

Q:9. Wawungasabi yini wena?

Were you not afraid?

A: Ngangisaba ngoba umngani wami wangitshela ukuthi

uyashawa ubuzwe ukuthi kade ungezi ngani.

I was because my friend told me that they hit you and
ask why you didn't come before.

Q:10. Uyazivula yini imilenze?

Do you open your legs yourself?

A: Ungivula yena.

No, she opens me.

Q:11. Usuke ekuphi umama wakho?

Where was your mother during the testing?

A: Uyangipheleza angishiye endleleni.

She accompanies me half way.

Q:12. Uma ebona lo okuhlolayo ukuthi uyintombi wenzenjani?

What does the tester do when she finds that you are still a
virgin?

A: Ushaya ihlombe.

She claps her hands.

Q:13. Anizitholi yini izitifiketi?

Do you get the certificates?

A: Cha.

No.

Q:14. Nike niye kwezinye izindawo?

Have you been to other places for testing?

A. Cha.

No.

3.NAME: Maphumulo Seyve

AGE: 36

DATE: 11 JULY 2000

DURATION: 19 Minutes.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa endaweni yakwaMaphumulo wakhulela khona. Wasuka khona esezofunda ibanga lesithupha KwaMashu,lapho esezinze khona.Akakagani,akakabi nangane.Wagcina ebangeni lesishiyagalombili, akasebenzi

She was born in Maphumulo district and was raised there. She moved to KwaMashu to do standard six. She is now living permanently there. She is not married yet and she has no kids yet. She has standard eight, and she is not working.

Q:1. Wawungakanani uqala ukuhlolwa ?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time?

A: Ngangino 15.

I was 15 years old.

Q:2. Wawuhlolwelwaphi?

Where was the testing conducted?

A. Konkosi.

At the King's palace.

Q:3. Wawuhlolelwani?

Why was the testing done?

A: Kwakuyisiko elenziwayo.

It was the traditional custom.

Q:4. Wawuzizwa unjani ungakahlolwa?

How did you feel before the test?

A: Ngangingenankinga.ngoba ngangizethemba.

I had no problem because I had confidence in myself.

Q:5. Wazizwa unjani usuhloliwe?

How did you feel after the test?

A: Ngangijabula ngoba ngangisaphila.

I was happy because I was still pure.

Q:6. Kwakuhlola bani?

Who was conducting the test?

A: Amakhosikazi enkosi.

The King's wives.

Q:7. Ayengakanani ubudala?

How old were they?

A: Ayelinganiselwa eminyakeni engamashumi amahlanu,

bese uya ezalukazini ezingaba ko-70 kuya ku 90 weminyaka.

Q:8. Nanihlelelwa endlini noma ngaphandlela?

Was the test conducted inside or outside the house?

A. Egcekeni phambi kwesibaya.

In the yard in front of the cattle kraal.

Q:9 Kwakuhlolwa kanjani?

How was the test conducted?

A: Nanibhekiswa phezulu, kuthiwe vulani imilenze
nibhekwe.

You should lie on your back, open the thighs, then they
checked you.

Q:10. Kwakwenziwa njani uma useyintombi?

What happened if you were found a virgin?

A: Babebonga, bakuyale.

They congratulated you and give you advice.

Q:11. Kwakuhlolwa umuntu ongakanani ?

The testees were from which age?

A: Osethombile.

A person who had reached puberty stage.

Q:12. Kwakwenziwanjani uma ungasentombi?

What happened if you were no longer a virgin?

A: Abazali bakho babekhipha inkomo yokugeza

izintombi neyokugeza umuzi wenkosi.

Your parents should pay cows one to cleanse the virgins and one to cleanse the King's palace

Q:13. Zigeza kanjani izintombi?

How was the girls' cleansing done?

A: Eyezintombi inkomo iyahlatshwa ziyidle. Kukhishwa imali emhlophe okuthiwa umeke ifakwe esizibeni zigezele phezu kwayo ziyishiye khona lapho.

The cow for the girls was slaughtered and the girls ate it, then they went to the river pond where they put a silver coin money. The girls cleansed themselves over the money and leave it there.

Q:14. Kwakwenzekanjani uma kulotsholwa ongasentombi?

What happened in ilobola for a non-virgin?

A: Umqhoyiso wawungakhishwa.
The eleventh cow was not paid.

Q:15. Yikuphi okwakukhombisa ukuthi umuntu uyintombi engakahlolwa?

