

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

**THE NOTIONS OF 'ZULU TRIBE' AND 'ZULU NATION' AND THEIR USE
TOWARDS NATIONAL POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

2018

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USE TOWARDS NATIONAL POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

BY

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201143640

**A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts in fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the field of History**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Quotation.....	iv
Approval.....	v
Declaration.....	vi
Dedication.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Abstract.....	ix
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE: AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY.....	3
1.1. Introduction.....	3
1.2. Conceptual Issues in the study.....	3
1.3. Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.4. Aims and Objectives of the Study.....	7
1.5. Research Questions.....	8
1.6. The significance of the Study.....	8
1.7. Theoretical Framework.....	9
1.7.1. What is Social Identity.....	10
1.7.2. How is Social Identity acquired.....	11
1.7.3. The basic notion of ethnic identity.....	12
1.7.4. The function of ethnic identity.....	13
1.7.5. Manipulability of ethnic identity.....	14
1.7.6. Ethnic boundary.....	16
1.8. Knowledge of dissemination.....	18
1.9. Justification of the study.....	18
1.10. Dissertation structure.....	18
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review.....	20
2.1. Introduction.....	20
2.2. Literary studies on the notion tribe.....	21
2.3. Various studies on the notion nation.....	28
2.4. Various Studies on the politicization of ethnicity.....	37
2.5. Conclusion.....	44
CHAPTER THREE: Research Methodology.....	45

3.1. Introduction	45
3.2. Definitions of Research	46
3.3. Research Method	48
3.4. Area of the study.....	51
3.5. Research Methods Used	52
3.6. Research Process and Ethical Considerations.....	54
3.7. Analysis and interpretation of Data	57
3.8. Conclusion.....	58
CHAPTER FOUR: From Zulu tribe to Zulu nation.....	59
4.1. Introduction	59
4.2. The clan/tribal structures and resultant amalgamation.....	59
4.3. Shakan epoch and Nation-Building.....	69
4.4. The Zulu nation and King Shaka	75
4.5. The Post-King Shakan Era.....	77
4.6. Conclusion.....	79
CHAPTER FIVE: Manipulation towards national political aspirations.....	81
5.1. Introduction	81
5.3 Revival of Traditions.....	83
5.4. Parallels from the Past	88
5.5. The Availability of the Past/History	94
5.6. Conclusion.....	97
General Conclusion.....	99
List of Sources	101
Appendices	114

Quotation

“We should master these concepts so we can do battle with them and turn their inconsistencies around, substituting tribal perspectives wherever we can.”

Vine Deloria Jr.

Approval

This thesis has been read and approved in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand, Republic of South Africa.

Sign..... **Date**.....

Dr M.Z. Shamase

Supervisor

Declaration

I declare that: **The notions of Zulu Tribe and Zulu nation and their use towards national political aspirations in South Africa**, is a product of my effort, both in conception and execution, and all sources I have used or quoted have been appropriately acknowledged.

Sign..... **Date**

Student name: Mthandeni Patric Mbatha

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my family for their love and support throughout my studies. They deserve gratitude for understanding my need to study further.

Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my sincere appreciation and thanks to the following people and organizations that made this study possible:

- Special appreciation and thanks to my supervisor, Dr. M.Z. Shamase for his valuable comments and criticisms, which has helped in putting the study into the right perspective. I also appreciate his useful suggestions, especially on the title of the dissertation, and the encouragement he has given me right from the start of the work.
- My appreciation also goes to the entire staff and students of History Department.
- To my family for their unconditional encouragement, love, and support they have given me throughout the completion of this assignment.
- I'm properly grateful to the NRF for their financial support and to the Yenzumehluko CC eMpangeni for the professional typing of my work.
- The staff of the Zulu collection at the University of Zululand who provided me with valuable information.
- I am grateful to many people who assisted me in one way or the other but whose name could not be mentioned in this work. May God bless them richly.
- Finally, I would like to thank the Almighty God of Heavens I am optimistic that He will help me to attain greater degree in life.

Abstract

The aim of the study is to address the inappropriate application of European concepts onto distinctly African societies. The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. Firstly, to clearly establish that the concepts of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. The notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have interchangeably been used to refer to the same group of people. Secondly, to discuss how the concepts were used to manipulate the populace of Zulu extraction to gain advantage in the national politics of South Africa. As Europeans expanded their trade, settlement and military domination around the world. They began trying to figure out the different forms of society and culture they encountered, including writing their history. For many people in Western countries, the subject of Africa immediately called up the word 'tribe'. The Zulu in Southeast Africa did not escape the calling. The notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nations have interchangeably been used to refer to the same group of people - the 'Zulu'. This study delves deep into the notions and analyse how they have been used differently. The study clearly establishes that the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. It argues that King Shaka kaSenzangakhona used his spear to embroider together a diverse collection of tribes and clans into one might cultural quilt. The study discloses that beside its colonial imposition, the term tribe does not describe the Zulu people. The term Zulu nation appropriately describes the existing Zulu nation. It argues that when Shaka united his energy in 1816 to 1828, the resultant amalgamation of the few tribes constituted the current Zulu nation. Relying on a qualitative methodology, the study uses the principle of saturation to interview participants; it also relies on archival records in addition to current literature on the phenomenon. The study argues that the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation were used by different people for different purposes and effects. Findings have shown that the Zulu history was also used by colonists, missionaries, the leaders of the African petty bourgeoisie, the Zulu royal family and individual novelists to serve their own ends. Such people have had their own reasons to manipulate the concepts for their advantage. The study discusses that King Shaka became a potent symbol around which potential Zulu ethnic support was mobilized. After him many colonists, missionaries, leaders of the African petty bourgeoisie, the Zulu royal family members and individual novelists have manipulated the Zulu nation to serve their personal ends. South Africa turned to be a country in which the manipulation of ethnicity was at the heart of the government's attempts to set up control over the majority of the African population. The study concludes with a clarion call that people should stop using ethnic support for their political aggrandizement. The politicization of ethnic differences can have deep effects on whether members of different groups perceive each other as friends or foes. This does not bring about unity, but it in all cases causes division within people. This has resultant violence in KwaZulu-Natal today.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

“Politics that’s based solely on a tribe and ethnicity is politics that’s doomed to tear a country apart.”. “It is a failure, a failure of imagination.”¹

The notions of Zulu ‘tribe’ and Zulu ‘nation’ have interchangeably been used by different people to refer to the same group of people. The notion Zulu tribe has mainly been used to refer to the Zulu by colonialist. This calling did not end with colonialists some European historians have also interchangeably referred to the Zulu people as either tribe or nation. Some individuals from Zulu community have always referred to Zulu people as a nation. These people have pointed that Emperor Shaka Zulu embroidered together a diverse collection of tribes and chiefdoms into one mighty cultural quilt. They argue that by this doing Emperor Shaka was building a nation. This study delves deep into the notions of Zulu ‘tribe’ or ‘nation’; it analyses the meanings of these terms and their varying use in referring to or describing - the ‘Zulu’.

The term tribe was not frequently used by Africans as it has no equivalent translation in indigenous African languages.² The term was only used by African when they speak in foreign languages. The idea that “every African belonged to a tribe, just as every European belonged to a nation” was central to how colonial rulers understood Africa and to how they justified colonial projects. The concept of “tribe” served as a central element of the discursive repertoires through which the continent was conceptualized as a dark continent in need of civilization and development. Hameso concurs with the above statement by asserting that the term ‘tribe’ was popularized in the African context by the 18th and 19th century Europeans, who applied it indiscriminately to describe the supposedly ‘uncivilized’ archaic African communities.³ He further maintains that afterward, the word ‘tribe’ and its functional expression ‘tribalism’ was used in a manner that denigrates the native (indigenous) institutions.⁴

Nowhere in the history of South Africa or the history of the whole sub-continent, has one man done more to unite people than King Shaka did during his magnificent reign. This study alludes that Shaka became a powerful symbol around which potential Zulu ethnic support

¹ The former President of the United States, Barack Obama, stated the following during his state visit in Kenya in 2015:

² A. Mafeje: ‘The Ideology of ‘tribalism’” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 9 No. 2, p. 254.

³ S. Hameso: *Ethnicity in Africa- towards a Positive Approach*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

was assembled. The study intends to understand the ways Inkatha has, since its formation, used the Zulu past and Zulu nation to draw support, to achieve political gains, and to educate the youth in KwaZulu. Mauritius

Ethnicity has become a prominent factor to garner support in African politics. In 1983, Prince Buthelezi, the leader of the IFP, stated that all members of the Zulu nation were automatically members of Inkatha if they were 'Zulu'. He continued to argue that they may be 'inactive members as no one escaped being a member as long as he or she' was a member of the Zulu nation.⁵ This ambiguity of being caught between the Zulu nation, on the other hand, and national aspirations on the other, continued to haunt South African politics. From the statement above, the study argues that by that ethnic definition at its founding, Inkatha had an instant membership of over 5 million people.⁶

The manipulation of ethnicity has been one of the major issues that many academics and politicians grappled with, and continue to grapple with, in Africa. In general, they grapple with the role and place of ethnicity in politics. The study maintains that process of colonial rule was also an early source of political ethnicity. The colonial governments committed a very small administrative structure to their extensive colonial territories and administered them largely on a cost-recovery basis. These meagre resource commitments meant reliance, in varying degrees, on existing traditional authority structures and institutions, the most famous and theoretically articulated being the British colonial policy of Indirect Rule. But all colonial administrations relied to some degree on indigenous structures. This practice altered power relations within traditional power structures but also among ethnic groups inducing intense political competition among them. The process of decolonization also contributed to political ethnicity. This at the beginning of decolonization resulted to much nationalist movement to mobilize ethnic groups into politics.

⁵ R. Cope: 'Political Power within the Zulu Kingdom', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, vol. 8, 1985, p. 34.

⁶ D. Chidester: *Religions of South Africa (Routledge Revivals)*, p. 211.

CHAPTER ONE: AIMS AND OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a general review and context of the study, state the research problem, the objectives of the research and key questions to be answered by the research. Thereafter, the significance of the research will be discussed and a review of literature pertinent to this study were reviewed and synthesized. The theoretical framework underpins the study makes up the conclusion of the chapter.

1.2. Conceptual Issues in the Study

There has been much confusion regarding the interchangeably use of the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation. Some people think there is no real difference between the two names. Other people think tribes and nations are different when we look at the size of the groups of people, how they organise themselves and how they communicate with the rest of the world. The need for clarification of the meaning of concepts used in a study of this kind is a necessity to explain the sense in which the terms are situated. For the purpose of this study, the key concepts are tribe, nation, ethnic group, ethnicity and nationalism.

The idea that “every African belonged to a tribe, just as every European belonged to a nation” was central to how colonial rulers understood sub-Saharan Africa and to how they justified colonial projects⁷. The concept of “tribe” served as a central element of the discursive repertoires through which the continent was conceptualized as a dark continent in need of civilization and development. In particular, the British model of indirect rule, and specifically its reliance on a hierarchy of local administrators, had as its basic premise a notion of ethnic territoriality. This concept presumed that tribal chiefs enjoyed authoritative powers to legitimately define local duties and responsibilities, prescribe punishment, and measure justice over a certain area and local people. However, many precolonial African societies - ranging from highly centralized kingdoms to stateless societies - did not fit this

⁷ C. Ehret: *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

categorization, highlighting the extent to which this portrait of “tribal Africa” was an invention of the colonial mind.⁸

For the colonial anthropology, the notion tribe refers to people who are outside 'civilization' or who have not received 'civilization'. The basic frame of analysis rests on understanding civilization as perceived by them. Therefore, tribe as culture became an 'object' throughout the colonial period. The study approached the term in terms of the basic elements and attributes such as language, dress, culture, religion and territory. The term tribe as posited by Croze refers to “a group of people, many of whom may be related, who live in the same general area and live off the products of a shared and they speak the same language and practice a common set of rituals.”⁹ As noted by Majumder, tribe refers to “as a collection of families on group of families bearing a common name members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assigned system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.”¹⁰ In the aggregate, it commonly raises questions political identity based on common claimed descent.

Zulu identity in South Africa is historical, not static. What it means to be “Zulu” has changed over time, and means different things to different people today. Before the nineteenth century, “Zulu” was the clan name of the kings of a small kingdom, which was tributary to the Mthethwa kingdom. Beginning around 1815, the Zulu kingdom displaced the Mthethwa kingdom and conquered dozens of other nearby small kingdoms which gradually took on Zulu identity on top of older local identities. The expansion of political powers, such as the Zulu and Swazi kingdoms, created new identities for many people in the 19th century.

White colonization began in the 1830s, when the Zulu kingdom was still quite new. White conquest took decades. Much chieftdom remained in the independent Zulu kingdom while others came under the British colony of Natal. Many people and chiefs only recently conquered by the Zulu kingdom fled into Natal, rejecting political Zulu identity, although retaining cultural affinity. But as all Zulu-speaking people came under white South African rule, and as white rule became more oppressive, evolving into apartheid, the Zulu identity

⁸ C. Ehret: *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

⁹ H. Croze: *Africa for Kids: Exploring a Vibrant Continent*, 19 Activities, p. 66.

¹⁰ M.N. Srinivas: *Social Change in Modern India*, (Second edition) Delhi Orient hangman, p. 265.

and memories of the powerful independent kingdom became a unifying focus of cultural resistance.

Under South African rule, the term “tribe” referred to an administrative unit governed by a chief under rules imposed by the white government. Tribes were thus not ancient and traditional, but modern bureaucratic versions of the old small kingdoms. Yet the Zulu people or nation was also referred to as a tribe by whites. Thus the Zulu was composed of several hundred tribes.¹¹

With apartheid, the government fostered ethnic nationalism or tribalism to divide Africans, claiming that segregated, impoverished land reserves (“homelands”) could become independent countries. Conversely, when the African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1912, it saw tribalism - divisive ethnic politics - as an obstacle to creating a modern nation. But it saw diverse linguistic, cultural and political heritages as sources of strength. The new nation had to be built by extending and uniting historic identities, not by negating them.

On the one side, the IFP has continually stressed its version of Zulu identity. Also, since the ANC has followers in all ethnic groups, as the 1994 elections showed, neighborhoods with many Xhosa residents may have been specifically targeted in order to falsely portray the ANC as a “Xhosa” organization. On the other side, the ANC at the time tried to isolate the IFP in a way that many ordinary Zulu people saw as anti-Zulu, making them fearful.

The study establishes how IFP relied heavily on symbols of “tradition.” But to see that as making Zulu identity “tribal” obscures other realities: the IFP’s modern conservative market-oriented economic policy; the deep involvement of all Zulu in an urban-focused economy, with half living permanently in cities and towns; the modern weapons, locations and methods of the violence, and the fact that even as the IFP won the rural vote in the most recent elections, a strong majority of urban Zulu-speakers voted ANC.

We should acknowledge if we are to have a better understanding of the concept of cultural systems, that tribe has constantly been used by Europeans to describe varying African ethnic groups. The term nation has always been used to define ‘civilized’ European nations. The thought behind the use of the two notions has always been dominated by understandings of differences. The term ‘tribe’ was used by Europeans in a derogatory manner to refer to African communities. The term ethnic group tends to be acceptable as it does not connote any

¹¹ C. Lowe: Talking about “Tribe” Moving from Stereotypes to Analysis, p. 10.

sort of primitiveness and backwardness. Isajiw understands ethnic group as referring to a community-type group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who may not share this culture but who identify themselves with this ancestral group.¹² Isajiw further defines ethnic identity as a manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to those systems.¹³

This research explored the negative effects the manipulation has towards the development of modern nation. The study opines that ethnic mobilisation was especially evident among the Zulus. In making an appeal for ethnic sentiment among the Zulus, the IFP and particularly its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, heavily relied on the history of the Zulu Kingdom. The social identity theory is sufficient to give a historical narrative of Zulu identity as either tribe or nation.

1.3. Problem Statement

In recent time, most scholars, both Africans, and non-Africans who studied African states and societies agree that 'tribe' promotes misleading stereotypes. It has appeared that the term 'tribe' has no consistent meaning. It carries misleading historical and cultural assumptions. Moreover, it blocks accurate views of African realities. The general sense of a tribe as most people understand it is associated with primitiveness and backwardness; to be in a tribal state is to live in an uncomplicated, traditional condition. The calling of nearly all African social groups 'tribes' and African identities as 'tribal' in the era of scientific racism have turned the idea of the tribe from a Social Sciences category into a racial stereotype.

On the other hand, a nation is a large group of people with strong bonds of identity - an 'imagined community', a tribe on a grand scale. A nation may have a claim to statehood or self-rule, but it does not necessarily enjoy a state of its own. National identity is typically based on shared culture, religion, history, language or ethnicity; though disputes arise as to who is truly a member of the national community or even whether the 'nation' exists at all (Do you have to speak IsiZulu to be Zulu?). Nations seem so compelling, so 'real', and so much a part of the political and cultural landscape, that people think they have lasted forever. In reality, they come into being and dissolve with changing historical circumstances - sometimes over a relatively short period of time. Why, then, does national identity give rise

¹² W.W. Isajiw: Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework, p. 6.

¹³ Ibid, p. 8.

to such extremely strong feelings? And why would so many be ready to 'die for the nation' in a time of war?

Because of migration, most modern states include within their borders diverse communities that challenge the idea of national homogeneity and give birth to the community of citizenship, rather than membership in the nation. In the age of global transportation and communication, new identities arise to challenge the 'nation', but the pull of nationalism remains a powerful force to be reckoned with - and a glue that binds the states together and helps many people (for better and for worse) make sense out of a confusing reality. Using empirical research methods, this study analyses these concepts in the context of the Zulu people as either tribe or nation. In 1983, Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), argued that all members of the Zulu nation were automatically members of Inkatha if they were 'Zulus'. He further argued that they might be people who were 'inactive members as no one escaped being a member as long as he or she' was a member of the Zulu nation.¹⁴ This ambiguity of being caught between the Zulu nation, on the other hand, and national aspirations on the other, continues to haunt South African politics.

In using empirical research methods, this study analyzed these concepts in the context of the Zulu people as either a 'tribe' or 'nation' and their use towards national political aspirations. It explained the socially-constructed nature of the Zulu people as either a tribe or nation. The analysis of historical features of what constitutes a nation in a historical context as well as the historical development of the Zulu people from the tribe to a nation is also discussed.

1.4. Aims and Objectives of the study

The study aims at giving an exposition to, from a historical point of view, the notions of the Zulu 'tribe' and 'nation'. These notions have been used interchangeably as if they contain one common meaning and explanations. Thus, the main objectives of this research study are:

- 1.4.1. To highlight and examine the differences between the notions of the 'tribe' and 'nation' from a historical point of view.
- 1.4.2. To examine how the Zulu 'tribe' and 'nation' came into existence.

¹⁴ R. Cope: 'Political Power within the Zulu Kingdom', *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, vol. 8, 1985, p. 34.

- 1.4.3. To identify historical features of what constitutes a tribe, and what makes a nation in the historical context.
- 1.4.4. To analyze the historical development of the Zulu people from a tribe to nation.
- 1.4.5. To interrogate the use of the notions of Zulu tribe or nation for national political aspirations.

1.5. Research Questions

Research questions make theoretical assumptions in the framework more explicit and as such this research work has the following as its questions:

- 1.5.1. What is the general world-wide meaning of the notions of tribe and nation?
- 1.5.2. How notions of the 'tribe' and 'nation' do describe the Zulu people in South Africa?
- 1.5.3. Are Zulu people, a 'tribe' and 'nation'?
- 1.5.4. When do Zulu people become the tribe or nation and how do the notions of 'tribe' or 'nation' influence Zulu people's way of life?
- 1.5.5. What is nationalism and how does it relate to ethnicity?
- 1.5.6. In what way does the notion of 'tribe' or 'nation' get politically manipulated?
- 1.5.7. How do notions of the Zulu 'tribe' and Zulu 'nation' relates to Zulu nationalism and the Zulu kingdom?

1.6. Significance of the study

The notions of the 'tribe' and 'nation' have not been appropriately explored in the existing South African academic literature. Thus, this study seeks to explore the extent to which the notions of the 'tribe' and 'nation', in a Zulu context, have derogatively been used by non-indigenous people during the colonial era and indigenous formations in pursuit of political

agendas. The study is expected to bridge the academic *lacuna* in the existing literature contemporary politics of South Africa. The study is of great benefit to researchers, students, and the general public who are keen in knowing the genesis of the Zulu tribe and its consequent transformation into the Zulu nation.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

The nature of this research study suggests that the Social Identity Theory as propounded by Henri Tajfel be employed for empirical analysis. It was first developed by Henri Tajfel at the start of the 1970s in Britain, out of his scientific and personal interests in social perception and social categorization.¹⁵ He described the Social Identity Theory as a phenomenon which deals with the way group members understand themselves as part of the group and differentiate their group from the order to achieve a positive social identity.¹⁶ This theory is adequate to be the framework for this study because; the study deals with the analysis of the social categorization of the Zulu people as for whether they are a ‘tribe’ or a ‘nation’.

Identity can be viewed as the way(s) an individual is or wishes to be known by certain others. It means a person’s definition and description of self. Social Identity Theory is based on the idea that people are divided or divide themselves into groups, and that individuals define themselves according to their group’s membership (in-group) and in comparison to other groups (out-groups).¹⁷ Social Identity Theory defines a group cognitively, in terms of people’s self-conception as group members. A group exists psychologically if three or more people construe and evaluate themselves in terms of shared attributes that distinguish them collectively from other people.¹⁸

Tajfel, further, described three facets of social identity theory, namely, cognitive which focuses on the recognition of belonging to the group, evaluative which focuses on the values attached to the group, and emotional which refers to the attitudes group members hold towards insiders and outsiders.¹⁹ A social group, according to Tajfel is more than two people who share the same identity. They identify and evaluate themselves in the same way and have

¹⁵ P.J. Burke: Contemporary Social Psychological Theories, p. 111.

¹⁶ C.A Barker: Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Re-categorization in the Book of Acts, p. 5.

¹⁷ V. Kusstatscher and C.L. Cooper: Managing Emotions in Mergers and Acquisitions, p. 32.

¹⁸ P.J. Burke: Contemporary Social Psychological Theories, p. 111.

¹⁹ C.A. Baker: Identity, Memory, and Narrative in Early Christianity: Peter, Paul, and Re-Categorization In the Book of Acts, p. 5.

the same definition of who they are, what attributes they have, and who they relate to and differ from people who are not in their group or who are specific out-groups.²⁰

Social identities are connected to each aspect of a person's life and ethnic identity is the most dynamic and the most evident social identity concept. In consequence, it is necessary to gain an unambiguous meaning of ethnic identity as social identity. The common sense of the concept of identity is an individual's understanding of who he is and of who other people are. Jenkins states that human social life is unimaginable without some means of knowing who others are and some sense of which we are.²¹

When encountering a stranger, the first step is to try to locate him on one's own very broad social map of various categories of identities. Each individual incorporates different identities, and as a result, has different perspectives of life and problems. Identity is a very influential and active concept in the mind - whether consciously or unconsciously. Some identities are more valuable than others but ethnic identity is one of the most influential identities.

1.7.1. What is social identity?

Fisher *et al* posit that each person is born either male or female or born into a particular way of life. For example, a bushman from the Kalahari and an urban citizen of Johannesburg have different experiences of life. Each person has his or her own values and thinking, which guide his behaviour. These values and thinking are informed by the different identities the person holds.²²

Appiah states that the concept of 'social identity' evokes what is called collective descriptions such as religion, gender, ethnicity, race and sexuality.²³ Social identity is never a final or settled matter and can be understood as consciousness, process and recognition. Identity is a necessary prerequisite for social life; consequently, people form individual and collective consciousness of it from an early age. One learns to feel and behave as prescribed

²⁰ P.J. Burke: *Contemporary Social Psychological Theories*, p. 111.

²¹ R. Jenkins: *Social identity*, p. 5.

²² S. Fisher et al.: *Working with conflict*, p. 47.

²³ K.A. Appiah: 'Identity, authenticity, survival: multicultural societies and social reproduction', in Amy Gutman (ed) *Multiculturalism*, p. 150.

by ones culture and collective consciousness.²⁴ For example, a systematic set of beliefs, ideas, knowledge and practices differentiate Zulu from other ethnic groups.

The awareness of social identity is progressively formed and shaped through various forms of social interactions, cultural symbols and codes. Ericksen²⁵ argues that there is a systematic establishment of significations between an individual and the collectivity through relationships of similarities and differences. The concept of identity is constituted by 'similarity' and 'difference' as two elements internally and inflexibly linked. According to Jenkins 'similarity' and 'difference' are "the dynamic principles of identity, the heart of social life, the practical significance of men for one another in the most varied forms; both are the great principles of all internal and external development."²⁶ In the light of above, each principle makes possible another, for example isiZulu as the common language of the Zulu is an important factor of similarity among them but also the same language signifies the difference between them and non - speakers of isiZulu. The above aspects of social identity are a convenient way of daily interactions, so that the whole social organization is very concerned with this. Social identities are in themselves one foundation upon which order and predictability in the social world are based.

1.7.2. How is social identity acquired?

Several scholars have indicated that social identity is acquired. It has its roots in one's earliest process of socialisation. According to Hayes, a human being cannot exist alone.²⁷ The birth of children initiates human beings into a life-long process of mutual adaptation. The interaction with other children, the intimate relationship found in families and the broader social environment shape individual's identities. Ethnic identity dominates this development because it is a cultural element.²⁸

According to Appiah²⁹ each person's individual identity is seen in two major dimensions. There is a collective dimension, which Appiah describes as the intersection of their collective identities, and there is a personal dimension, consisting of other socially or morally important features such as intelligence, charm, wit and cupidity. However, these features are not

²⁴ R. Jenkins: Social identity, p. 4.

