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Struggles of women to get to the leadership positions in South Africa

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Master in International Studies M.Sc.

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Resumo

Esta tese investiga as lutas das mulheres por posições de liderança, centrando-se numa barreira social visível na vida quotidiana. Enfoca a viagem das mulheres desde a era do apartheid até aos dias de hoje, utilizando a África do Sul como exemplo, ao mesmo tempo que destaca uma posição das mulheres e a sua assistência na luta do país pela democracia e pela mudança.

Além disso, esta dissertação investiga se a sua luta contra o regime e por um amanhã melhor teve impacto na sua situação actual e como a África do Sul passou a ser um dos únicos 11 países do mundo com uma governação equilibrada em termos de género. Durante demasiado tempo, as mulheres foram invisíveis nos meios de comunicação social, um facto que mudou ao longo do tempo e deu visibilidade às vozes indomadas e importantes das mulheres. A dissertação centra-se em lutas visíveis como a desigualdade, a poligamia, a falta de acesso à educação, o VIH, e as tradições e tabus Ukuthwala, que afectam a sua posição na sociedade e a forma como prosperam. A dissertação incorpora entrevistas digitais e escritas com líderes femininas.

Palavras chave: África do Sul, lutas de mulheres, apartheid, liderança feminina, desigualdade

Abstract

This thesis explores women's struggles for leadership positions, focusing on a visible social barrier in everyday life. It follows the journey of women from the apartheid era to the present day, using South Africa as an example, while also highlighting a position of women and their assistance in the country's struggle for democracy and change.

Furthermore, this dissertation investigates whether their struggle against the regime and for a better tomorrow has had an impact on their current situation and how South Africa has come to be one of only 11 countries in the world with gender-balanced governance. For far too long, women were invisible in the media, a fact that has changed over time and has given visibility to women's untamed and important voices. The dissertation focuses on visible struggles such as inequality, polygamy, lack of access to education, HIV, and Ukuthwala traditions and taboos, all of which affect their position in society and how they thrive, by incorporating digital and written interviews with female leaders.

Key words: South Africa, women struggles, apartheid, women leadership, inequality

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
PAN	Pan Africanist Congress
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
SACP	South African Communist Party
NACOSA	Networking HIV & AIDS Community of Southern Africa NPC
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
GEM	Global Entrepreneurship Monitor
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WEF	The World Economic Forum
GGGI	Global Green Growth Institute
MEP	Model European Parliament
SAPS	South African Police Service

1. Introduction

Human beings differ from each other because of many reasons, ranging from age, social orientation, norms, cultures, language and gender. Their main denominator is the difference in equality and parity. My paper will focus on these in the case of gender, analyzing the case of South Africa. South Africa is a country at the southern tip of the continent where some of the first human remains were found. Caused by colonization and the subsequent racial divide resulting from apartheid the country is remarkably diverse in case of race. It is inhabited by four different broad groups: 80.9% Black African, 8.8% Colored, 7.8% White and 2.5% Indian/Asian (2018) and 11 official languages are used. With incredible changes in the history, that have brought it to a place where it has one of the top 3 economies on the continent from 2019 (South Africa, 2022). A country full of rotation and diversity that took place over the years.

In my work, I focus on the situation of women in this African country. This issue is very relevant, because South Africa made major improvements in the case of changes for human rights and, what I am interested in the most, women rights and their growth. This country struggled for decades with its colonial past, race discrimination and white supremacy. It is very puzzling how this nation stood up from its knees and was able to build a strong democracy at a similar level with western countries nowadays. According to statistics made by the Freedom House Organisation, responsible of spreading the awareness about democracy and freedom around the world. In the case of Global Freedom, South Africa has a status 79 out of 100. With a score 33 out of 40 in Political Rights and 46 out of 60 in Civil Liberties. In comparison to most African countries with a score 10/20 out of 100 and the USA scoring 83 out of 100 (Freedom House, 2022). The South African government made such an improvement that currently, South Africa, is in the 9th place in case of women political representatives in the world. (South Africa, Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2022). However, they are still struggling with many obstacles related to gender, such as polygamy, race discrimination, HIV, lack of access to education, rape and taboos. These problems are backed by many years of research done by important institutions and researchers.

Since 1994, South Africa has been struggling mainly with problems such as overt discrimination, domestic violence, sexual and gender-based violence, which has one of the

highest rates in the country (INTERPOL, 2020; Walker 2013). Another problem is, the spread of HIV, infant and maternal mortality, including the homicide rate of women, which is six times higher than the national average (Jawkes & Morrell, 2010), that has an influence on their education. Pregnant young women are not allowed to join classes at schools, most of the time they are forced to stay at home and take care of their family, which takes away from a path of development and of a better future. Connected with that is a phenomenon called Ukuthwala, which I believe is essential in my research. This tradition relates to women abduction and rape, it is a problem which started a long time ago and has continued till nowadays. Women from villages are kidnapped by men and forced to marry them. Often during this process, they are victims of sexual and physical abuse. Another important aspect is the lack of access to education, which comes from the responsibility put on girls to become mothers and extend their family line. During pregnancy women are not allowed to join classes and most of them at this point drop their educational efforts and never go back to them later on (Karimakwenda, 2022; Chignon, Chetty,

In my research I intend to show how these issues that have had a long history are barriers to women's development nowadays. What the studies covered already and what is still missing. How these obstacles relate to each other and how improvements to overcome them are significant for the future of South Africa and its society. But also, to show the problem which women were struggling with during apartheid times and analyze if their work and action had any significant impact. It is especially important to mention that women's political commitment, action and fight for a better tomorrow was neglected and ignored in historical texts. Admired and reported on the achievements were mostly men, which comes from the fact that South Africa is strongly patriarchal. However, this has changed over the years. Currently, we have access to a wealth of works and research confirming the indomitable toil that women have endured in fighting for their country and future generations.

It is important to mention that during the work on my research, I was questioning my decision about writing what kind of struggles women face in South Africa. It happened when I heard one of the inspirational women I am writing about, Joanne Fedler. She questions her humanitarian work and action for others. During one of the conferences, one of the people for whom she was preparing a project to help in areas such as violence and rape made her understand that she really has no idea what women need, and she will not have it because she

is not able to put herself in their shoes and have an idea of what they really need. That made me question: Am I a proper person to even touch this topic? Am I objective enough to not look at struggles women face in South Africa from my “white perspective” `? When I was doing my research for my bachelor's degree, after I finished volunteering in SOS villages in Vietnam, I felt like after what I experienced, I have a story to tell. My perspective on issues I was surrounded by. I felt less biased. In this work I am trying to always look at the origin of my research to get the local approach and perspective of people who went through it. But is that enough?

The way in which I divided the dissertation and chapters is as follows. I split it into 10 chapters. Beginning with a brief introduction, the definition of my research problem, objectives and methodology. Then I devoted chapters 3 and 4 to an analysis of South Africa and its historical background. The changes that occurred during apartheid and what the situation was like in the country, in the so-called New South Africa. The topics detailed in this part of the work focus on the situation of women, which I later continue in Chapter 5, focusing on the barriers that accompany women in leadership positions in the country during changes. Their struggle and steadfastness have led to changes for the better. In Chapter 6, I take a closer look at the five main problems facing women in the country nowadays. Such as lack of equality, which can be visible in all the aspects of women's life, starting at home and following work and daily life, for example, in the decision of having many partners. Polygamy in South Africa is still accepted for man and allowed them to have many partners, women do not have the same right. Later on I bring closer another huge problem, HIV. It is related to many issues such as health, lack of education and treatment of women as an object, what leads to rape. Is faced by all populations in the country, but women are the main victims of it. According to INTERPOL, the probability that young women in South Africa will learn how to read is smaller than that they will be raped (INTERPOL, 2020). I continue my work with the tradition of the country, Ukuthvala, which consists in the fact that the future husband kidnaps his future wife. This tradition has survived to this day, but is practiced in a different form, as I will write in detail in Chapter 6. The last issue is education, or rather problems that young girls struggle with at school. How they are culturally forced to shift school in favor of motherhood, and the taboo that continues to this day that prevents women from developing. Creating obstacles in the field of sexuality, decision-making about the immediate issues such

as the choice of food or clothing. In the following section I write about the current position of women in society and important female figures. Chapter 8 is devoted to important women's voices nowadays, which can be followed for the next generation. I conclude my work in Chapter 9 and present the literature I used in Chapter 10.

2. Research plan and methods

In my work I would like to focus on two main questions of my research. The first one is about the kind of struggle women face in South Africa to get to leadership positions. Secondly, did women's struggle for democracy during apartheid affect their current situation in society? And if so, how has it affected them? The main themes are the oppression, discrimination, inequality, fight for rights and equality, organizations, apartheid, women leadership, HIV, polygamy, women struggles, education and taboos. My two research objectives are to explore the impact of women's struggles, such as: lack of equality, access to education, polygamy, HIV, Ukuthvala tradition, rape and taboos and find the influence of these obstacles on their current situation and leadership positions. And the second one to explore the influence of apartheid era and fight for democracy in South Africa on women's situation nowadays, by going through the history, changes and thresholds women were facing out on their way.

In order to make my research complete and interesting I wanted to make contact with important women leaders, but unfortunately this proved impossible. To answer my research questions about kinds of struggles women face in South Africa to get to the leadership positions and how the women fight for democracy during the apartheid influence their current situation in the society. I started from analyzing the background of apartheid time, the fight for democracy, changes in the laws and development on women rights. Then I continue with understanding the background and see how it influences the current women situation. Also, how women worked to place their country on the 9th position with the biggest women political representation in the world while living in a strongly patriarchal society. By using reports from various sources, I outlined the five main struggles women face and how they fight them. Most of the problems are visible in everyday life, caused by the still strong inequality, but also by the huge spread of HIV, male violence, infant and maternal mortality and daily visible discrimination at home and at work. The existing tradition discriminates against women on many levels, such as Ukuthvala, but also the lack of access to proper education for women and the taboos that still exist. There are many reasons why I found this topic very important to spread awareness and remove obstacles to women's development and

equality. Additionally, because South Africa is a country where there is a huge gap between institutional/governmental action and social support (Walker, 2013).

The most crucial and relevant way to make my research more comprehensive is interviewing people who know the most about the topic. Finding the right person who knows about the subject from their own experience will let me gather the information, which I am not able to get from the literature. But also will make my research more developed and help my work to be unique. It may look like the methodology and my main idea of interviewing important women leaders is an easy case. Unfortunately, it was a hard nut to crack. The process of searching for interesting persons and institutions working with women rights struggles in South Africa started in December 2021. One of the first organizations I was interested in was the SONKE Gender Justice, whose aim is to combat patriarchy but also work on gender equality and gender transformation. Its head office is located in Cape Town, South Africa. I have read with admiration their work and what they have achieved so far and have therefore been very interested in getting in touch with them. I tried to reach through their website, many different email addresses, LinkedIn and Facebook. Unfortunately, I never get any response.

The next organization I attempted to ask questions to was the Whole World Women's Association, based in Salt River Cape Town. In this case I did not get a response either. My other attempt was to contact the Women's Empowerment Foundation for Southern Africa (WEFSA), whose CEO is Edinah Masanga. The aim of this organization is to give marginalized women a voice and to facilitate access to basic information to improve their daily lives. The organization works in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Unfortunately, again I got no feedback. The last organization I intended to make contact with was Thuthuzela Care Center and their Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, also the same situation with no replies happened. My last idea was the embassy of South Africa in Lisbon. However, in the end I needed to change my approach to the interviews and that is the reason I decided to look for a solution in a different way. I started searching the internet for interviews with important activists and voices of change. And that is how I found these amazing leaders: the first one was unbreakable in her action, Winnie Mandela. Then the only living women's aid worker in the fight against apartheid and organizer of the march to Union Buildings in 1956, Sophia Theresa Williams-De Bruyn. Despite her 84 years and many contributions to the country, she

is still actively working. After that, the Panache Chigumadzi, the young and strong voice for our generation, the founder of the Vanguard magazine which gives women a space to express themselves. Later on is Jessica Mbangeni, a singer whose work reaches out to a wide audience. She touches on important topics about changes in the country and women's problems through music and songs, which also allows her to reach less educated and forgotten social groups, who may not read history books and newspapers, but listen to or sing songs.

In my work I am also analyzing the project called “Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women”, which includes interviews with 24 important voices of South Africa. All the stories were very interesting, but I chose 5 women whose statements seem to be the most relevant to my thesis. I decided to write and analyze their work on the basis of the interviews conducted as part of this project. But also used available literature, films, Tedx speeches or lectures.