What showed that a person was a virgin before the test?

A: Isinqe siyathula, sicwebezele. Isitho siyagcwala sicwebezele ngisho singagcotshwe lutho.

Her buttocks were firm and shiny, and her legs were full
and shiny even if nothing had been used to polish them.

4:NAME: Mbongwa Nothando

AGE: 14

DATE: 19 July 2000

DURATION: 19 Minute

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa wakhulela KwaMashu esigcemeni sakwa M.Ufunda ibanga
lesihlanu. Babili kubo, bangamantombazane wodwa, bayahlolwa bobabili.

She was born and raised at KwaMashu in M section. She is doing standard five.
They are two as children and they are both girls, they are both tested.

Q:1 Ubani onihlodayo?

Who tests you?

A: Angimazi igama nesibongo.

I don't know her name and surname.

Q:2. Nihlolelwaphi?

In which place is the testing done?

A: ETehuis eMlazi.

In Tehuis at uMlazi.

Q:3. Nihlolwa nini?

When does the testing take place?

A: Kanye ngenyanga.

Once a month.

Q:4. Nisuke nihamba nobani?

Who accompanies you?

A: Udadewethu

My sister.

Q:5. Umama wenu akanihloli yini?

Does your mother conduct the testing?

A: Cha.

No

Q:6. Waqala nini ukuhlolwa?

When were you tested for the first time?

A: Ngo 1995 ngino 12 weminyaka.

In 1995, when I was 12 years old.

Q:7. Waqala kanjani ukuhlolwa?

How did virginity testing come to yourself?

A: Ngabona ngodadewethu nami ngathanda.

I saw my sister who was tested and I joined.

Q:8. Uye uzizwe unjani uma uyohlolwa?

How do you feel before the testing?

A: Ngisuke ngesaba.

I feel scared.

Q:9. Yini ekwenza usabe.

Why do you feel scared?

A: Ngiye ngizwe kuthiwa abanye boniwa isilwane,
ngizitshela ukuthi nami sizongona.

Other people says that virginity is sometimes destroyed
by evil spirit(utokoloshe),so I fear that it might destroy
mine and then found deflowered.

Q:10. Kufike kwenziweni laphaya?

What is done there?

A: Sifike siyalwe kuqala,sime ulayini,sivunule noma sifike
sivunulile.

We are given advice first, form a line, dress up in
traditional attire or you come with your attire on.

Q:11. Nivunula ini?

What kind of traditonal attire do you wear?

A: Ubuhlalu obusitha ngaphambili. Kuya ngamaqembu.
Ogogo bandlala icansi bahlale nathi sindlalelwe icansi
esizohlololwa kulo.

We wear beaded skirts which shield the front, but it depends on the choice
of the group. The old ladies lay the grass mats on the floor, theirs and ours
to be tested on.

Q:12. Benzenjani uma benihlola?

What do they do when they are testing you?

A: Ulala ubheke phezulu. Bakuvule bakubone.

You lie on your back. They open your thighs and check you.

Q:13. Uma bekuthola ukuthi useyintombi benzenjani?

What do they do if you are still a virgin?

A: Bayakikiza.

They ululate.

Q:14. Bese kwenzekani?

What happens next?

A: Ugcotshwe umcako esiphongweni, udlule uyokhokha isihlanu.

They dab you with white clay on the forehead and you proceed to pay 50c.

Q:15. Siyaphi isihlanu?

What is done with 50c?

A: Ogogo bathenga ngaso insipho yokugeza izandla.

Old ladies buy soap to wash their hands.

Q:16. Uma bekuthola ungasentombi benzenjani?

What do they do if they find that you no longer a virgin?

A: Bakubizela eceleni bathi chaza,batshele nalona enihamba naye.

They talk with you in private, seek explanation and tell the person you came with

Q:17. Niyazithola yini izitifiketi?

Do you get the certificates?

A: Yebo uma, sekuphela unyaka

Yes, at the end of the year. .

Q:18. Kwenziwa umcimbi yini oqondene nokunikwa kwezitifiketi?

Is there any feast or function conducted for the giving of the certificates?

A: Sisuke sizohlolwa bese kubizwa izitifiketi.

We come for the testing as usual then we get the certificates.

Q:19. Kukhona yini othanda ukungitshela khona engingakubuzanga?

Is there anything you want to tell me that I did not ask?

A: Yebo, uma usuno-21 uthola isitifiketi nendebe.