²⁵ T. Ericksen: Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives, p. 13.

²⁶ R. Jenkins: Social identity, p. 6.

²⁷ M. Hayes: <http://www.community-relations.org.uk/progs/cd/whither.htm>. accessed August 09-2017

²⁸ M. Hayes: <http://www.community-relations.org.uk/progs/cd/whither.htm>. accessed August 09-2017

²⁹ K.A. Appiah: 'Identity, authenticity, survival: multicultural societies and social reproduction', in Amy Gutman (ed.) *Multiculturalism*, p. 151.

themselves the basis of forms of collective identity because researchers admit that social identities of intelligent or honest people do not exist.³⁰

1.7.3. The basic notion of ethnic identity

Identities are often described in terms of particular groups that individuals belong to or with whom they associate. Fisher *et al*³¹ define ethnic identity as a concept referring to the group with which one shares a particular language, culture, religion and / or race.

Enloe proposes that ethnic identity has both a communal and personal dimension. It refers to a peculiar bond among persons that causes them to consider themselves a group distinguishable from others. The content of bond is shared culture.³²

On the personal level, ethnicity equips an individual with a sense of belonging and it positions him in society. As social relations become complex and impersonal, ethnic identity may be grasped tenaciously. It is a familiar and reassuring anchor in a climate of turbulence and uncertainty.³³ The concept of ethnic identity can be defined under various criteria; in this regard Stavenhagen³⁴ lists the following criteria that he judges as factors of ethnic identity:

- The common language is the powerful indicator of ethnic identity.
- Religion has historically been an important formulator of ethnic identity. In urban industrialised society, people interact independently of religion. But in those societies in which religion intervenes in public life, it may become a determinant factor for ethnic identity.
- Territory is also the basis of economic and political structures. The majority of ethnic groups in the world are identified with some territory, which is not only their vital environment, but also their real or mythical land of origin.
- Social organization refers to institutions and social relations that provide consistency to an ethnic group over and beyond the personal identity of its members. Social organization establishes the boundaries of an ethnic group; it is the framework within which 'we' and 'they', 'insiders' and 'outsiders' are distinguished.
- Culture is often seen to include factors of language, religion and social organization as mentioned above. Other elements include the material aspects of culture such as

³⁰ R. Jenkins: Social identity, p. 4.

³¹ S. Fisher et al.: Working with conflict, p. 47.

³² C. Enloe: Ethnic conflict and political development, p. 15.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ S. Fisher et al.: Working with conflict, p. 48.

cultural artefacts, and value systems, symbols and meanings, norms and customs, which are shared by members of an ethnic group.

- Race is a particularly significant factor in ethnic identity. It commonly refers not only to the biological attributes of the individuals such as skin colour, facial features and body shape, but also to the supposed social, cultural and psychological qualities that are associated with them. Not all ethnic differences are racial differences, but ethnic distributions tend to be stronger and longer lasting to the extent that they include racial criteria.

1.7.4. The function of ethnic identity

Anthropologists have studied ethnicity in its functions. Barth seeks to discover why a group (or individuals) might wish to distinguish themselves from other group. He assumes that while all people are understood to belong to an ethnic group, individuals are shown to choose to activate and emphasise such allegiance and to assume a certain utilitarian rationality in this process, maximising the benefits to themselves.³⁵

In the light of above, the first function of ethnic identity becomes a survival means in a widely societal interaction where people use ethnic belonging for their daily struggle for life. Barth argues that ethnicity increases when there is intense spatial-geographical and social contact between groups.³⁶ Barth emphasizes that the most isolated group of people is probably the least ethnically self-defined.³⁷

Another function of ethnic identity is that belonging to an ethnic group provides a way of self-identification or self-affirmation in relation to other groups. The ethnic identity allows a person to fulfil himself, to realise that he is unique, original, and irreplaceable as a member of an ethnic group and irreducible from the outside to something else. As Roosens points out:

If I see and experience myself as a member of an ethnic group, and others fellow members and outsiders- recognise me as such, “ways of being” become possible for me that set me apart from the outsiders. These ways contribute to

³⁵ D. Webster: Abafazi bafihlakala: ethnicity and gender in a Kwazulu border community. In AD Spiegel and PA Mc Allister (eds), *Tradition and Transition in South Africa*, p. 245.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ E. Roosens: *Creating Ethnic Identity: the process of ethogenesis*, p. 12.

the content of my self-perception, because of one's ethnic identity; one is enclosed in some realities and simultaneously excluded from others.³⁸

Clearly, one of the important functions of ethnic identity is to confer self-esteem to its members. When this function is not fulfilled, the ethnic identity may lose its current attraction. When a group does not impute positive values it affects the self-esteem of members: for example, in an attempt to avoid the negative effects left by the genocide on 'ethnic identity', many people never affirm themselves ethnically.

1.7.5. Manipulability of ethnic identity

The manipulability of ethnicity is facilitated by the absence of distinguishable ethnic boundaries such as culture, skin colour, territory, and religion. Bruce³⁹ discovered some conflicts that were more psychologically constructed than others and therefore resulted in more complex and deep social divisions. Weber argues that ethnic membership does not constitute a group; it only facilitates group formation of any kind, particularly in the political sphere. On the other hand it is primarily the political community, no matter how artificially organised that inspires the belief in common ethnicity.⁴⁰

Therefore, researchers have highlighted other aspects that define ethnicity. In this regard, Mare argues that ethnicity is not only a common identity for people. It is also a term used to explain occurrences.⁴¹ In order to understand the occurrences of ethnic identity, one needs to refer to experiences shared by a group of people during for example a long victimization or marginalisation. For example, during the years of colonialism in Africa, ideologically the African communities had the connotation of "tribes".

This led to the emergence of a collective consciousness that in turn became a powerful factor of mobilization.⁴² As Mare highlights, an ethnic identity is similar to a story. It becomes a way of dealing with the present through a sense of identity that is rooted in the past. Ethnic identity calls on what has been, what appears to be known and what there is certainty about in an uncertain world.⁴³

³⁸ E. Roosens: *Creating Ethnic Identity: the process of ethogenesis*, p. 18.

³⁹ S. Bruce: *The edge of union*, p. 36.

⁴⁰ R. Jenkins: *Rethinking ethnicity, arguments and explorations*, p. 10.

⁴¹ G. Mare: *Brothers Born of Warrior blood: Politics and ethnicity in South Africa*, p. 42.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

Ericksen argues that in recent years anthropologists have been concerned with the way in which history and cultural symbols are manipulated in the creation of ethnic identities and organisations. Such a focus implies that ethnic identity can be consciously constructed.⁴⁴ For example, the Thonga is a South African tribe, which is disappearing as an ethnic identity and collectively, because for several decades Thonga men have been adopting Zulu ethnic identity.⁴⁵

According to Webster, the attitude Thonga men is highlighted by the function of the ethnic identity proving again that the commitment to the ethnic identity is important when it is represents substantial interests:

A widespread local belief is that one's chances of finding employment are enhanced if one is Zulu. This may be true given the penchant of white employers to stereotype the Zulu as strong, masculine, militaristic and reliable, whereas most have never heard of the Thonga...For over thirty years Zulu has been the medium of instruction in the schools, while there is no written tradition in Thonga. It is also true that Zulu has become the prestige language and all the people speak it.⁴⁶

In this case what appears to be evident is that ethnic identities are important for individuals because they allow a positive self-image and allows access to resources. From this perspective Cohen states that ethnicity has primarily to do with politics and economics. In other words, ethnic groups are interest groups, and ethnicity can adapt to new contexts.⁴⁷

In accordance with the interest or particular reasons realised by social interaction, ethnic identity can be constructed. This aspect highlights the feature of ethnic identity as a typical social identity. It is true that ethnicity is a social creation and a fact of nature and that ethnic variation does not necessary correspond to cultural variation.⁴⁸ Regarded as contingent on political organisation, identity is formed in situations of competition over resources. The above author concludes that is therefore difficult to predict which ethnic or other identities will be dominant for any given population in the future.

⁴⁴ T. Ericksen: *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*, p. 69.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ D. Webster: *Abafazi bafihlakala: ethnicity and gender in a KwaZulu border community*. In AD Spiegel and PA Mc Allister (eds.), *Tradition and transition in South Africa*, p. 254.

⁴⁷ D. Baker: *Race, ethnicity and power*, p. 10.

⁴⁸ T. Ericksen: *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*, p. 64.

Clearly, power and resources are central in the process of identity maintenance and change. Identity is something over which struggles take place and with which stratagems are advanced. It is both a means and an end in politics.⁴⁹

1.7.6. Ethnic boundary

Ethnic boundary is an important aspect of group differentiation, which works against outsiders and insiders in a very subjective manner. Ethnic boundary is both individual and collective. As defined by de Vos and Romanucci-Ross, it is a factor of sameness internally:

A sense of common origin, common belief and values 'common cause' common sense of survival- in belief, a 'common cause', permanently informed by cultural materials; it has been of great importance in uniting members into self-defining in groups. Growing together in a social unit, showing a common verbal and gestural language allows members to develop mutually understood accommodation, which radically diminish situations of possible confrontation and conflict.⁵⁰

Many authors have attempted to define the concept of an ethnic boundary. Jenkins argues that the production and reproduction of differences vis-a-vis external others is what creates the image of similarity internally, vis-a-vis external others and the image of similarity internally.⁵¹ Understanding ethnic boundary as a means of recognition of the significant difference between 'them' and 'us', de Vos distinguishes two levels of definition of ethnic boundary. In broad group terms it will normally be couched in terms of culture, race, nation or religion. In a more narrow individual perspective, the same difference may be described in terms of the minutiae of behaviour. Ethnicity intervenes at both levels in terms of the organization of society and organization of difference.⁵²

Fried argues that the boundary is something, which differentiates members from non-members or non-members from members: the boundary can be read from either side. According to the same author, using this logic, ethnic boundaries must be both an interface line between inside and outside and an identity line between 'us' and 'them': We identify 'us' differently to 'them'; we use the boundary for our purposes according to our need (s) at any

⁴⁹ R. Jenkins: Social identity. p. 25.

⁵⁰ G. De Vos. and L. Romanucci-Ross: Ethnic identity, p. 3.

⁵¹ R. Jenkins: Social identity. p. 12.

⁵² G. De Vos. and L. Romanucci-Ross: Ethnic identity, p. 3.

given time in any given context. 'They' identify themselves by contrast to the rest of us. They use boundary for their purposes. The 'interface' is the border around the familiar, the normal, and the unproblematic. The performance, appearance, activity and social structure is different.⁵³

Jenkins defines ethnicity as a word, which comes from the ancient Greek word 'ethnos', which seems to have referred to a range of situations in which a collectivity of humans lived and acted together.⁵⁴ In this definition the word 'act together' is very interesting because it agrees with Weber's view which seems to be suggesting that the belief in common ancestry is likely to be the convergence of collective political action rather than causing people to see themselves as belonging together and having a common background -as a consequence of acting together- collective interest thus do not simply reflect- or follow from similarities and differences between people; the pursuit of collective interest does however encourage ethnic identification.⁵⁵

This characteristic of ethnicity is confirmed by Barth who emphasizes that ethnic identity is generated, confirmed or transformed in the course of interaction and transaction between decision-making, strategizing individual. Ethnicity is perhaps, before anything else, a matter of politics, decision-making and goal orientation.⁵⁶ Cohen acknowledges the factor of competition in his definition of the ethnic organization which is essentially viewed as a kind of political organisation. In Cohen's view, social interaction and organization are essentially dual phenomena. They comprise aspects of utility and aspects of meaning. Ethnicity, he argues, is an organizational form, which exploits this duality for particular ends, ends which may or may not be acknowledged by the agents themselves.⁵⁷

In connection with this point, Ericksen suggests something which supports the above theory: "ethnicity has an immediate appeal because it offers answers to perennial problems of life: the question of origins, destiny and ultimately, the meaning of life."⁵⁸ As outlined above, ethnic consciousness arises when, in relation with other ethnic groups, one or many ethnic groups engage in competition for various interests. Certain writers have approached this issue. Baker states that consciousness assumes greater saliency when groups compete for

⁵³ C. Fried: Minorities: community and identity, p. 32.

⁵⁴ R. Jenkins: Social identity. p. 9.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 12.

⁵⁷ T. Ericksen: Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

scarce resources, power or other desired goods, but group awareness also emerges when groups perceive their valued attributes to be threatened by the action of others, be that threat real or imagined.⁵⁹

The research explores how the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have been manipulated to serve individual purpose and the significance this to people and development. The concept of ethnic identity has been defined in terms of the study at hand, particularly, an aspect through which this concept appears powerful as a typical social identity. Social Identity Theory is sufficient to give analysis of how the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have been manipulated for political purposes.

1.8. Knowledge of dissemination

As an academic study the outcomes of this research, are expected to be disseminated in a variety of ways. First, the researcher aims to disseminate the knowledge contained in this study in a form of a bound document to any library in KwaZulu-Natal. Other means of the dissemination will also be in a form of publication of books, articles in the journal, seminars and reading papers in local and international conferences and workshops. The findings of this dissertation will also be disseminated for world consumption through the internet.

1.9. Justification of the study

This study is important because it highlights an under- researched issue i.e. to analyze how the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have been manipulated for political purposes in South Africa. The study is important for policy makers, research organizations, government actors, and development students who may want to gain a deeper understanding of ethnic politics in South Africa. I hope this study can build upon existing scholarly work that looks at how patronage politics in South Africa hinders development and how this undermines national prosperity especially for poor people.

1.10. Dissertation Structure

Chapter One - this chapter introduces the entire work; it consists of the general introduction, statement of the research problem, objective of the study, and review of extant literature. The chapter attempts to establish the basis of the study by identifying the central issues and

⁵⁹ D. Baker: Race, ethnicity and power, p.11.

questions raised by the research. The chapter similarly attempts to formulate the specific research issues to be investigated

Chapter Two - This chapter deals with the review of relevant various literary literature that establishes what other scholars have investigated around the present study – as well as what they failed to find.

Chapter Three – This chapter explores methods used in collecting data for this study. It discusses and provides the rationale for the choice of approaches.

Chapter Four – This chapter presents the background of the course from the Zulu tribe to the Zulu nation. The main aim of this chapter is to clearly establish that the two notions, Zulu tribe and Zulu nation, are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. This is because the two notions have interchangeably been used to refer to the same group of people, the Zulu.

Chapter Five – This chapter presents how the colonialists and Inkatha has mastered the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation for political purposes. The chapter analyse how Inkatha has used images of the past that predate its formation. A conclusion reached in this chapter is that although the Zulu nation has been manipulated, history of the Zulu was also used by colonists, missionaries, the Zulu royal family and individual novelists to serve their personal ends.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the variety of literature written on the notions tribe and nation and their manipulation. The main aim of this chapter is to familiarize the reader with of essential background of the topic. This also aims to familiarize the reader of the work with what has already been written on the topic; to demonstrate that the study, which the author intends to undertake is original, that is, has not already been done and to show where this study will fit into the general literature in the field of history, that is, to show what gaps it will fill in the relevant body of knowledge. The literature identifies, summarizes, discusses, synthesizes and analyzes, not just listing them. Main attention is paid to a different kind of literature, explaining the differences between tribe, nation, ethnic group, ethnicity, nationalism, and other terms used by colonialist to refer to indigenous people.

In the process of the evolution of culture, the tribe and the nation are two major forms of cultural systems. As a matter of fact, they are the only significant cultural systems in human history. They are the most compact, the best integrated, the most viable and durable social organisation that cultural evolution has produced. The tribe organised upon the basis of kinship and characterised by liberty, equality, and fraternity, has been the cultural system that has been most congenial to the biological nature of the talking primate that has ever existed. Its connective tissue was tough and strong; its structure well adapted to the exploitation of natural resources and to survival in an arena of ruthless competition.

During the European invasion into African continent strong visions in scientific discussions were whelming in Europe. The turn of the centuries was the time of scientific defining, dividing and distinguishing all existing on earth. Darwinist ideas on evolution and humans place on the developing line were effecting to the attitudes towards non-European people. Further on, there existed the simple assumption that Africans were naturally tribal people.⁶⁰ In the reality of colonial structuring the problem came to be, as Arens puts it, to organise Africans so that they would fit into these ready-made models of tribes that were made by the colonialists.⁶¹

⁶⁰ W. Arens: Changing patterns of ethnic identity and prestige in East Africa in *A century of change in eastern Africa*, p. 66.

⁶¹ C. Ambler: *Kenyan Communities in the Age of Imperialism. The Central Region in the Late Nineteenth Century*, p. 153.

The Europeans started their colonising by drawing maps of Africa with tribal lines in them. The areas had to be clear and easily definable, and the tribes living in them should be as clearly divided as the areas. For the colonialists, tribes were “units in which physical, cultural and even psychological attributes would find neat correlation.”⁶² The Europeans started to build up their colonial administration around the idea of these tribes. The smallest units from villages upwards to divisions and even districts had usually some correlation to tribes or sub tribes in the minds of the rulers. These kinds of efforts to attach territories and ethnicity were also the main measures of the colonialists to control the native people.⁶³ As the administration was divided into geographical units, the actual groups within those were the tribes.

2.2. Literal studies on the notion ‘Tribe’

The term “tribe” enjoys a close association with the rise of European colonialism and its racist ideology. In reviewing the literature on the history of Africa, it is instructive to note that the word “tribe” seems not to have been used to refer to African peoples prior to the colonial period. In **South Africa Under John III, 1521-1557**,⁶⁴ Welch observes that the words “nation” and “people” were used by 16th century writers, while 20th century authors employ the referent “tribe” to people who could hardly have become more “primitive” over four centuries. The use of the term tribe can often be seen as a means of specifying the subordinate masses to the administrators. The term itself was widely used and mainly all the actions towards the natives were directed towards specific tribes. Treating the locals as tribes – a word used by the Europeans also to describe their own “barbarian” ancestors – connected the Africans into a lower and less developed state of humanity.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the idea of tribes helped the administration to concentrate on both specific human and territorial units instead of scattered and interconnected individual groups. This research will benefit a better understanding as to where and when the notion tribe originated.

In Did British Colonialism Invent ‘Tribes’ In Africa? Frankie Ashworth posits that tribal systems are not new phenomenon. He states that a tribe can be nothing more than a group of

⁶² C. Ambler: *Kenyan Communities in the Age of Imperialism. The Central Region in the Late Nineteenth Century*, p. 153.

⁶³ V. Broch-Due: *A Proper Cultivation of Peoples: The Colonial Reconfiguration of Pastoral Tribes and Places in Kenya in Producing nature and poverty in Africa*, p. 64.

⁶⁴ S.R. Welch: *South Africa under John III, 1521-1557*. Cape Town: Juta, 1949.

⁶⁵ Mari Kervinen: *Tribes of the Indirect Rule*, Master’s thesis, University of Joensuu, p. 26.

people sharing in a common welfare often bound by language. In his work he argues that British colonialism however did not invent tribes in Africa, but alluded to the importance of considering the role the native people played in harnessing the power of the colonial structure. Furthermore, he asserts the impact of Britain played a regressive role in the development of African politics and organization. His work also points out that it is vital to consider the roles of other European powers such as France who contributed to the construction of tribes. According to Ashworth, there is no doubt colonialism created tribes, but it did not invent them. It is clear to see that British colonialism was not directly responsible for the invention of tribes in Africa. Whilst there is no doubt that their influence and colonial presence created an environment that saw the development of tribes. He concludes but stating that it would be unwise to disregard the notion that the native people invented tribes for themselves. Moreover, he strongly supports the notion that colonialism in fact hindered the already developed system of governance in many of the colonies. The study demonstrates that the early missionaries during British colonialism in Africa misunderstood the nature of African culture; tribal culture was formed due to the imposition of British rule. This research will benefit a deep historical knowledge as to why the notion tribe was seem to be appropriate when defining existing African communities.

The anthropological texts in the first part of the 20th century were full of descriptions of different tribes. Despite the fact, the terminology was not completely clear in the texts. For example, Thurnwald wrote about races which were divided by origin, religion, language and physical features.⁶⁶ Anthropologist Nadel in the work titled **Nupe State and Community in Africa** wrote down the definitions for the terms tribe, community, society and a sub-tribe. He illustrated that a tribe is a group living in the same area, and whose members have the same culture and language.⁶⁷ He also added the members' individual identification to the group as one feature. Furthermore, he mentioned that the sociological difference between the terms community and society is in their naturalness. He defined community as a group with natural origin, and the people are point together according to their family, same language, religion or geographical closeness. Society is in the sociological meaning artificial and indirect.⁶⁸ When it comes to the terms community and a tribe, community was for him more flexible than a tribe but he also included that both had the same bases. Lastly, a sub-tribe for Nadel was a

⁶⁶ R. Thurnwald: *The social systems of Africa - conclusions in Africa* (4)1929, edited by Westermann, p. 375.

⁶⁷ S. Nadel: *Nupe State and Community in Africa* (3)1935, edited by Westermann, pp. 262-263.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 262-263.

cultural and geographical unit whose members speak the same dialect and are often related to each other.⁶⁹ The study is relevant in giving different dimensions towards the definition of the notions tribe, community, society and sub-tribe.

In the postcolonial era many scholars have noted that the single languages and tribes did not correspond wholly and hence a language was not a criterion to be used as the only definition for a tribe. Southall writes in the **Illusion of Tribe** that language was not valid modifier anyhow, but it is even less noticeable when talking about groups which got together by conquest or assimilation.⁷⁰ Also Ranger⁷¹ brings up that a common language does not apply to the common ethnic identification. He notes to a situation where people speaking the same language disperse and do not continue to identify themselves within the same group. These works discuss fundamental element of the notion tribe. They are so important as to understand elements can form a tribe. Their studies are relevant especially in understanding that language is not criterion to be used as the only definition of the notion tribe.

Evans-Pritchard asserted that the notion 'tribe' as a social category has its root in the Anglo Saxon literature. Initially the concept, 'primitive tribes' (Evans-Pritchard, 1953) was in use in social anthropology as a unit of study of the 'colonies'. It was basically constructed within the functionalist approach of describing 'social facts' into a few essential characteristics, a social fact – 'a total, concrete and cohesive entity' - a basic 'German School' thinking.⁷² However, the concept 'primitive tribes' considered to be the basic unit of social anthropology has its roots in the ontological and epistemological premise of the 'London School'. Here, the term is viewed from the basic understanding of the concept of 'civilization'. Civilization, here, is defined in terms of the western civilization and culture. Considered from this point, the small units of community are considered as 'others' who exist 'out-there' - outside of the civilization in reference. Based on this frame, the concept 'primitive tribe' is understood as an evolutionary stage - an evolutionist construct. This work is significant as it gives a clarity of concepts who became important to describe the society of 'elsewhere context' - non-western; Africa, South America, Oceania, Middle East, Asia and South East Asia.

⁶⁹ S. Nadel: Nupe State and Community in Africa (3)1935, edited by Westermann, pp. 248 and 274.

⁷⁰ A. Southall: The passing of tribal man in Africa, ed. Gutkind, Peter). The illusion of tribe in Perspective on Africa – a reader in culture, history and representation, edited by Grinter, Roy Richard & Steiner, Christopher B, Blackwell, p. 47.

⁷¹ T. Ranger: The invention of tradition revisited: The case of colonial Africa in Legitimacy and the state in twentieth-century Africa, edited by Ranger, Terence, & Waughan, Olufemi, St. Anthony's college, Oxford, 1993, pp. 62-111.

⁷² D.K. Behera and G. Pfeffer: The concept of tribal society, p. 16.

What has become clear in this study is that the concept tribe became an integral part of ethnographic monographs since the beginning of colonial encounters with the ‘colonies’. For long solution to the problem of definition of a tribe has been colluding the administration. Anthropologists and sociologists have attempted different definitions. W.J. Perry defines tribes as a group speaking a common dialect and inhabiting a common territory.⁷³ Bogardus defines tribes as a tribal group based on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationships and on the strength of a common religion.⁷⁴ D.N. Majumder defines a tribes as a collection of families on group of families bearing a common name members of which occupy the same territory, speak the same language and observe certain taboos regarding marriage, profession or occupation and have developed a well assigned system of reciprocity and mutuality of obligation.⁷⁵ Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay defines a tribe as a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. It can include several sub-groups. The Dictionary of Anthropology defines a tribe as a social group usually with a social area, dialect, cultural homogeneity and unifying social organisation. It may include several sub-groups such as Sibs or villages. The tribe ordinarily has a leader and may have a common ancestor, as well as a patron deity. The families or small communities making up the tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, family or blood ties.⁷⁶

In his article titled **Using “Tribe” and Tribalism: to Misunderstand African Societies**,⁷⁷ David Wiley argues that tribe, is a concept that has endeared itself to Western scholars, journalists, and the public for a century, is primarily a means to reduce for readers the complexity of the non-Western societies of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the American plains. He continues to argue that it is no accident that the contemporary uses of the term tribe were developed during the 19th century rise of evolutionary and racist theories to designate alien non-white people as inferior or less civilized and as having not yet evolved from a simpler, primal state. It has appeared that the use and definitions of ‘tribe’ in the sociological and anthropological literature are varied and conflicting. Some authors appear to define tribe as common language, others as common culture, some as ancestral lineages, and others as common government or rulers. As anthropologist Michael Olen notes that “The term tribe has never satisfied anthropologists, because of its many uses and connotations.