The first woman, from the group of interviewees, who made me wonder if I could write this paper since I am historically and geographically so far away from the topic, was Joanne Fedler, legal advisor to a women's rights organization. Then the supporter of domestic violence survivors, Jeanette Sera. After that the woman who was raised in a very conservative white supremacy supporting family, who for the rest of her life worked in the office for Nelson Mandela, Zelda La Grange. A person who proved in a bit different way that changed into understanding others is possible even if our background was so divergent. The last woman of the program is the granddaughter of Winnie, Zoleka Mandela. She is a voice for the sexual abused victims and the cancer awareness ambassador. Despite these five inspiring women, which moved me the most in that project. I found two more relevant voices outside of this project, Nokwanele Mbewu who directs the Mentor Mother Program of the Philani Maternal Child Health and Nutrition Trust. She helps women to achieve a standard that allows them to be independent and take care of themselves.

In chapter 6 I am bringing closer the problem women face with HIV. I am analyzing the documentary called “Through Our eyes” Women’s Perspective on HIV and Life in South Africa.”. In this documentary, six women are sharing their stories about the gender and cultural norms, the violence against women and all other aspect connected to HIV risk. I analyze the interviews made with them, their perspective and struggles they face. In addition, to support

and explore the research on the Ukuthwala tradition, I have used a documentary based on interviews with victims of this practice and chiefs of the village, called Ukuthwala- Marriage by Abduction. I chose these two documentaries, because after the research I found out that both of documentaries combine different perspective. The varied data and diverse points of views: perspective of man and women, in different age, social class, experience, education or informations repeated from generations to generations, which despite the differences, surprisingly end up concluding similar statements. Additionally, after going through many interviews and materials I used these, which combines different women, with different stories, who by using diverse tools were working or still continue to work for better tomorrow of their country.

3. The historical background of apartheid

From the beginning of African continent history, we can notice conflicts on many levels between tribes, cities, governments, and between women and men. Most of the conflicts were connected with women discrimination and oppression (Hutson, 2007). In the pre-colonial period, women had a higher status and authority in South Africa, as they were the main agricultural producers. That has changed when commercial agriculture was established, and farming stopped being so important (Baden, 1993). Women had much more control at work and in everyday life. They decided about themselves and their bodies. They were active in the public and political spheres. Equipped with social respect by performing such roles as fortune tellers, prophets or princesses and officials. There was no division of labor between men and women, which gave women complete freedom to choose their profession. In the case of gender perspective, women were situated clearly better in their social and cultural position. They had much more freedom and were in charge of themselves, were treated on a par with men and often even more respected.

The situation changed with the arrival of colonizers imposing their organized religions and dogmas on the African continent. They introduced patriarchal rule, and women, who opposed the dominant religion, were accused of practicing witchcraft, which further alienated them from public life, overshadowing them (Ogbomo, 2005).

In the early 20th century, all African territories and independent states were conquered, depriving aborigines of their rights and placing them under the control of white settlers. Two events were significant: the first was the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1867, and the second was a discovery of gold at Witwatersrand in 1886, which influenced not only the local population but also the economic development of South Africa (SAHO, 2022).

Another major event in history was the Anglo-Boer War, also known as the South African War. It lasted from 1899 to 1902. During this war, the Africans sided with the British, hoping to bring the change after the victory of the war. The British reconciled with the Boers and did not listen to the requests and demands of the Africans. They formed a new government in 1910 called the Union of South Africa, consisting of Transvaal, Natal, Orange and Cape Colony. The law has been bestowed by the white population, who have imposed

other laws that discriminate against the black population. This influenced organizations of the dark-skinned society to fight for their rights. This situation affected the uprising of The South African Indigenous National Congress in 1912 (renamed the African National Congress in 1923). At this time, it was also the first support and mobilization taken by women, which was continued in 1913 by the Bloemfontein Campaigns against passes. Passes were documents or passports that allowed Africans to move around. The new government expected from them also to renew the passes monthly to prove that they had a “legal” work permit. Out of protest and resistance, women walked to the capital, Bloemfontein, and destroyed their passes in front of the City Council. It resulted in change for the next three decades, when any government did not try to undermine women’s rights by restricting their freedom (PWN, 2022; SAHO, 2022).

However, three decades later, there was a moment that changed the face of South Africa forever. Year 1948, when Apartheid began. It was a so-called system of racial and ethnic separation and was created by white settlers who decided to dominate the African territory. During this time, the African population was forced to become the working class. They worked in mines in developing cities and on farms owned by white settlers. The current government was making the changes gradually. First in 1949 „mixed racial” marriages were banned, and then in 1950 sexual intercourse was banned. If someone was found to break such a law, technically both parties would be punished, but the penalties for dark-skinned women were much different compared to those for white men (Worden, 2012). Additionally, the government once again began requiring women to show passes, which sparked anger and led to South Africa's largest women's demonstration. On 9th of August in 1956, when 20,000 of South African females gathered at the Union Building in Pretoria to protest against passes for black women. That time women organized themselves to fight the regime and presented a petition, calling for the abolition of passes. The petition was signed by 14,000 women. Females responsible for this huge movement are right now honored as leaders of the Women’s March, which is further explored later on. From this movement came one of the most important sentences which left a mark on South African history and shows how important was women's work at this time is „You strike a woman, you strike a rock, you die” (Ogola and Wafula, 2022).

Another key element in the fight against apartheid is the moment when international

organizations, governments of many countries and the public have called for action to stop and end the break of laws that protect the human rights. One of the actions was the UN sanction and the recognition of apartheid for crimes against humanity in 1966. Some of the first negotiations were also undertaken with African National Congress activists in exile. At that time, a significant proportion of whites and Afrikaners did not support and even opposed the granting of political and economic rights to dark-skinned people. Attitudes were radicalized and the slogan "one settler one bullet" had many supporters. Another important moment was the negotiations of the white authorities with the activists of the African National Congress who were in exile. And that influenced changes (Żukowski, 2004).

4. New South Africa

The tension between women's rights and cultural rights, even if they were not a new phenomenon in South Africa, took on a new and special significance in the post-apartheid period. That influenced the political breakthrough, which began with a meeting on February 2 in 1990, at which the new president Friderik Willem de Klerk started work and laid the foundations for building democracy (Walker 2013). His first actions was to endorse the African National Congress (ANC), an organization founded in 1912. Their main mission was to protect and grant rights and freedoms to all Afrikaners, dark-skinned people and mixed races. One of these was to grant voting rights and try to unite them into one nation. This all changed in 1960, when, as a result of the so-called Sharpeville Massacre (a peaceful protest during which police shot 69 people and injured 1,000 dark-skinned civilians), relations between black society and whites deteriorated. After the incident, Charles Robert Swart, then the chief governor, declared the organization illegal and banned it for the next 30 years (African National Congress (ANC); South African History Online, 2022). Another banned organization is Pan African Congress (PAC), a political party that was founded in 1959, one of their activities was to organize protests to abandon passes, to which women contributed greatly. PAC work was also banned by the same incident as the ANC, the Sharpeville peaceful protest. (Pan Africanist Congress (PAC); South African History Online, 2022). The last party freed by Friderik Willem de Klerk is the South African Communist Party (SACP). It was formed in 1921 under the name of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). Their members were mostly white working class. The party collaborated with the ANC and contributed to national liberation in the 1950s (South African Communist Party (SACP); South African History Online, 2022). Besides the liberation of these organizations, he released Nelson Mandela and other political persecuted from prison. In 1991 apartheid legislation was abolished and work began on a new constitution that respected the rights of all (Walker 2013).

Women did not remain in the shadows in the struggle for democracy. In 1990 they began returning to South Africa to take up high political positions and be an active part of the fight and social mobilization again. First example of such women is Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who at the request of the SACP returned to the country to take up a senior position

in the ANC government. Another one is Lindiwe Sisulu, who returned to work for Dr. Jacob Zuma. After that in 1991, three women were elected to the ANC National Executive Committee: Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu and Gill Marcus. Thereafter, Gill Marcus was responsible for the preparations of the elections in 1994. She trained ANC staff, and later accompanied Nelson Mandela on his campaign. The position of the ANCWL chairman was taken by Gertrude Shope. (SAHO,2022)

Later on, in 1992 the National Coalition of Women was established, and immediately after its formation, women began working on the Women's Charter. Their work on it finished and completed in 1994 and handed over to the Parliament in the hands of Mandela. It is very important in this document that it contains research and analysis of concerns, problems and needs of women from all parts and different societies and groups of women in South Africa. In 1993, gender equality was reaffirmed as a fundamental commitment by South Africa and in 1994, the charter was added to the Charter of Women's Rights and to the new Constitution. (History of Women's Struggle in South Africa; South African History Online, 2022) It was a very important moment because it brought together women of equal social classes and territories, political parties and racial groups in order to find solutions to common problems in the field of cultural diversity, class and race (Meintjes 1996).

All these actions brought society to the most important year of changes for this country. It was 1994 when the first democratic general election was held, the ANC won and Nelson Mandela was elected president and formed a government with Friderik Willem de Klerk, who became vice president (Walker 2013).

Political changes were crucial for the situation of women, because it gave them equal rights with men. This started campaigns to inform and educate women about their legal status, land, rural and urban resources, their access to healthcare, work and research. They also started spreading the knowledge about existing violence against women. Then, in 1996, the Gender Committee was established. It was one of the structures of the so far agreed Constitution (Walker 2013). The constitution exhorted for a change in thinking and being. For the respect to others directly and indirectly, to stop treating each other unfair and incite to hatred on grounds such as race, sex, gender, color, ethnic, social origin and orientation, disability, age, religion, language, ethnic or sexual orientation (Constitution, 1996; Walker

2013). It had an influence on improvement and on an increasing number of important policies and legislations that were put into practice. It is connected with each other strongly, because the moment of change comes, and it finally starts to be visible in daily life. People started to have more rights and the move of changes was a push for the establishment of other important documents changing the way of treating the society, such as the Labor relations Act (1995), responsible for regulating the organizational rights of trade unions. It establishes the Labor Court and the CCMA. Additionally, it helps with collective bargaining in the workplace. In conflict situations, finding alternative solutions to the problems and helping to deal with strikes and lockouts (Labor Relations Act, 66 of 1995, 1995).

Another important established document was the Basic Conditions of Employment (1997) which allows South Africa to fulfill its obligations of the Republic as a member state of the International Labor Organization. Additionally, is focusing on the regulation of basic employment rules (The South Africa Labour Guide, 1997). There was a document called *The Employment Equity Act* (1998), which had a slightly different focus on tackling inequality in the workplace. The document is focused and responsible for exercising true democracy, trying to achieve the workplace with diversity and if find on their way disagreement, eliminate unfair discrimination (Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette, 1998). And the last far-reaching document is the broad-based Black Economic Empowerment (2003), which focuses on the law around racial inequality. It establishes a legal framework to address economic disparities and the rights of black people. Additionally, it empowers the Minister to publish transformation charters and Codes of Good Practice (Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003; South African Government, 2003).

These documents provided legal support and the beginning of change in the country. They brought justice not only to women, but to all those discriminated people in South African society. It has helped all members to be aware of their rights and obligations. They know where to ask for help and have legal support to get justice. It has helped them to feel more comfortable at their workplace but has also made them be more consensus members of public and political life.

5. Barriers of Women in top leadership political positions and leaders of change

A very important aspect of defining and starting the topic about the barriers of women in their leadership positions should start with defending or answering the question: which women? What is connected with the previous, white-dominated government stripped the possibilities and opportunities of black communities when they were empowering whites. For example, by the Immorality Act of 1950, which did not allow interracial marriages or sexual relations. That broke many relationships, forced people to divorce and abandon their children. Then the Bantu Education Act in 1953, which made all schools controlled and funded by the government, leading to a situation where schools did not allow black kids to attend classes together with the white one. But it also forced them to follow the discriminatory curriculum, by teaching and promoting racial stereotypes and myths. According to the statistics that has influenced many areas, such as discrimination and sexism, which white women experience differently than black women (Ndinda, Okeke- Uzodike, 2012). The “colored” women, i. e. the so-called mixed races and the Hindu women, were equally burdened with social reproduction and lived in remote rural areas. White women had freedom of movement and more rights but were also restricted by repressive sex laws. However, the women did not give up and fought for their rights. They left villages in search of better job opportunities and higher income. They risked their lives for their family and the future of the next generations. The children who grew up in such a political system, had a way of thinking influenced by ethnic distinction. To fight for a better future, women mobilized over divisions, racial and ethnic boundaries. They organized national and international campaigns to combat inequalities in education, health, conscription and police brutality against civilians. Their work and struggles were underestimated by officials, but they undermined the system at its core, as will write later on (Healy-Clancy, 2017).

Apartheid was a decisive moment that changed the position and situation of women. Many of them actively participated and joined the African National Congress (ANC) to support and fight for the rights of indigenous peoples (Healy-Clancy, 2017). For a long time, women’s struggle for freedom, gender equality and their political commitment were ignored in historical texts. It was considered that women did not contribute to the struggle for their country and nation to the same extent as men, and that their leadership and military

achievements were not worthy of attention. It was mainly stories about men's achievements and actions that conquered the front pages of the newspapers. However, it could not have been more wrong, but the main reason is that South African society is traditionally patriarchal. However, few were highly valued and appropriately women revered for their work and performance (Healy-Clancy, 2017).