Yes, if you are 21 you get a certificate and a trophy.

S:NAME: Mpumela Nothando(Pe-5)

AGE : 8

DATE : 24 July 2000

DURATION : 18 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION :

Wazalelwa KwaMashu wakhulela khona. Bathathu kubo, intombazane eyodwa nabafana ababili. Ufunda ibanga lesibili KwaMashu.

She was born and raised at KwaMashu. They are three at home, two boys and one girl. She is doing standard two at KwaMashu.

Q:1 Waqala nini ukuhlolwa?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time?

A: Ngino -5 weminyaka.

When I was 5 years old.

Q:2 Bathini kuwe ukuze uqale ukuhlolwa?

How did they tell you that you should be tested?

A: Satshelwa u-Anti ukuthi asibhince amaduku singagqoki lutho ngasenhla siyohlolwa phezulu.

We were told by our Aunt, she said we should bind our bottoms with scalves and leave our breasts bare open, to be tested up there.

Q:3. Nanihlolwa ubani?

Who tested you?

A: Omunye u-Anti nogogo, wathi lo-Anti asimphelezele sahamba sicula iculo elithi “Awe kanjani amabel’ejongosi.

Another Aunt and granny, she said we must accompany her (the Aunt) and we were singing the song “Awe kanjani amabel’ejongosi’ (How did the breasts for a teenager fall)

Q:4. Kwenziwani ngenkathi nifika?

What happened when you arrive there?

A: Abaneminyaka kusuka ku 8 kwathiwa abaye kwenye indlu thina sasala kwenye.

They said that those who were 8 years old and above should go to the other room and we were left in the other.

Q:5. Nanihlolwelaphi?

Where did the testing take place?

A: Endlini eyakhiwe ngothayela, kubekwe ucansi nesiponji, silale sibheke phezulu, basivule imilenze.

In the house made of iron sheets, they put a grass mat
and a sponge, we sleep on our backs and they open our
thighs.

Q:6. Benzenjani uma bethola ukuthi uyintombi?

What do they do if they find that you are still a virgin?

A: Ubona ngokuthi bakufake ichashaza elimhlophe,uma
ungentombi ufakwa elibomvu.

They dab you with a white clay, if you are no longer a
virgin they dab you with a red clay.

Q:7 Kuba njani uma usulele ubheke phezulu awuphoxeki
yini?

How do you feel when you lie on your back don't you
feel ashamed?

A: Cha, kodwa abanye babesaba bephushela mina phambili ukuze ngihlolwe
kuqala.

No, I don't, but others were scared and they pushed me forward to be
tested first.

Q:8 Niyazithola yini izitifiketi?

Do you get certificates?

A: Kwathiwa sozithola eTehuis uma sesino 9 years.

They said we would get them in Tehuis when we turn 9 years old.

Q:9 Basuke bekhona yini abazali? Do the parents usually present during testing?

A: Okokuqala babengekho, muva babekhona.

In the first instance they were not present but on the second time they were there.

Q:10 Niyakhokha yini?

Do you pay?

A: Cha sikhokha u R5 wokugibela uma sizoya eTehuis.

No, we pay only R5 for transport when we go to Tehuis.

Q:11 Nihlolwa nini?

How frequent is the testing done?

A: Sasihlolwa njalo ntambama kuze kube uLwesihlanu.

We used to be tested from Monday to Friday.

6NAME :Ndlovu Nosipho (Pe-6)

AGE :12

DATE :25 July 2000

DURATION :15 minutes

Wazalelwa KwaMashu wakhulela khona. Babili kwabo. Bangamantonibazane bobabili uhlala nabazali bobabili. Uyena yedwa ohlolwayo ngoba udadewabo useneminyaka emithathu. Ufunda ibanga lesibili eMbilo.

She was born and raised at KwaMashu. They are two at home, and they are both girls. She is staying with both parents and they are married. She is only one who is being tested, as her sister is three years old. She is doing standard two at Umbilo.

Q:1 Waqala nini ukuhlolwa?

How old were you when you were tested for the first time.

A: Ngaqala ngino 11 years.

I was eleven years old.

Q:2 Ubani okuhlolayo?

Who tests you?

A: Omunye umama.

Other mummy.

Q:3 Watshelwa ngubani ukuthi kumele uyohlolwa?

Who told you that you must go for virginity testing?

A: Omunye umama ohlala ngasekhaya.