⁷³ P. Jaganath: Tribal Peasantry: Dynamics of Development, p. 22.

⁷⁴ S. Surajit: “Tribel Caste and Tribe Peasant Continue in Central India”, in India, p. 45.

⁷⁵ M.N. Srinivas: Socia Change in Modern India, (Second edition), p. 265.

⁷⁶ S.M. Bhatia: Proverty, Agriculture and Economic Growth, p. 105.

⁷⁷ D. Wiley: Using “Tribe” and “Tribalism”: to Misunderstand African Societies, p. 1.

Societies that are classified as tribal seem to be very diverse in their organization, having little in common.” Morton H. Fried and this author contend that “the term is so ambiguous and confusing that it should be abandoned by social scientists.”⁷⁸ Wiley’s argues that the terms tribe and tribal were very useful to the white now Zimbabwe and South African governments during the apartheid years to characterize the liberation movements that were mobilizing against their racial rule as a code-word for disorganized, primitive, and less civilized people. These studies, therefore, are of benefit because they give a historical understanding of how did the notion tribe developed during the 19th racist theories to designate alien non-white people as inferior or less civilized African communities.

Liz Sonneborn, in her work titled **The End of Apartheid in South Africa**,⁷⁹ uses the notions tribe and nation interchangeably to refer to the Zulu people. For instance, while she states that by the late 1870’s, the greatest threat to the British control over South Africa was the rise of the Zulu nation. She also mentions that under the leadership of Cetshwayo, the Zulu tribe had become a great military power. The idea held by the Zulu people is that from the pre-Shakan time the Zulu were a tribe and from Shakan era to the present the Zulu people are a nation. This study maintains that these notions are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. The study can express that the success of the term ‘tribe’ in shaping our perceptions of the African societies may be seen in the widespread usage of the term by African journalists and scholars. Because English and occasionally Afrikaans were the languages of the schools and the city, tribe, tribu, and the other cognates defined the language of urban and political interaction and defined the categories into which rural and urban societies were allocated during the colonial period. Now, prominent African leaders use the term in appealing for “an end to tribalism,” referring to the urban and national struggles for political power in utilizing ethnic and language ties as a means to aggregate power and authority.⁸⁰

Max Gluckman⁸¹ asserted that the Nguni family of Bantu-speaking people who later formed the Zulu nation migrated into south-eastern Africa about the middle of the fifteenth century. They were pastoralists practising a shifting cultivation. They lived in scattered homesteads occupied by male agnates and their families; a number of these homesteads were united under

⁷⁸ D. Wiley: Using “Tribe” and “Tribalism”: to Misunderstand African Societies, p. 1.

⁷⁹ L. Sonneborn: *The End of Apartheid in South Africa*, p. 24.

⁸⁰ D. Wiley: Using “Tribe” and “Tribalism”: to Misunderstand African Societies, p. 2.

⁸¹ M. Gluckman: “The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa” in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems* (London, 1940), pp. 25-26.

a chief, the heir of their senior line, into a tribe. Men and women of common descent bearing a common name tended to be local units and the cores of tribes. A tribe was divided into sections under brothers of the chief and as a result of a quarrel a section might migrate and establish itself as an independent clan and tribe.⁸² There was also absorption of strangers into a tribe. Cattle raids were frequent, but there were no wars of conquest. By 1775 the motives for war changed, possibly owing to pressure of population. Certain tribes conquered their neighbours and small kingdoms emerged which came into conflict. In this struggle Shaka, head of the Zulu tribe, was victorious; by his personal character and military strategy, he made himself, in ten years, master of what is now Zululand and Natal, and his troops were campaigning far beyond his boundaries. He organized a nation out of all the tribes he had subjected.

Mari Kervinen⁸³ emphasizes that the term tribe was very useful for the administrators. He further states that, other communal terms did not have the flexibility of the term tribe to divide the natives in African colony and the term fitted both to the administrative structure and to the presuppositions that the Europeans had about Africans. Although there existed native groups into which the individual natives identified themselves, tribes and these native groups differed in the concept of limits. Tribes were defined by colonialists and thus they appeared as stable and organised units. On the contrary the different levels into which the natives identified themselves varied greatly from villages to wider communities, political units, and traces of languages, customs and trade. The concept tribe was highly connected to the function of the European administration in the Africa and the groups were defined, structured and handled by the foreign administration. This did not mean that the natives would not have traditional groupings of their own at the time, but the consistency between tribes and native nations or ethnic groups was not pure. Tribes worked as the mediators of native stereotypes, controllable administrative units and structured entities for the administration, employers, settlers and even anthropologists.⁸⁴ The term worked as the basic tool to handle the native population in the strange continent and helped thus the colonial administrators to structure the subordinate masses during the colonial era.⁸⁵ This study has

⁸² M. Gluckman, "The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa" in M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems* (London, 1940), pp. 25-26.

⁸³ M. Kervinen: Tribes of the Indirect Rule, Master's thesis, University of Joensuu, p. 103.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 102.

⁸⁵ Ibid, pp. 102-103.

benefited from Kervinen analysis in understanding the extent to which the notion tribe was introduced in Africa by colonial administrators.

Hameso⁸⁶ concurs with Kervinen in asserting that the term ‘tribe’ was popularized in the African context by the 18th and 19th centuries Europeans. He argues that the notion tribe was applied indiscriminately to describe the supposedly ‘uncivilized’ archaic communities into which the indigenous people of Africa were living in before imperial partition. He continues to maintain that afterward, the word ‘tribe’ and its functional expression ‘tribalism’ were used in a manner that denigrates the native (indigenous) institutions. As a result, the political leadership of the post-colonial state found the concept of tribalism abominable. It is significant to maintain that there is no problem with the meaning of the word tribe or tribal as they are defined in the dictionary, however, since the notion tribe was used by Europeans to derogatively refer to African communities and institutions. The notion has tended to imply some sort of primitivism and backwardness. As a result, it has become an accusation of political incorrectness to use the term now. The term ‘ethnic group’ tends to be appropriate and accepted than the tribe.⁸⁷

L. Vailey’s⁸⁸ work titled **The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa**, Vailey argues that despite a quarter century of “nation building,” most African states are still driven by ethnic particularism—commonly known as “tribalism.” The stubborn persistence of tribal ideologies despite the profound changes associated with modernization has puzzled scholars and African leaders alike. The bloody hostilities between the tribally-oriented Zulu Inkatha movement and supporters of the African National Congress are but the most recent example of tribalism’s tenacity in South Africa. The studies in this volume offer a new historical model for the growth and endurance of such ideologies in southern Africa. This work has benefitted in this study in understanding the effect of how the creation of tribalism has affected the development of the nation particularly the Zulu nation.

In his study titled **Zulu Tribe in Transition: the Makhanya of the Southern Africa**,⁸⁹ D.H. Reader focuses on Zulu history, tribal background and the values in social change. This book provides the essential background pertaining to the formation of the Makhanya tribe. Reader

⁸⁶ S. Hameso: *Ethnicity in Africa- towards a Positive Approach*, pp. 3-4.

⁸⁷ G. Hyden, M. Leslie and F.F. Ogidimu: *Media and Democracy in Africa*, p. 167.

⁸⁸ L. Vailey: *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1989).

⁸⁹ D.H. Reader: *The Other Zulus- the spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa* (Manchester University Press, 1966).

provides a description as to how the tribal fragments southwards from Zululand came to be. It is a good work for this research, but does not do justice because it pays more focus on the Makhanya of Southern Africa rather than looking at the tribes under the Zulu kingdom of Southern Africa. This work has benefitted from Reader's work as it shows how tribes are different from nation. It further highlights how tribal background and fragmentation has happened in the context of Zulu people.

In their work titled **The Zulus at War: The History, rise, and fall of the tribe that washed its Spears**,⁹⁰ Xolani Mkhize and Adrian Graves argue that by following the long and turbulent history of the Zulu from their landing in South Africa and the foundation of Zululand. The Zulu at War is an essential and a discernible expansion of this prominent branch of knowledge. It depicts the vicious ascent of King Shaka and his bright successors under whose administration the warring country manufactured a fearsome battling notoriety without equivalent among the local tribes of South Africa. It additionally looks at the strategies and weapons utilized amid the various intertribal fights over this period. They then got to be casualties of their own accomplishment in that their annihilation of the Boers in 1877 and 1878 in the Sekhukhuni War provoked the much reported British mediation. This is a useful work in this dissertation, especially in providing the methods and techniques employed by Emperor Shaka Zulu in the formation of the Zulu nation. It is also important in understanding that the notion tribe has been used to refer to Zulu people.

2.3. Various studies on the notion 'Nation'

People use this word in many ways. Everyone has for example heard talk of a South African nation, a Zulu nation, and an African nation. In each case something different must be meant, for the Zulu form part of the African people and the Africans part of the South African people. They cannot all be nations unless one gives the word nation a very amorphous meaning like community, or people. Social scientists have therefore analysed the specific characteristics which make a community tightly knit and integrated, and capable of leading a separate existence. The definition they have adopted, according to Forman, is that a nation is

⁹⁰ A. Greaves et al.: (The Zulus at War: The History, Rise, and Fall of the Tribe That Washed Its Spears, Skyhorse Publishing, 2014).

a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up, manifested, in a community of culture.⁹¹

Forman further argues that a community possessing all four of these essential features, and lacking: none of them, is capable of leading an independent political existence in the world of today; and such a community is therefore entitled, as of right to receive from all true democrats in the other nations of the multi-national state or empire of which it forms part, the fullest support for its demand for self-determination.⁹²

There are two concepts of the nation in general use in the history and political science literature. First, there is the cultural concept of the nation in which the nation is defined as an ethnic community with a distinctive culture usually expressed in a language peculiar to its members. The nation in this sense is an organic entity with an existence of its own, the bearer and repository of the traditions and experience of a community. The nation defines its members who inherit and transmit its culture and values. This view of the nation was first proposed by Herder in the eighteenth century and, although it has appeared in a number of different versions, it has been the dominant view of the nation in European thought since then. This view has always appealed to conservatives and romantics who have seen nation as a self-sufficient organism which forms the “natural” basis of the state.⁹³

What is nationalism and how does it relate to ethnicity? Ethnicity is defined as a sense of peoplehood, or community by virtue of perceived common descent, as indicated by shared cultural endowments. This, definition enables everyone to distinguish ethnicity from other contemporary expressions of peoplehood such as race, where perceived common descent is indicated by phenotype, or nation, where peoplehood also involves a political claim. The political character of nationality is suggested by the fact that, as Anthony Smith⁹⁴ points out, nations like the French, the Serb and English are presented as ethnically homogeneous. The difference between an ethnic group and a nation, therefore, is that nations have a shared sense of political destiny. Moreover, this political criterion is a comparatively narrow one, referring to a claim of national political autonomy, usually the claim to statehood. The primacy of this criterion is revealed by the fact that the term nation is sometimes applied to multi-cultural or multi-ethnic people who share a common state. In this scenario, the perceived common

⁹¹ L. Forman: *Self-determination in South Africa: A Contribution to Discussion*, pp. 14-19.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ D. Maciver: *The Politics of Multinational States*, p. 3.

⁹⁴ A.D. Smith: *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

descent of the nation is not given by a shared ethnicity, but by a common political identity, usually citizenship.

This latter point appears to approach what might be termed ‘statist’ definitions of the nation. Considering, for example, Anthony Giddens’ who claims that the nation ‘only exist when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed.’⁹⁵ A similar view is expressed by Eric Hobsbawm in his work titled **Nations and Nationalism since 1780** when he remarks that the nation ‘is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the nation-state.’⁹⁶ Indeed, Hobsbawm goes on to argue that, ‘nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around.’⁹⁷ Precisely the opposite ‘ethnicist’ point of view is advanced by Ernest Renan in defining the nation as ‘a soul, a spiritual principle’. It is a ‘grand solidarity’ and ‘an everyday plebiscite’.⁹⁸ A similar, if less esoteric, the view is proposed by Conner. The essence of the nation is ‘a psychological bond that joins a person and differentiates it’. It is a group which defines itself in terms of perceived ‘common blood ties’;⁹⁹ indeed this is the meaning of *natio*, the Latin root of nation.¹⁰⁰

Hutchinson notes that this opposition between nations as a political entity versus the nation as a cultural group usually goes hand in hand with the opposition between subjective and objective definitions of the nation.¹⁰¹ However, this is not inevitably the case. Within the ‘statist’ view Hobsbawm offers a largely subjective definition of the nation as an invention by élites, whereas Giddens’ version outlines objective preconditions. Similarly, while Conner offers a largely subjective version of the nation as a cultural community, Anthony Smith offers a list of observable criteria.¹⁰² Elements of both are found in Stalin’s famous definition of the nation as ‘a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis

⁹⁵ A. Giddens: *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Vol. II: *The Nation State and Violence*, p.119.

⁹⁶ E. Hobsbawm: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, pp. 9-10.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds.): *Nationalism*, p. 17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ E. Kedourie: *Nationalism*, p.13.

¹⁰¹ J. Hutchinson: *Modern Nationalism*, p. 6.

¹⁰² A.D. Smith: *National Identity*, p. 14.

of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.’¹⁰³

In many ways, this conceptual opposition between the nation as (subjectively aware) political entity and the nation as (objectively given) cultural community echoes the instrumentalist versus primordialist debate concerning ethnicity. Indeed, a similar debate has raged between ‘primordialists’, ‘modernists’ and ‘perennialists’ over explanations of nationalism. As with ethnicity, primordial accounts of nationalism cast the nation as a natural, *a priori* feature of human existence, objectifiably identifiable through a distinctive way of life, attachment to a homeland and striving for political autonomy.¹⁰⁴ For primordialists like Herder and Fichte, the story of humankind was actually the story of nations, understood as cultural groups, engaged in a perpetual struggle for self-realization.¹⁰⁵ Such Hegelian views were evident in the articulation of Afrikaner nationalism for example. Consider the argument of Afrikaner intellectual and politician, Nicolas Diedrichs, who held that individuals cannot exist outside of a community, the highest form of which is the cultural community of the nation. Defining human nature as both natural and spiritual, and asserting that it is the spirit which sets humans apart; Diedrichs argued that the calling of humankind is to ‘carry the ideal into the real world and to reconcile the natural and spiritual’. This definition of human nature means that the nation is not given as such, but has to be realized through a process which builds self-consciousness and fosters the national spirit; namely, a process of struggle in the material world.¹⁰⁶

Anthony Giddens¹⁰⁷ claims that the nation ‘only exists when a state has a unified administrative reach over the territory over which its sovereignty is claimed.’¹⁰⁸ A similar view is expressed by Eric Hobsbawm when he remarks that the nation ‘is a social entity only in so far as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the nation-state.’¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Hobsbawm goes on to argue that, ‘nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other

¹⁰³ A. Smith: ‘The Problem of National Identity: Ancient, Medieval and Modern?’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17(3), p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ J. Hutchinson: *Modern Nationalism*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ I. Berlin: *Vico and Herder- two Studies in the History of Ideas*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁶ D. Moodie: *The Rise of Afrikanerdom - Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*, p. 156.

¹⁰⁷ A. Giddens: ‘A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism’, *The Nation State and Violence*, p.119.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ E. Hobsbawm: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, pp. 9-10.

way around.’¹¹⁰ Precisely the opposite ‘ethnicist’ point of view is advanced by Ernest Renan in defining the nation as ‘a soul, a spiritual principle’. It is a ‘grand solidarity’ and ‘an everyday plebiscite’.¹¹¹ A similar, if less esoteric, the view is proposed by Conner. The essence of the nation is ‘a psychological bond that joins a person and differentiates it’. It is a group which defines itself in terms of perceived ‘common blood ties’;¹¹² indeed this is the meaning of *natio*, the Latin root of the nation.¹¹³

Hutchinson notes that this opposition between nations as a political entity versus the nation as a cultural group usually goes hand in hand with the opposition between subjective and objective definitions of the nation.¹¹⁴ However, this is not inevitably the case. Within the ‘statist’ view Hobsbawm offers a largely subjective definition of the nation as an invention by élites, whereas Giddens’ version outlines objective preconditions. Similarly, while Conner offers a largely subjective version of the nation as a cultural community, Anthony Smith offers a list of observable criteria.¹¹⁵ Elements of both are found in Stalin’s famous definition of the nation as ‘a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.’¹¹⁶

In **The Ethnic Origins of Nations**¹¹⁷ Smith acknowledges an analytical distinction between the nineteenth century nations and nationalism, and earlier *ethnic* and ethnic communities, but asserts that they are causally related. Analytically, Smith defines the modern nation objectively as a ‘named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.’ For the nationalist, he continues, ‘the world is a world of nations, each with its peculiar and unique character, and all political power comes from the nation alone.’ Further, the nation is ‘a seamless unity, fixed but always evolving, constant, but full of diversity.’¹¹⁸ In contrast, Smith argues, earlier *ethnie* were largely xenophobic, scattered,

¹¹⁰ E. Hobsbawm: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, pp. 9-10.

¹¹¹ J. Hutchinson and A. Smith (eds.): *Nationalism*, p. 17.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ E. Kedourie: *Nationalism*, p. 13.

¹¹⁴ J. Hutchinson: *Modern Nationalism*, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ A.D. Smith: *National Identity*, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ A. Smith: ‘The Problem of National Identity: Ancient, Medieval and Modern?’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 17(3), p. 20.

¹¹⁷ A.D. Smith: *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, p. 31.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

enjoyed little political consciousness, tended to be economically localized with different laws and religious practices applying to different classes

Rejai and Enloe¹¹⁹ posit that the notion nation is derived from the Latin *natio*, meaning a social grouping based on real or fancied community of birth or race. In later usage (especially in the 17th and 18th centuries), the term was expanded to include such other variables as territory, culture, language, and history. They further argue that it is possible, however, that no nation has ever possessed all of these criteria. For our purposes, we shall define a nation as a relatively large group of people who feel that they belong together by virtue of sharing one or more such traits as common language, religion or race, common history or tradition, common set of customs, and common destiny. As a matter of empirical observation, none of these traits may actually exist; the important point is that a people believe that they do. Although the variable of size is necessarily imprecise, it is intended to suggest that a nation is larger than a village, clan, or city-state. Some scholars have considered language and communication as particularly important characteristics of nation.

Chambers Dictionary¹²⁰ defined nation as, “a body of people marked off by common descent, language and culture and historical tradition whether or not bound by the defined Territorial limits of a state (the people of a state).” **Seymour**¹²¹ tried to put a political dimension of a nation in his proposal of a ‘sociocultural definition’. He defines a nation as a cultural group, possibly but not necessarily united by a common descent, endowed with some kind of civic ties. This is the kind of definition that would be accepted by most parties in the debate today. So defined, nation is a somewhat mixed, both ethno-cultural and civic category, but still closer to the purely ethno-cultural than to the purely civic extreme.

Davidson¹²² posits that in as much as ethnic attributes can mean that people see differences between ethnic groups (real or imagined) nations can also be made up of a people who share the same common myths, a historic territory, a mass culture or even common rights and duties for members. Ethnicity therefore is part of the formation of nations. If we are to follow on this premise, one can argue that ethnicity in itself need not be divisive, but division

¹¹⁹ M. Rejai and C.H. Enloe: ‘Nation-States and State-Nations’, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Jun., 1969), pp. 140-158.

¹²⁰ The Chambers Dictionary, (Deluxe Edition) Allied Chambers (India) Ltd, New Delhi, p. 1122.

¹²¹ M. Seymour, On Redefining the Nation, in Nenad Miscevic (Ed), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, Philosophical Perspectives*, Open Court Publishing, La Salle and Chicago, 2000, p.25.

¹²² N. Davidson: ‘The Trouble with Ethnicity’, *International Socialism Journal*. Issue 84. International Socialism, 1999.

happens when ethnicity is equated with cultural differentiations between groups, as Davidson (1999) notes, for ethnicity to come about, the groups must have minimum contact with one another and they must consider others to be culturally different from themselves.¹²³

The scholarly account by Elizabeth A. Eldredge titled **The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815–1828**¹²⁴ traces the emergence of the Zulu Kingdom in South Africa in the early nineteenth century, under the rule of ambitious and iconic King Shaka. As opposed to late artistic investigations of the myths of Shaka, this book utilizes the lavishness of Zulu oral conventions and an extensive grouping of composing sources to give a convincing account and examination of the occasions and individuals in the period of Shaka's standard. The oral customs depict Shaka as compensating fearlessness and dedication and rebuffing disappointment; as requesting the focused on the slaughtering of his own subjects, both warriors, and regular citizens, to guarantee consistence to his guideline; and as pompous and adroit, however, kind to poor people and rationally impaired. This work has benefitted a rich and various oral conventions, transmitted from era to era, uncover the critical parts and destinies of men and ladies, regal and subject, from individuals who encountered Shaka's guideline and the sensational rise of the Zulu Kingdom.

In her work titled **Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southern Africa**,¹²⁵ Eldredge traces the social and political history of the people of early precolonial southeastern Africa, including the regions of modern KwaZulu-Natal, Swaziland, southern Mozambique from Maputo Bay southward, and Lesotho. The emergence in the early nineteenth century of well-known southern African kingdoms such as the AmaZulu, AmaSwazi, and BaSotho kingdoms was the culmination of centuries of sociopolitical developments, during which political control was consolidated in the ruling descent lines of small-scale chiefdoms. Providing the first comprehensive scholarly examination of recorded oral traditions from southeastern Africa, Eldredge's work chronicles the events and life stories propelling this consolidation and the advent of large-scale chiefdoms and kingdoms. This is a valuable work in as far as the creation of the Zulu kingdom is concerned, but does not address how this nation has been manipulated for personal gains.

¹²³ B. Davidson: *Black Man's Burden*, n. p.

¹²⁴ E.A. Eldredge (*The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815–1828*, Cambridge University Press, 2014)

¹²⁵ E. Eldredge: *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southern Africa* (University of Rochester Press, Boydell & Brewer, 2015)

In his thesis titled **The Politics of Zuluness in the Transition to a Democratic South Africa**,¹²⁶ Piper deals theoretically with ethnicity, nationalism and the contingent relationship between them. He applies these to the history of the twentieth century KwaZulu-Natal politics. Not only does this analysis reveal three traditions of resistance: Tribalism, African nationalist and Zulu nationalist, but it argues that of these, Zulu nationalism, particularly a cultural Zulu nationalism, has been the most difficult to prosecute. According to him, each political domain yielded distinct political elites, popularly contrasted as modernized, Christian, middle-class leaders or kholwa, and traditional leaders. Out of the interaction between these élites, the state, and various constituencies, three traditions of resistance emerged: Tribalist, African nationalist and Zulu nationalist. This is a worthy study, but it is limited to drawing the tracing from the historical analyses of whether the how did the Zulu moved to be a nation which the current study hopes to do. It rather focuses more on how the Zulu nationalism has been used to assume political power.

Benedict Carton and John Laband in the book the titled **Zulu Identities: Being Zulu, Past and Present**¹²⁷ they discussed how people evolved diverse cultural expressions of Zuluness. Most important for this study, they examine the legacies of Shaka, the social and political intrigues of Zulu royalty, gender, and generational struggles, cultural and symbolic projections, and Zulu spirituality. The book also highlights the debates raging in contemporary South Africa over the manipulation of Zulu heritage and whether it is being carried for political purposes. Finally, the book contemplates the future of Zulu identity in a unitary South Africa seeking to embrace the forces of globalization. The limitation of this book is that some chapters are short and summaries of work which needs to be addressed in details. Interesting indications of important US-Zulu connection are included, which, though leaving less space for other African themes, are accompanied by well-produced illustrations. Indeed, this is a good work and of importance in documenting the origins of the Zulu people and how the Zulu unity have been manipulated to gain power. Moreover, this study is of importance in providing the Zulu identity and it also discusses how identity is manipulated.

¹²⁶ L. Piper: *The Politics of Zuluness in the Transition to a Democratic South Africa* (unpublished PhD thesis, Cambridge University, 1998)

¹²⁷ B. Carton, J. Laband and J. Sithole (eds.): *Zulu Identities- Being Zulu, Past and Present* (Scottsville, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2009).

Eldredge work entitled **Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southeastern Africa Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830**¹²⁸ examines indigenous oral traditions and history in order to explain the factors propelling sociopolitical consolidation and the emergence of chiefdoms and kingdoms in nineteenth-century southeastern Africa. This study traces the social and political history of the people of early precolonial southeastern Africa, including the regions of modern KwaZulu-Natal, Swaziland, southern Mozambique from Maputo Bay southward, and Lesotho. The emergence in the early nineteenth century of well-known southern African kingdoms such as the AmaZulu, AmaSwazi, and BaSotho kingdoms was the culmination of centuries of sociopolitical developments, during which political control was consolidated in the ruling descent lines of small-scale chiefdoms. Providing the first comprehensive scholarly examination of recorded oral traditions from southeastern Africa, Eldredge's work chronicles the events and life stories propelling this consolidation and the advent of large-scale chiefdoms and kingdoms. It is a good work for the origins of the Zulu people, but it is different from the present study in the case that the present study does not only want to focus on the origins of the Zulu kingdoms but it also looks at how the kingdom has been manipulated for personal gains.