I would like to bring closer the picture and present data on important women leaders who were responsible for changes during the history and fight with apartheid. The first, a head of the most important protest in the history of South Africa was Lilian Ngoyi, called the mother of black resistance. She was the first woman elected to the national executive committee of the African National Congress (ANC) and President of the ANC's women's league. Ngoyi travelled widely to marshal international support against apartheid. Once, she even traveled under a "white name". For her fight for democracy, Ngoyi was arrested multiple times and banned from meeting more than one person at a time including family members. Eventually, she died before seeing democratic South Africa. Another important political representative at this time was Rahima Moosa and her twin sister Fatima Moosa. They both joined politics as teenagers, use their genetics to evade harassment by switching their identities. Rahima joined the ANC after her party, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the ANC signed a pact. She was so committed that even when heavily pregnant, joined other women in solidarity at Union buildings. She was later listed by the regime, which means that she was under constant surveillance, harassment and movement restriction (Ogola and Wafula, 2022).

Helen Joseph, because of her help and outspokenness, was called the "Honorary Mother". She was born in England, later on moved to South Africa from India in 1931. She helps form the Federation of South African Women and also try to find help and solutions for the separated families during the apartheid. She was arrested and banned from seeking against the government. She spent 23 years in confinement and was 80 when her banning order was lifted. During this time she survived several murders attempts, including one with a bomb strapped to her gate and gunshots direct at her bedroom. She died at the age of 87. Another significant leader and the only living integrant of the Women's March - Sophia Williams De Bruyn. She was the youngest leader of the March, dropped out of school and joined when she was only 18 years old. Additionally, she was nominated to represent workers

grievances in textile factories. They nominated her, because she helped them a lot when she worked there during her school holidays. Later on, she became organizer of the Colored People's party and narrowly missed being arrested for treason. She became a Member of South Africa's Commission of Gender Equity as a deputy speaker for Gauteng province and a member of National parliament in free South Africa (Ogola and Wafula, 2022). Therefore, each of these women represented the diffracted races in South Africa: white, black, indian and mixed race.

Studies made by Ntfontjeni Dlamini in his work called "Comrades in their own right": women's struggle against apartheid in the South African novel", is showing more tools women used to fight with the regime and how it helped them to express themselves and be the voice of the change. Person who had this important voice is Miriam Makbeka, singer who used music as a tool to raised the awareness and fight against the apartheid. Second is the Olive Schreiner, white poet who objected the racial segregation. Which is very significant, since most of the white people at this time were not concerned about the situation and status of the black people. Another poet writing about women struggles at this time, Susan Arndt, is writing that they faces struggles such as discrimination, poverty, lack of access to land and violence. Women were struggling with similar problems during the apartheid time and currently. at that Strong patriarchal influences meant that women were subordinate to men and their families. Women were brought up with the responsibilities of being mothers, getting a child and extending the family line. Once married, women did not have much freedom and were under the control of their in-laws. But they still tried to raise their children and family in opposition to racial oppression, while showing them the traditional structure (Dlamini, 2017).

Because of the passes influenced by the new government, women had to show passes and ask permission to leave the rural areas. They were oppressed by the system but also by the tradition, because first they had to ask their in-laws for permission and explain to them why they want to leave and after that ask for the permission of the Affairs Department. After getting to the city, they had to live with dehumanizing conditions, forced by the white supremacist government. Additionally, to that, women who got the job in the city as a domestic servant and work for white people, often were raped and sometimes end up pregnant. After that they were forced to come back to their villages, which was bringing

disgrace to her family. What happened to Jezile in one of the stories she told to Lauretta Ngcobo, another writer, who, in “And they didn't die”, wrote down stories of black women oppressed by the regime during apartheid. She tells the story of Jezile, who, after all these bad experiences ended up in the city, after returning and “putting” bad name on her family, was forced to leave her child from raped in an orphanage, because the child was white and the whole community would ostracize her (Dlamini, 2017; Ngcobo, 1999).

Ngcobo is also writing about a friend of Jezile, Zensile, who is forced by the tradition and the requirement that a women should give birth to as many children as she can. Zensile is getting sick and her husband does not care about her or the rest of the family. He is coming back home for long enough to get her pregnant and then is leaving. When she was pregnant with her sixth child, got very weak and sick, needed prenatal care and wanted to give birth in the hospital. Asked for help, her mother in law, but she deeply believed in the tradition, which does not permit it according to the taboo that giving birth in hospital brings bad luck, so Zensile produces children until she dies in her house (Dlamini, 2017).

Another struggle women had, written in of the novels about women who were working as a teacher of the Department of Bantu Education, and a white man who during one of the conversation at work, argued that he does not understand why women are complaining about their salary, because man need and should earn more, they have higher standards of living to maintain, for example putting their kids to universities or buying a car, which was increasing the luck of equality on all levels. Women mostly struggle because of two influences, culture and patriarchal but also government policies, which were very oppressive. (Dlamini, 2017).

Argumentation and examples above are showing the different types of struggles women had in different positions or status in life. Mostly they are connected to the same problems which were, the new regime, tradition supporting patriarchat, taboos and disrespectful way of treating women. They did not give up and crossed every threshold on their way to fight for a better future. I believe that these stories are very relevant to my subject of analysis. It is strongly connected with the second question of my work regarding the women fight for the change during apartheid and it influence on current situation in the society. Thanks to women political leaders, writers and singers who were motivators and voices for the rest of the women to express their needs and opposition to the current situation.

They brought changes for next generations. Those stories of women who were forced by tradition to follow the men and their needs, giving birth against their will. Those who argued with man about their needs being the same as man's and many others are clearly related to each other and clearly showing the importance of change.

6. Struggles of women nowadays

In this thesis I intend focus on five different struggles using the reports from various sources. Women's struggles can be seen in many areas, but I have chosen to select the main one such as: lack of equality, visible at home, the workplace and daily life. Polygamy, which to this day is accepted and incorporated for the man and not the women. However, President Cyril Ramaphosa, who took power in 2018, wanted to equalise the practice of polygamy for both sexes. Another one is in the case of health. Women are the most numerous victims of HIV in the country because of the lack of proper education, access to testing and high incidence of rape. According to the report made by the INTERPOL called South Africa the „Rape Capital of the World”, the problem is so big that young women are more likely to be raped at some point in their lives than to learn to read. Yet the scale of the threat is so huge that it does not just affect women, but all genders. Sexual abuse or rape in South Africa happens to someone every 25 seconds. In a country full of traditions and rituals, there is one that attempts to explain kidnapping and rape. This is the tradition I mentioned earlier - Ukuthwala. In this practice the man, the husband-to-be or his family kidnaps the bride-to-be. During this process, it is not uncommon for the victim to be raped. In this chapter I will also focus on the lack of education and why it is more difficult for women to access it than men. At the end, I will try to answer the question of what impact taboos have on women's daily lives in South Africa.

6.1 Lack of equality and polygamy

The involvement of ANC organization brought changes in 1994 that had good and bad effects. They gave women more rights, but this was mainly based on the portrayal of women as a socially excluded group. The good results were seen in the establishment of quotas and targets for women's interests, such as: the legislation on abortion in 1996 called the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act; The Recognition of Customary Marriage Act and the Domestic Violence Act, both established in 1998. The Commission for Gender Equality and the Ministry for Women, then the Children and People with Disabilities Policy had been set up and Women's rights to inherit property in 1998 (Walker, 2013). This was the

moment when women's rights were legally constituted. However, women's struggles cannot be reduced to inadequate representation in government and corporate structures, as the greatest challenges are in everyday life, which includes a lack of control over one's income, property, physical integrity, contacts and relationships with family, husband and employers. In rural areas there are still traditional governing bodies such as chiefs, who support the traditional order and values in which women play a clear role in their families and communities. Their main task is maintaining women's submission to the male authority and hierarchy. According to the Congress of Traditional Heads of State and Government of South Africa, hierarchy begins at home, members of a certain level show their respect to the members on the level right above and so forth. The children pay respect to their mother, then the mother to the husband, then the husband must respect his ancestors and they must show respect to God (CONTRALESA, 2012; Walker, 2013). This means that the government of first instance is the family with the father at the head. However, according to Walker, we should not look at the conflict between gender equality and cultural rights and divide them into this traditional area and a non-traditional area, where women enjoy equal and secure rights. Rather, the idea is to focus on the differences between the situation of women over the years (Walker, 2013).

Moreover, the changes in 1996 followed by the Consultation reaffirmed the principle of gender equality and the list of grounds for non-discrimination. Including not only sex, but also marital status and pregnancy. Not only in South Africa, but all over the world, these changes were being made (Fraser, 2009).

Although the problem is global, South Africa is a rather extreme case where the gap between public support and the fulfillment of tasks and institutional practices is very wide. On the one hand, feminist ideals of gender equality, so contentious in the preceding decades, now sit squarely in the social mainstream; on the other hand, they have yet to be realised in practice (Fraser, 2009).

What should develop in time and be visible more and more in daily life. According to Cheryl Walker's on infant and maternal mortality the spread of HIV and gender-based violence since 1994, overt discrimination has been a major problem. This is also confirmed by statistics that have been carried out in INTERPOL countries (Walker, 2013). The level of domestic and sexual violence by men in South Africa has the highest rate. The number of

rapes reported to the police each year is 55,000; sexual violence in the country is between 25% to 55%. The situation since 2000, were changing slightly each year, but generally are still very high. During 2019/2022 police reported 42,289 rapes and 1,749 sexual assaults. Additionally, the murder rate of women is six times the global average (Jewkes, Morrell, 2010; Walker, 2013; Gouws, 2022).

However much the government and the public officially endorse the value of equality, the situation at home is quite different. According to the surveys, men "miss" and look back with nostalgia to a time when the wife was subservient to her husband and not "loud and possessive" (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock, 2012).

I paid for lobola for you to cook here for me...If now you are saying that you are not going to do this, this is not clear. I have paid for you, so I am hungry now, I want food.' And if she insists that 'I am tired, I am not comfortable to cook today,' that's where the beating, the violence will start from. But the problem, you see, is... the way they approach their rights - women and children – it's not appropriate...The problem is the approach of ...demanding, saying, 'this is my right, I'm not going to do a, b, c, d.' If that could change then it could be better. (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock, 2012)

This quotation is the one of many examples of strong patriarchal existence and it shows how difficult it is to break it. Tradition was used as a tool to make women rely completely on authority and be treated as its subject. In those days, women did not even have space for their own opinions or disagreeing with men. They were following their guidance. This also shows how firmly this behavior is rooted in tradition and passed down from generation to generation. Even if new programs and movements supporting women's freedom and the fight for equality are emerging, is entrenched in their way of thinking about themselves and those around them. (Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher and Peacock, 2012).

Walker draws on a study conducted by Dworkin called "Men Perceive Changes in Gender Relationships" in which he interviewed men from six provinces. Most of the men interviewed believe that current domestic violence is caused by changes in the law and in gender relations. They explained that in the past the use of violence was not necessary because the existing 'order' was sufficient, and men did not need to use violence (Walker, 2013).

This turn to tradition took place in 1999 and undermined the values and commitments associated with gender equality. Further consolidating the power of the petty

aristocracy of hereditary chiefs over the people in the countryside. Such areas are home to 30 percent of the traditional society, where the workforce predominates, making women the main discriminated group. They were newly denied access to land without the consent of their male partner. And this links to another very important barrier that remains in the way of women's equality, empowerment and struggle for their rights - polygamy (Anunobi, 2003).

Starting with a definition, polygamy is a marriage to more than one person, either with a wife or a husband. On this basis, we can distinguish polygyny, which is marrying more than one woman and polyandry, which is marrying more than one man. However, we can clearly confess that polygamy is much more popular and practiced (Badawi, 2000). Polygamy has been functioning in the country for years. Under the current law only men have the right to have multiple marriage partners, which was strongly supported by the former president of South Africa in 2009-2019, Jacob Zuma and the ANC. According to the members of this organization and the law, as long as the wife and children are treated well, there is nothing to prevent such practices from continuing. What equally means that woman who is not treated well has access to property and equal distribution. Currently, the office of president is held by Cyril Ramapho who believes that women have the same right to have multiple partners as men and this change in law has been prudent from 2021. This is, in my opinion, very relevant because the perspective and mindset that the President has, will influence the governing of the country. This will probably be another step towards equality and a better position for women in society. (All Africa, 2022).

I believe that the men polygamy exclusivity and other examples have a significant influence on women's lack of independency and will continue to have it if nothing will change. It has a cultural influence, by teaching women that someone will take care of them and that they do not have to provide for themselves and study or fight for their education. Also the way of thinking is that at the beginning parents will take care of their daughters and later on this role will pass to the husband. This way of treating and providing for women will not allow them to develop and stand on their knees. Also is not letting them learn about themselves, their rights and privileges, how to open their own businesses, make their own money and be responsible for their future. Women are also not supported to improve the future of others by trying to be equal to men and climb the career ladder to be

politically active. These examples are mainly visible in the society, but without change in these areas there will be no respect towards women in the political sphere (All Africa, 2022).