Another mummy who stays nearby my home.

Q:4 Nihlolelwaphi?

Where is the testing done?

A: E Tehuis.

At Tehuis.

Q:5 Nihlolwa nini?

How frequent is the testing done?

A: Njalo ngenyanga ngoLwesihlanu noma NgoMgqibelo.

Once a month on Fridays or Saturdays.

Q:6 Nihlolelwa endaweni enjani?

On what type of a place is the testing done?

A: Sihlolelwa egroundini endaweni eqondile.

It is done on a straight ground in a sport ground.

Q:7 Kwendlalwani?

What do they put on the floor?

A: Icansi.

They put a grass mat.

Q:8 Banihlola kanjani?

How do they test you?

A: Sikhumula izigege namaphenti

We take off our attire and panties.

Q:9 Zinjani izigege zenu?

How do your attire (izigege) look like?

A: Kukhona ezimhlophe nezimnyama.

Others are black and others are white in colour.

Q:10 Bese nenzenjani?

What happens next?

A: Sima umugqa, silale phansi sivule imilenze.

We form a line, lie down one by one and we open ourselves.

Q:11 Uma bethola ukuthi uyintombi benzenjani?

What do they do if they find that you are still a virgin?

A: Okuhlolayo uthi "yintombi le" bese bekikiza bese uyogcotshwa umcako esiphongweni.

The testor announce to the others that "this is a virgin (yintombi le)" then the others ululate then you are dabbed with clay on the forehead.

Q:12 Nikhokhani?

What do you pay?

A: Isihlanu.

We pay 50c.

Q:13 Ongasentombi wenziwani?

What do they do with a non-virgin?

A: Bayamishela akhale.

They tell her and then she cries.

Q:14 Nisuke nihamba nobani?

Who accompanies you when you go for testing?

A: Nenye intombazane endala, sihamba ngekhumbi
sikhokha u R7.50c.

Another older girl and we hire a taxi and pay R7.50c.
each.

Q:15 Niyanikwa yini ukudla?

Do they give you food?

A: Siyaziphathela ukudla.

We bring our own.

Q:16 Niyazithola yini izitifiketi?

Do you get certificates?

A: Sizithola kanye ngonyaka, zibhalwe uNomkhubulwane, sizikhokhela uR5.

We get them once a year and they have the writing
“UNomkhubulwane” on them, and we pay R5.

(iii) NON-PARTICIPANT (Pro)

I NAME :Khumalo Nomthimba

AGE :41

DATE :04 September

DURATION :18 minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Wazalelwa KwaMaphumulo wasuka esezofunda KwaMashu wagcina ebangeni lesishiyagalolunye. Ushadele kwaKhumalo. Unezingane ezimbili eyokuqala inebanga leshumi eyesibili isafunda amabanga aphansi. Akasebenzi.

She was born and raised in Maphumulo district. She moved to KwaMashu to attend school. She passed STD 8. She is married with two children. The first one has passed STD 10 and the second one is still in lower classes. She is not working.

Q:1 Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

How did you hear about virginity testing?

A: Bekwenziwa ngakithi KwaMaphumulo.

It has been practised in my area which is Maphumulo district.

Q:2 Kwakuhlolelwani kuqala?

Why was virginity testing done in the past?

A: Kwakuyigugu ukuthi umuntu agcine ubuntombi bakhe.

Kwakuyigugu nokuba umnumzane abe nezinkomo

eziningi, ngakho uma umuntu eyintombi beziphelela
ezamabheka zibe yishumi nanye ngomqholiso.

It was a pride for a girl to keep virginity. It was a pride
to have many cattle, so if a girl was a virgin lobola was
paid in full including the eleventh cow (umqholiso)

Q:3 Kuhlolwani manje?

Why is virginity testing done currently?

A: Inculaza ibhokile, kuvikwa yona.

To avoid HIV/Aids.

Q:4 Wake wahlolwa yini wena?

Have you been tested before?

A: Cha angikaze ngihlolwe.

No, I have never been tested.

Q:5 Yini ungahlolwanga?

Why were you not tested?

A; Kwakuhlolwa umuntu oseqomile noma uma izintombi
zithukiwe. Sengiqomile ngase ngifunda KwaMashu.

Only a girl who has chosen a future husband was tested
or if the girls were insulted. When I had chosen a future husband I
was schooling at KwaMashu.

Q:6 Kwakwenziwa njani uma umuntu bethola ukuthi useyintombi? What did they do if they find that the girl was still a virgin?