Deflem Mathieu study titled **Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879**¹²⁹ examines the origin and the evolution of the nineteenth-century Zulu Kingdom which is used to look at two opposing state formation theories: Robert Carneiro's circumscription theory and Elman Service's theory of institutionalized leadership. Both these theories, somewhat clarify Zulu political developments. Carneiro's explains the origin and territorial expansion of the Zulu empire, while Service's accounts for the beginning of differentiation of political roles in the Zulu state. Two alternative explanations of the causes of Zulu state formation are discussed to integrate the diverging theoretical perspectives of Carneiro and Service. First, the role of the King Shaka is considered politically relevant only in as much as Shaka's wars of conquest were influential for the unification of the Zulu Kingdom. Second further developments in Zulu politics involved a limited structural change from dispersed tribes in a unified military state. Although it builds the foundation of this research but it does not give an analysis on the interchangeable use of the Zulu tribe and nation, instead, it pays more on the territorial

¹²⁸ E.A. Eldredge (Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of South-eastern Africa Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2015)

¹²⁹ D. Mathieu: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation: The Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', *Ethnology* 38, no.4 (1999).

expansion and the Zulu state formation. This work provides a good review for this study especial because it shares the history of the amalgamation of small tribes into a unified Zulu nation.

Some of the earliest writings on the peoples of southeast Africa include **A.T. Bryant's Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing the earlier political history of the Eastern Nguni clans**¹³⁰ as the title of this volume indicates, this is a study of the history of the 'Nguni' and Zulu people. Olden Times in Zululand and Natal focuses on the history of the numerous clans in the region, from the seventeenth century up to 1828, when King Shaka was assassinated. Because no written records exist of Bryant's Olden Times in Zululand and Natal puts the date of arrival of the Nguni people in the region from the north and north-west of Africa at about AD 1500 to 1700. It was during this period, Bryant argues, basing his thesis largely on evidence drawn from oral tradition, that the separated 'clans' in this group dispersed and settled in the various localities, as they were found in at the beginning of the 1800s. During the next period, the 1700s, according to Bryant, the 'Nguni' people lived peacefully in numerous small-scale clans under the benevolent rule of a chiefly lineage. This was followed by the accession of Shaka to the Zulu clan in 1816, and a period in which the clans were demolished and incorporated into the Zulu polity the history of early settlement in the region, these studies rely exclusively on the oral history of the inhabitants of the region for the history of the eighteenth and preceding centuries.

2.4. Various studies on the politicization of ethnicity

Dan Wylie in her work titled **Violently Representing Shaka**¹³¹ and Daphna Golan in her work titled **Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism**,¹³² they examine the way the past has been used in providing a foundation for Zulu nationalism and how Zulu history has been utilized for political ends. Wylie has identified a self-contained genealogy of white men and women's writings on Shaka, which has been used to create the popular image of this legendary figure, while Golan observes that, although the Inkatha Freedom Party has mastered the use of the Zulu past for political gain, this ability is not unique to the organization. What is mostly important about the two works is that, they

¹³⁰ A.T. Bryant (Olden Times in Zululand and Natal: containing the earlier political history of the Eastern Nguni Clans. Cape Town, C. Struik, 1929).

¹³¹ D. Wylie, 'Violently Representing Shaka', *Mots Pluriels*, vol. 1, no. 4. 1997.

¹³² D. Golan, *Inventing Shaka: Using History in the Construction of Zulu Nationalism* (London, Lynne Rienner, 1994)

both come to an agreement that the Zulu history has been successfully manipulated by colonialists, the Zulu royal family, and filmmakers, amongst others. Golan's work provides a pertinent investigation and study of concocted customs and their association with envisioned groups in the new South Africa, arranged with regards to savage battles between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress. Golan follows the procedure by which the Zulu as a warrior race was made. The exchange ranges from the nineteenth-century pilgrim discernments to the mid-twentieth century work of Africans, lastly to Inkatha pioneer Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's revaluation and control of Zulu history. Central to the Zulu nationalism, argues Golan, has been the formation and manipulation of oral tradition, underpinned by the further manipulation of tensions between young and old women and men. The author of this work shows how South Africa's internal conflicts over the definition of ethnicity and nationalism are as much contest over personal interests, political control, economic resources and foreign investments.

E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger¹³³ in their work titled **The Invention of Tradition** they discuss that many of the traditions which we think of as very ancient in their origins were not in fact sanctioned by long usage over the centuries, but were invented comparatively recently. This book explores examples of this process of invention - the creation of Welsh and Scottish 'national culture' the elaboration of British royal rituals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; the origins of imperial rituals in British India and Africa; and the attempts by radical movements to develop counter-traditions of their own. It addresses the complex interaction of past and present, bringing together historians and anthropologists in a fascinating study of ritual and symbolism which poses new questions for the understanding of our history. Although the work focuses invention of Welsh culture but it has help the researcher in understanding how traditions are refurbished and mobilised for individual purposes.

Butler, Rotberg and Adams¹³⁴ in their book entitled **The Black Homelands of South Africa** point out that Buthelezi's rise to power was based upon support garnered through his pursuit of a non-violent strategy to create a multi-racial South Africa. This strategy was based on the following key factors. Firstly, Buthelezi is described as having effectively utilized the

¹³³ E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger: *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

¹³⁴ J. Butler, R. Rotberg, and J. Adams. 1977. *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The political and economic development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

opposition press in particular, to force the government to respond publicly to concerns raised with respect to the policy of separate development. Mention is made of the fact that Buthelezi was the first African politician to arrange press conferences after he met with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, or with the Executive Council. According to Butler, Rotberg and Adams, Buthelezi's choice to operate within the Apartheid structures afforded him the opportunity to interact with those who held political sway, His public appearances and the fact that he was operating within the confines of the law translated into the government being unable to approach him in a dismissive fashion. As such, he was able to pursue his strategy of empowering black people step by step, addressing each issue as it presented itself. Attention was given to the support Buthelezi gained not only from black people, but that which he gained from white quarters as he set about placating their fears about imminent black aggression, as a result of white minority rule. To summarize, these authors argued that Buthelezi's moderate strategy, which they perceived to be that of attaining a multi-racial South Africa through non-violent means, was the reason behind his emergence as a key political figure.

Schlemmer and Muil¹³⁵ in their book entitled **Social and political change in the African areas: A case study of KwaZulu** discuss that Buthelezi's emergence as a key political figure also rested upon his use of strategy, specifically his use of an inclusive strategy. He made appeals to Black Nationalism, calling for homeland unity made manifest through a Union of Black States. In addition to this, he promoted Zulu Nationalism and often made appeals to Zulu kings of old. His political party, Inkatha, was described as espousing the same goals that its predecessor, Inkatha kaZulu, born in the early 1920's did, namely that of fostering Zulu unity and of the cultivation of a sense of responsibility on the part of Zulu people, toward other South African races. According to them Buthelezi also embraced the ideology of Black Consciousness, which aimed to free the minds of black individuals from white domination. In addition to embracing Black Nationalism, Zulu unity and Black Consciousness, Buthelezi also addressed Coloured and Indian people. The latter is indicative of the eclectic ideology which Buthelezi promulgated. He acknowledged that Coloured people suffered under the Apartheid regime and committed himself to their cause, whilst stating that he was aware of the fact that as groups they possessed their own individual concerns. Buthelezi also included white people in his strategy, regarding this, he made it known that KwaZulu was open to

¹³⁵ L. Schlemmer and T. J. Muil. "Social and Political Change in the African Areas: A Case Study of KwaZulu," in Leonard Thompson and Jeffrey Butler (eds.), *Change in Contemporary South Africa* (Berkeley, 1975), pp. 107-137.

'white Zulu'. This work is significant for understanding how some leaders promoted Zulu Nationalism and often made appeals to Zulu kings for their personal ends.

De Haas and Zulu¹³⁶ in their article entitled **Ethnicity and federalism: The case of KwaZulu Natal** focus specifically on the manner in which Buthelezi set about creating the situation in which the Zulu nation and Inkatha became synonymous with one another. They describe the manner in which rallies were utilized to extol this message. At these rallies such as the one held in Clermont, Durban in 1986, ceremonial dances such as the reed dance were conducted and posters communicating the way in which Chief Buthelezi was setting about acquiring for the Zulu people more land, homes and working for their freedom adorned the venue. The presence of the Zulu king alongside of Buthelezi at many of these rallies and at other events sanctioned Inkatha, making membership of alternate opposition movements appear disloyal to the Zulu royal family and to Zulu culture. The extensive press coverage that these rallies received did much to perpetuate the belief that being Zulu translated into you being a member of Inkatha. As one example in support of this, they refer to an instance in which Robin Carlisle, who was the National Secretary of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), spoke of Chief Buthelezi as having a constituency of 6, 000, 000 Zulu.

Golan's¹³⁷ focus in her journal article entitled **Inkatha and its use of the Zulu past** focuses on Buthelezi's use of a specific reading of Zulu history, so as to build a constituency. In her view the reading of history promulgated by Buthelezi, enabled his engagement with the process of ethnic manipulation. In support of her argument she refers to Inkatha's revision of the school curriculum in KwaZulu in 1978. A subject known as Ubuntu-Botho (Good Citizen) was added to the syllabus. Ubuntu-Botho was taught for an hour a week to all grade levels. The aim of the subject was to make known to the students the ideology of Inkatha and to assist them in understanding the 'true' version of history, the version of history espoused by Buthelezi. The texts for Ubuntu-Botho were written in Zulu, which Golan suggests resulted in ethnicity becoming salient. She argues that the language of instruction was used as a political tool in South Africa. Regarding this, mention is made of how black people fought to be taught in English as opposed to in their 'tribal' languages, so as to secure for themselves better employment opportunities. Contrary to the views expressed earlier by Butler, Rotberg and Adams, who claimed that Buthelezi joined in this fight against being taught in the ethnic

¹³⁶ M. De Haas and P. Zulu: Ethnicity and federalism: The case of KwaZulu Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (3): pp. 433-446.

¹³⁷ D. Golan: Inkatha and its use of the Zulu past. *History in Africa*, 18: pp. 113-126.

languages, Golan claims that Buthelezi was in fact assisting the Apartheid state with their policy of separate development, by teaching a subject in Zulu.

Campbell, Mare and Walker¹³⁸ in their article entitled **Evidence for an ethnic identity in the life histories of Zulu-speaking Durban township residents** argue that Buthelezi was able to achieve success with regards to ethnic mobilization, because his reading of Zulu history resonated with desires ordinary people experienced in their personal lives. Like Golan, these authors refer to Buthelezi's reading of Zulu history which emphasizes the legendary Zulu warriors such as Shaka in particular, together with Cetshwayo and Dingane. In support of their argument, they refer to a series of twenty four open-ended life histories of Zulu people residing in Umlazi Township in Durban in the early 1990's. They claim that all of their respondents were ignorant with respect to being able to provide detailed information on Shaka or on any of the other warriors Buthelezi often referred to. However, they point to the fact that these respondents noted that they would like their own children to be taught the reading of history promulgated by Buthelezi, despite the fact that they could not offer detailed information on Shaka or Cetshwayo. Despite the respondent's lack of knowledge regarding the warriors of old, Buthelezi's appeals to a glorious Zulu past resonated in a real way with the everyday lives of ordinary Zulu people, many of whom were poverty-stricken. Buthelezi's 'blazing trail of chiefs and warriors' reminded Zulu people of the time when they were not oppressed and were able to live their lives with dignity. His reading of history resonated with ordinary people as it referred to a time in which social order and stability reigned and this permitted him to achieve success with respect to the process of ethnic mobilization.

Szeftel¹³⁹ in his journal article **Ethnicity and democratization in South Africa** argues against the view that Buthelezi achieved success solely through his engagement with the process of ethnic mobilization. He claims that whilst ethnic mobilization did have a role to play, Buthelezi's control of the patronage structures of KwaZulu ought not to be discounted in attempts to explain his rise to power. Szeftel argues that patron-client relationships in Africa in particular, often times become imbued with ethnic symbols in an attempt to provide leaders with support. He uses the following example to illustrate the manner in which

¹³⁸ C. Campbell, G. Mare and C. Walker: Evidence for an ethnic identity in the life histories of Zulu-speaking Durban township residents. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21 (2): pp. 287-301.

¹³⁹ M. Szeftel: Ethnicity and democratization in South Africa. *Review of African political economy* 21 (60): pp. 185-199.

clientelistic relationships assume an ethnic dimension. He refers to the homeland system which existed in South Africa in which elites, while dependent on the state for access to resources, were empowered in that they controlled the patronage network of their specific homeland. For the clients of these patrons, obedience to the homeland leaders became the only way in which they were able to secure work, land and other resources. The limited resources and the tight control exercised over them by homeland leaders, particularly with respect to land, resulted in the prevalence of jealousy and resentment around the distribution of these resources. The awarding of scarce resources took on an ethnic dimension.

Lonsdale in his work titled, **Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism**,¹⁴⁰ makes a distinction between what he, in the African context, terms ‘political tribalism’ and ‘moral ethnicity’,¹⁴¹ and Hutchinson, writing more generally, describes as ‘political’ and ‘cultural’ nationalisms.¹⁴² At stake here is the sociological process by which nation-building occurs, by which an *ethnie* becomes a nation. Where the former set (political tribalism and political nationalism) refers to the strategic appropriation of ethnic identities for élite political interests, the latter (moral ethnicity and cultural nationalism) refers to a popularly-rooted process by which a culturally-defined identity is constructed. Implicit here is a contrast between nation-building for strategic reasons versus nation-building as an end-in-itself. Indeed, the gap between the nation as socially-ascribed and self-ascribed, as a category and a group, is likely to be narrower with more cultural than political nationalism. To put the matter prosaically, if political nationalism ‘invents from above’, cultural nationalism ‘imagines from below’.¹⁴³

Watjean¹⁴⁴ in his article titled **The ‘home’ in homeland: Gender, national space, and Inkatha’s politics of ethnicity** argues that South Africa is a country in which the manipulation of ethnicity was at the heart of the government’s attempts to establish control over the majority African population. She further argues that ethnic mobilization during the liberation struggle was singularly unsuccessful. The one exception as pointed out in her work

¹⁴⁰ J. Lonsdale: ‘Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism’, Kaarsholm, P. & Hultin, J. (eds.) *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Roskilde, Denmark: International Development Studies, 1994.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p.1.

¹⁴² J. Hutchinson: *Modern Nationalism*, p. 41.

¹⁴³ T. Ranger: ‘The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa’, in Kaarsholm, P. & Hultin, J. (eds.): *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, p.23.

¹⁴⁴ T. Waetjen. 1999. The 'home' in homeland: Gender, national space, and Inkatha's politics of ethnicity', *ethnic and racial studies* 22 (4): pp. 653-678.

was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's controversial Inkatha movement. Watjean in her article suggests that one of the reasons for Inkatha's successes was the astute way in which the organization and, in particular, Buthelezi played on gendered notions of 'home' and 'homeland'. She argues that historically, apartheid constructed notions of home and space differently for women and men and Inkatha was able to draw upon and manipulate these differences to produce a powerfully felt response.

Mare's¹⁴⁵ work titled '**Brothers Born of Warrior Blood: Politics and Ethnicity in South Africa**', argues that, in contrast to ethnic mobilisation, African nationalism unites people around their true and legitimate common interests. As far as Mare is concerned the rhetoric of ethnic nationalism only serves to obscure the real issues, and legitimate an oppressive status quo. No attempt is made by Mare to relate the rhetoric of ethnic mobilization to pre-colonial sources of political authority (particularly chiefly, gendered and generational authority) or to do research to find out what the rhetoric of ethnic nationalism actually means to Inkatha's supporters.

Mzala's¹⁴⁶ work titled **Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda** was written as part of an on-going internal debate on Buthelezi and Inkatha in the context of the liberation struggle. The author has not only provided a well-documented background briefing on the rise of Chief Buthelezi but also probing into the motivations that inspire his performance, the contradictions that make him enigmatic and which fuel the confusion so discernible in much of the audience that is unfamiliar with the theatrics of apartheid. This is a well-researched and well-reasoned book that puts into perspective the political personality of its subject. It casts a penetrating light into an important actor whose emergence in the political arena in 1953 introduced an element that is confounding the present and will most certainly bedevil a future democratic dispensation.

Mare's and Hamilton¹⁴⁷ work entitled **An appetite for power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa** this work highlights that Buthelezi is chief minister of KwaZulu (a South African Bantustan), a chief of the Zulu nation, and president of Inkatha (his political organization competing with the African National Congress). Mare and Hamilton have

¹⁴⁵ G. Mare. 1992. *Brothers Born of Warrior Blood: Politics and Ethnicity in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan)

¹⁴⁶ M. Nxumalo. 1988. *Buthelezi: Chief with a double agenda* (London: Zed Books Ltd)

¹⁴⁷ G. Maré and G. Hamilton. 1987. *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance*. Johannesburg: Ravan.

argued that many have seen Buthelezi as a moderate and important black leader, and this book is an attempt to evaluate the man and Inkatha. This book explores the contrast that exists between the political rhetoric of the movement aimed at attracting mass appeal, and its practice, which simply comprises people's expectations. Mare and Hamilton point out to its populist base among the poor and impoverished despite the narrow sectional interests advanced by its leader.

The review of literature above shows that there is in existence many works on notions tribe and nations globally and in Africa, with a fairly narrow research on the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation and their use towards national political aspiration in South Africa. The insufficiency of research on the broad topic of notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation and their manipulation has further limited research on the impact of such in the existing Zulu nation. The present study aims to contribute to the literature by engaging in a historical analysis of the notions tribe and nation. The historical perspective of the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation and their use towards national political aspiration in South Africa has largely been under-researched by scholars. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap and contribute to the existing literature.

2.5. Conclusion

This study reviews literature on the notion tribe and nation. In doing this a review of past and current literature on ethnic mobilisation generally and specifically on the notion tribe, nation and manipulation of ethnicity was done. The significance of this review was to have understanding of the existing literature and fill the gap that existed. In this review the study found that a gap existed in the interchangeable use of the notions for political purpose in South Africa which gave rise to the fundamental reason for this study. In order to fill the gap, it was discovered in the archives that the notion Zulu tribe was used by both white and white people to denigrate the Zulu empire whereas the notion Zulu nation was used by some individuals to garner support. This had been largely ignored by existing studies on the on manipulation of the Zulu empire. For a number of people especially academics and leaders were interviewed in order to corroborate findings with literature.

In conclusion, the study relies on the Social Identity Theory theories which advance the reason for individual understanding of whom he is and of whom other people are.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes in depth the methodology employed for data collection and data analysis to be able to address different questions. For the purposes of this research secondary data and primary data was collected, fused and used in a complimentary fashion to get a clear picture of the situation in the researcher's main areas of investigation. In any research project, the researcher is accountable for his/her methods, findings, and applications. Ndaba states that 'the ultimate value of research is dependent upon the methods, procedure, and techniques used.'¹⁴⁸ The method is of particular significance because it 'provides a rationale for the way in which a researcher goes about getting knowledge.'¹⁴⁹

The qualities and shortcomings of any study depend on for the most part on its methodologies. For any study to be acknowledged, it is essential that the technique utilized is right and appropriate. The subject or topic to be researched ought to provide guidance to the procedure or methodologies to be adopted. The onus is on the researcher to clearly elucidate the techniques to be utilized. Crotty stresses that the justification of the research methodology decision ought to identify with the hypothetical viewpoint that supports the research.¹⁵⁰ Martin Marshal says that a decision of exploration strategies to be utilized in any study ought to be 'dictated by the exploration inquiries' and nature of the study', not by the inclination of the researcher.¹⁵¹ A decent approach to picking the best research system for any study is to take a gander at the way of the examination, topic, and exploration addresses the study plans to reply. On the off chance that the examination inquiries are more exploratory and investigative, asking how or what, they are typically best replied with subjective or blended techniques. In the event that the exploration question shows a speculation or an announcement that should be legitimized or wrong, then a quantitative technique would, for the most part, be utilized.

¹⁴⁸ N.S. Ndaba: The Dissolution of Customary Unions and Customary marriages: impact on children, n. p.

¹⁴⁹ M. Griffiths: Educational Research for social justice: Getting off the fence, p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ M. Crotty: The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process, Allen and Unwin, quoted from Deborah Levy, *Qualitative Methodology and Grounded Theory in Property Research* (University of Auckland, 1988).

¹⁵¹ M.N. Marshal: "Sampling for Qualitative Research," in *Family Practice*, vol.13, no. 6, pp. 522-525.

Research is equally important to social scientists for analyzing the social relationships and seeking explanations to various social problems. It gives the intellectual satisfaction of knowing things for the sake of knowledge. It also possesses the practical utility for the social scientist to gain knowledge so as to be able to do something better or in a more efficient manner. The research in the Social Sciences is concerned with both pieces knowledges for its own sake and knowledge of what it can contribute to solve practical problems.

In more details, in this chapter, the author has outlined the research methodology utilized in this study, explained the sample selection used in this study, described the procedure used in designing the instrument and collecting the data and provided an explanation of the analysis of the findings. The chapter on research methodology painstakingly argued for, and justified each, a decision that was taken when arriving at the way in which the research was to be organized. Every time, the researcher, made a choice from a number of options, it was stated that each of these was, why he or she made the choices he or she did.

3.2. Definitions of Research

A number of definitions of research have been proposed by different scholars and researchers, working in different fields. According to Grinnell, ‘a research is a structured inquiry that utilizes acceptable scientific methodology to solve problems and creates new knowledge that is generally applicable.’¹⁵² Whereas Lundberg draws a parallel between the social researches process, which is considered scientific and the process that we use in our daily lives. According to him, scientific methods consist of systematic observation, classification, and interpretation of data. Now, obviously, this process is one in which nearly all people engage in the course of their daily lives. The main difference between our day-to-day generalizations and the conclusions usually recognized as scientific method lies in the degree of formality, rigorousness, verifiability and general validity of the latter.¹⁵³

Burns defines research as ‘a systematic investigation to find answers to a problem’.¹⁵⁴ Kerlinger argues that ‘scientific research is a systematic, controlled empirical and critical investigation of propositions about the presumed relationships between various phenomena.’¹⁵⁵ Kothari defines that the research is an original contribution to the existing

¹⁵² R.M. Grinnell: *Social Work Research and Evaluation*, p. 4.

¹⁵³ G.A. Lundberg: *Social Research- a Study in Methods of Gathering Data*, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ R.B. Burns: *Introduction to Research Methods*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ F.N. Kerlinger: *Foundations of behavioral research (3rd edition.)*, p. 10.

stock of knowledge making for its development. The systematic approach concerning generalizations and formulation of a theory is also researched. As such the term 'research' refers to the systematic method consisting of enunciating the problem, formulating a hypothesis, collecting the data, analyzing the facts and reaching certain conclusions either in the form of solutions(s) towards the concerned problem or in the certain generation for some theoretical formulation.¹⁵⁶ According to Greenfield, research is an art aided by skills of inquiry, experimental design, data collection, measurement, and analysis, by interpretation, and by the presentation. A further skill, which can be acquired and developed, is creativity or invention.¹⁵⁷ Also, Noltingk believes that research is, in essence, an investigation into processes.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, research is the finding of answers related to the questions. It is a systematic search for truth, finding new knowledge about our world through the combination of ideas and facts.

Redman and Mory define research as a 'systematized' effort to gain new knowledge.¹⁵⁹ Research methodology is basically a portmanteau. It is the correlation of the two that make up a significant part of the most important field of scientific research and technology.¹⁶⁰ Research is the quest for knowledge, to weigh, evaluate and observe facts in order to explain opaque proceedings.¹⁶¹ It is the systematic investigative delving into an unknown scientific process, whereas methodology is the system of methods followed in a particular discipline. Research has been defined as the process of intellectual discovery which has the potential to transform people's knowledge and understanding of the world.¹⁶² The definitions above clearly state that the word research refers to the systematic way of investigating and providing answers to the topic on the question.

Research is equally important to social scientists for analyzing the social relationships and seeking explanations to various social problems. It gives the intellectual satisfaction of knowing things for the sake of knowledge. It also possesses the practical utility for the social scientist to gain knowledge so as to be able to do something better or in a more efficient

¹⁵⁶ C.R. Kothari: Research Methodology Methods and Techniques, Second Edition, pp. 1-2.

¹⁵⁷ T. Greenfield: Research Methods: Guidance for Postgraduates, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ B.E. Noltingk: The Human Element in Research management, Third Printing, p. 57.

¹⁵⁹ L.V. Redman and A.V.H. Mory: The Romance of Research, p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ R. Kumar: Research Methodology a step-by-step guide for beginners, n. p.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² B. Ryan et al.: Research method, n. p.

manner. The research in the Social Sciences is concerned with both pieces knowledges for its own sake and knowledge of what it can contribute to solve practical problems.

This is a part of the dissertation where the author justifies to the readers the processes by which the research questions, which were derived from an analysis of the relevant literature, were answered. It is not sufficient to say, for example, ‘suitable respondents were sampled using a snowball sampling technique and then purposive using postal interview sheets’ and then leave it at that. It might well be the case that, given the problem(s) to be investigated, such a choice of research methods is entirely appropriate. The term ‘methodology’, particularly when employed in the social sciences, does not just mean method, but also the governing philosophy behind the methods employed.

3.3. Research Method

Polit and Hungler, in their work, argue that the methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organizing and analyzing data.¹⁶³ Methodology decisions depend on the nature of the research question. Methodology in research can be considered to be the theory of correct scientific decisions.¹⁶⁴ In this study, methodology refers to how the research was done and its logical sequence. The main focus of this study was the exploration and description of the concept of the Zulu tribe and the Zulu nation and their use towards national political aspirations, therefore, the research approach was qualitative.