6.2 HIV

Another problem facing South African women is HIV. South Africa is the country with the highest number of HIV cases in the world (Nuh, 2022, Akullian, Miller, Vandormael, Tanser, 2020). The first fatal case in the country took place as early as 1981. However, political changes and the transition to democracy in 1994 brought light and optimism to the growing problem. In the beginning, the topic was pushed to the background because the country needed to address inequality and race division. Nevertheless, the National African Congress established the National Advisory Group (NACOSA) to devise a plan to combat AIDS. However, due to Mandela's lack of political focus on the topic from 1994 to 1998, the number of infections increased from 4% to 22.8%, which was continued by Thabo Mbeki, who denied the problem. In 1980-1990, one of the first changes to the perception of the problem was the play *Serafina II*, which aimed to inform the public about contraception and safe sex. Then, a large-scale scandal was the HIV drug Virodene, discovered by Michelle Visser. She administered the drug together with her husband, a businessman, to 11 people without their consent, for which they were reprimanded, and the research was deemed unethical and blocked by South Africa's Drug Control Council (Susser i Stein, 2000; Simelela, Venter, Pillay and Barron, 2015).

The Human Sciences Research Council conducted one of the largest studies that resulted in 6.4 million HIV positive cases found. This makes South Africa the country with the highest number of HIV infections in all of Sub-Saharan Africa (HCRS, 2012). According to statistics, 200,000 people are infected every week, including women between the ages of 15 and 24 who are most at risk. The number of infections among young women is twice as high as among men of the same age. In addition, tests are very often lacking, and treatment in the country is impossible. Many people do not want to do tests because they are afraid of measuring against reality if the result is positive. This has a significant impact on the development of girls and their later life and career. The main problem is that older men infect young women, this comes from the problem that it is one way for young women to get what

they want if their family is unable to provide for them financially and with opportunities. Sometimes it is material, but usually related to social status (Susser and Stein, 2000; UN, 2020; Simelela, Venter, Pillay and Barron, 2015).

Another major problem is the belief that young virgins, by being pure and clean, can “cleanse” the HIV positive. This myth is one of the reason why raping is happening, additionally in such a young age.

The virgin rape myth is a major problem. I represent a lot of HIV- positive kids, they die. The kids often die before we are able to finish the prosecution of their abuser. We are seeing younger and younger victims with an average age of sixóguaranteed to be virgins. I am seeing more than one HIV-positive child a week. I can't completely attribute all their HIV status to the virgin rape myth, because it could be that the mother was HIV-positive, but I do feel the myth is causing an increasing number of younger rape victims (Human Rights Watch, 2000).

Young girls are sexually used by adults and young man, by these who are HIV-positive to be healed by young victims, but also by those who are scared of getting sick from older women. Additionally, schools are organizing virginity tests for young girls. According to the report, local teachers give tests to 3,000 students and those who passed are awarded with certificates. Some school tests are repeated every 3 months. In Osizmeni school girls in age of 6 are forced to make the tests as well. The explanations of the school headmasters are based on the wellness of the students and prevention of the HIV spread. But this interface in human privacy and have huge impact on gender discrimination and violates the right to bodily integrity (Human Rights Watch, 2000; Al Jazeera's, 2016).

Another problem is the stigma regarding HIV-positive people. Most of them are afraid to admit they are sick or they are afraid of being tested. Many of them are depressed and don't leave the house at all. They don't take proper medication because they are afraid to inform and confront the rest of society (Al Jazeera's, 2016).

In the documentary called “Through Our eyes” Women's Perspective on HIV and Life in South Africa.” Women who were interviewed said that they are not using condoms or other protections, because their partners do not support it. When women ask them to use it, men question their trust and commitment. Additionally, one of the women said that she do not use protection because she do not have HIV yet, and when she is infected, she will start using it. They also believe that it is easier for a girl who is a virgin to be infected with HIV than sexually active women, so they are slowing down the process to take the action and prevent

rather than treat. There is a huge group of women and mothers who have HIV but do not treat it in any way what causes many deaths. Very often they leave their young children alone without any support, protection or help. It means a life of an orphan on the street without any security (Through Our Eyes: Women's Perspectives on HIV and Life in South Africa, 2019).

The male perspective of not using protection is based on the saying "meat to meat", which refers to the belief that a man will not feel pleasure if he uses condoms. But as one interviewee from the documentary said, that it is more a pressure from the society than true action (IAVI, 2019).

According to the Zulu culture the girl need to turn 21 years to become sexual active, so if they have sex before that age they feel like they are degraded their culture. At the same time they believe that if they are women, they cannot stop the man from sleeping with other women. They as women need to stay clean and true to their husbands, but they cannot expect the same behavior from the other side. That causes them a lot of stress because, if the man is sleeping with many other women, he can come back home and be HIV positive. Also, expecting from her to sleep with him without protection, since she is his wife. Many people in their society believe that when man has many sexual partners his status and power increase. But if a woman does the same, it means that she does not know how to behave properly or that does not have morals. Another problem with safe sex is the lack of correct communication and support from men. Many of them do not take tests or lie that they are virgins, are "clean" or that their test is negative. Just to convince a woman to engage in a sexual act or take advantage of her. One interviewee said that she can't trust any of men and she recognizes when they lie only because when asking them questions about their experiences and tests, they can't keep a serious face and laugh (IAVI, 2019).

I firmly believe and also see the confirmation in the literature that everyday problems and issues women face, including in it the lack of decision-making about themselves, being under control of the man and not being able to protect themselves affect their position in society and their opportunities for advancement. At the same time these struggles visible in the past and unfortunately still existing in the society motivate women to fight for themselves and other females. Make them want to be heard and listened to. Getting by themselves to the Parliament and fight for their own rights and all the women in South Africa.

6.3 Ukuthwala

Connected with the previous struggles and very controversial topic which is important to mention in thesis is Ukuthwala. It is another example of existing patriarchy and man power over women. This example is the bottom of a growing pyramid, which is putting women in a position lower than men, without rights to decide about themselves. Without justice on this level, we cannot talk about women's position on the top of it, which is women's leadership representation. At the same time, their position on the top is an important example because of the lacking perspective of women in the system, politics and laws. It is a closed circle and a very important issue. Ukuthwala is a habit existing till this day in South Africa, explained as “bride abduction”. Discussions and initial information about this practice were published in the media more than a decade ago, which does not mean that the problem did not exist before (Karimakwenda, 2022).

The term comes from the Nguni language and refers to all kinds of ways to enter into a quick, common marriage. So there are many forms and species of Ukuthwala, it has different names and contains different elements depending on the type (Soucie, 2022). Its “primary” form consists in abducting young girls, often children as young as eight years old, and forcing them to marry without their parents' consent. Such situations are most common in rural areas. Women who are abducted from there are “inherited” to enrich a male relative. The problem is so big that a report from 2009 shows that at the Cape of Good Hope, about 20 girls are abducted every month and forced to leave school and finish their education at such a young age (Karimakwenda, 2022).

The South African Law Reform Commission has carried out a comprehensive study on the subject. The work on finding a solution and abolishing this practice is also in the hands and in the work of the Women’s League. Their contribution has meant that this tradition, under national law, which has been legally confirmed by the Supreme Court of the Western Cape, includes certain features such as the consent of both parties, and that the kidnapping itself must be “faked.” Any kind of physicality and sexual abuse is strictly forbidden. In the past, however, women struggled with the trauma for years after being abducted from the villages, without the consent of the family, raped and forced to marry. This was often supported and organized by the husband and his family (Karimakwenda, 2022).

A report called *Ukuthwala-Marriage by Abduction* made by Asivhanzhi “Asi” Mathaba with interviews by Lebogang Mashile is trying to look for positive aspects of this practice/traditions existing in the country for years. She interviewed women who were victims of the practice but also with chiefs of the villages. In the past most of the women got married without getting information before who they were going to marry, if they knew the person or if they were ready for this kind of step. Not even mentioning aspects such as being in love. Families were making the arrangement without informing them. According to the traditional chief, the marriage is not between the two people, but families. The custom was the only way in which people were starting new relationships. One of the women in the documentary, who after being abducted, decided to stay with her new husband. She said that when she was only 16, she was taken to the man who was 42 years old and she did not know him. In her words:

My parents sent me to go get Sorghum beer. When I got there I noticed two old men who acted as if they were passing by. They grabbed me and threw me over their shoulders. I couldn't cry, because I was so shocked and scared. When they took me inside the house I started crying. They gave me cloth to put around my waist. Then this man came in. He was tall, dark and old. When he came in they told me that this is your husband and I started to cry again. Then after five days my family came. I was now convinced that it was my parents who had agreed to this marriage. So I decided to stay even though I didn't know the man because it was okay for my parents. When I looked at this man I was afraid of him. But I got used to him and now I love him to bits.” But she also admitted that this kind of solution and treatment made sense in the past. Right now, if they could choose, they will educate themselves and get a job. She also admitted that: “Nowadays if you force a child to get married, they might commit suicide (Mathaba, 2016).

In the past when women did not have access to education, that was a way for families to get out of poverty or provide their daughters' better life. That is also strong confirmation of women's strength to move from this kind of cultural and mental “captivity” to the situation nowadays, when they started to provide for themselves, fight for their country, become important leaders and voices and be part of changes for their society (Mathaba, 2016).

A further woman in the documentary who, after being abducted, ran away. She brought more details to her story by saying:

I was going to the river with my younger sister. Two men appeared. I ignored them because I didn't know them. Suddenly they grabbed me and I screamed. They took me to a house and I was locked in a rondavel. While I was screaming two older men came in and gave me married woman clothing. I continue crying. They left and closed the door. Nobody explained anything to me. The people who came in were aggressive. They did what they had to do and left. The

next morning the mother of the house came in and told me to go to the main house. When I got to the main house they gave me a bucket and told me to go and fetch the water. They sent me with an eight year old girl. When we arrived at the river I quickly changed clothes and ran away, leaving the girl behind. I ran away to my aunt's house. I didn't tell her what happened. I just said that my mother had beaten me up. From there I took a taxi to a town and then got on a bus to Cape Town and stayed there for 2 years (Mathaba, 2016).

The leitmotif and what the reporter of this documentary wanted to achieve is whether this tradition is really that bad and whether there are women who are happy with it. But after talking to many village leaders and women involved in this tradition, she did not find a single person who confirmed the positive aspects of this practice and encouraged to continue. Rather, it is an experience that traumatises women for the rest of their life. Women agree on the deal because they do not have any other choice (Mathaba, 2016).

Nowadays, this tradition is presented in a more formal way, firstly, the age difference between men and women is not so great, secondly, women often know that an arranged marriage takes place and that their “weeping” is faked. There were cases where the woman had no idea because the transaction was secretly carried out by giving her father one or two cattle. Even if a woman does not want to get married because she does not know or love a man, she agrees to this exchange because she has been raised all her life with the spirit and feeling that being a wife and later a mother is her only fulfillment and way of life that makes her happy. The vulnerable girls left unprotected are the girls in institutions who are often abducted and forced to marry widowed men between 55 and 70 (Soucie, 2022). According to research by Naysh Karimakwend, this phenomenon has been portrayed in the media as an abuse of tradition and not as an authentic practice. However, according to a study by Jacobus van Tromp in 1947, the practice of Xhosa began during the colonization of South Africa and was practiced over the years. Rape was generally accepted on many levels. One example is marital rape, which remained unpunished until the 1990s. This is because society values men's rights, marriage and family beliefs beyond women's rights and well-being. Through this approach and the concealment under the mantle of marriage, the violation of human rights, the inability to decide on oneself and submit to men, has been accepted and still is accepted in many places (Karimakwenda, 2022).

According to studies made by Kate Rice, the motivation above the abduction relates to the scare of HIV infection. Many believe that having a sex with a virgin will cure with the HIV infection. But that is existing in rural areas, where parents are not able to feed all the

family. But Ukuthwala practice is also popular in cities or societies with more financial and educational privileges. Doctors, professors and businesswomen find this practice romantic. But for them the process looks a bit different, most of them know about it before and know their future husbands (Rice, 2014).