A: Babekikiza, agcotshwe okumhlophe esiphongweni ayalwe.
They used to ululate and they dab a girl with white clay on the head, advise the girl.

Q:7 Babenzenjani uma engasentombi? What did they if the girl was no longer a virgin?

A: Babemphimisela ngamathe, abizwe ngomfazi. Abakubo bakhophe izinkomo ezimbili eyenkosi neyokugeza izintombi.

They use to spit on her, call her umfazi, the parents pay a penalty of two cows one for the king and one to cleanse the girls.

Q:8 Zazigezwa kanjani izintombi?
How did they cleanse the girls?

A: Zazivuka ekuseni ziye emfuleni ziyogeza ngomswani kanye nohlamvu olumhlophe lobuhlalu noma imali.

They woke up early in the morning to cleanse themselves in the river with the waste from tripe (umswani) and one bead or money coin.

Q:9 Yimuphi umehluko owubonayo ekuhloleni kwamanje
nokwakudala?

What difference do you notice in the testing of the past and of the present?

A: Wukuthi sekuhlolwa izingane ezincane kakhulu.
Nabahlolayo sekuba abantu abasebasha kanti kwakuhlola
abantu abangasayi esikhathini.

It is the testing of very young girls. Even the testors are very young
whereas before the testors were people who has reached menopause.

2 NAME :Maphumulo Mlamuli

AGE :40

DATE :17 August 2000

DURATION : 18 minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Wazalelwa wakhulela KwaMaphumulo, weza eThekwini ngokufunda wacina ebangeni lesithupha. Usebenza itoho enkampanini ekhiqiza inyama. Unezingane eziyisihlanu.

He was born and raised at Maphumulo district. He moved to KwaMashu for educational purposes. The highest standard he passed was standard six. He is temporary worker in a meat-production company. He got five children.

Q:1 Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlola kwezintombi?

Who introduce you to ukuhlola kwezintombi (virginity testing)?

A: Bekwenziwa kakhulu ngakithi kwaMaphumulo sekubuye kakhulu futhi manje.

It has been done in my rural area which is in Maphumulo district and it has come back in full force again.

Q:2 Kwakuhlolwe lani kuqala?

Why was ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing) practised in the past?

A: Ukuze ulobole intombi ephelele, nawe mzali wengane udle ngengane yakho.

So that you pay lobola for a full girl, and the parents of a girl get something with their daughter.

Q:3 Kuhlolwelwani manje?

Why is ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing) practised presently?

A: Kubuyiswa isiko lakudala, nokuthi ke izwe selonakele, intsha iyadlwengulwa.

To bring back the traditional custom of the past and that the word is ruined and the youth is raped.

Q:4 Uyayithanda yini lento yokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

Do you like the idea of virginity testing?

A: Yebo.

Yes.

Q:5 Uyithandelani?

Why do you like it?

A: Ukuthi uke ushele intombi uthi iyintombi kanti
yonakele.

Because you sometimes propose to a woman thinking
that she is still a virgin but is not.

Q:6 Kwakuba namthelela muni uma ingane itholakale
ingasentombi esidimeni somnumzane wekhaya
nomphakathi?

If a girl was found not to be a virgin, did it affect the
status of the father and the community.

A: Wayephatheka kabi kodwa kwakungasehlisi isithunzi
somnumzane wekhaya nomphakathi.

He felt bad, but it didn't affect his dignity and the status
of the community.

Q:7 Uthini ngengculaza nokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

What do you think about virginity testing and HIV/Aids?

A: Akulekeleli uma umuntu ezalwe nayo ingculaza, kodwa
kulonda ubuntombi kuphela.

It doesn't help if a child is born with HIV/Aids, but it
restores virginity only.

Q:8 Ucabanga ukuthi laba abahlolayo manje banolwazi
olwanele yini?

Do you think the present testers have enough knowledge.

A: Labo abakhula lento yenziwa kubo banalo ulwazi.

Those that the ritual was done to them have enough knowledge.

Q:9 Kwenzekani uma bethola ukuthi intombazane
iseyintombi?

What happens if they find that the girl is no longer a virgin?

A: Ukuhlolwa kwenza abazali bomfana bakhokhe benelisekile ngoba inkomo
kanina ayiphumi uma engasentombi.

Virginity testing helps the groom's side to pay with open
hearts because the eleventh cow is not paid if a girl is
found not to be a virgin.