Research methodology is defined by Leedy and Ormrod as ‘the general approach the researcher takes in carrying out the research project’.¹⁶⁵ Leedy and Ormrod concur with Babbie and Mouton that research methodology refers to the researcher’s general approach in carrying out the research project.¹⁶⁶ Mouton views research methodology, as focusing on the research process and the kind of tools and procedures to be used.¹⁶⁷ The point of departure was the specific task (data collection) at hand, the individual steps in the research process, and the most ‘objective’ procedures to be employed. In essence, as Carter and Little express,

¹⁶³ D. Polit and B. Hungler: *Nursing Research- principles and method*, p. 233.

¹⁶⁴ J. Mouton and H.C. Marais: *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁵ P. Leedy and J. Ormrod: *Practical Research: Planning and design*, p. 14.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p.12.

¹⁶⁷ E.R. Babbie and J. Mouton: *The Practice of Social Research*, p. 56.

methodologies justify methods, which produces data and analyses, and methods produce knowledge, so methodologies have epistemic content.¹⁶⁸

In keeping with Martin Marshal's stipulations, the nature of this investigation necessitated that *Qualitative Research Methodology* be employed rather than a quantitative research methodology. According to Rossman and Rallis, Qualitative research is a broad approach to the study of social phenomena: the approach is naturalistic and interpretive, and it draws on multiple methods of inquiry.¹⁶⁹ This study has addressed the topic in question largely based on Qualitative Research Method though as a historical work, it required the use of a variety of methods and techniques to suit the sources to be used. The method in qualitative research method made the researcher dig deep into the subject or event under study. Accordingly, in this method, abundant forms of data or information were collected and thoroughly examined through a variety of perspectives or from different people. The data collected was interpreted to ascertain and enrich an extensively important perspective.

A basic distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is the methods used to collect, analyze and present information. Atkinson describes qualitative research as a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live.¹⁷⁰ It presents information with words, in a descriptive narrative. It attempts to understand phenomena in natural settings. The aim of qualitative studies is to provide illumination and understanding of complex psychosocial issues and is most useful for answering humanistic 'why' and 'how' questions.¹⁷¹ The qualitative research presents data as a descriptive narration and attempts to understand phenomena in the natural setting.¹⁷²

Qualitative research is mostly associated with words, language, and experience rather than measurements, statistics and numerical figures. As a result, qualitative research allows the researcher to 'study selected issues in-depth, openness, and detail as they identify and attempt

¹⁶⁸ S.M. Carter and M. Little: Justifying Knowledge, Justifying Method, Taking Action: epistemologies, Methodologies and Methods in Qualitative Research, pp. 1317-1320.

¹⁶⁹ G.B. Rossman and S.F. Rallis: Learning in the field- an introduction to qualitative research, p.3.

¹⁷⁰ P.A. Atkison, P. A, Coffey, A. J and Delamont, S, Key Themes in Qualitative Research (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003)

¹⁷¹ M.N. Marshal: "Sampling for Qualitative Research", in *Family Practice*, vol.13, p. 6.

¹⁷² Ibid, p.6.

to understand the categories that emerge from the data.¹⁷³ In qualitative methods, data is collected through spoken language or written format and also observations that are documented so that the data can be thematically analyzed. In this study, qualitative methods were utilized to collect the data. Qualitative research involved investigating how people give meaning and interpret their surroundings based on their experiences and interactions. The study findings can provide a starting point when little or no preliminary research has been done on the subject matter.

Holloway argues that qualitative research is characterized as developmental and dynamic, and does not use formally structured instruments.¹⁷⁴ It involves the systematic collection and analysis of subjective narrative data in an organized and intuitive fashion to identify the characteristics and the significance of human experience.¹⁷⁵

The study also employed a qualitative approach. Qualitative research means a deeper understanding of the subjects being studied, since qualitative methodology means that one gets access to peoples' personal experiences and their realities in their everyday interactions. Qualitative research also allows the researcher to generate rich data in the form of words through comments and statements unlike quantitative research where data is in the form of statistics. Through qualitative research, the researcher is able to see the social world through the eyes of the people they study. One is able to get peoples' own interpretations and understanding of the world they live in. Qualitative research, gives the researcher an opportunity to find out the positions that people take in relation to different social phenomena. Qualitative research also helps the researcher get access to peoples' personal experiences towards the phenomena that are being studied.¹⁷⁶

Furthermore, a qualitative methodology was chosen as this study sought to investigate how the notions of 'tribe' or 'nation' get politically manipulated. This type of methodology, on the other hand, assisted me in exploring of phenomena by providing descriptions and explanations through the employment of various qualitative methods. Rabie and Cloete¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ M. Terre Blanche and K. Durrheim: *Research in Practice* Moon-Stats CD and User Guide Applied Method for the Social Sciences, p. 111.

¹⁷⁴ I. Holloway: *Qualitative Research in Health Care*, pp. 4-6.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 47-51.

¹⁷⁶ A. Bryman: *Social Research Methods*, p. 8.

¹⁷⁷ R. Rabie and F. Cloete: *A new topology of monitoring and evaluation approaches*, p. 21.

describe how the qualitative methodology approach has become increasingly popular because of the way in which it can enrich the results of a study by gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomena of interest.

A qualitative methodology they say aims to answer the why and how questions and is ideal when non-causal questions make-up the premise for the assessment, when contextual values, knowledge and perspectives are sought after to arrive at a comprehensible conclusion in the exploration of a phenomena. The focal point of qualitative research is on the exposition of a phenomenon and it emphasises on the process and interpretation of the outcome. Qualitative research methods can be considered to be key instruments of the research process itself. They double as a means to an end and also an end in themselves as they seek to bring out the depth, richness, and texture in understanding the complexities of various human phenomena. Qualitative research processes are often inductive and exploratory in approach and may produce new theories and hypotheses in the analysis, interpretation and explication of data. Barbour (2001) describes how qualitative research has a distinctive ability to harness perceptions and experiences of individuals, allowing a research question to be examined from various angles.¹⁷⁸

3.4. Area of the Study

The study was done in South Africa in KwaZulu Natal province particularly. This was done because although many have migrated to urban, many Zulu still live in traditionally structured rural communities. This was also motivated by the fact that the province is dominated by Zulu people some of who have witnessed the manipulation of the notions for political purposes. KwaZulu-Natal also referred to as KZN. The province was created in 1994 when the Zulu Bantustan of KwaZulu and Natal Province were merged. It is located in the southeast of the country, enjoying a long shoreline beside the Indian Ocean and sharing borders with three other provinces and the countries of Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho. Its capital is Pietermaritzburg and its largest city is Durban. It is the 2nd most populous province in South Africa, with slightly fewer residents than Gauteng. The most frequently spoken languages in KwaZulu Natal are Zulu and English.

¹⁷⁸ RS Barbour: 'Checklists for improving rigour in qualitative research: a case of the tail wagging the dog?', *BMJ Volume 322*, pp. 1115-1117.

During the 1830s and early 1840s, the northern part of what is now KwaZulu-Natal was occupied by the Zulu Kingdom while the southern part was, briefly, the Boer republic of Natalia before becoming, in 1843, the British Colony of Natal. KwaZulu remained independent until 1879.

3.5. Research Methods Used

Due to the nature and objectives of the study, data were drawn from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources involved the use of archival sources made up of administrative, military and missionary reports. These were located in the Pietermaritzburg Archives, Ulundi archives, UZULU Collection of the University of Zululand.

Semi-structured interviews gave the researcher the opportunity to ask questions which may never have been probed in the past and also opened new areas of study. According to Purdon, semi-structured interviews as a qualitative method allowed respondents to describe a situation as it currently stands, their personal experiences by providing a forum to share first hand experiences thereby giving the researcher a deeper understanding of the situation at hand.¹⁷⁹

They are suited to eliciting personal or sensitive information by providing a forum to share such experiences. In support of this, Steward makes the point that unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews allow for new questions to be asked during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says in order to test his or her perceptions of how things are or how they ought to be.¹⁸⁰ The interviewer does not stick rigidly to the questions but is able to improvise and formulate follow-up questions and further delve into meanings and areas of significance or interest that crop up during the interview. Semi-structured interviews also enable the interviewer to gather information on the context and to explore meanings in a way that other methods of study do not enable.

The male and female (politicians, academics and traditional leaders) who took part in the interviews were purposively selected as the population to be placed under study as they were considered to have in-depth knowledge of the issues at hand. According to Given¹⁸¹, purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions taken by the researcher concerning the participants to be included in the sample are based upon a variety

¹⁷⁹ S. Purdon: Research methods for policy evaluation. Research Working Paper No 2, p. 14.

¹⁸⁰ G. Steward: Surveying the research process in politics, n. p.

¹⁸¹ L. M. Given: The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods, n. p.

of criteria. Babbie and Mouton define purposive sampling as “a type of non-probability sampling useful in qualitative researches that permits the scholar to use their choices to identify the most important or representative interviewees.”¹⁸²

This may include individuals who meet a certain criterion and possess specialist knowledge of the research issue, capacity and willingness to participate in the study and individual participants who would be most likely to contribute appropriate data, both in terms of relevance and depth. The researcher began with the purposive sampling, where he chose one participant who he knew has knowledge on the topic of the study. The research then adopted a snowball sampling, where he allowed the participant or informants with whom contact has already been made to use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study. Snowball sampling was used to find and recruit hidden participants.

These perspectives help to construct a comprehensive understanding of the outcomes and experiences within a specific context. Babbie¹⁸³ points out that qualitative research methods seek to study social phenomena in its natural environ by presenting an understanding of social actions in terms of specific contexts. This is because in human life, different individuals or groups have diverse perspectives and different circumstances even though they exist in the same place or environment.

The secondary sources included books, journals articles, magazines, newspaper articles; government official reports on the manipulation of the notions for political purposes, reliable and verifiable internet materials were corroborated along other sources. The researcher also used desk-top inquiry. Dawson¹⁸⁴ opined that desk-top research comprises the examination of existing literature to help situate one’s current study within the context of existing evidence. This involves collecting secondary evidences which assist the researcher in arguing their own study and finding evidence from existing literature.

¹⁸² E. Babbie and J. Mouton: 'The Practice of Social Research, the South African Edition', (Oxfords University press 2010); A. Wilmot, 'Designing Sampling Strategies for Qualitative Social Research: With Particular Reference to the Office for National Statistics' Qualitative Respondent Register', Survey methodology bulletin-office for National Statistics, 2005, 56, p. 53.

¹⁸³ E. Babbie: The practice of social research, n.p.

¹⁸⁴ C. Dawson, Practical Research Methods Oxfords: Oxfords, 2002.

Through the analysis of the secondary data, the researcher had made an observation that there were insufficient literature written on the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation. The study took on the attempt to try and ascertain how ethnicity becomes politically manipulated.

It was necessary for a number of reasons to use a combination of qualitative methods. Firstly, some qualitative methods are complementary as they enhance, support and validate the applicability of the information gained from this exploratory study. Secondly, the nature of the research required the use of qualitative data from both secondary and primary sources.

3.6. Research Process and Ethical Considerations

According to Grinnell¹⁸⁵ a procedure refers to prescribed specific manner in which the goals are to be achieved. Procedure is also defined by the Oxford College Thesaurus¹⁸⁶ as a course of action, line of action or plan of action.

The process of undertaking research is essentially the same whether the subject matter of the research is pure science, medicine, history or nursing. The following rather expansive definition from Graziano and Raulin sums up the breadth of scope of the research process:

‘Research is a systematic search for information, a process of inquiry. It can be carried out in libraries, laboratories, schoolrooms, hospitals, factories, in the pages of the Bible, on street corners, or in the wild watching a herd of elephants.’¹⁸⁷

In all cases the researcher must ascertain the extent of existing knowledge, define their own area of enquiry, collect data and analyse it, and draw conclusions. Therefore, the researcher defines research strategy as plan that the researcher develop on how to conduct the study.

Relevant primary data pertinent to the study were also obtained through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews were administered to a purposively selected people and were 35 in total.

The semi-structured interview questions were broadly constructed by the researcher of the study and affirmed by the supervisor of the researcher. Given that both English and isiZulu are official and commonly used languages in South Africa, interviews were conducted using

¹⁸⁵ R.M. Grinnell: Social work research and evaluation. 3rd edition, p. 47.

¹⁸⁶ Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of current English. 1999. Oxford University Press, p. 639.

¹⁸⁷ A.M. Graziano and M.L. Raulin: Research Methods: A Process of Inquiry - Volume 1, p. 31.

either depending on the preference of the interviewee. The qualitative interviews were conducted on both willing and available female and male (politicians, academics, Zulu traditional leaders and acknowledged leading experts on Zulu identity, culture, and history). The information regarding the study and the intended use of the data was also outlined in the informed consent form. The information was provided in a written format so that it was clear and transparent. This was done for them to make a valid decision on whether they want to voluntarily participate in the interview or not. The aim of the research was also briefly verbally explained and no incentive was provided to stimulate participation.

Each respondent was given the consent form prior to the scheduled interview which had all the details of the study and a copy of the questions to be asked in the interview. The participants were also informed that their participation would not bear any positive or negative consequences. The purpose was to ensure that all participants did not feel coerced to participate in the study. These efforts were made in order to respect the independence of all the participants. With the consent of the participant, the interviews were recorded using an audio recorder. The recording of the interviews allowed me to concentrate on the interviews as they progressed.

The researcher made use of a digital tape-recorder for the purpose of recording interviews which were transcribed. This method enabled the researcher to save time by obtaining the information on a digital tape-recorder and aided in the preservation of the information for further research. The reliance on digital tape recorder did not stop the researcher from utilizing semi-structured interviews when the need arose. There could be instances where the researcher could be seeking specific information gathered from other informants which need to be cross checked for proper precision on the idea. Des Vos¹⁸⁸ argued that this method gives both the researcher and the informant more autonomy which helps give a detailed picture of the informant about a particular interest on immersing issues from the interview, and the informant time to give a detailed narrative of events.

The interviews were conducted for 70 minutes each on a one-on-one basis. The interviews began by first ascertaining the identity of the respondent, their job title, their qualifications, level of experience, the time period they have been working at the institution. Thereafter, the

¹⁸⁸ A.S. Des Vos, et al.: (2005). *Research at grass roots for the social sciences and human service professions* (3rd ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

interview approached the meaning of tribe and nation; their description of the Zulu people in South Africa and the way in which the two notions get politically manipulated.

Interviews gave the researcher the opportunity to ask questions which may never have been probed in the past and also opened new areas of study. Lastly, the respondents were asked to provide information on to what extent has the manipulation affected the Zulu people's way of life. The interviews aimed to elicit responses of the general perceptions, opinions and feelings. The data obtained through the semi-structured interviews allowed for an in-depth exploration into the experience of research. The data was the subjective opinion of the participants.

The interviews were held in a conversational manner to make it as natural as possible, to put the respondents at ease as they talked about their own perceptions, experiences and expressed their views. The friendly yet somewhat professional helped to make the interview a relaxed open space for sharing information. The interviews covered several basic questions of the research. By going through the first questions other questions were answered before the researcher asked them. This allowed the researcher to come up with more exploratory questions to keep the conversation going. Engagement with the academics and traditional leaders was more enlightening as they had more to offer in terms of chronological comparisons of the issue at hand. Respondents were informed that all information received would be confidential and solely for this study. The identities of the research participants were protected and therefore there had neither the motivation nor incentives to provide false data. The researcher also aimed to establish a good relationship with participants enabling them to express barriers and obstacles that the researcher had perhaps failed to identify.

A challenge I faced in carrying out of this research was the problem of time. Time was a notable disadvantage in terms of scheduling interviews. The researcher had to make repeated appointments to obtain an interview for some respondents due to the busy nature of their work. The opportunity to use the snowball technique as a means of accessing the sample population and collecting the much-needed data was utilised. A snowball sampling is a type of sampling, where a researcher starts with one participant or member of the population and will then use that member's contact to identify other contacts that may have experiences or interest, thus increasing the sample. Snowball sampling is most commonly used when the researcher would have difficulty in finding participants who might otherwise not be identified

easily. Snowball sampling often allows the inclusion of several views or experience.¹⁸⁹ Snowballing, as a referral method in which a respondent links the researcher to others he or she knows would be interested and or helpful proved very useful. Through this method, some of the research participants connected me with their colleagues who shared a similar interest in the research area and this made it easier for me to access informants who were ready to help.

I read the University's Policy and Procedures on Research Ethics and its Policy and Procedures on Managing and Preventing Acts of Plagiarism, and understood their content. My supervisors and I considered and discussed the ethical issues that arose from this research.

This research did not generate any real or perceived clash of interest; I wish to also state that I was not involved in any project or activity that would become the subject matter of my study. I did not have any direct or indirect financial interest in the study nor did any of my close friends and associate. I also wish to state that the production of this dissertation was guided by the university policies and ethics. I respected the confidentiality and anonymity of all interviewees and their dignity and safety, and that participants in the research were not forced, coerced, bribed or induced in anyway, and that they participated of their free will without intimidation. This study hoped to produce knowledge relevant to the continued interchangeably use of the Zulu tribe and Zulu nation and their context in contemporary politics of South Africa. With the exception of my supervisor's guidance, all work in this study was the product of my effort. I employed the use of the footnotes for efficient referencing. My supervisor and I used the text-matching software (Turnitin) to check all texts used in the thesis. In circumstances that impacted upon my ethical obligations, I disclosed them to my supervisors and we took appropriate action in terms of the relevant University policies.

3.7. Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Marshall and Rossman¹⁹⁰ describe data analysis as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is described as messy, ambiguous and time-consuming, but also as a creative and fascinating process. Broadly speaking, while it does not proceed in linear fashion, it is the activity of making sense of, interpreting and theorizing data that signifies a search for general statements among categories of data.¹⁹¹ Therefore one could conclude that data analysis requires some sort or form of logic applied to research.

¹⁸⁹ C.L. Macnee and S. McCabe: *Understanding Nursing Research: Using Research in Evidence-based Practice*, p. 121.

¹⁹⁰ C. Marshall and G.B. Rossman: *Designing qualitative research*. 3rd ed., p. 150.

¹⁹¹ T.A. Schwandt: *The SAGE Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry*, p. 6.

The researcher employed a qualitative approach in interpreting the data from interviews. The data was analysed inductively and manually, using the important activities of qualitative data analysis which is reviewing and scrutinizing the data for common themes and propositions and lastly gaining an understanding of the data in the context it was collected. The thematic analysis was focused on identifying the ways in which the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nations have been used interchangeably for political purposes. The themes emerging from both the male and female politicians, academics and traditional leaders' experiences and insights in that regard were also interpreted in line with the social identity theory.

The data collected and analysed focused on ascertaining the general world-wide meaning of the notions of tribe and nation. Another focus was on interrogating whether the Zulu people, are a 'tribe' and 'nation'. Lastly, the focus was on finding out the notions of the Zulu 'tribe' and Zulu 'nation' their relation to Zulu nationalism and the Zulu kingdom.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter has reflected on procedures and strategies that the researcher had considered when planning the research. The planning included sampling which was the selection of participants, the population where the sampling was chosen, data collection where the researcher collected relevant information from willing participants in the form of interviews, and data analysis where information from those interviews was analyzed to form a constructive and a credible research study. The researcher also made sure that the research ethics relevant to this study were kept up to date to prevent any emotional harm.

CHAPTER FOUR: FROM ZULU TRIBE TO ZULU NATION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the course from the Zulu tribe to the Zulu nation. The main aim of this chapter is to clearly establish that the two notions, Zulu tribe and Zulu nation, are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. A chapter of this nature cannot be attempted without mentioning the name of Emperor Shaka Zulu. The formation of the Zulu nation became synonymous with the name of Emperor Shaka. The chapter gives the reasons behind him being so synonymous with the nation. This chapter posits that during his reign, he used his spear to embroider together a diverse collection of tribes and clans into one mighty cultural quilt (Zulu nation).

4.2. The Clan/Tribal Structures and resultant Amalgamation

One of the writers who attempted to give an account of the Bantu speaking tribes of South Africa is Schapera. This author argues that the Bantu-speaking people in South Africa were divided on the basis of data partly geographically, partly dialectal, partly historical and partly cultural.¹⁹² The shifting composition and open boundaries of social and political groups over centuries rendered their residual names, still found as family names and place names. Associated with a distinct geographic location, a common political history and a common culture and language as the result of cultural assimilation that had followed the political and social consolidation, larger political units of the past were the so-called 'tribes' identified by European western observers.¹⁹³

Historically, in Southeast Africa, the Nguni were organized in fairly small tribes, often largely made up of members of a single clan and containing not more than a few thousand members.¹⁹⁴ It appears that by this time each tribe was politically independent and there were more than hundreds of them in Zululand and Natal alone. In each tribe, there was a supreme head of the community. The king had the last word in all the matters of law or policy and he was also the chief religious figure, but he did not rule as a despot.¹⁹⁵ Every tribe was divided into districts, each under a sub-chief who was usually an important member of the royal

¹⁹² L. Schapera: *The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 67.

¹⁹³ E. Eldredge: *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815-1828*, p. 1.

¹⁹⁴ N. Dlamini and J de Villiers: *Effective History Grade 10- A handbook for learners OBE approach*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

family.¹⁹⁶ In addition, the chief had a large number of officers called *izinduna*, one of whom acted as high deputy when the chief did not want to undertake anything personally. This post resembled that of the Prime Minister. The *izinduna* were generally chosen from families with no claim to royalty so that they would have no temptation to usurp the throne.¹⁹⁷

The sub-division of tribes into two or more independent sections was very common, for the land in South Africa was copious for grazing and farming this meant relative freedom for famine. As a result, population increased by leaps and bounds. It was also frequent that as tribes became too large for easy government, they would split up.¹⁹⁸ This frequently happened at the death of the chief, for it was unusual for succession to be undisputed. The Zulu people provide a typical example of this division. Some historians stated that a small clan arrived in Northern Natal; where from, it is not quite clear. This clan had a chief with the name “Zulu”. He was the son of “Malandela”. “Zulu” later became the name of these people – amaZulu (“people of the heavens”).¹⁹⁹

Mahoney relates that Malandela started dividing his wealth among his sons (Zulu and Qwabe) before he died. Malandela continued to state that Qwabe, his elder son, would inherit everything that belonged to him including Malandela’s position as chief. Nozidiya, their mother, complained that this was unfair. She insisted that something be given to Zulu. One day Qwabe came home, after he had departed following a family dispute, to cattle enclosure full of Nozidiya’s special cows. On Qwabe’s enquiring to whom they belonged, she stated that they belonged to his younger brother, Zulu. He argued against this as he believed that as the heir he was entitled to all the inheritance. That then sparked a dispute between Qwabe and Zulu with Nozidiya on Zulu’s side. To prevent the dispute from escalating into a physical fight, Nozidiya then took Zulu and their stock and relocated towards Mthonjaneni where she built her own house. Qwabe then remained behind, looking after his father's homestead and further expanding the family - thus the separation of Qwabe and Zulu clans.²⁰⁰

What has become noticeable in this study is that the repeated growth of the population brought about different types of development in existing clans and tribes including the Zulu clan of the time. As clans developed to tribes and tribes developed to powerful kingdom and

¹⁹⁶ M.A. Klein and G.W. Johnson: Perspectives on the African past, p. 128.

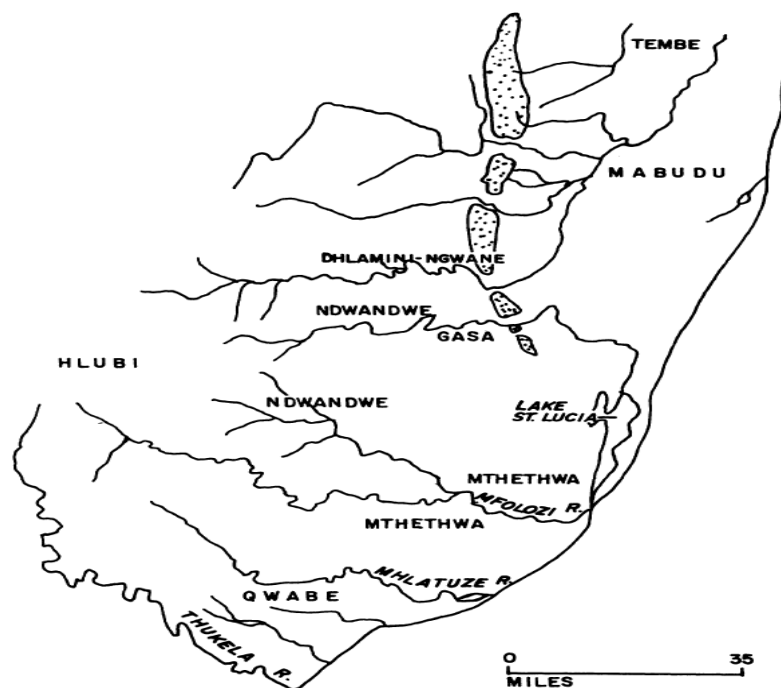
¹⁹⁷ N. Dlamini and J de Villiers: Effective History Grade 10- A handbook for learners OBE approach, p. 16.

¹⁹⁸ M.A. Klein and G.W. Johnson: Perspectives on the African past, p. 128.

¹⁹⁹ S.A. Thorpe: African Traditional Religions, p. 32.