According to the Hunter, Ukuthwala from the historical background is not happening completely without knowing of the sides. Most of the time parents of the women are aware of what is going to happen and agree on it. If their daughter disagrees with marriage, then they are arranging it “for her” or in different words “without her will” This is also one reason why this treatment is so cruel. Their own parents knew all this time what was going to happen to their daughters and the exact day when they were going to be abducted. And in this selfish and cruel process they forgot to inform the victim, who for the rest of her life is going to be traumatized by what happened in the past. Even if it is happening in the name of tradition, God or family, there is no explanation for it. This is a violation of human rights and hard to believe that families are doing it to their children (Hunter 1961; Rice, 2014). People from the small rural villages see the “advantages” of this practice:

“This place is more traditional, and more peaceful. You see, in places like near town, you know, there’s always violence and stuff like that. But here it’s quiet and peaceful. Yeah, people are doing their own traditions. They’ve got strong beliefs. You know, like just grabbing a girl. If you want to marry a girl, you don’t have to talk to her or anything. If you want her, you just talk to the parents and then you just grab the girl. Even if she doesn’t want you. Yeah, here, they are still walking exactly on the culture. Which is a good thing!” (Rice, 2014) .

That was the perspective of the male side. This is the one which is on the choosing position. A father, who in his own marriage has much more to say than his wife, she is most of the time pushed to the side. Additionally, man are not being chosen by others and pushed to follow the tradition, what can change in a prison or slavery for her (Rice, 2014). However, research is also showing the perspective of a woman supporting it. One of the women, a middle- aged mother, supports the male perspective by seeing that following the family tradition is a right thing and that people should follow tradition. About women who are reporting their abduction to the police, she thinks that is irresponsible, because how will they live their life, when their husband is in a prison or how will they explain what they did to his “husband” parents. This is another reason why we need stronger females to guide and show other women different way, because even if male representatives have a good will, the change

need to come from women understanding and only women to women can relate, recognize their struggle and help them with the transition to better understand their personal needs and wants. (Rice, 2014)

In most of the reports and research looking at the perspective of a elderly people. Parents are supporting this practice, but from the research made by Rice nowadays. Many older people also have mixed feelings towards it and many of their daughters came back home, after being abducted, because their parents did not agree with it. However, tradition is very strong so the percentage of rural society who are following this tradition is still very big (Rice, 2014).

As much as women suffer in the system, young men are not completely satisfied with it either. In case of the central component of marriage “Lobola”. Men are struggling with the high cost of bride wealth, additionally with poor employment prospects and possibilities. The pressure to have kids and make the family line longer and bigger bring the anxiety and stress, which make them question their wants for marriage. Additionally, men who want to get married with the woman they love and reciprocate, but do not have enough money, are going to be rejected as well (Rice, 2014). In reality this is about the parents' wants and decisions in the end. In the profound research show even more drastically situations in which women were several times raped and bitten by their husbands but not allowed to come back home by their parents. One and only solution to stop their suffering is reporting their parents or husband to the police, but most of the daughters know that if they will report their own parents to the police, they do not have any place to go. They are not allowed to come back home or stay with the family of the new husband either. Most of these women are still kids, so they are afraid of saying anything and staying all alone. Women who decide to report what is happening at the house of the new husband are left by themselves with nothing. The authority of the elders is the most important. And according to parents, if a daughter decides to report them, she belongs to the government, not family. In one of the stories women were allowed to come back, but only after several months, when she was treated very badly and cut off from the money, by the mother-in-law (Rice, 2014).

Ukuthwala traditions have many more obstacles than advantages, after my research I only can see one plus, which can help poor families get out from their bad financial situation. But the cost of this tradition is an extreme level of interfining and breaking human rights.

Additionally, being connected with the spread of the HIV, because according to the studies, once lobola was paid, women cannot request men to use condoms to protect themselves. And because of that, young women have been forced to get married to the HIV- positive widower, whose wife died because of AIDS- related illnesses (Mathaba, 2016).

To change this non stoppable invalidation of human rights, we need to change the power over women by men, elderly in families and communities, who are deciding to follow the harmful tradition for generations. Even if the tradition is old. It shows again the background and reasons for women inequality. The strong patriarchal and hierarchical leader influence, which left women at the bottom. If they are not following their duties and ideas of others in their life, they are being ostracized from society. That is why the change is so important and is in the hands of female leaders, who know and understand the problem like anyone else. They need to make sure that any of this kind of practice is not going to exist in the land of South Africa anymore, even in the smallest rural villages (Mathaba, 2016).

6.4 Education

Access to education is a human right that should be enjoyed by everyone, regardless of gender or status. This is one of the objectives of sustainable development, which aims to combat gender inequality in the world. Additionally, girls in South Africa have better access to education in comparison to other sub- Saharan African states (Human Rights Watch, 2001) and has the smallest percentage of children out of school (WIDE Education Inequalities, 2022).

According to the authors, in 2015 South Africa the biggest part (60.2 percent) of the uneducated adult population are women, the main reason is motherhood (South Africa Adult female illiteracy, 1970-2021, 2022). Most of the women are not attending school because of being pregnant. Report by UNESCO from 2003 shows that in 2000, the school age of girls out of school is 395 000, compared to boys 348 000, and that the percentage of men surviving to 5 grade is higher than women. Report from 2006 showed that at one school there were 144 pregnant students. It is a bigger and bigger barrier for women's growth and success. A 2005 report from NCR-IOM showed that by the age 18, more than 30 percent of teenagers gave birth at least once. Additionally, there are some schools which do not allow women to join

classes when they are pregnant or have children (Chignon,Chetty, 2007). Situation did not change much, girls are still out of school because of teenage pregnancy and family commitment. In Ekurhuleni Municipality reported 1000 girls getting pregnant and staying at home to take care of their future baby, which is leaving them behind with boys who are not stopping educating themselves (Mbiza, 2018).

This is connected with the obligations and socially expected roles of both genders. In South Africa, they are very well defined, and both genders know their rights and obligations from birth. One such socially imposed obligation for women is to be a mother and have a baby. If she is not up to the task, she must expect the husband to find another woman who is able to maintain the family lines. Additionally, she is engaged until she conceives. Men also grow up knowing their duties and responsibilities. They need to be smart, strong and able to take care of their families. However, this is less drastic than the subordination of women to men imposed from the outset (Meintjes, 1996).

Elaine Unterhalter is analyzing the aspect of inequality in education by separating it into three different groups. Part dedicated structuralist measurement is showing that women struggle much more with the lack of equality not only from the statistical perspective of girls and boys' access to education, but the aspect of decision-making, access to resources and having their own opinion. Another significant problem is violence and discrimination towards girls in schools. A study by Elizabeth Dartnall also confirms the terrible behavior of teachers and peers towards young girls. This usually happens in the poorer areas of the country, where girls are abused or forced into sex deals with teachers if they are unable to finance their education. A 1998 study from South Africa found that teachers are among the main culprits for raping children. They account for 32%, and this only applies to the cases that are uncovered, because the problem is hard to measure. It is because rape is still seen in many places as an integral part of life (Unterhalter, 2005).

The report from 2001, made by the Human Rights Watch, includes interviews with young girls and mothers. They were saying that raping and touching is happening every day. Some teachers are reacting by ignoring the situation and letting this happen. Some girls were raped by the school gang and nobody helped them. Generally, boys at school are rarely punished for their behavior. One girl was sexually assaulted by her own teacher, when she was 9 years old. After what happened, she was scared to come back to school for one month.

Even after the “recovery” she was avoiding some corridors or the classroom where that happened. She did not feel comfortable in her uniform and constantly had dreams in which she heard her teacher laugh. Unfortunately, when the teacher was caught on such an offense, wasn’t punished for his crimes either. He had to move to another school, but still could work in his field and with other kids. Additionally, children most of the time are not believed in and trusted. When the child is sharing with someone his story, very often his allegations are not brought forward (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Even if the studies are from the 2001, situation did not change, between 2020 and 2021, the South African Council for Educators reported more than 160 cases of sexual misbehavior from male teachers towards female students. And also that still 1 on 5 children are the victims of sexual violence and abuse. According to Annual Crime Statistics from 2019-2020, 24000 children were raped (Bhana, 2022), but amount of women raped in 2020-2021 is more than 36.000 (Bartlett, 2022).

Sexual abuse is strongly connected with the violence, which South Africa is still struggling with after the years of violent implementation of apartheid policies. Currently the government needs to take this challenge and fight for its society, because violence is often sexualized and most of the time affects women the most. Sexual violence has huge impact on education and development of young girls. Most of them after similar accidents are changing schools, failing the exams, giving up their activities, not following their dreams or even dropping out of school forever. Additionally, there is a noticeable increase in crimes committed by young offenders. This is why so many girls are afraid of their own classmates, who may be their future tormentors (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mayeza, Bhana and Mulqueeny, 2021).

The attitude towards the sexual abuse in South Africa is very similar to these in the rest of the world. People believe that victims are guilty of what is happening and that they provoked, they wanted it or even that they enjoyed it. And that “no” means in real “yes”. Many women believe that they do not have rights to say “no” or not being subjected to the sexual violence. Very popular in South Africa is jack-rolling, what is significant to gang rape. Many men between fifteen and nineteen years old, asked about their opinion about jack-rolling said that it is “good” or even “cool”. Many of them do this to fit in a group and not be rejected by their older colleagues (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Generally, there is a huge problem with violence in South Africa. Going back to the problem at schools. Kids are

punished by their teachers for their misconduct. Officially corporal punishment is illegal. However, teachers are still using tools such as slapping, caning or beating if the kids are not behaving properly or have poor academic performance. Violence in school is coming from many different groups of people. From teachers, pupils but also from strangers. Pupils are scared of the school gangs, robbery, assault or rape. But also have access to drugs and weapons. There is a lack of security, which is the most harmful for young girls who cannot protect themselves. Girls are failed by the system (Brodie, 2022; Kellogg, 2018).

The government has not remained indifferent to this major problem and in 2003 created the Girls Education Movement (GEM) to increase safety in schools and improve access to education for girls. The whole country was integrated, and this initiative was implemented in all nine provinces of the country. The plan was to improve the quality of education, taking care of school materials and a better curriculum. Taking care of their safety and limiting violence in schools. Separation of toilets into female and male. Increasing the number of staff and carers to control unwanted behaviour, but also to pay attention to children in need. It is not one organization responsible for it, but many connected with each other around Africa. The main idea is to empower women, because that will have influence on all household, health and the future for next generations (Mbere, 2014).

Another project is Technogirls, which was founded in 2005 in partnership with UNICEF. It focuses on helping girls in areas dominated by men: science, mathematics and technology. Since 2016, 5,000 girls between the ages of 15 and 18 have taken part in this programme, receiving knowledge, education and scholarships with the intent to go after further education at the end of the programme. Despite getting skills in STEM subjects, during the course they are getting the knowledge about the different career paths possibilities, guidelines how to apply for the university, learning how to write CV, how to feel prepared for an interview and additionally receive a personal development program. When girls reach the university level, they are helped with networking and getting a job. The most important is that girls who are chosen for this project are from rural or poor areas, who can not afford education, which can be a life changer for them but also for whole families. (UNICEF, 2022; Project B, 2022; Gieske, 2022).

Women's education has a positive impact on key aspects of life in South Africa, as the existing discrimination against women puts them in poverty. According to UN statistics,

women have fewer savings and are therefore much more vulnerable to suffering in crisis situations. Their education has positive input not only for her own, but the whole community. By educating mothers, we are educating children, elder people, men and the rest of the social circle. But also, there are the main people responsible for taking care of the weakest and in need.

6.5 Taboos

Studies made by the Magezi Elijah Baloyi confirm the need for more significant women participation in South Africa, from a slightly different way, which is giving the reader an interesting perspective. I mean in this case, the issue of taboos existing in Africa. Her work focuses on IsiZulu and Xitsong culture. Taboos are mainly supporting patriarchy with a seriously negative impact on women (Baloyi, Phumzile, 2022).

Starting from the explanation of the term, taboos are treated as a “restraining order” (Titiey, 1956) and if it is not restricted by the society, then unwritten punishment will appear. Taboos can be stronger than laws, repeated by family members for generations, never questioned or analyzed, just treated as the norm, guidelines or even holiness in proceeding. In Africa, taboos are connected with tradition and are explaining all possible phenomenons of their daily lives. They can be specified in groups such as cultic, moral, economic, political, scientific or environmental (Cowley, 1968; Baloyi, Phumzile, 2022).