3 NAME :Memela Thembu

AGE :45

DATE :04 September 2000

DURATION :14 minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Wazalelwa eMlazi wakhulela khona. Weza lapha KwaMashu ngokuzogana.

Unezingane ezine, amantombazane odwa. Ziyafunda zonke. Usebenza

ekuhlizeni umgwaqo enkampanini yakwa NDC.

She was born and raised at Umlazi she came to KwaMashu for marriage. She has four children. All of them are girls. They are all attending school. She is working under NDC as an area cleaner.

Q:1 Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

Who introduced you to virginity testing?

A: Kwakungenziwa ngakithi kodwa sekwandile lapha edolobheni.

It wasn't done where I used to live but it is widespread here in town.

Q:2. Kwakuhlololwani kuqala?

Why was virginity testing done in the past ?

A: Ukuze izintombi zigcine ubuntombi bazo.

So that girls could restore their virginity.

Q:3. Kuhlololwani manje ?

Why is virginity testing practiced presently ?

A: Kuzanywa ukuthi kubuyelwe emasikweni.

We are trying to go back to our culture.

Q:4. Ungathanda yini ukuba ingane yakho ihlolwe?

Would you like your daughter to be tested?

A: Yebo ngingathanda ngoba sekwande nezifo eziningi, kanti abafana abashadi namantombazane abasuke bewonise ubuntombi bawo.

Yes, I would like because there are many diseases and the boys do not marry the girls whose virginity they destroyed.

Q:5 Wake wahlolwa wena?

Have you been tested before?

A: Cha angikaze. Kodwa sengake ngaya ukobuka Kwa Mashu lapho kuhlolwa.

No, but I have seen in KwaMashu where virginity testing was done.

Q:6 Benze njani uma ingane isaphila?

What do they do if the girl is still pure?

A: Bayishaya kancane ethangeni, bakikize omama ababukelayo.

They pat her on the thighs and other ladies ululate.

Q:7 Uma ingasentombi benzenjani?

If she is no longer a virgin what do they do?

A: Abasho kumuntu ukuthi akasentombi, ababezisola babezitshela ukuthi azingasenzisi izinsipho ezinamakhemikhali nokuba bayobona udokotela.

They didn't say to anyone that she is no longer a virgin, those that they were doubting they told them not to use chemical soaps and they should see the doctor.

Q:8 Wakubuka kanjani lokhu kwenza kwabo?

How did you see this?

A: Ngabona sengathi bayasaba ukuphumela obala.

I thought they were afraid to speak the truth.

(iv) NON-PARTICIPANTS: AGAINST VIRGINITY TESTING (Na)

I. NAME :Busani Khosi (Na-1)

AGE :44

DATE :9 August 2000

DURATION :12 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa eNanda weza KwaMashu ngokuzogana. Unezingane ezimbili umfana nentombazane. Endala intombazane isifundela umsebenzi. Encane yomfana ifunda ibanga lesine. Usebenza njengoNompilo. Umyeni wakhe unguthisha nhloko kwesinye sezikole eNdwedwe.

She was born at Inanda, she came to KwaMashu for marriage. She has two children, the girl and the boy. The older daughter is trained for employment. Her son is doing standard four. She is working as health advisor. Her husband is a principal in one of the Indwedwe schools.

Q:1. Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

How did you about virginity testing?

A: Ngezwa ngomakhelwane wami ongaphesheya ethi ingane yakhe iyahlolwa.

I was told by my neighbour on the other side of the road that her child goes for virginity testing.

Q:2. Uma ucabanga kwakuhlolwelani kuqala?

Why was virginity testing done in the olden days?

A: Ukuze abasemzini bakhokhe izinkomo eziphelele.

So that the groom's side should pay full lobola .

Q:3. Uma ucabanga kwenziwe lani manje?

According to your understanding why is it presently done?

A: Angazi, kudlalwa ngezingane?

I don't know, they are abusing children.

Q:4 Benzenjani abahlolayo uma bethola ukuthi ohlolwayo akasentombi?

What do the testers do if they find that the girl is already deflowered?

A: Bayaziphoxa izingane, abanye bebe bengakwazi ukuhlola.

They embarrass the testees and yet others do not know how to do it properly.

Q:5 Benzenjani uma bethola ukuthi intombazane iseyintombi?

What do they do if they find that the girl is still a virgin?

A: Zithola izitifiketi ezenza kuze nosikhotheni bese ziyadlwengulwa izingane.