²⁰⁰ M.R. Mahoney: The Other Zulus: The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa, pp. 22-23.

grazing land became scarce and disputes between tribes became more frequent and serious. Previous wars had been of minor affairs such as, cattle raids and skirmishes occurred more from a spirit of adventure than a desire for conquest. But towards the end of the eighteenth century, these newly formed tribes began to assume a new character. Three great leaders emerged who thought of bringing large numbers of servile tribes under their control, creating an empire. One of these leaders was Sobhuza (Dhlabini-Ngwane), a leader of the people who later became known as the Swazi in modern Swaziland. The second was Zwibe, chief of the Ndwandwe kingdom, one of the largest and most powerful in Zululand. The third was Dingiswayo, the famous chief of the Mthethwa kingdom.²⁰¹



Map 3
NORTHERN NGUNI, c. 1800

Figure 1: The Map Shows the Northern Nguni by 1800 and the Three Kingdoms that Developed in Southeast Africa.²⁰²

This study posits that as these rulers rose to prominence, wars became frequent and more severe. There was a need for improved military organization. As a result, several tribes began to abandon the old customs and use the system of grouping by age, which went to the

²⁰¹ N. Dlamini and J de Villiers: *Effective History Grade 10- A handbook for learners OBE approach*, p. 16.

²⁰² J. Gump: 'Ecological Change and Pre-Shakan State Formation', *African Economic History*, No. 18 (1989), pp. 57-71.

initiation ceremonies as the basis of a new kind of military system.²⁰³ While these developments were going on, a young man (Shaka) was growing up who was to change the history of most South Africa and much of central Africa. His father, at this time was the chief of what was then an unimportant tribe, Zulu.²⁰⁴ There were many chiefs, each ruling on his own. Each lived separately from the others, including Senzangakhona. The Mbatha, Buthelezi, Ntombela, Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, Qwabe, Langeni, Mpungose and eMbo, together with their people of many other territories all lived separately.²⁰⁵

In particular, it appeared that colonial administrators grouped African people into ‘tribes’ with legally defined territories and hereditary chiefs.²⁰⁶ Many precolonial polities, indeed, had structures that vaguely resembled such ‘tribes,’ but in colonial society, chiefs were also invented for chiefless and ‘homelands’ were mapped even for nomadic people so as to create administrative authorities. It was believed that members of the tribes shared a common language and culture, although, the matter was not necessarily that neat and tidy. European colonial administrators assumed that Africans belonged to tribes. A tribe was understood to be a ‘nation of savages,’ and like assumptions about the nineteenth century modern nation, it was expected to have a common language, single social system, legal code, political leader or chief, and of course its own territory.²⁰⁷ Among the colonized, the tribe was sometimes adopted by chiefs as a means of mobilizing their supports but such chiefs were operating under the new colonial regime and not continuing their precolonial traditions as suggested by colonial rulers.²⁰⁸ As noted for Xhosa and Zulu, societies were divided into named clans, but the clans shared a number of linguistic and social attributes that differentiated them from their neighbours.²⁰⁹

The Zulu tribe at the time was one of many among the Nguni people. Each of the Nguni tribe numbered from 2 000 to 10 000 under its own independent *inkosi*.²¹⁰ By 1775 these tribes were settled across the southeastern region of Africa. As the population of each tribe grew, a segment would frequently break off to form a new tribe under a kinsman of the old *inkosi*. It

²⁰³ N. Dlamini and J de Villiers: Effective History Grade 10- A handbook for learners OBE approach, p. 16.

²⁰⁴ M.A. Klein and G.W. Johnson: Perspectives on the African past, p. 128.

²⁰⁵ J. Wright: ‘Turbulent Times: Political Transformations in the North and East, 1760-1830s’, in C. Hamilton et al. (eds.): *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, vol. 1, p. 230.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ S. Frankental and O. Sichone: South Africa’s Diverse People’s- a reference sourcebook, p. 41.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ J.S. Olson and R. Shadle (eds.): *Historical Dictionary of European Imperialism*, p. 678.

is argued that sometimes this breakaway was peaceful and sometimes it was not. There was no real attempt to unite the tribes until the 1800s.²¹¹ When Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* came to existence and united all the neighbouring tribes into one mighty warrior Zulu empire.

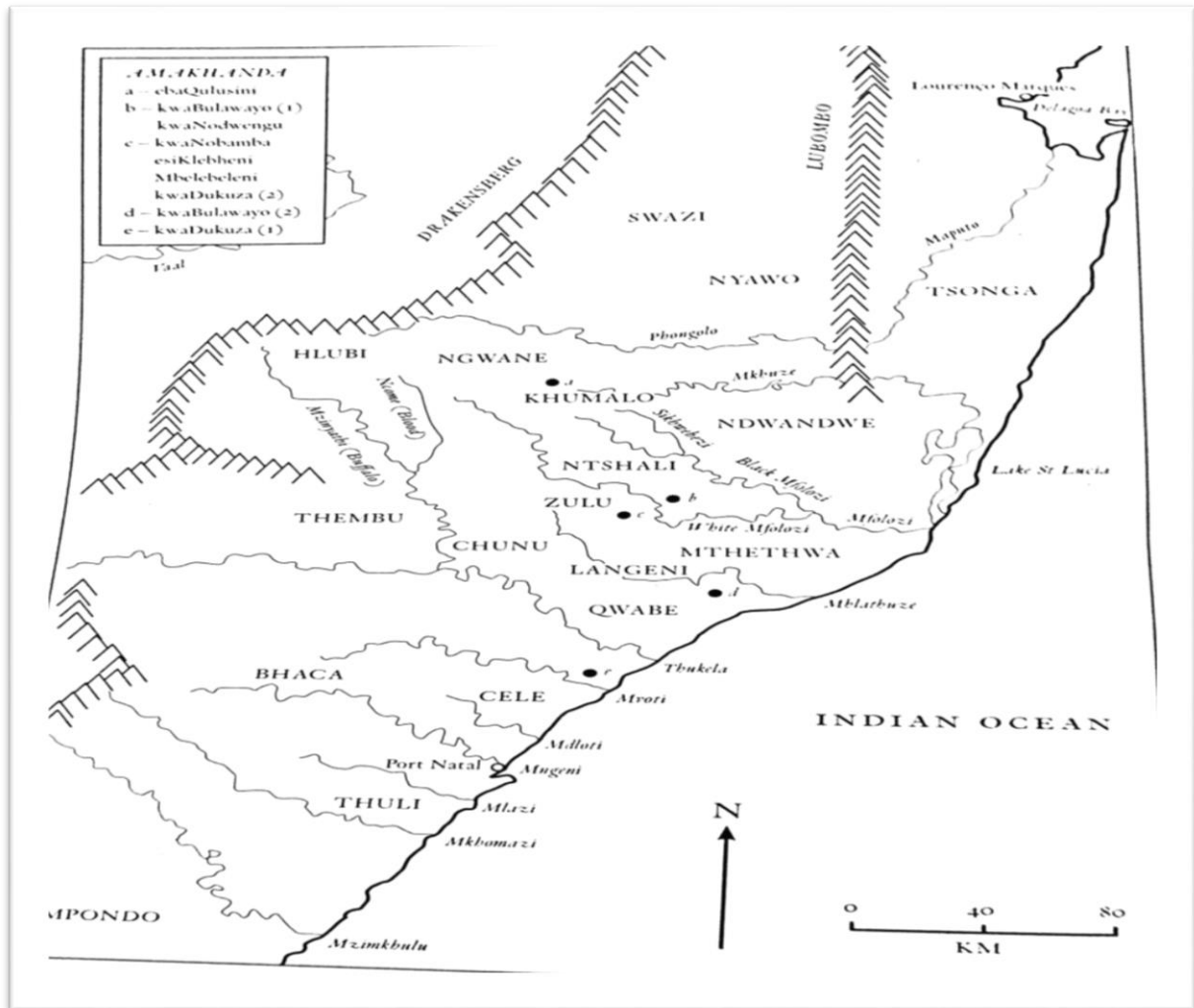


Figure 2: Map shows the Zulu region at the outset of Shaka's reign.²¹²

It appears that before becoming a kingdom, the Zulu were a small clan consisting of a few hundred people, known only to their immediate neighbours.²¹³ The Zulu clan was part of a larger group of people called the Nguni, who in the 1600s, as part of the Bantu migrations, migrated south from the central East Africa. By the mid to late 1600s, descendants of these Bantu settlers politically and socially controlled two-fifths of the land suitable for agriculture

²¹¹ J.S. Olson and R. Shadle (eds.): *Historical Dictionary of European Imperialism*, p. 678.

²¹² E. Eldredge: *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom*, n.p.

²¹³ I. J. Knight: *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa: Shaka of the Zulu, Moshoeshoe of the Basotho, Mzilikazi of the Matabele, Maqoma of the Xhosa*, p. 14.

in southern Africa.²¹⁴ The two groups emerged as overlords over weaker neighbouring clans and tribes. These two groups consisted of Ndwandwe Kingdom of *Inkosi Zwide kaLanga* to the northwest and the Mthethwa kingdom of *Inkosi Dingiswayo kaJobe* of the southeast.²¹⁵

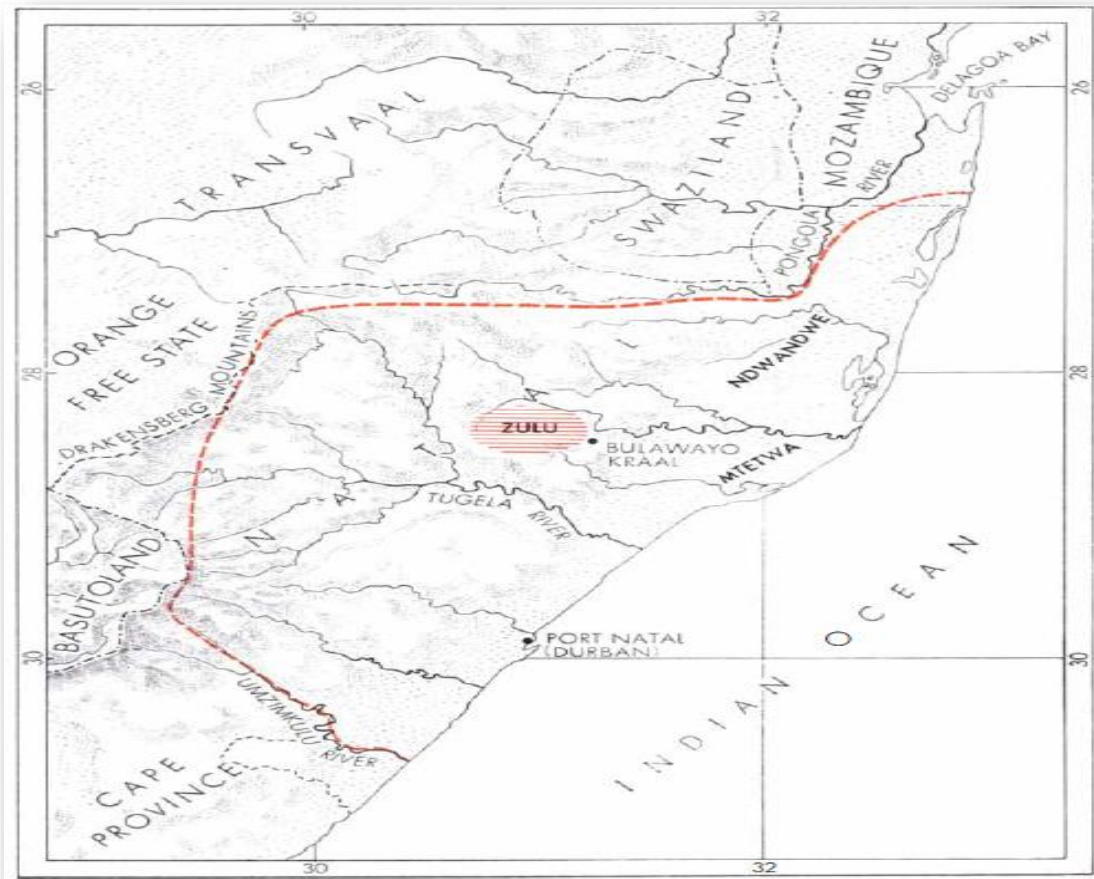


Figure 3: Zulu Empire (broken line) occupied an area of 80,000 square miles. Shaka built it after becoming chief of the Zulu tribe, which originally occupied the small hatched area at center. The locations of Bulawayo and the Mthethwa and Ndwandwe kingdom are also indicated.²¹⁶

Allen argues that most of the chiefdoms in southeast Africa gravitated towards the most powerful kingdoms, such as Mthethwa and Ndwandwe kingdoms, for protection.²¹⁷ Once a small Zulu clan migrated south, the Zulu *inkosi* Senzangakhona *kaJama* formed an alliance with the larger Mthethwa clan. At the time, the Mthethwa clan numbered 4,000 people and

²¹⁴ H. Lamar and L. Thompson (eds.): *The Frontier in History: North America and South Africa Compared*, p. 19.

²¹⁵ I. Knight: *The National Army Museum Book of the Zulu War*, p. 6.

²¹⁶ M. Gluckman: 'The Rise of a Zulu Empire', *Scientific American*, Vol. 202, No. 4, 1960, p. 161.

²¹⁷ M.C.R. Allen: *Shaka Zulu's Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: an early form of operational art? A Monograph*, p. 5.

was firmly emplaced on good land.²¹⁸ The Mthethwa controlled the eastern portion of southern Africa until the mid-1800s when a larger clan assimilated them. Inkosi Dingiswayo conquered more than thirty servile tribes before the advent of what became known as the land of the Zulu.²¹⁹ It is also pointed out that the numerical preponderance of Inkosi Zwide kaLanga Ndwandwe's people also contributed towards the rise of the Zulu empire.

In the early nineteenth-century, the Zulu people were ruled by a small lineage of some 2,000 members in a chiefdom of some 10,000 Zulu under the rule of the Mthethwa.²²⁰ The most important tribes in the region on the eve of Shaka's rise to power were the Nguni, Hlubi, Ngwane or Matebele, Zulu, Qwabe, Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, Ngwane of Sobhuza and the Thonga.²²¹ At the time, *inkosi* Dingiswayo had been expanding his power, and the Ndwandwe under *inkosi* Zwide attacked the Mthethwa in about 1817 or 1818, and captured and killed *inkosi* Dingiswayo.²²² With the Mthethwa vanquished, all that stood between Zwide and complete dominance of the region between the Phongolo and Thukela Rivers was the Zulu, under their newly appointed chief, Shaka (who was yet to become a king). After the death of Dingiswayo, Shaka killed the legitimate heir of the Mthethwa chieftaincy and appointed his own favourite, Malandela, who was raised up from an inferior lineage to take up the chieftaincy of the Mthethwa.²²³

After the Mthethwa collapse, Shaka hastened to increase his strength by bringing as many tribes as possible under his control. Whereas Dingiswayo saw combat as an unfortunate but inevitable necessity and would at once accept the submission of a vanquished adversary, Shaka preferred to smash a clan the first time, incorporating the fragments into his own tribe in so far as they were assimilable, but otherwise he fought for total annihilation. In due course, he absorbed nearly sixty other tribes into his own, and extended his dominions nearly half across south-eastern Africa. In order to preserve his manpower Shaka followed up the practice introduced by Dingiswayo of deferring circumcision till his conquests were completed, by imposing a complete and permanent ban on this practice. In time to come the

²¹⁸ D. Morris: *The Washing of the Spears*, p. 40.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

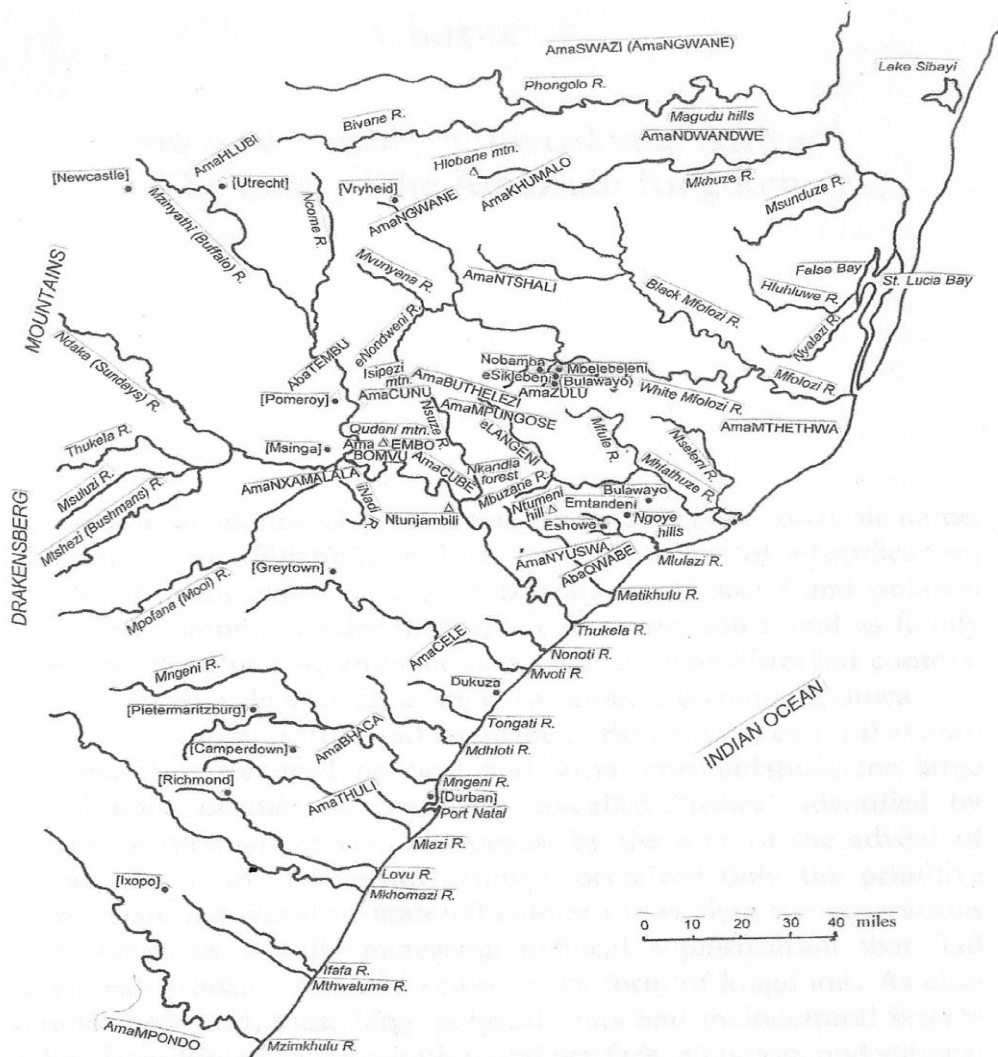
²²⁰ M. Deflem: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation- the Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', in *Ethnology*, vol. 38, 1999, pp. 371-391.

²²¹ D. Morris: *The washing of the spears*, p. 51.

²²² T.R.H. Davenport: *South Africa- A modern history*, p. 18.

²²³ J.J. Guy: 'The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande', in Peires, J.B. (ed.), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, p. 62.

Zulu regarded themselves superior in this regard and despised the races distinguished by this custom.



MAP 2 Chiefdoms of KwaZulu-Natal, c. 1815–1820

Figure 4: The picture portrays the chiefdoms in Natal from 1815 to 1820.²²⁴

The history of the Southeast coast region during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries was characterized by warfare between the large chiefdoms like the Ngwane, Ndwandwe and the Mthethwa. The power of the chiefdoms shifted as they forcibly acquired land and incorporated others into their kingdoms, or were conquered and incorporated by other kingdoms. During these wars, some chiefdom suffered annihilation, dispersion,

²²⁴ E. Eldredge: The creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815-1820, p. XIII.

fragmentation, and incorporation.²²⁵ On the other hand, other chiefdoms were able to extend their power over vast areas of the region. Thus, these wars resulted in the aggregation of the chiefdoms into larger units, in particular, the Ndwandwe, the Ngwane, the Hlubi and the Mthethwa.²²⁶

The dominant inkosi ruled over subordinated chiefdoms under his direct control in a region extending over several thousand kilometers.²²⁷ It was during this period that ‘paramountcies’ emerged, i.e., ‘when one inkosi was able to subordinate others, through conquest, through manipulating rights to local resources, or through extending control over the strategic points on trading routes’.²²⁸ These paramountcies began a process of consolidation involving the centralization and expansion that resulted in the emergence of embryonic states in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.²²⁹

The primordial system of countless clans would be gradually demolished, and upon and out of its ruins would be built up a grandiose nation ruled by an imperious ruler. When Shaka Zulu assumed the throne, he deviated from ideas of a loose confederation of semi-autonomous chiefdoms.²³⁰ He thought of collecting together a diverse collection of tribes into one mighty quilt. He implemented a number of changes to the Zulu army, making it an efficient machine to subjugate the autonomous clans, tribes, chiefdom and kingdoms in the region.²³¹ Two of these were the introduction of the assegai (a short thrusting spear) and the attack formation known as ‘head and horns’ (a phalanx formation) to replace the long skirmishing line.²³² Most importantly, however, was the organization of the army into age-regiments. The efficiency of the military apparatus allowed Shaka to gather a large number of tribes and kingdoms into one entity and to incorporate the defeated troops into the Zulu military.²³³ As a result, he expanded his empire to become a nation by entering into alliances with neighbouring chiefs who lost their suzerainty, or by destroying those who did not submit

²²⁵ J.J. Guy: ‘The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo KaMpande’, in Peires, J.B. (ed.), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, p. 56.

²²⁶ T.R.H. Davenport: *South Africa: A modern history* 3rd edition, p. 16.

²²⁷ J. Laband: *Rope of Sand: The Rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, p. 513.

²²⁸ J. Wright and C. Hamilton: ‘Traditions and transformations- the Phongolo -Mzimkhulu region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries’, in A. Duminy and B. Guest (eds.), *Natal and Zululand: From earliest times to 1910, A New History*, p. 59.

²²⁹ J. Laband: *Rope of sand- the rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, p. 513.

²³⁰ E.A. Ritter: *Shaka Zulu: the rise of the Zulu empire*, p. 150.

²³¹ M. Deflem: ‘Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation- the Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879’, in *Ethnology*, vol. 38, 1999, pp. 371-391.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*

voluntarily.²³⁴ During Shaka's times, clans, tribes and kingdoms who settled in their own lands were all broken up and assembled to pay allegiance to the Zulu.²³⁵

In creating a Zulu nation from a Zulu tribe, Shaka embroidered together a diverse collection of tribe, chiefdom and kingdoms. The first kingdom to be engaged in battle was the eLangeni, who were subjugated without resistance after their main kraal was surrounded by a Zulu *impi*. Following the incorporation of the eLangeni chiefdom, Shaka turned his focus to the Buthelezi tribe under inkosi Phungashe. Shaka's army destroyed the Buthelezi homesteads and captured all their cattle and remaining women and children, while Phungashe fled to seek refuge with the Ndwandwe under inkosi Zwide in the north.²³⁶ Shaka subsequently elevated Ngqengelele kaMvulana, one of his confidants, to the chieftaincy of the Buthelezi.²³⁷ The Qwabe were overrun by the Zulu, and their inkosi was killed. King Shaka replaced him with Nqetho, a member of the Qwabe ruling lineage who had been exiled by the inkosi. In this way, Shaka was able to ensure the continued support of the chiefdom.²³⁸ The powerful Ndwandwe chiefdom was finally defeated in battle of Gqokli in 1817, and Shaka advanced into the Ndwandwe territory and destroyed inkosi Zwide's capital. Following the destruction of his capital, inkosi Zwide subsequently withdrew with the remnants of the chiefdom to an area in what is now southern Swaziland.²³⁹

Some chiefdom submitted to Zulu rule without a fight, like the Qadi, Sibiya, Zungu and remnants of the Mthethwa. They were incorporated into the Zulu kingdom, and in some cases were allowed to retain their chiefs. However, Shaka assassinated the inkosi of the Zungu, who settled at the time on the Mahlabathini plain. In the same area lived the Mbatha, whose chiefly line Shaka terminated. The Mbatha then rose up another dominant lineage which served Shaka faithfully.²⁴⁰ King Shaka, unlike inkosi Dingiswayo, preferred to smash clans that opposed subjugation, and he aimed at total annihilation.²⁴¹ Those chiefdoms that resisted his incorporation were destroyed; their leaders were forced to flee or were killed, as were the old members of the chiefdom. The young men and women were incorporated into the Zulu

²³⁴ M. Deflem: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation- the Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', in *Ethnology*, vol. 38, 1999, pp. 371-391.

²³⁵ Lugubhu kaMangaliso, James Stuart Archive (JSA), Vol. I, p. 292.

²³⁶ D. Morris: *The washing of the spears*, p.53.

²³⁷ J. Laband: *Rope of sand- the rise and fall of the Zulu Kingdom in the nineteenth century*, p. 137.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 20.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 21.

²⁴⁰ J.J. Guy: 'The political structure of the Zulu Kingdom during the reign of Cetshwayo kaMpande', in Peires, J.B. (ed.), *Before and after Shaka: Papers in Nguni history*, p. 60.