In the past taboos helped mankind to explain incomprehensible events. But also it helped to stop and forbid society to act in a specific way. This soon became associated with the manipulation of traditions created by ancestors. It began to “guide” women. In reality, they were just building barriers in women's development and power. Taking a closer look at some of these taboos, for example, women who are menstruating or have already conceived a child were considered unclean. According to these beliefs, this could bring misfortune, bad luck or have some evil influence for the family. They were not allowed to cook for their husband, go to the kitchen or sleep in the same room or bed as their husband. Pregnant women were not allowed to eat certain foods or behave in a certain way. Certain pieces of meat such as thigh, leg and chicken wings were reserved for the head of the house, but women and children were only given leftovers such as head, legs and intestines. This belief

stems from patriarchal influence, in which men are treated as the main, most important figure and women as the „the other”. Women were not allowed to eat fruits such as, mango, orange, naartjie, pawpaw, peach, eggs, cheese, milk, butternut, sweets, juice, sugar, honey, chili, ice and alcohol. They believed that breaking the taboos will have bad influence on specially pregnant women, such as possible miscarriages, difficulties during delivery, harm the unborn baby or have a bad impact on the women’s health (Baloyi, Phumzile, 2020). The system is maintained by the belief in male dominance and asserted against the ideologies of sexism. Establishing norms, rules and rituals that determine whether or not women are allowed to participate. In addition, many cultures also have an impact on women’s dress code (Pharr, 1998). Male dominance trying to shape the society, women duties are defined and most of them are based on the service of the opposite sex, such a role is to give the husband and the rest of his family an offspring in order to prolong the tribe (Mudaly, Sookrajh, 2008). Another inequality concerns how one must behave after the death of their partner. Women must mourn for their husbands for at least a year, wearing the same type of dress in black, dark blue, blue, green or white (Ndlovu, 2013). Men, however, can do what they want and are not obligated to mourning. Another example is sexual intercourse. We are talking about two taboos, the first relating to the situation of women immediately after marriage. Honeymoons do not work in their culture because they believe that a woman should respect her husband and the rest of the family, by not being interested in a man after the wedding. This abstinence was also a confirmation to the family that the woman was not pregnant before marriage. If this were to happen, the child would not be recognized as a member of the family. Second taboo is related to the mother who is nursing the infant and women during their menopause. Women in this period are not allowed to get closer to their husbands and have sex with them. What is giving men space to concubine or get another wife, sometimes second or even third, which is a connection with a polygamy issue I wrote about above. Supporting these taboos is by society, because the procreative need is stronger than the well being of women. They are not allowed to get divorced or find another husband, which keeps them in a trap and makes them invisible and without purpose. The last taboo connected with sexual encounter, is called sexual cleansing. It is a story of Giyani, she was forced to have sex with the younger brother of her dead husband to be “clean”. Without this ceremony she is not allowed to have sexual encounter or get into another marriage. What is once again an example of an oppressive

cultural practice and the use of culture to violate human rights and further increase inequality (Daber, 2003; Hlongwa. 2009). The lack of equality and men's domination is visible also at home and at the workplace. Women are not allowed to speak before men and sometimes they need to ask for permission (Baloyi, Phumzile, 2022).

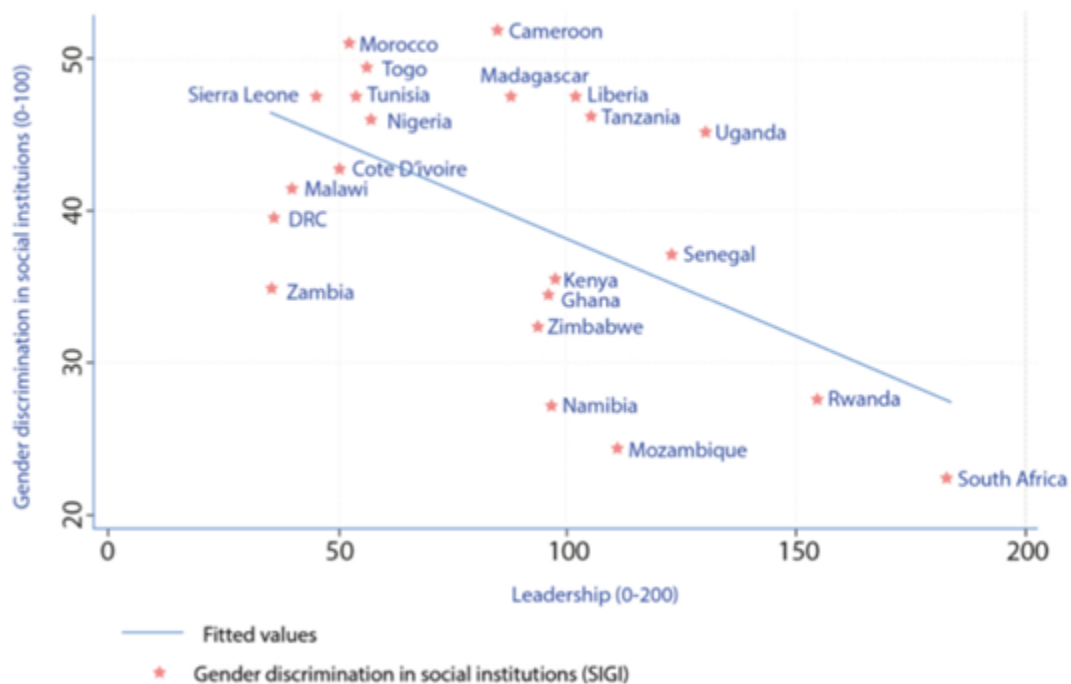
These kinds of practices are changing, thanks to education, western civilization and urbanization. Additionally, older society which is normally forced to respect the tradition is living in the villages, so they cannot control their descendants from far away. People in the city have a more dynamic and individual life, which does not support taboos on such a scale anymore. But a taboo, which is still relevant in society in the case of gender inequality, is the belief that women cannot break their marriage, that "their grave is in her husband's room" (Del Carme, 2022).

That is why women's leadership is incredibly important and needed to fight with ongoing inequalities. In conclusion, most of the taboos put women in a bad light, depriving them of human rights and self-determination.

7. Current situation and women's position in society

Currently, South Africa has more women political representatives, than in many more developed democratic countries. This is a significant increase of women's interests in politics and in government decision-making (Goetz, 1998). What is very important to mention is that it does not mean that women in representative positions will support women rights and fight for their equality, because it is not a guarantee. Many women in top positions are supporting patriarchal ways of thinking (Healy-Clancy, 2017). However, according to the World Economic Forum (WEF), which uses the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) to measure gender inequalities, South Africa achieved much more than other countries in the case of women representation in the political leadership compared to other countries. The country is in an impressive position where more than 46% of the political representatives are women (Galal, 2022). The measurement is composed of 5 aspects: economic opportunities, political empowerment, education, and health. Overall, in 2012 South Africa was in the 12th position, while the USA was in 19th (Ndinda, Okeke- Uzodike, 2012). But the statistics from 2022 shows that South Africa is currently on 14th position, while the USA is on 37th. That shows that some other countries developed in these years and jumped into better positions, but South Africa still kept a good place compared again, to the USA. But it is also in a great position compared to countries such as Sweden (9th), German (10th) or Switzerland (12th) (Galal, 2022). On the African continent, only 10 out of 54 countries had a woman in the position of President or Prime Minister, South Africa is in this group of these 10 countries. Additionally, it has the highest (44.7%) proportion of female ministers on the continent. The representation of women in leadership positions and political representation is important to combat the gender gap and discrimination. Only women are in a position to understand the obstacles women face, it is the main actors on the stage who have an impact on systemic change and law enforcement by citizens. But also, the research to examine the impact of women's leadership on gender discrimination in social institutions (Konte and Kwadwo, 2019).

Figure 1: The Effects of Female Leadership on Gender Discrimination in Social Institutions



Clearly indicated that South Africa has the highest representation of women in Parliament and the least gender discrimination. That is confirming how big influence women has by being active representatives on political stage.

Another significant change is visible in the electoral system. South Africa's current electoral system and electoral cycle lasts five years. A system with proportional representation is crucial here. This is particularly important as proportional representation gives space to smaller parties to win electoral mandates, thus providing a wider range of political views representing different social groups, as well as greater representation for women. The system allows women to be represented regardless of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious, urban or rural diversity. It also offers good MEPs an opportunity. Good people who, even if not highly educated, but work and help out of a sense of civic duty and vocation, or those who have a high level of social support, have a chance to apply and take a job later. It was some of those changes that made South Africa one of the countries with the highest proportion of women in parliament in the world. After the 2019 elections, the representation of women in parliament changed. In the provinces, it increased from 30% to 43%. The largest representation in the legislature is in Limpopo Province and the smallest in the Western Cape

Province. The current Parliament consists of 46% of women in the National Assembly and 36% in the National Provincial Council. The report shows that, despite the high proportion of women in Parliament, women are still fighting for gender equality (PMG, 2021).

Changes in political representatives started earlier somewhere else. Women and men positions in parliament or in important leadership positions are influenced by many aspects and most of them are starting in daily life, at the households where gender roles are visible the most. According to the author, before, the household without a man, was treated without dignity. Even if the father wasn't doing anything for their children or the house. But it is enough that he was giving the name. Women were not able to give their family and kids this kind of dignity, only fathers can.

A boyfriend could not be a head of the household, only a husband could, because without that he cannot provide for traditional customs. Men were automatically responsible for paying for everything that required proper household living. Some interviewed young women said that "men should give them money for everything they need, but women should be responsible for budgeting it, because they are much better at it." They argue that men are responsible for the support, and he can be supported back only if he is sick, despite this circumstance, he should be responsible for himself. But the reality of the situation looked a bit different in real life. Women were deeply struggling with relying on their husbands. Many of them weren't sharing their payment with wives or were giving them too little money, which didn't let them take care of the children and the house properly. They were coming back home on pay day, completely drunk and sometimes abusive. In this case, according to the male who were interviewed, women have dignity and have to respect themselves. To do that, she cannot gossip about her family and the households, which included informing and talking about abusive husbands and daily struggles at home. Their role of the household was pretty defined as well. They were responsible for the reproductive role, plus cooking and cleaning. Nowadays, more women are going to work to financially support the household as well. But that is not making their domestic duties smaller because of the new circumstances (Larsson, Schlyter, Mapetla, 1998). Studies from 2002, made by Ingrid Woolard indicate a significant economic growth of families led by women (48%) in comparison to those led by men (28%) (Woolard, 2002). Women are much wealthier, self-employed and powerful and that is a significant and very important change, which leads to a bigger one. At the same time,

it is not solving all the social problems. Nowadays, working women can afford house help, however, this is not improving in the case of equality. It is not making men more responsible for the house and daily duties. Additionally, is setting a bad example for kids and the next generations. First of all because it teaches women that they can stop cleaning and being responsible for domestic duties, only when they can afford to outsource house help. Second of all it shows boys that women will take care of their house responsibilities for them. That teaches them lack of respect for women and makes the gender inequalities gap even wider (Walker, 2013).

At the same time visible changes are coming. A new government started in 2018 by Cyril Ramaphosa announced the first ever Gender Representative Government. It is an important moment to transform the still existing strong and intense gender based inequality. That is the beginning of needed changes and still a lot has to be done. ANC that govern since the end of apartheid, was supporting equality, women rights and committee to the zebra system and gives women 50% voluntary quota of women candidates but mostly in theory. In reality, the total leadership of the party remains exclusively male. That is why changes proposed by President Ramphosa are significant. They include fighting sexual abuse, gender-based violence, working towards an equal government and work focused on involving the LGBT + community. These changes make South Africa one of 11 countries in the world to have a balanced gender government (Fröhlich, 2019).

8. Voices of important women leaders nowadays

The theoretical part will not make my research complete if I will not add the voices and opinions of important women leaders, who fought during the apartheid, but also those who follow their steps and are input for current generation. In this chapter I will bring closer the perspective of women who experienced the changes in the country, were part and reasons for them. But also those who help women face their current struggles.

The first important activists and voices of change is the wife of Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela. A woman with many faces, who started to be a social worker and fought for her own education and other kids long before she met her husband. She was a thinker. Later on an active supporter of her husband. When he was imprisoned in 1964, she started her lonely journey for a better future for women in need, leading them the way. But also encouraging them to become leaders. Called “mother of the nation ” (Bridger, 2018). In the interview called “In her own words”, Winnie Madikizela- Mandela said “*Yes I am married, but I am still Winnie, not only Mandela’s wife*” (Winnie Madikizela- Mandela: In Her Own Words, 2014). She fought strongly during her 491 days in prison. In one of her memoirs she said:

I reached the threshold where the body could not take the pain anymore and then I would faint and when they threw a bucket of water to wake me up, it didn't matter that I was soaking wet. I got up. I was so refreshed and I started fighting all over again. They can rather take my life. I do not care but I will fight to the last drop of my blood (Winnie Madikizela- Mandela: In Her Own Words, 2014).

She is a voice, symbol and muse to all the future generations, at the same time being very humble and not living for praise. In her last interview she is calling herself “only a part of the whole liberation machine, not an individual”. In one of the interviews, psychologist and a close friend of Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Saths Cooper said: “I don’t think the world would have known Nelson Mandela, if not because of Winnie.” She encourages artists, singers and poets performing outside of the country to talk about the struggle in South Africa, to let people know that Africans want Mandela out of prison. According to Yvonne Chaka Chaka: “Winnie is the woman who kept the Mandela name alive”. She was working as an activist mostly alone, many people were scared when she was encouraging others to fight and

work against the regime (Faces of Africa - Winnie Mandela: Black Saint or Sinner?,2015).

But as she said in her last interview:

It is an individual choice you make in your life to make a difference. It is an individual choice to understand that my neighbor is not as privileged as I am. Extend your heart to those around you and that is the democracy you should protect. That is the democracy that should be made. You have an individual choice if you are going to make a difference in your life”.And with that way of thinking she kept changing the world (Winnie Madikizela- Mandela: In Her Own Words, 2014).