They get certificates which invites the criminals to rape them.

Q:6 Kunamthelela muni ukuba yintombi nto nokungabi yiyo emndenini wayo nasemphakathini?

What effect does virginity have on the status of a girl's family and community?

A: Uma iyintombi lokho kuyilethela abadlwenguli, kanti uma itholakala ingaseyiyona iyahlambalazeka kanye nomndeni wayo.

If the girl is found a virgin it invites the criminals automatically to rape the girl, and when she is found not to be a virgin she embarrassed and her family.

Q:7 Ungathanda yini ukuthi ingane yakho ihlolwe?

Would you like your daughter to be tested?

A: Cha.

No.

2. NAME :Gumenke Nonhlanhla (Na-2)

AGE :41

DATE :30 August 2000

DURATION : 20 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Wazalelwa wakhulela KwaMashu. Unezingane ezine ezingabafana bodwa.

Usebenza enkampanini yokuthunga.

She was born and raised at KwaMashu. She has got four children, all of them are boys. She is working in the clothing industry.

Q:1. Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

How did you hear about virginity testing?

A: Ngiyengizwe emsebenzini bekhuluma ngakho.

I usually hear at work when they talk about it.

Q:2. Zazihlolelwani izintombi kuqala?

Why was the virginity testing done in the past?

A: Kuqala kwakuyigugu ukuba yintombi nto.

In the past it was a pride to be a virgin.

Q:3. Kuhlolelwani manje?

Why is virginity testing practiced presently?

A: Bathi bavuselela amasiko.

They say they are reviving traditional rituals.

Q:4. Yini wena ungazange uhlolwe?

Why did you not have this test?

A: Kwakungenziwa esigcemeni sangakithi KwaMashu.

It wasn't practiced in my section at KwaMashu.

Q:5 Ungavuma ukuthi ingane yakho ihlolwe?

Would you allow your daughter to be tested.

A: Ngeke ngivume ngoba kubiza ukudlwengulwa. Uma abantu

bazi ukuthi ingane iseyintombi bayayilandela.

I won't allow because it attracts the rapists. When the rapists know that a girl is still a virgin, they follow her.

Q:6. Bezwa ngani abanye abantu ukuthi ingane iyintombi nto?

How do other people hear that the girl is still a virgin?

A: Kuqala kwakuyimfihlo, kodwa manje akuseyiyo, kukhishwa izitifiketi, komagazini nasemsakazweni.

In the past it was confidential, not now. Certificates are issued, appear in magazines and announced in radios.

Q:7. Kunamthelela muni ukuhlolwa entombazaneni?

What effect does virginity testing have on the status of the girl?

A: Umuntu ohlala kakhulu ajabulele ukuthi uyintombi uba nenkinga yokuthola abantwana.

A person who abstains herself from sexual practices for a long time have a problem of getting babies in the future

Q:8. Yikuphi wena okubona ukuthi kungalekelela ekuthini intombazane iziphathe kahle?

What do you think can help to restore a girls virginity besides testing?

A: Kumele intombazane uyitshale ngomlomo uyiyale.

A girl must be just told how to behave.

Q:9. Yisiphi isikhathi obona ukuthi intombazane ingaqoma ngaso ihlangane nowesilisa?

When do you think a girl is ready to have a partner and to engage in sexual practices.

A: U 25 years.

From 25 years.

Q:10. Ubuntombi nto bunamuthelela muni elobolweni?

What effect does virginity have on the lobola of a girl?

A: Vele manje ilobola aliseyona into ephambili, futhi umfana manje uzishaya zonke noma ngabe uyithole ingase ntombi.

Nowadays lobola is not a priority, nowadays a groom pays in full even if a girl is no longer a virgin.

Q:11. Kunamthelela muni ukuhlolwa emndenini wentombazane nasemphakathini?

What effect does virginity have on the status of a girl's family and community?

A: Abanye bayayifeyilisa intombazane noma iyintombi nto.

Others claim a girl not to be a virgin even she is still is.

3. NAME :Mdletshe Gugu (Na-3)

AGE :39

DATE :29 August 2000

DURATION :18 Minutes

BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

Wazalelwa eNtuzuma KwaMashu wakhulela khona. Wakhuliswa udadewabo kamama wakhe kanye nomyeni wakhe. Uneziqu zobuthisha. Izingane zakhe zifunda ezikoleni ezixube izinhlanga.