²⁴¹ D. Morris: *The washing of the spears*, p. 47.

age-grade regiments, and in this manner they became part of the Zulu chiefdom. Shaka was able to further destroy previous identities and submerge them into the Zulu identity by placing stress the observance of Zulu traditions.²⁴²

Though the Zulu leaders sought to establish a system of strong central government, their kingdom remained only loosely united. Like other African kingdoms, it was an amalgamation of separate chiefdoms under a common overlord. Throughout Shaka's reign, the Zulu faced strong opposition from some of the chiefdoms subject to them. In addition, Shaka had to deal with the hostility of rival factions within the Zulu ruling house.²⁴³ Shaka's wars resulted in the merging of some 300 formerly independent chiefdoms into the Zulu Kingdom.²⁴⁴

4.3. Shakan Epoch and Nation-Building

When Shaka finished consolidating his position at home, he turned his attention to pressing needs of the nation. The pressing need was to have adequate defense and offensive forces.²⁴⁵ At the time, there was no Zulu army so he set out to create one. Shaka coined all the Zulu regimental names at the time he re-organized the Zulu army.²⁴⁶ For assuring that the Zulu nation continues even after him, he organized his army according to age groups and gender.²⁴⁷ The training program consisted of a new battle formation, the "bullhorn," designed to disrupt and encircle the enemy forces. This innovative tactic increased Zulu power, and by 1820, the Zulu effectively ruled eastern South Africa.

King Shaka realized that the traditional assegai that was used before him was too light and fragile for his fighting technique. To optimize his regiment's effectiveness in close-quarters combat, Shaka redesigned the traditional throwing spear. He devised and commissioned a short stabbing spear with a long double-edged blade, which he called an assegai, later giving it the nickname, *iKlwa*.²⁴⁸ This gave Shaka's regiment an advantage over the traditional long spear used by others when fighting in close combat. The close combat use of the assegai was

²⁴² D. Morris: The washing of the spears, p. 47.

²⁴³ C. Hamilton: 'Ideology, Oral Traditions, and the Struggle for Power in the Early Zulu Kingdom', Unpublished thesis, pp. 184-6, 362-3; J. Wright, ' The Dynamics of Power and Conflict in the Thukela - Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', unpublished thesis, pp. 253, 281-3, 353-5, 367-9.

²⁴⁴ M. Deflem: 'Warfare, Political, Leadership, and State Formation- the Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', in *Ethnology*, vol. 38, 1999, pp. 371-391.

²⁴⁵ G.K. Osei: Shaka the Great, pp. 11-13.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 13.

²⁴⁷ M.K. Asante: The History of Africa- the quest for eternal harmony, p. 173.

²⁴⁸ B. Roberts: The Zulu King, p. 43.

more effective in inflicting casualties than the long spear traditionally used for throwing at the enemy. The introduction of the assegai made the long spear a secondary weapon, used only for the initial Zulu attack when the enemy was out of the assegai's deadly range.²⁴⁹ Shaka also redesigned the shield, making it bigger and more durable.²⁵⁰ He trained his regiment, and later the Zulu army, the necessary techniques for using their shield to hook and pull the enemy shield, exposing the body to allow ease of penetration by the assegai.²⁵¹



Figure 5: The picture shows the assegai that Shaka invented when he rose to power.²⁵²

Using the shield in such manner transformed it from purely defensive into an offensive implement.²⁵³ Discipline, speed and close quarters combat became the trademark of Shaka's regiments in the continuation of the building of the Zulu nation. He was then convinced that speed was a decisive factor in war. He further ordered his soldiers to discard their sandals, making them train in bare feet to ensure greater speed and mobility. On average, it appears that Shaka's soldiers ran twenty to thirty miles a day with bare feet over a rugged country to build stamina and speed.²⁵⁴

Another innovation was the development of individual leadership in the persons appointed to command regiments and their sub-units.²⁵⁵ The commander of each regiment and section of a regiment was supposed to be its embodiment, and on him hung all the blame if it suffered a repulse. Shaka made no allowance whatever for superior numbers on the part of the enemy, and all his warriors knew well that, whatever might be the force opposed to them, they had either to conquer or to die.

He issued a lighter, shorter, stabbing spears (assegai) and larger stronger shields in each regiment. Subsequently, each regiment was identified by the colour and marking of their

²⁴⁹ I. Knight: *Isandlwana 1879- The Great Zulu Victory*, (ed.) Lee Johnson and David G. Chandler, p. 26.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ J. Laband: *The Rise and fall of the Zulu Nation*, p. 37.

²⁵² <http://greywolf.critter.net/images/ironclaw/akoma/weapons> (accessed 03 October 2016).

²⁵³ I. Knight: *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa*, p. 48.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ S. Bourquin: *The Zulu Military Organization and the challenge of 1879*, *Military History Journal*, Vol 4 No 4 - Zulu War Centenary Issue - January 1979, n. p.

shield and was assigned herds that had matching hides symbolic of that particular regimental shield. These herds eventually provided the colour-coded hides necessary as the need for replacement shields arose.²⁵⁶ They were distinguished from one another by shields of different colours and other regalia such as headgear. The king supplied the shields and other items of military apparel. Each regiment was in charge of a section of royal herds. So far as possible, the herd attached to a particular regiment was made up of cattle of the same colour as their shields. These cattle served to provide the soldiers with meat and milk.

The introduction of the colour-coded hides system was an important innovation that allowed King Shaka to easily identify his regiments and provide command and control during the battle. The regiments were instructed to use the ‘bullhorn’ formation battle tactics, which was designed to take full advantage of the assegai’s lethality in close combat, using the most experienced fighter in the front and the least experienced as the reserve.²⁵⁷

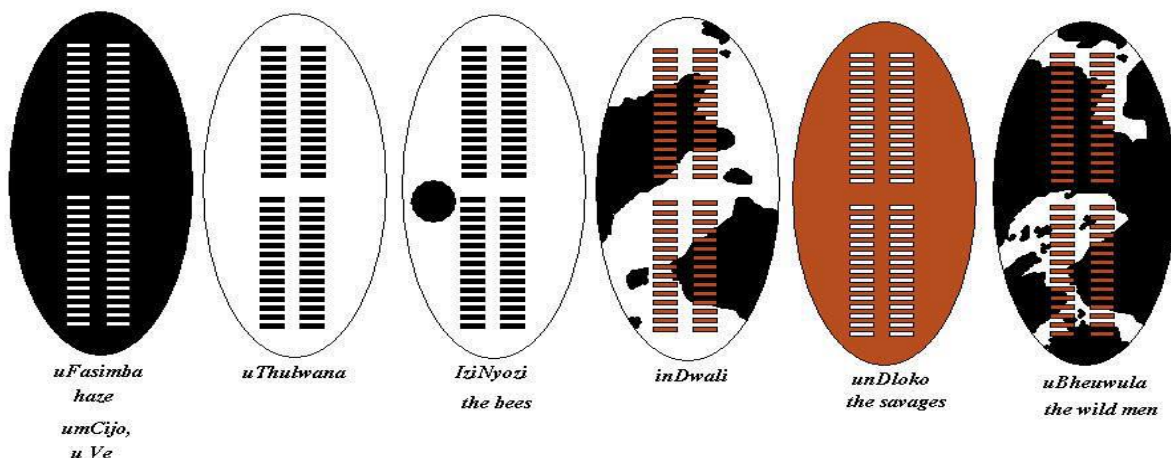


Figure 6: Shaka’s Regimental Colour-Coded Shields, colour-coded hides system was an important innovation that allowed Shaka to easily identify his regiments and provide command and control during battle.²⁵⁸

Shaka centralized the administration of the nation in his hands.²⁵⁹ As a result, he exercised absolute power and expected obedience from his people and his chiefs. The Zulu were unimportant before the time of King Shaka.²⁶⁰ Under Shaka, a new era commenced for his people. He knew that the power was in the unity of the people. Using new tactics and

²⁵⁶ I. Knight: *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa*, pp. 45-46.

²⁵⁷ C.R. Allen: *Shaka Zulu’s Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: An Early Form of Operational Art? A Monograph*, p. 14.

²⁵⁸ <http://milblogging.com/listingDetail.php?id=5280> (accessed 03 October 2016).

²⁵⁹ *The Oxford encyclopedia of African thought: Abol-Impe*, volume 1, p. 332.

²⁶⁰ K.G. Osei: *Shaka the Great*, p. 9.

weapons, Shaka became the dominant ruler in Southeast Africa and created a new military nation, based upon the continuing conquest of the surrounding people.

By the conquest, Shaka constructed a new type of a nation. Its primary purpose was to maintain and expand efficient fighting force completely loyal to its leader. The conquered chiefdoms and kingdoms were simply grafted onto the territorial hierarchy, their chiefs becoming sub-chiefs.²⁶¹ Shaka frequently removed the existing chiefs of the chiefdoms and kingdoms he had conquered and in cases where he did not do so; he made it clear that they ruled at his pleasure.²⁶² The Zulu kingdom was organized as a large military organization under Shaka's control. He was assisted by the council of elders composed of *izinduna*.²⁶³

In Shaka's system, the territorial chiefs lacked the power and importance that they had in the traditional system. Though at some instances, they continued to adjudicate over cases that arose in territories under their control, their authority was restricted. All young men were drafted into the army and it was in the army that all the power resided. Without an effective backing, the sub-chiefs could not exercise great influence and were entirely at the mercy of Shaka's whims.²⁶⁴

In the central area of the Zulu kingdom, a series of military settlements was established at Gibixhegu, Bulawayo, Nobamba, Isiklebhe, Mbelebele and Dukuza.²⁶⁵ Each settlement was under the command of a military *induna*, generally a commoner who was personally appointed by King Shaka.²⁶⁶ Each settlement also contained a section of royal women under a senior woman of the royal family who exercised considerable authority in association with the commanding officer.²⁶⁷ At these settlements, young boys gathered from every section of the kingdom. They were employed at first to help guard the cattle and act as shield-bearers, when they reached manhood they were enrolled in age-regiments.

²⁶¹ J. D. Omer-Cooper: *The Zulu Aftermath, A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, pp. 9-23; A. Adesegun and A. Adejo: 'African Traditional Government- A Case Study of Shaka the Zulu', in *Historical Research Letter*, vol. 30, 2016, p. 21.

²⁶² *The Oxford encyclopedia of African thought: Abol-Impe*, volume 1, p. 332.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ A. Adesegun and A. Adejo: 'African Traditional Government: A Case Study of Shaka the Zulu', in *Historical Research Letter*, vol. 30, 2016, p. 21.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ S.C. Ukpabi: *Military involvement in African politics: a historical background*, p. 5.

²⁶⁷ A. Adesegun and A. Adejo: 'African Traditional Government: A Case Study of Shaka the Zulu', in *Historical Research Letter*, vol. 30, 2016, p. 21.

King Shaka to ensure that he maintained his mighty nation, his regiments were kept on permanent service until the king officially dissolved them. During this period they were castrated and were not allowed to marry.²⁶⁸ Together with the young men, young women were also assembled in large numbers. They were made wards of the king and counted as sections of his household. They too were organized into regiments for ceremonial purposes and Shaka often held great dances in which male and female regiments took part.²⁶⁹ Under such a system of universal conscription, there was little room for the aged and the infirm. Shaka had large numbers of old and incapable men put to death on the grounds that they were a useless encumbrance and it was in commemoration of this that one of his military settlements were called Gibixhegu.²⁷⁰ This military system not only provided Shaka with the most efficient fighting machine in Bantu Africa but also a means of rapidly assimilating to his nation the conquered chiefdoms and kingdoms.

Throughout his reign, Shaka fostered a new national identity by stressing the Zuluness of the nation. All subjects of the state became Zulu and owed the king their personal allegiance. Zulu traditions of origin became the national traditions of the newly formed nation. Customary Nguni festivals, such as planting and harvest celebrations, became occasions on which Shaka gathered vast numbers of his people and extolled the virtues of the nation. Through such means, Shaka developed a Zulu consciousness that transcended the original identities and lineages of the various people who were his subjects. Having conquered 100 000 people of different tribes, the Zulu family and clan identity was not something automatically conferred on subjects. In fact, 'Zulu' remained far more descriptive of the central core, the royal family.²⁷¹

He retained some of the leaders of the chiefdoms and kingdoms that had voluntarily submitted to his suzerainty. He killed the chiefs that resisted, replaced some murdered chiefs with minors, and raised members of collateral families of the dominant lineage of chiefdoms to the chieftaincy.²⁷² In some cases, Shaka raised individuals from inferior lineages to the chieftaincy. Thus, many owed their position to the king, and in this way, he was able to

²⁶⁸ A. Adesegun and A. Adejo: 'African Traditional Government: A Case Study of Shaka the Zulu', in *Historical Research Letter*, vol. 30, 2016, p. 21.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ M. Butler: *Traditional Authorities: Know Where to Land (Traditional Authority and Land in KwaZulu-Natal)*, p. 10.

²⁷² E.J. Krige: *The social system of the Zulus*, p. 209.

ensure their loyalty. Shaka also ensured their loyalty by providing them with wives. Nevertheless, the *isikhulu* generally were from the royal lineage of their chiefdoms.²⁷³

By the mid-1820s the political scene east of the highveld was very different from what it had been in the 1810s. The two major political units in the region were the emerging states or kingdoms ruled by the Ndwandwe under Zwibe in the eastern Transvaal and by the Zulu under Shaka south of the Mkhuzi River.²⁷⁴ He illustrated the multicultural side of leadership, the idea that leadership is necessarily enacted differently in different cultures.²⁷⁵ His ability to gain and maintain power also offered universal lessons as well. He was able to gain initial successes and parlay them into bigger victories later on as his Zulu nation expanded from being a small tribal population of a few thousand to becoming nearly a quarter of a million strong at his death.²⁷⁶ He also laid the foundations for a nation strong enough to defeat the most advanced imperial nation of the day, Great Britain, at the battle of Isandlwana.²⁷⁷

The name of King Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* is known throughout the world. This is because of the legacy he built. The image of a Zulu warrior is today symbol of courage, ferocity, and pride, not only in Zulu culture but in many cultures both in African and Western. It was King Shaka's vision to unify the fragmented clans into one of the most powerful nations. It was Shaka's military legacy that defeated the British army at the Battle of Isandlwana.²⁷⁸ He taught the Zulu the strength of their own identity.²⁷⁹ He introduced traditions to be followed by his regiments and his people. As a result, he became synonymous with the Zulu nation.²⁸⁰

King Shaka left a permanent mark on the history of the world and his death did not mean the end of the Zulu power. Half a century after his death, the Zulu nation employed the buffalo formation to defeat their enemies and to repel invaders, reinforcing Shaka's reputation as southern Africa's most influential military leader. King Shaka permanently changed the political scene in early nineteenth century South Africa. Within one decade, he set up an example of unequalled nation-building and ingenuity. During his life, he became a legend

²⁷³ G.F. Houston and T. Mbele: KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project, p. 52.

²⁷⁴ J. Wright: If we can't call it the Mfecane, then what can we call it? Moving the debate forward, p. 21.

²⁷⁵ G.F. Houston and T. Mbele: KwaZulu-Natal History of Traditional Leadership Project, p. 52.

²⁷⁶ M.R. Polelle: Leadership- Fifty Great Leaders and the Worlds they made, p. 49.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ M.G. Buthelezi: In Celebration of King Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* Founder of the Zulu Nation: Introduction of His Majesty the King, 26 September 2016.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

and living memory for subsequent generations. Within a period of 12 years, he expanded Zulu domains and rendered him an unquestionable emperor in Southeast Africa between 1816 and 1828.



Figure 7: The picture represents the kingdoms under King Shaka's Empire by 1828.²⁸¹

4.4. The Zulu Nation and King Shaka

The name of King Shaka has become synonymous with Zulu might, unity and identity of the Zulu nation.²⁸² Unlike whites who conquered to subjugate, alienate, dominate, exploit and dehumanize, King Shaka conquered to unite people into one mighty nation.²⁸³ He laid a strong foundation for the Zulu nation. He created a strong Zulu culture which was embarked by all chiefdoms and kingdoms that were converted to the Zulu nation. He did not keep information to himself. He trained all the Zulu people to be proud of being Zulu. Under Shaka's leadership, the Zulu were victorious in each of their battles against native chiefdoms

²⁸¹ S. Taylor: Shaka's Children, n. p.

²⁸² M.G. Buthelezi: Introduction of his Majesty the King of the Zulu Nation, KwaHlabisa, 22 September 2002.

²⁸³ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka day speech 'Our Role to Ensure that Unity is the Strength', 24th September 1985.

and kingdoms. His idea to unite all the fractious Nguni chiefdoms and kingdoms to form the Zulu nation as we know today was successful.²⁸⁴ Through strategic military conquests, the Zulu were successful in uniting the various chiefdoms and kingdoms of Southern Africa, creating the strongest African nation in the nineteenth century. Nowhere in the history of Southern Africa or the history of the whole-subcontinent, has one man been able to unite people than King Shaka did in his magnificent reign.²⁸⁵



Figure 8: The portrait of Emperor Shaka Zulu, Founder of the Zulu Nation.²⁸⁶

The Zulu territory doubled in the years of Shaka's rule and experienced a boom in population resulting from increased alliances.²⁸⁷ Shaka introduced a systematic reorganization of the military and revolutionized his army's weaponry and military tactics. He organized the Zulu army into regiments and incorporated a rigid training program. The training program consisted of a new battle formation, the 'bullhorn' designed to disrupt and encircle enemy

²⁸⁴ M.G. Buthelezi: EMakhosini Project Launch, eMgungundlovu, 5 October 1998.

²⁸⁵ M.G. Buthelezi: King Shaka day speech 'Our Role to Ensure that Unity is the Strength', 24th September 1985.

²⁸⁶ Brian Roberts: *The Zulu King* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975), p. 149.

²⁸⁷ I. Knight: *Brave Men's Blood- the Epic of the Zulu War*, p. 54.

forces. This innovative tactic increased Zulu power, and by 1820, the Zulu effectively ruled eastern South Africa.²⁸⁸

He was a strategist and a military commander par excellence. He altered the nature of fighting and peace-making in this region.²⁸⁹ Most historical literatures regard him as one of the great military geniuses of his age. Modern research has shown that the Kingdom of the Zulu under King Shaka was not a monolithic, but it has highly centralized entity.²⁹⁰ He ruled by consensus and allowed many clans to join the kingdom in celebration of unity.²⁹¹ He left a framework for Zuluness, which included decisiveness, dignity and respect, loyalty, and humility.²⁹²

Shaka improved agriculture and cattle rearing were given a special attention.²⁹³ The Zulu sets a high value on his cattle. To his mind, they represent several ideas. Cattle enabled him to marry, cows were needed to rear a family, oxen furnished sacrifices wherewith to propitiate the spirits. Before Shaka's time, cattle stealing were very prevalent among his people.²⁹⁴ He forbade cattle stealing among his people and punished it with death.²⁹⁵ Shaka improved agriculture and many-woven grass bags were made throughout Zululand.

Upon his headship, the generations past have built a nation according to the blueprint of his outstanding leadership. The name of King Shaka has come to represent more than a visionary man and more than a leader of great gesture.

4.5. The Post- Shakan Era

Shaka embroidered a powerful Zulu nation out of spear but the main question has been what kept the Zulu nation which was made up of conquered chiefdoms and kingdoms to remain the Zulu even after Shaka. This is supported by Guy in his work where he argues that the Zulu nation is, therefore, a collection of chiefdoms and kingdoms, more or less autonomous and

²⁸⁸ D.R. Morris: *The Washing of the Spears- A History of the Rise of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, p. 38.

²⁸⁹ S.J. Ndebele: Speech delivered at King Shaka Commemoration Heritage Day by Former Premier of KwaZulu- Natal (KZN) Province, KwaDukuza, 24th September 2006.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² D.R. Morris: *The Washing of the Spears- A History of the Rise of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, pp. 38-39.

²⁹³ G.K. Osei: *Shaka the Great*, p. 11.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ M.G. Buthelezi: In Celebration of King Shaka KaSenzangakhona Founder of the Zulu Nation: Introduction of His Majesty the King, Moses Mabhida Stadium, 24 September 2016

more or less discontented.²⁹⁶ Shaka Zulu was successful in establishing Zulu dominance in southern Africa, because he was a great strategist and military innovator. His political objective was to expand his territory with the unification of neighbouring chiefdoms and kingdoms. The war was the primary means used to achieve this. His employment of tactics to achieve strategic objectives is reminiscent of operational art as it relates to the arrangement of military forces in time, space, and purpose.

In order to achieve his political objectives, Shaka reorganized Zulu, developed an intelligence network and employed new tactics and strategies in his quest to form a new system of war. This allowed him to change the society and the nature of warfare in southern Africa. Shaka became the military architect of Southeast Africa unification.²⁹⁷ Through the application of his innovative tactical actions and weapons, Shaka expanded his territory from a local district of a few hundred square miles to thousands of square miles. This was achieved by his unique ability to transform a small volunteer army of approximately 400 men to a standing army of 70,000 highly trained and disciplined soldiers.²⁹⁸ His victorious military campaigns against other clans culminated with the creation of the Zulu empire in just ten years.

After his death, other Zulu leaders emulated Shaka's system of organization, tactics, and the strategies he employed.²⁹⁹ These tactics were so successful that they remained the main offensive tactics employed by the Zulu until their defeat at the hands of the British in 1879.³⁰⁰ It could then be concluded that Shaka Zulu provided a blueprint for mastering the complexity of military affairs through tactics and effective strategy that is reminiscent of what is today considered an operational art. Fighting tactics and his strategies, from then onwards, the traditions of the Zulu royal lineage became the traditions of the nation; the Zulu dialect became the language of the nation; and every inhabitant, whatever his origins became a Zulu, owing allegiance to Shaka.

²⁹⁶ J. Guy: *The View Across the River: Harriette Colenso and the Zulu Struggle against imperialism*, p. 219.

²⁹⁷ C.R. Allen: *Shaka Zulu's Linkage of Strategy and Tactics: An Early Form of Operational Art? A Monograph*, p. III.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ M. Wilson and L. Thompson: *A History of South Africa to 1870*, p. 345.

³⁰⁰ M.G. Buthelezi: *In Celebration of King Shaka KaSenzangakhona Founder of the Zulu Nation: Introduction of His Majesty the King, Moses Mabhida Stadium, 24 September 2016*; M. Wilson and L. Thompson: *A History of South Africa to 1870*, p. 345.

King Shaka was a prophet of some kind. He was a conservationist.³⁰¹ He taught his nation to conserve natural resources and wild animals. He recognized that natural resources are not infinite and that wild animals need to be protected to ensure sustainability. He, thus, set aside land on which hunting was prohibited.³⁰² This conservation did not end after King Shaka's reign, it continued and even today there is a conservation of wild animals. To a remarkable extent, the Zulu dominated and defined the history of the Southern Africa in the nineteenth century.³⁰³

Today, Zulu are the largest ethnic group in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa.³⁰⁴ The consolidation of the Zulu Nation in the early 19th century which involved the incorporation of many smaller distinct groupings into one nation due to a variety of military conquests and political alliances. It appears that Zulu identity in South Africa is historical, not static. This is evidenced by the fact that the Zulu Nation continued to grow under apartheid due to the relative prestige of Zulu identity that conferred political and economic gain.³⁰⁵ With the advent of a democratic state in 1994 some reasserted past ethnic identities.

4.6. Conclusion

The story of the rise of the Zulu nation is a fascinating bit of South African history. The chapter can thus conclude by stating that the Zulu clan was not known to be strong nation nor have a sufficient military before Shaka Zulu became chieftain. The realm consisted of warriors that did not have a sense of pride instilled in them when it came to battle. Shaka, on the other hand, was extremely proud and courageous when he took to the battlefield. He did not believe in submission or retreat and fought each battle until it had commenced. After displaying his qualities of a brave warrior, he became chief of his people and immediately focused on reforming his military. He did so by not only inventing new tactics and weapons but, by also creating the same sense of pride and bravery he had into his soldiers. King Shaka

³⁰¹ M.G. Buthelezi: In Celebration of King Shaka KaSenzangakhona Founder of the Zulu Nation: Introduction of His Majesty the King, Moses Mabhida Stadium, 24 September 2016

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ J.K. Sowards (ed.): Makers of World History, vol. 2, pp. 198-219.

³⁰⁴ B. Germaine: The Zulus – Africa's Warriors & South Africa Largest Ethnic Group, 20 April 2018.

³⁰⁵ S.W. Felgate: The Thembe Thonga of Natal and Mozambique: an ecological approach. Occasional Publications No. 1 Department of African Studies, University of Natal, Durban. J. Guy: 'The destruction and reconstruction of Zulu society'. In *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870-1930*. Edited by Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, pp. 167-194.

had “instilled in the warriors the same fighting spirit he had. He spared himself no luxury of a true king” and had “reshaped what had been the unknown Zulu.” King Shaka led several successful battles with different kingdoms in South Africa. The Zulu became a force not to be reckoned with by Shaka demonstrating and portraying his audacious character of a warrior. He had quadrupled the amount of territories the Zulu owned by 1817 and proved that his people were strong and brave. Shaka Zulu took the kingdom he was chief of and completely reformed it. He showed his audaciousness throughout the battlefield but, also, throughout his leadership by taking the challenging task of reforming his nation.

Shaka developed a small tribal group into a powerful nation. His legacy continued to be respected in such a way that he is looked upon as a heritage of the Zulu nation in the recent years. The Zulu identity he created in all the Zulu people have survived even though the Zulu nation is part of the larger unit of South Africa. Through Shaka’s blood and spear, a nation was forged. He brought together fragmented chiefdoms and kingdoms by establishing Zulu dominance in Southeast Africa. The reign of King Shaka did not only give the Zulu a sense of nationhood, but made the mighty warrior nation to be respected not only in the African continent but even abroad. He established the Zulu government which exists even today.