At the same time she is worried about the future of the country. She sees that there is a lack of good leaders and that what they were fighting for in the past, starts to vanish. As a leader she is disappointed with the government and work of the parliament nowadays. “Never imagined that Parliament would be reduced what we see today”, but also:

We hold our breath each time the doors of Parliament open, because we just never know what’s going to happen, what next will happen and the rules of Parliament are flowed every day and something has gone terribly wrong (SABC, 2018).

Despite years of work to get Nelson Mandela out of prison, to fight for the liberation of the people from the hands of apartheid and to help women, her achievements were only noticed after her death. Her work started to be visible and popular by the internet movement #IAmWinnie. During her lifetime, she was treated in public as a violent and hard-to-control person. Her actions were not accepted by society as they did not correspond to the “correct picture” of the South African woman during apartheid. At first, there was no belief in her actions or her role as wife of Nelson Mandela. She highlighted the role and expectations of women in the world of patriarchy. According to feminist Sisonke Msimang, who often wrote about Winnie Mandela, Winnie’s femininity was turned against her and her identity as a woman and wife was questioned. But thanks to her work and her integrity, she is a symbol of strength and the struggle for a better future in South Africa. Her courageous tactics are still being used today.

I found the quotes of these interviews very relevant. They are showing the incredible strength and power Winnie had during the hardest time in the history of the country. First when she was in lock-up, then when she was fighting for the good name of Nelson Mandela and trying to release him from prison. Also her perspective of the individual choice, which we human kind has to make the difference and look for change. But also that she never gave up and cared for her country till the end. In her last interview before her death she was still

concerned about the future of her land and the leaders who took over.

Deeper my research goes, the more interesting female fighters and world changers I found. Second very important female leader is Sophia Theresa Williams-De Bruyn, the only living women's aid worker in the fight against apartheid and organizer of the march to Union Buildings in 1956. She worked together with Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi and Rahi Moosa. In one of the interviews, 59 years after the 20 000 women joined the protest against apartheid in Pretoria. She is explaining that it was a long process for freedom and that:

It's been a slow and painful journey in the beginning, but it got better in 1994 when we were recognised as equals in our Constitution and from then onwards it became easier to the point where we standing here today with young women like this and ourselves where you are beautiful doing your own thing and we are so proud of all you young women for where you are today and that long journey that we took was not in vain (Sophia Williams-De Bruyn on women social cohesion, 2022).

Sophia is not retired, despite her 84 years and her many merits to the country. She is still active and currently Head of Human Resources and a member of the Gender Equality Committee. She is also a member of the Saartjie Baartman Reference Group and a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC Women's League. She's very humble, and in an interview, she said:

I tried to turn down a little bit but it's still not easy so I carry on, I shoulder on, I sit on a number of structures and I am also a member of the NEC women's league. I am also part of the social cohesion and nation-building structure (Sophia Williams-De Bruyn on women social cohesion, 2022)

It is showing how unbreakable and unstoppable she is. She could already retire and live peacefully after so many years of active work for the country, but since there is still stuff to do and problems to take care of, she wants to continue.

The voice for women nowadays and active working leader is Panache Chigumadzi, 30 years old journalist and novelist from Zimbabwe, who was raised in South Africa. Founder of the VANGUARD magazine, which gives young black women space to express themselves and take an interest in spaces such as black consciousness, pan-Africanism and the intersection of queer identities in South Africa. Early in her career, she worked as a reporter for CNBC Africa, later as a columnist for The Guardian, Die Zeit, the New York Times and many others. She has written books such as Sweet Medicine, These Bones Will Rise Again

and Beautiful Hair for Landless People. In an interview with Sophia Theresa Williams-De Bruyn on the question of what kind of struggles women are facing in nowadays in South Africa, she said:

I think that as a feminist will always say the personal is political so you cannot separate what happens in the home from what happens in legislature. Whether it's things like gender based violence whether its like patriarchal, gender roles as well, who does what in the household. It's very important because the majority of domestic work will remain for women who are still breadwinners in the household so that affects a lot of things economically, young girl children as well. There are so many of these different things that we have to talk about culturally, what women are allowed to do and what they can't do. Gender- based violence is a big portion or aspect of that because we haven't changed our culture and attitude towards women as well (Sophia Williams-De Bruyn on women social cohesion, 2022)

And that is definitely a confirmation to my research that first of all we cannot separate things which are happening in the household and those in the legislature, because it is all connected to each other and start at home, when the strong patriarchal influence gives the father or the husband power over women, it ends up having an influence on her decision making at work, at the street, at her participation in elections, in choosing a candidate/future leader, and in many other everyday life situations.

In her TEDxEuston speech, Sophia Williams-De Bruyn called "Hearing the silence". She expresses that what is spoken is just as important as silence. And she is explaining that we need to know the language of the people to really help them. However, not only language in itself but some cultural nuances that for example, only an South African person will know and understand, during her speech she is also brings closer the situation of black women at that time and talks about sexual harassment women faced in their history:

During South Africa's centuries of colonialism and slavery at the Cape, not a single white or black man was ever tried or charged for raping a black women. We were deemed unrepairable dirty and sexual deviant, where white women held as pure and sexual chaste in need of particular protection from rapacious black men. It is not surprising that even as the "Me too" movement implores the world to believe women. Women marginalised because we are not white, rich, heterosexual able-bodied or of the right professional or age. We were less likely to be believed. (Chigumadzi, 2022)

A different type of important women voice is Jessica Mbangeni, singer, poet and actress. In her songs and poems she talks about the fight against apartheid, the struggle of women and man had in the past, but also raising the awareness of women's needs nowadays. In one of her songs called "Africa", she begins by praising all the beautiful places in Africa,

and admires that the continent didn't give up despite what's been through in all these years. It is about the children and national heroes of South Africa, those who fought before and during apartheid. The next installment welcomes the combat icon Nelson Mandela. She ends the song with a typical ending to Xhosa poetry. All the lyrics of the song were added at the end of my work. In this part, I will add the most important excerpt for my research, talking about Mandela's work to bring back democracy and freedom for his people, which how I wrote before wouldn't have happen without his wife Winnie Mandela.

Original version:

Rholihlala nto ka Mandela
Sithi Bayethe kuwe liso lezulu Wen'othwal'uthuthu lwezitho zeengwevu zangaphambili
OMxenge, oSteve Biko, Chris Hani, Robert Sobukwe Ndithetha amaqhawekazi oLillian
Ngoyi, noAdelaide Tambo
Rhambe'lineendevu lakwa Mthikrakra”
You have uphold the dignity and the stature of the Afrikan child in the entire universe
You have brought back freedom and democracy to the Afrikan continent
Ulurholil'uhlahla lwentlonipho, yokuhlonitshwa komntu omnyama we Afrika kwilizwe
liphela
Ulurholil'uhlahla ebelufudulwa lurhwatshilizwe
Lwaze lwafukanyw'ebuhlungwini bethyefu yerhamba elimnyama labentlanga”
(Jessica Mbangeni, 2014)

Translation:

Let's talk about Mandela
We say They told you the eye of heaven
You carry the ashes of the anterior limbs Mxenge, Steve Biko, Chris Hani, Robert Sobukwe
I mean the heroes of Lillian Ngoyi, and Adelaide Tambo
Walk with Mthikrakra's beard
You have uphold the dignity and stature of the African child in the entire universe
You have brought back freedom and democracy to the African continent
It is a source of respect, for the dignity of the black African nation across the country
The deforested tree was torn down
It even got caught in the poison of the black serpent of the nations
(Jessica Mbangeni, 2014)

She started her active help for others very early, at the age of seventeen, when she started to work as a domestic worker. Currently she is often speaking about what women went through during apartheid and bringing closer the struggles women face in South Africa currently as can be seen in her interview for eNCA called, “ Reflecting on women's struggles

in SA”. The interviewer pointed out that currently women are celebrating their day and what they went through in the past, but at the same time there is still many problems going on every day, such as femicide, rape and discrimination. So the question of the interviewer is, what do we really celebrate? The past and the struggle women went through for better today and the reality we are now having? (Mbangeni, 2022) Jessica Mbangeni replied that:

Women have done a great job to build the world, what it is today, the economy of the world. Women had a massive contribution in it...those women who put their lives for us to be where we are today, draw inspiration that we need to be selfless. It should not be about us when we are leading into these institutions of today.” But also, that: “We are celebrating a sense of realization that actually it is true their strength that we are where we are today and for significant celebration we should come together as the communities, man and women and revive our morals to build the communities that are going to be able to protect women so that women can be the priority in our society for instance women’s health is a leading priority that brings confidence to women and so that women should not go through stigmas through their health because we first stigmatize women and that’s why they result into infrared complex and get into the trap of being abuse, and that abuse divides our communities. So we need to look at all angles that are human rights leading and prioritizing women's lives empower the women with the networks that can be able to channel them to today’s or to the modern day economic structures (Mbangeni, 2022).

That is a strong message to South African society to unite and work together. Acknowledge rights for women and men. Stop stigmatizing women and their needs.

At the end of the interview, she talks about the solutions for women's problems. She is addressing her words to the government and politicians, by saying that if the government wants to help:

The system should prioritize women's rights and their protection and when women are going through certain challenges in our society, there should be measures that are protecting women. Invent the systems of life imprisonment or death penalty. Those are parallel to that. There must be a systems that are going to be a solution, because when you kill me or when you rape me that is actually the death sentence, where is actually the life sentence of the women today. We women want to sleep in their homes and walk around their neighborhood freely, when we are in the workplaces (Mbangeni, 2022).

Another example of how important and needed are changes in law. The focus on women rights and protection, because they do not feel safe in their own society.

Jumping into a bit of a different approach, I would like to bring closer the project made for the celebration of National Women’s Day, to listen to the empowerment of women. But why is this particular day so relevant? First of all, when should we talk about the importance of empowering women if not on their own day. But in South Africa it is a special

day, because they are celebrating women's strength, resilience and opposition to the regime on 9th of August 1956, by gathering in 20 000 women and protesting in front of the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Each women's day is an anniversary of celebrating their incredible union. The project made at that anniversary, includes interviews with 24 important voices of South Africa (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

One of the participants of this project, Joanne Fedler, was born in South Africa. Finished the University of the Witwatersrand, and later on was lecturing people at the Yale University. After that she became the legal advisor of a women's rights organization called POWA, People Opposing Women Abuse, which is: *“safe and equal society intolerant of all forms of violence against women and girls in all our diversity, where we are treated with respect and dignity and our rights are promoted...”* (POWA, 2022).

The interviewer asked her “What do you regard as the lowest depth of misery?” To answer the question, she tells the story which makes her question her job and influence of her action, to fight with discriminated and abused women. How she calls it “fantasy to make a difference”. She explained that once during an important conference when they were talking about new forms of the law. An old African woman stand up in the middle of the meeting and said:

You white women, you stand here and talk about how terrible rape is. I was raped, my daughter was raped and my granddaughter have been raped and their grandchildren will be raped, it is not such a horrible thing. We need medical help, we need housing, we need jobs. These are the things that are important to us (Fedler, 2022).

Joanne Fedler said that after working in the field for 6 years, it was the first time when she heard someone who lived through so many generations saying that yes, it exists. It is how it is, but this is not what we are concerned about the most. And that made her question all her work and the reason why she does what she does (Fedler, 2022). I believe that taking care of such an important issue is not less important than taking care of the better health care or jobs vacancies and opportunities. It is all connected with each other and the lack of respect towards women on the street, in daily life and at work is where the inequality toward women begins, so the work must start there. With respect towards women at the same level as men, better health care, housing and jobs will come. This is not so simple, but when men and

women unite, it is possible.. Together they can fight a battle for their needs (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

When I dig deeper into the work of POWA work. I found the story, told by one of the workers of the organization Jeanette Sera, who is talking about the support of domestic violence survivors. She started her work, because of all that she saw happening in her community. She said very relevant information that:

In one of our shelters, we once accommodated a woman who was burnt with acid. That is how brutal it can be. Some of our survivors would tell you that sometimes being physically abused you are left with scars and it heals. The emotional part is the one that is very difficult because you keep on being reminded of what he has said to you (Sera, 2022).