She was born and raised at Ntuzuma Township in KwaMashu district. She was raised by a mother's sister and her husband. She has a teacher's diploma. Her kids are attending in multiracial schools.

Q:1. Wezwa kanjani ngokuhlolwa kwezintombi?

Who introduced you to ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing).

A: Ngezwa ngomakaMaphindi Cele ukuthi angilethe oAndile ngoba noMaphindi uyahlolwa.

I was told by Maphindi Cele's mother who told me to bring Andile and her sisters for virginity testing.

Q:2. Kwakwenziwelani ukuhlolwa kwezintombi kuqala?

Why was ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing) practised in the past?

A: Kwakusekhona izinkomo, igugu kuwukuthola izinkomo eziningi.

There were cows, the big pride of a Zulu person was to get many cows.

Q:3. Kwenziwelani ukuhlolwa kwezintombi manje?

Why is ukuhlolwa kwezintombi (virginity testing) practised presently?

A: Bathi bahlolela ingculaza.

They say that they are doing it for HIV/Aids purposes.

Q:4. Ungathanda yini wena ukuthi ingane yakho ihlolwe?

Would you like your girl to be tested?

A: Ngeke ngithande ngoba abahloli bamanje abanalo ulwazi olugcwele, bangathi ingane akuseyiyo intombi egcwele kanti iyiyo.

I don't like my daughter to be tested because present testors lack adequate testing knowledge, they might say the girl is no longer a virgin even if she is.

Q:5. Yini ekwenza ungahambisani nokuhlolwa?

Why are you against virginity testing?

A: Izingane ezikoleni ziyafundiswa ngamalungelo okungavezi ezingathandi ukukuveza. Ukuhlolwa kulwa namalungelo azo.

The kids at school are told about their right of privacy, so virginity testing violate their rights.

Q:6. Kunamthelela muni ukuhlolwa esithunzini sentombazane?

What effect does virginity have on the status of the girl?

A: Ingane edlwenguliwe iba nenkinga uma izophoqwa ukuba iye kohlolwa ngoba ijeziseka ngephutha okungesilo elayo.

Virginity testing is problematic to a girl who has been raped because the girl is punished for a mistake that she did not commit.

Q:7. Kunamthelela muni ukuhlolwa kwentombazane emndenini wayo nasemphakathini?

What effect does virginity testing have on the status of a girl's family and community?

A: Kukhona abangakwazi ukuhlola, isikhathi ingane ingaba nedischarge ngoba igula kuthiwa ayiziphethe kahle lokho kujivaza isithunzi somndeni nomphakathi.

As testors of nowadays lack sufficient knowledge, if a girl is having a discharge because of illness, they might claim that a girl is no longer a virgin and that lowers the dignity of the family as well as the community.

Q:8. Kukhona okunye othanda ukungitshela khona
engingakubuzanga?

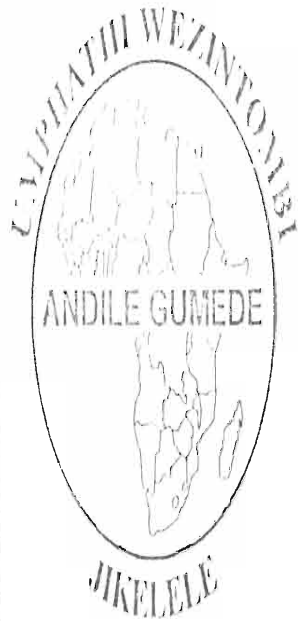
Is there anything you would like to add which I didn't ask?

A: Enye ingane la ngakwami yakhulelwa kade ihlolwa, kungakaze
kuthiwe ayiyo intombi.

A girl for my neighbour became pregnant after being tested and she had
never claimed to be non-virgin.

APPENDIX B

CERTIFICATE



Nomkhubulwana

Isitifiketi / Certificate

Lokhu Kuqinisekisa Ukuthi U / This is to certify that



Wahlolwa Mhla zingu / Tested on

WATHOLAKALA ESEYINTOMBI NTO / FOUND TO BE A VIRGIN

Eneminyaka e wu / At the age of



ISIVIVANE SAMASHIKO NOLVAZI



P.O. BOX 3711
MOUNT MORIAH
4051

TEL: (031) 567 1002
FAX: (031) 567 1002
CELL: 082 972 3111

Isayindwe Ngu / Signed By

*MAP OF
KWAMASHU*