I understand the old woman who wanted to draw attention to other important problems and needs. However, like many times this has been confirmed by my research. That something is not visible at first glance, like domestic violence, mental violence or rape. This does not mean that the problem should not be tackled or pushed into the background. On the contrary, this is where “the greatness” of men over women begins, which influences the future position of women in public places, in jobs or in non-existent good health services. (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

Another crucial person, who started to work for the private office of Nelson Mandela and later his private assistant was Zelda La Grange. It is very important and relevant to highlight this woman. I find the beginning of her career an amazing example for others. First of all she started her career just at the age of 23. Then, as she said in the interview as a white person, she was ashamed of apartheid. So, the first few weeks of her work at the office she was hiding in her office, because she thought that meeting Nelson Mandela would be wrong and incorrect. Coming from a very racist and conservative background, she never expected that their paths would cross. As a person being so experienced and working with the government so closely. After working with Mandela for 20 years, she is still actively participating in changing the world. I find her story an important lesson for others, because even though she was raised in a conservative family, environment, and society, she

questioned what she was thinking and changed her way of action. (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

Currently she is an international motivational speaker. In one of her speeches for “Talks at Google”. She is saying her opinion about the current position of society and the struggle with racism. Especially about the progress of South African society in the last decade.

It seems like we did not make any progress, but in reality we have made a huge step. Look at me. Change is possible and we are measuring things differently now because of technology. I think in South Africa you will always have -like in any society across the world- you will have pockets of racism. People will just simply refuse to change, not for any good reason, people just do not want to change. South Africa specifically made massive progress as far as racial relationships are concerned (Mayhew, 2022).

Coming from a very racist and conservative background, she never expected that their paths would cross. I found it deeply interesting that someone with such a right-wing background who was strongly controversial, was strong enough to be open for changes and start working for Nelson Mandela. I think that people who are coming from such a background can be a real voice of change, since they experienced it by themselves. They know how to listen properly and understand reasons for some opposite ways of thinking. She is not blaming or shaming the societies who were also taught from books, schools, parents, churches and politicians that Nelson Mandela is a bad person with negative character, who brings only bad change and has a negative impact (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

Since the Mandela’s family is so often brought up in my research I decided to bring closer another member of their family who is still very politically and socially active. The leader and help for others, who suffer a lot during her lifetime and become a voice for future generations is Zoleka Mandela. A granddaughter of Nelson Mandela, who met him for the first time after he was released from prison, when she was only 10 years old. Her life was full of misery and thresholds. She was an alcoholic addict who drank her first drinks at the age of 9. When she was 13 years old, she used alcohol and drugs as a way to escape. Her family started to know about addiction only at the age of 21. At this time she was already a mother to her daughter Zenani. Which tragically died in a car accident at the age of 13, because the driver was drunk. When Zolega got the information, she was at the same time in the hospital,

after trying to commit a suicide, because of the drug episode, which made her want to burn herself alive. She could not forgive herself, how bad mother she was and why God did not take her instead. Two months after that happened, she decided to go for a rehab. It helped a lot, but it was not an end of the life challenge. At the age of 32, she was diagnosed with breast cancer. After everything she went through, she did not want to be treated medically, but in the end, she had double mastectomy and chemotherapy. Her life was like a sinusoid. Soon after that happened, she got pregnant with another baby, but because of the treatment her child did not survive, and she had to bury a second child. Three years later she met her fiancé and got pregnant again. That did not last for too long, because at the same year she was diagnosed with a new lump in her chest. That was a turning point in her life. She was completely devastated. All what she went through had an influence on her actions in the future. First of all she decided to share her story with others. To share awareness, inspire and hopefully help someone who is going through the same struggles. She is a voice for the sexual abused victims:

I was sexually abused from the age of nine up until my teenage years by family members, family friends and adults who were supposed to care for me. I only disclosed this to my family when I was 21 because I blamed myself! Parts of me still carry blame for having kept quiet. The reality is those acts were consciously committed by my abusers and none of it was my fault. I would say to them they are never alone and that it's never their fault. I would encourage them to speak out, to remind them that all our stories are crucial in effecting change and breaking silence (Lang, 2016).

As is visible in the quotation, she experienced these traumatizing experiences by herself and is able to help victims who build mental walls to protect themselves. After that she opened a foundation in her name to honor her daughter but also to share the awareness and motivate people to get tested and make checkups more frequently. Additionally, she became the cancer awareness ambassador (Lang, 2016).

Deeper research I was making, stronger I was impressed by how many important women leaders South Africa has. I was afraid that I would struggle to find enough examples with women of change and voice of the future. In reality it was the opposite. I had to make a strong selection, because in the past and currently SA can be proud of such a strong women representation.

To finish I will bring closer a few more important issues. The first major problem is the lack of adequate care for women and children, which is being addressed by another

important figure in South Africa, Nokwanele Mbewu. She directs the Mentor Mother Program of the Philani Maternal Child Health and Nutrition Trust. The clinic is responsible for the care of women and families in smaller towns. In addition, they help to give women a standard that allows them to be independent and take care of themselves. They provide for the education of children and improve the housing situation. Most houses are crowded with people, or the structure of the building is made of very thin materials such as plastic, wood or corrugated iron. Families often do not have access to drinking water. (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

The work of the organization began in 1979. After the upswing, their work was extended to the Southern Eastern Cape, Swaziland and Ethiopia. The chief administrator, Nokwanele Mbewu, about whom I wrote above. In an interview for the 200 Women project, she talks about her passion and mission, but she also talks about her beginnings and explains why she does what she does:

When I first started with the Mentor Mother Programme, I met three girls on a home visit. They were living in a shack that didn't have proper walls – the walls were made of plastic. Every night, this guy was coming over, opening the home and taking a child to rape. I thought about those beautiful girls every night until they were removed by a social worker and taken somewhere that I knew they would be safe. It makes me happy to see positive change; I see so much misery in this job, but when I see things change for the better I feel such joy (Nokwanele Mbewu - Blackwell & Ruth - Google Arts & Culture, 2017).

I will finish this chapter with this last story and another example of a strong female who made a change. I believe that bringing closer stories of all these women and their work, which I included in this chapter, are showing the relevance and importance of women empowerment. (Voices of Empowerment: 24 South African Women - Google Arts & Culture, 2022).

9. Conclusion

This dissertation began by explaining and showing the historical background of apartheid in South Africa. Going through the situation during the apartheid and after that I analyzed the situation of women and their fight against the regime. I have also tried to answer one of my first questions of this research, on what kind of struggles women face in South Africa to get to leadership positions. Women have been fighting against patriarchy for years. Their main vocation was to bear offspring and extend the family line. Immediately after marriage, a woman was subjected to the will of her husband, and if she was unable to produce male offspring, the husband looked for another wife because the will of the family and the husband were more important than the welfare of the wife. Another problem and discrimination is polygamy, which is only accessible to men. Along with the taboos that are part of tradition. Women who were subordinate to the family did not have the right to choose their own. In my work I have mentioned many examples, such as the death of a pregnant woman at home because of the taboo that giving birth at the hospital can bring misfortune and that it should happen only at home. Additionally, during apartheid time, they did not have authorization to move around the country without husband or family permission. Currently and before they did not have access to their own money. They relied solely on the man. Studies show existing discrimination at all levels of society. At home, the lack of opportunity to express their opinion if the husband does not allow it. Discrimination in schools, use of violence against young girls to satisfy sexual needs. To impose social taboos aimed at controlling society, but mainly at controlling women and deciding what to do and what not to do. The huge problem with rapes and sexually abusing women for man “needs” what cost the huge spread of HIV in the country, and very often death. The lack of tests and proper treatment for free, available for everyone exacerbates inequality. Especially the poor one, since it is happening mostly to women in rural areas and has an impact on the deepening poverty. South Africa is a country with a still very large problem with violence, noticeable on many levels. The main recipients who are unable to defend themselves are women and children. Here is another big problem with education and the existing sexual violence and humiliation of students at school. Girls are subjected to virginity tests by their teachers to protect them from HIV. In addition, the country continues to fail to deal with violence, drugs

and rape in school hallways. Because of this, girls are giving up on their education and pursuing their dreams.

The second main focus on my studies was a question, if women fight for democracy during the apartheid time influence their current situation in the political leadership representation? Before colonization, women had access to more rights and were treated as equal to men, this was changed by religion, political influence and patriarchy. Women were forced to give way to men. But women fight strongly for their rights during apartheid time by organizing protests, gathering together, writing novels, singing and speaking to the existing barriers. Thanks to their mobilization, steadfastness, hard work, strength and dignity in the fight for rights and changes, women like Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Sophia Williams De Bruyn and many others brought women to a better place. The proof that it was a women's victory is that from 1995, South Africa has celebrated international women's day, twice per year. But also that society needed strong female leaders which makes South Africa being on the 9th place in case of women political representatives in the world.

At the same time, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in her last interview was worried about the future of her country. In her way of thinking good leaders like these fighting for democracy and human rights are disappearing and vanishing. The society is giving the power and voice to those who do not care for the South African society. At the same time leader who fought for the country in apartheid, Sophia Theresa Williams- De Bruyn, acknowledge a lot of great women leaders and voices to follow. Such as Panache Chigumadzi, but also, Jessica Mbangeni, Joanne Fedler, Zelda La Grange and Zoleka Mandela. My research showed me that there is a huge amount of incredible and inspiring women leaders, who want to bring justice and fight for a better tomorrow. All these women and their stories had and still have motivating and unifying effect on future generations. It gives examples of role models for further change. The materials collected confirm the influence of women activism during the struggle for democracy on their current situation even if some problems still exist. It also shows that we cannot talk about leadership when the basic needs of society and life are not provided for and that many things still need to be change. But that analysis must be continue in further research.

During preparation for my thesis, I decided to make a course at the University of California, Santa Cruz, called Feminism and Justice which support the conclusion that the

importance of feminism is to collectively support the position of women. However, they are not able to achieve this without economic independence, being able to support themselves and get a job. To have rights to determine themselves and their bodies, including accessibility to contraception, abortion and pre- and post-natal care. To be able to choose their own sexual and love partners. To have access to sex education and to live without fear of asking questions and wanting to learn more about their body. And what this also entails, being free from physical and psychological violence, but also all other related acts.

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Appendix

Song “Africa” by Jessica Mbangeni

ph-sh-ya kwe nciba woo, ph-sh-ya komlambo

ph-sh-ya kwe nciba woowoho, ph-sh-ya komlambo

zibuyil’iinkomo zika tata, zibuyil’iinkomo zika tata, zibuyile iinkomo zika tata

beziyolobol’amavila woyehayehayehaye woo hayo ham

afrika nozala wama afrika

afrika nozala womz’ontsundu

afrika nozala womlisela no mthinjana we afrika

zifikil’izikrelemnqa zinge zizekuzakuza, zizenz’onozakuzaku

yangqish’intomb’enkulu yakhaba ngaw’omane yalandula

abhuduzel’amabhedengu ebhibhidl’amazinyo ebhud’ebhabham’exel’umbhali

wasuka wabhebhetha

ebekulukuhl’ekulahlekisa amalokonya, kodwa awayilahl’imbo yakho ngophoyiyana

bebekudovadova, bekunyathela, bekubiza ngenkqantosi mhlab’omnyama mhlaba wokhokho

masim’alihlaza, masim’achumileyo

achunyiswe kukuzingca, nebhongo lama afrika

kuni ke ma afrika ndithi huntshu

ngenxa yenyameko yok-mel’inyaniso

nendzondelelo yokugcin’uzinzo lwe afrika

kuba kaloku lomhlaba nalamatyath’igolide nesilivere, inkazimlo yazo ibingenakuthi hayi

xa belirhuntyula abarhwaphilizi elixhaphaza amaxhalanga

qhubekani zinto ndini nani zintokazi

qhubekani makwedini nani magqiyazana

nize nimthobele uthixo wooyihl’omkhulu uhintsa, uphalo, [?], urharhabe,ungqika

ngokuba kaloku liwa phantsi iqhinga lika mthyoli

owabonwa ngumprofeti untsikel’emdudweni

elokuba nawugqilazwa nenziw'amakhoboka
yilamigegemba, ama[?], amahilihili, amatshinithshini, amatshivela, amatshijolo

rhohlhala nto ka mandela
sithi bayethe kuwe liso lezulu
wen'othwal'uthuthu lwezitho zeengwevu zangaphambili
omxenge, osteve biko, chris hani, robert sobukwe
ndithetha amaqhawekazi olillian ngoyi, noadelaide tambo
rhambe'lineendevu lakwa mthikrakra
you have uphold the dignity and the stature of the afrikan child in the entire universe
you have brought back freedom and democracy to the afrikan continent
ulurholil'uhlahla lwentlonipho, yokuhlonitshwa komntu omnyama we afrika kwilizwe
liphela
ulurholil'uhlahla ebelufudulwa lurhwatshilizwe
lwaze lwaf-kanyw'ebuhlungwini bethyefu yerhamba elimnyama labentlanga
yiyo ke lonto ndisithi halaaaala madiba
halala madib'adib'iindonga
mhl'uzobhubha madib'uzunced'ubize mna lo
ndili gubevukazi ndawufel'indawo yakho
isizwe saba thembu siyandingqinela
nditsh'umlamb'umbhashe iingxangxasi ze tsitsa ziyandivumela
zithi: aaaaah dalibhunga!
mandikuyeke madiba, mandikuyeke yemyem
abafazi base mvezo bawukuthakatha
nde gram, nde gram, nde ncincilili!