It would, therefore, be political or historical incorrect of anyone to refer to the Zulu as a tribe. Before the nineteenth century, “Zulu” was the clan name of the kings of a small tribe, which was tributary to the Mthethwa kingdom. Beginning around 1815, the Zulu kingdom displaced the Mthethwa kingdom and conquered dozens of other nearby small kingdoms which gradually took on Zulu identity on top of older local identities. By this, the study posits that Shaka created a Zulu nation.

CHAPTER FIVE: MANIPULATION TOWARDS NATIONAL POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has shown how King Shaka created the Zulu nation from a Zulu tribe. From the previous chapter, the researcher gathered that King Shaka *kaSenzangakhona* became a powerful symbol around which potential Zulu ethnic support was mobilized. Shaka is praised for uniting different peoples into one big nation and for bestowing on the nation its most important values and traditions. This is evidenced by Mare and Hamilton who argued that the Shaka Day (Heritage Day) provided an annual opportunity for ethnic mobilisation around the figure of Shaka.³⁰⁶ This chapter sought to address how the colonial government, nationalists and politicians manipulated the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation to fulfill their political ambitions.

5.2. The Manipulation of the notion Zulu tribe

Fluehr-Lobban, Lobban and Linda argue that from the discussion of the derivation of the word “tribe” it is apparent that the reference has been to characterize peoples who have been made politically subordinate, chiefly through conquest.³⁰⁷ As ancient states expanded into empires they absorbed weaker peoples and in effect “tribalized” them by extending political and military rule over them. When European states expanded in search for the markets and material requisite for the industrial revolution, they colonized and “tribalized” peoples all over the globe. European colonialism ultimately achieved virtual monopolization by force of arms following the formal declaration of “war” against African peoples in the infamous Berlin Congress of 1884-1885. Stemming from this base, the ideology of racism (of which “tribe” is but a part) was developed.³⁰⁸

The study posits that the Zulu did not escape being called Zulu tribe by Europeans. Though many anthropologists may disagree, the term “tribe” enjoys a close association with the rise of European colonialism and its racist ideology. It is important to note that many of today’s

³⁰⁶ C. Hamilton: 'An Appetite for the Past': The Re-Creation of Shaka and the Crisis in Popular Historical Consciousness' *South African Historical Journal* 22 (1990), p. 142.

³⁰⁷ C. Fluehr-Lobban et al.: "'Tribe': A Socio-Political Analysis', *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 7(1), pp. 149-150.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 149.

“tribes” were once considered “nations” by Europeans with whom they wanted to establish diplomatic and commercial relations. It was colonial subjugation which transformed “nations” into “tribes” in the 18th and 19th centuries, and it was racism which characterized “tribal” people as “savage;” “uncivilized” “backward” and “heathen” having a variety of distasteful dispositions.³⁰⁹

During the colonial period, the notion “tribe” was used to identify specific cultural and political groups in much the same way as “nation” is defined above. Tribes had relatively little power outside their own group during the colonial period. Furthermore, for generations, Africans were taught the Western notion of the tribe as a primitive social and political system to be abandoned with civilization. Today, with few exceptions - notably South Africa, “tribe” is now avoided except when describing small, isolated societies that have little involvement with the central government. In practical terms, tribe has come to imply groups that are affected by the policies and programs of central states but have little or no involvement in their design. Thus, “tribe,” unless being used to condemn a people's self-interest, is used to describe groups that have local autonomy because they are small, isolated or have few resources of value which interest the central state. In essence, tribe now refers to the powerless.

The various groups which are today collectively known as the “Bushmen” are perhaps the best example. Bushmen do not refer to themselves as either a tribe or Bushmen. This is a term used by outsiders to describe them. Indeed, people who study different groups of Bushmen insist that they represent a wide variation of cultural and linguistic groups, perhaps even more than one could find in all of Europe. Often such groups do not have a name for themselves, only for neighbouring groups; and the names given them by neighbouring groups are pejorative. Yet, they are the ones that have been used by colonists throughout the world for centuries. Hence, because these people lived in the bush, they were called Bushmen. The use of “tribe” for small isolated groups is a way to reinforce the notion that larger groups are “progressive,” becoming “civilized.”

“Ethnic group,” in contrast to “tribe,” refers to larger, culturally distinct groups that recognize the legitimacy of the central state and compete with other culturally distinct groups for control of a share of the benefits that accrue from manipulating or dominating central governments. Most African people, at the time of independence, were thought to be in the

³⁰⁹ S.R. Welch: South Africa under John III, 1521-1557, p. 278.

process of becoming ethnic groups and living in plural societies where cultural differences would be accepted.

The section of the chapter asserts that Europeans incorrectly assessed the political and welfare outlook in Africa. Tribal systems are not new phenomenon; a tribe can be nothing more than a group of people sharing in a common welfare often bound by language. It is also vital to consider the roles of other European powers who contributed to the construction of tribes. This study establishes that the development of the notion Zulu tribe was a result of some individuals to political demoralise African centralised societies. It further establishes that the context in which the word was used should always be considered.

Chimhundu concurs that the term tribe is a concept heavily identified with underdeveloped environments, especially related to Africa, and it is difficult to understand why this is the case.³¹⁰ He continues to argue that the early missionaries during colonialism in Africa misunderstood the nature of African culture; tribal culture was formed due to the imposition of their rule. The term Zulu tribe was political used to refer to African communities by several individuals, novelists, colonists, missionaries and filmmakers for their political aggrandisement.

On the other hand, Prince M.G Buthelezi has always referred to Zulu people as a nation. He argued that when King Shaka amalgamated different chiefdoms and kingdoms he was creating the mighty Zulu nation. He further stated that Zulu people were a nation made up of chiefdoms and kingdoms. The problem began with the revival of Inkatha in the 1970s, which had seen Inkatha in its mobilisation process forced to rely on traditional/social structures such as the “amakhosi” (chiefs), “izinduna” (councillors) and “amabutho” (warriors).³¹¹

5.3. Revival of Traditions

Before Inkatha was founded as a cultural liberation movement in 1975 by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the movement “Inkatha” already existed since 1924. The original Inkatha movement was launched in the 1920s by King Solomon as an attempt to mobilize popular support for the monarchy by resuscitating traditional forms, and to reduce tensions internal to

³¹⁰ H. Chimhundu, ‘Early missionaries and the ethnolinguistic factor during the ‘invention of tribalism’ in Zimbabwe’, *Journal of African History* 33:1, (1992) 88.

³¹¹ R. Nkomzwayo: *A Mapping of the KwaZulu Natal Political Conflict with Reference to Inkatha* (1990 1993), MA dissertation, University of Port Elizabeth, pp. 13-14.

Zulu society generated by the growth of social stratification resulting from the re-structuring and dissolution of the pre-capitalist by the dominant capitalist mode.³¹²

The first Inkatha became effective in 1924, arising out of a prior 'Zulu National Fund'. It was the rejuvenation of the organization in 1928 that has received most frequent mention. A new constitution was written in 1928, hence, the reference to the 'founding' in that year by King Solomon in the 1975 constitution.³¹³ While this explicit attempt at continuity was dropped, because it would interfere with the 1970s movement's national political aspirations, it does draw attention to the irony of history. To paraphrase Marx, history repeats itself, the first time as farce and the second time as tragedy. If the farce of the 1920s was to be found in the overt misuse of Inkatha funds collected from the poverty-stricken population of Natal to maintain King Solomon in a style that included large liquor debts (he was an alcoholic) and ostentatious motorcars, the tragedy of the 1970s lies in the effects on national and local political struggle of the Zulu chauvinist and ultra-conservative elements in Inkatha and their actions.³¹⁴

The early Inkatha aimed to promote Zulu unity and Zulu culture.³¹⁵ Although he had made a number of perfunctory efforts to resurrect it previously, it was not until 1975 that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi revived Inkatha KaZulu (subsequently called Inkatha YeSizwe) as a movement of National Cultural Liberation whose declared objectives were to: liberate Africans from cultural domination by whites; to eradicate racialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism; to abolish all forms of racial discrimination and segregation; and to uphold the 'inalienable rights' of Zulu to self-determination and national independence, which is not seen as conflicting with the search for a National Convention of leaders of all South Africa's racial groups to develop a framework for the sharing of power and a progression to majority rule.³¹⁶

³¹² R. Southall: 'Buthelezi, Inkatha and the Politics of Compromise', *African Affairs*, Vol. 80, No. 321, p. 454.

³¹³ G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 46.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ P. Maylam: "A Historical Background to the Natal Violence." [In Minnaar, A., (Ed.)] *Conflict And Violence In Natal KwaZulu: Historical Perspective*, p. 78.

³¹⁶ Inkatha Constitution as tabled in KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, quoted in Natal Mercury, 30 April 1975; Resolutions of the General Conference of the National Cultural Liberation Movement, Ondini, 9 and 10 July 1976; Professor Sibusiso M. E. Bhengu, 'Cultural Liberation and the South African Experience', Lecture, University of Natal, May 1977.

In the first King Shaka's Day celebration in 1954, Buthelezi sought to grasp the significance of Shaka as an historical symbol of the Zulu ethnic and political unity. At his installation as chief in 1957, Buthelezi asserted that his genealogy linked him directly to previous Zulu kings and that this fact made him a legitimate competitor for political power in Zululand. Although this assumption was challenged by many including his own brother Mceleli who argued that Buthelezi was not the rightful chief but was instead imposed by the Minister of Native Authorities.³¹⁷ Buthelezi's goal was to revive the cultural organization of the Inkatha was to be successful. This revival was a way to restore Zulu national consciousness and pride, but this attempt failed when Zulu King Cyprian withdrew his support under pressure from the South African government. Overall, Buthelezi was successful in depicting the idea of the Zulu nation in order to mobilize Zulu ethnic unity which could in-turn politically be manipulated for personal aggrandisement.

According to Forsyth, by this time, Buthelezi was interpreting Zulu and Afrikaner history in such a way as to assert his own claims for power before his Bantustan constituency and the South African government.³¹⁸ Following the death of King Cyprian in 1968, Marks argued that Buthelezi vigorously asserted his right to represent the Zulu people, even though there was a new king, Goodwill Zwelithini.³¹⁹ Through a series of astute political moves, Buthelezi managed to assume the position of the Chief Executive Officer of a newly established Zulu Territorial Authority in 1970 and by 1972, managed to bar the king (Goodwill Zwelithini) from political activities, claiming that the Zulu kings historical had been symbolic leaders rather than active political figures. His position was further enhanced by the establishment of the KwaZulu as a Bantu homeland in 1972, which gave a Zulu cultural nationalism a legitimate territorial base and Buthelezi powerful material resources and patronage.³²⁰

As Chief Minister, Buthelezi continued to reinforce his political movement. During this period, Buthelezi attempted to create a public awareness of the existence of a Zulu ethnic nationalism. To accomplish this, he referred to historical examples which seemed to support

³¹⁷ P. Forsyth: 'The Past in the Service of the Present: A political Use of History by Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi 1951-91', *South African Historical Journal* 26 (1992): p.77.

³¹⁸ Ibid, p. 78.

³¹⁹ S. Marks: Origins of Ethnic Violence, in Occasional Paper No. 3. Institutions. Culture and Change at Local Level, ed. Preben Kaarsholm. Paper presented as part of a researcher training course at Sandbjerg Manor, Roskilde, Denmark, 25-30 November 1990, p. 41.

³²⁰ Ibid.

his arguments for the re-establishment of the Zulu nation as it existed in pre-colonial time.³²¹ He placed great stress on traditional virtues embodied in the Ubuntu-Botho (Good Citizenship) school syllabus. This was appealing because it played upon generational and gender issues. It stressed discipline and obedience from the youth and deference from Zulu women in society. It provided an ethnic ideology and social order calculated to appeal to older men from the rural areas who felt threatened and alienated by the corrupting ways of town and disrespectful youth.

After 1972, Buthelezi began to aspire to national political leadership. He began to present himself to a national audience as an African nationalist political leader.³²² He continued to articulate a national ethnic ideology. In an increasing number of militant adherents of the black consciousness movement, he presented an African nationalist in the tradition of the ANC.³²³ He appealed to a national audience that he was to launch Inkatha and just being Zulu automatically made you a member.³²⁴ Inkatha as an organization was to force itself into the sphere of worldview negotiations by asserting its domination over all symbolic and ideological discourse within the region. Buthelezi claimed that the roots of black consciousness and the ANC rested in the Zulu history.³²⁵

On 22 March 1975, Inkatha yaKwaZulu was revived at *kwaNzimela* Diocesan Centre near Melmoth in northern Natal. More than 100 delegates were present from Natal, the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The gathering represented 18 of the 26 regional authorities in Natal, the KwaZulu executive councillors, most of the member of Ubhoko (an interim preparatory body) and prominent Zulu women.³²⁶ Inkatha leaders presented their organization as a continuation of the ANC after a fifteen-year lull and even used ANC colors and symbols. Inkatha claimed that it was founded in response to the political vacuum that had been created

³²¹ S. Marks: *Origins of Ethnic Violence*, in Occasional Paper No. 3. Institutions. Culture and Change at Local Level, ed. Preben Kaarsholm. Paper presented as part of a researcher training course at Sandbjerg Manor, Roskilde, Denmark, 25-30 November 1990, p. 41.

³²² P. Forsyth: 'The Past in the Service of the Present: A political Use of History by Chief A.N.M.G. Buthelezi 1951- 91', *South African Historical Journal* 26 (1992), p. 82.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ D. Chidester: *Shots in the Streets: Violence and Religion in South Africa*, p. 15.

³²⁵ G. Mare and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance*, p. 58.

³²⁶ E. J. Langner: 'The Founding and Development of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe', (unpublished MA Dissertation, UNISA), p. 20.

when the ANC was banned in 1960, and that it was founded on the principles of the founding fathers of the ANC.³²⁷

Since its revival in 1975, Inkatha was not marketed as a political party but as a national, a cultural liberation movement, called *Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe*.³²⁸ Inkatha was to turn ones back on one's nation and culture. Buthelezi made it clear that Inkatha was a first cultural movement for the Zulu people, and that it would serve as a centre around which the Zulu people were organized. According to him, the main aim of reviving Inkatha was to foster a spirit of unity among the Zulu people of KwaZulu and throughout Southern Africa.³²⁹ It was agreed that the organization would help to promote and encourage the development of the people of KwaZulu spiritually, economically, educationally and politically.³³⁰

At first, the constitution of the 'new' Inkatha avoided the use of the term 'Zulu' (i.e. made the movement ethnically exclusive at its start), but also referred to the first Inkatha: a bracketed reference to the first constitution read (founded in 1928-by King Solomon kaDinizulu). Langner claimed that by the time the first copies of the Inkatha constitutions were published, the term '*Inkatha yeSizwe*' ('Inkatha of the nation,' 'rather than Inkatha of Zulu people') appeared or was used.³³¹ This ambiguity of being caught between the 'Zulu nation' on the one hand, and national aspirations of the Inkatha on the other continued to haunt the movement.

What is notable is that this was not the first attempt to revive the Inkatha movement in Natal since King Solomon's time. In an interview, with Zephaniah Mahaye, a Mtubatuba businessman said there had been an attempt in 1943.³³² Langner mentioned in an interview with Chief Buthelezi as his source for the claim that Chief Albert Luthuli, then President of the ANC, tried to revive Inkatha even before the ANC was banned.³³³ Buthelezi, then the 30-year old chief of the Buthelezi tribe, allegedly supported this move. The first Inkatha was the

³²⁷ G. Mare and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance*, p. 58.

³²⁸ S. Mottiar: 'The Turnover of Power in Kwazulu-Natal: A Growing Commitment to and Engagement with the Democratic Process', *Journal of African Elections*, p. 47.

³²⁹ O. Mthethwa: *Embabe*, 20 February 2004.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ E. J. Langner: 'The Founding and Development of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe', (unpublished MA Dissertation, UNISA), p. 21.

³³² KCAV - Zephaniah Mahaye (interview conducted 11 November 1981), businessman, Mtubatuba.

³³³ E. J. Langner: 'The Founding and Development of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe', (unpublished MA Dissertation, UNISA), p. 12.

creation of the African petty bourgeoisie in Natal in the 1920s, which had seen the possibilities of using Zulu ‘traditionalism’ as a political tool and a means of economic advancement.

5.4. Parallels from the Past

The development during the early 1970’s that led to the establishment of Inkatha is not that all clear. There are several references to the existence of the body called ‘Inkatha’ predating the official formation in March 1975. So, for instance, in 1972 Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that the first Inkatha was something that King Solomon *kaDinizulu* had ‘dreamed up,’ to promote the economic development of the Zulu people (mentioning that they have already seen whose economic interests were served by the 1920’s Inkatha, and he revealed that it was certainly not those of the ordinary Zulu people).³³⁴ He stressed that what he was talking about was not a political party but a national movement. He continued as a Chief Executive Councillor, I would like to propose that this ‘Ibandla’ is not a party when we call ourselves ‘Inkatha *kaZulu*’ so whoever has ambitions will be outside this ‘Inkatha *kaZulu*’. That is something that was left to us by our late King Solomon *kaDinizulu*. In explaining the formation of the Inkatha Buthelezi said, “I wish to stress that this is not a party. It is a national movement. But I would imagine that we of this Government when elections come we shout ‘Inkatha’ and they will say *kaZulu*.”³³⁵

According to Langner, Buthelezi claimed that the revival of the Inkatha was his idea, with support from Bishop Zulu. In 1972, he started punctuating his speeches with the city of ‘Inkatha *kaZulu*.’ Interestingly enough, in the light of the origins of the 1920s Inkatha in the Zulu National Fund, Buthelezi also opened a trust fund: Which was used for the development of KwaZulu and its particular in the fields of industry, commerce, agriculture, education, public relations, and communication. He said the money could be used, for example, for the formation of a company to run a newspaper, a public relations office, and a planning and development body.³³⁶

Before looking at the kind of organization that was created in 1975, it is crucial to scrutinize the immediate reasons for the creation of Inkatha. Late in 1973, nearly all the Bantustan

³³⁴ KLAD, vol. 1, p. 10.

³³⁵ KLAD, vol. 1, p. 10.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

leaders met in Umtata (Venda and QwaQwa were not represented).³³⁷ This meeting decided that an interview with Prime Minister B.J. Vorster would be sought early in 1974. It also asked for more money from taxes that were generated from the 'white' areas, and the repeal of the influx control legislation. Buthelezi claimed that this meeting showed the solidarity that would be achieved through the state policy.

The eight existing Bantustans (two more were still to be created) meet with the Prime Minister in 1974 in a 'Spirit of Goodwill' and it was agreed that further meetings would take place. After a meeting early in 1975, it was reported that Vorster had not agreed to any of the major requests made by Bantustan representatives, although minor concessions were made, such as the inclusion of Africans on the boards of Bantustan development corporations.³³⁸ Consideration would be given to return of non- communist exiles, and the recognition of trade unions for Africans could be discussed with the Minister of Labour. Buthelezi took exceptions to the suggestion that Bantustan leaders meet with Development of Bantu Administration and Development officials to discuss the 'easing of the hardship caused by influx control regulations'.

Langner argues that the last straw before the information of Inkatha was this 'homelands' leaders conference with the Prime Minister Vorster in 1975. Eight days after a report- back meeting that was addressed by Buthelezi in Umlazi, Inkatha was formed in Zululand. This must be stretching the events somewhat, as the process of re-forming Inkatha was already on the way, but, as another example of frustration of the Bantustan leaders that dates back much further, it would influence the decision to go ahead with the formation meeting at *KwaMzimela*.

According to Langner, the motivation for Inkatha lay in attempts, first, to oppose the divisive effects of the apartheid policy, and, second, to stimulate self-reliance.³³⁹ On the political level, Buthelezi must have realized that he had reached the end of the road of what the apartheid policy had to offer. Without taking independence, an act that would have meant political suicide for anyone with sights higher than regional politics. He had to open options

³³⁷ G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 56.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ E.T. Langner: 'The Founding and Development of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe', (unpublished MA Dissertation, UNISA), p. 33.

beyond the KLA. However, Inkatha's potential as a vehicle for achieving national goals only became clear later.³⁴⁰

At first, the movement was locked into regional and ethnic politics, both in structure and motivation. When Inkatha was discussed in the KLA for the first time during April 1975 (shortly after its information), Buthelezi made claims that the organization was the "base from which to plan our liberation. He said in the past we need liberation even from such things as ignorance, poverty, and the disease. It was for the reason that I announced that we are reviving 'Inkatha.'"³⁴¹ Not only was it to concentrate, in conception, on issues that would in effect only be resolved through participation in the Bantustan structures (the same justification was earlier offered for taking part in the regional administration of KwaZulu) it was also initially for Zulu people only.

Buthelezi re-emphasized that the Inkatha was not a political party he continued 'in other words, all members of the Zulu Nation are automatically members of the Inkatha if they are Zulu. There may be people who are inactive members as no one escapes being a member as long as he or she is a member of the Zulu nation.'³⁴² This message was never again started clearly. His speech gave an impression that to oppose Inkatha was to oppose the 'Zulu nation', to form any other organization was to break the unity of Inkatha, to criticize Inkatha and its leadership was to meddle in the Zulu nation. The first National Council and general conference meeting of Inkatha was held in July 1975, and this conference accepted Buthelezi as the unchallenged leader of the four and half million (4.5 million) Zulu people. He was empowered to speak on behalf of all Zulu.³⁴³

To unravel the complexities of what is meant by the 'Zulu nation' is beyond the scope of his study. On a political level and appeal to Zulu 'nationhood' has had a profound impact. The stress on a separate Zulu identity, excluding those outside the 'Zulu nation', started very early on in the life of ethnically defined KwaZulu authority. When the ceremonial mace was received by the chairman of KLA from the Minister of Bantu Administration and

³⁴⁰ P.G. Mare: Ethnicity as identity and Ethnicity Politically Mobilized: Symbols of Mobilization in Inkatha, p. 147.

³⁴¹ KLAD, Vol. 5, 9-8 April 1975, p. 134.

³⁴² G. Mare and G Hamilton: An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance, p. 58; KLAD, Vol. 5, 9-8 April 1975, p.134.

³⁴³ E.T. Langner: 'The Founding and Development of Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe', (unpublished MA Dissertation, UNISA), p. 135.

Development in 1973, he reassured the minister that ‘it will be kept as a token of the cordial relationship and good neighbourliness between our respective nations in this country’.³⁴⁴ Buthelezi proposing that Shaka Day should replace Settlers Day as a public holiday in KwaZulu, ‘he (Shaka) united all the tribes which are depicted on those strands of ‘Inkatha’ of our Mace, each strand representing a tribe in the KwaZulu area, and amalgamated these tribes into one-nation’.³⁴⁵

In 1974, the positive, inclusive expression of Zulu nation was given form around the figure of the King, Buthelezi told the KLA that:

*The young man who was sitting here a few days ago, King Zwelithini Goodwill kaCyprian, is the King of 4.5 million (4¹/₄ million) Zulu in South Africa and when we are now being moved in the area of separate nationhood as a nation. I think that he deserves such a place befitting a King of 4¹/₄ million in South Africa. Buthelezi was arguing for expenditure of R300 000 on a place of King –authors). This house, in fact, belongs to the Zulu nation. I mean, for instance, just across here the King of Swaziland has not only one palace but a number of them. And the Swaziland nation, with all due respect to them, is a smaller nation than the Zulu nation.*³⁴⁶

In the early 1970s, Buthelezi answered a question with the opinion that the Zulu nation was at the time, ‘more united than it has been for the past 100 years.’³⁴⁷ There are many instances when he refers to the policy of the National Party as divisive and argues for a wider South Africanism, but the strong element of ethnic identity remains, within which the Zulu people are the largest group in South Africa. In an interview, in 1980, Buthelezi said that ‘we in Inkatha recognize the cultural identity, we cannot wish it away. But I think most blacks would agree with me that cultural identity has been abused under the separate development policy’.³⁴⁸ In the same year, however, Inkatha Secretary General, Oscar Dhlomo, wrote that the ‘Zulu are not a tribe; they are a nation’.³⁴⁹ Buthelezi distinguished between ‘national groups’ (of which the Zulu is one) within ‘the nation of South Africa. On Soweto Day (16

³⁴⁴ KLAD. Vol. 3, p.1.

³⁴⁵ KLAD. Vol. 4, pp. 334-335.

³⁴⁶ KLAD, vol. 4; p.360; KLAD, vol.5, pp. 56; KLAD, vol. 7, p. 889.

³⁴⁷ M.G. Buthelezi: ‘The Past and Future of the Zulu people’ (introduction by E.S. Munger), in *Munger, Africana Library Notes*, vol. 2, p.10.

³⁴⁸ M.G. Buthelezi: ‘Development- a non-starter without people involvement’, in *Development Action*, Vol. 1, p. 3.

³⁴⁹ NW, 7 February 1980.

June) in 1986, two of the very few meetings addressed by Chief Buthelezi and King Goodwill. The latter told his audience that 'Zulu' should 'root out those among them who are undermining their national unity'.³⁵⁰ He warned against 'new-fangled' political organizations which 'propagated values which were total anathema to Zulu pride and culture'.³⁵¹

From then it appeared that there is a degree of fluidity attached to the terms 'tribe', 'ethnicity', 'nation', etc. What is clear is that the audience and the event shape the strength of the 'nation' appeal to Zulu speakers. The clear references to the nation quoted above were addressed to the KLA, composed solely of chiefs at that time when the identity of this body had yet to be created in many ways. When addressing the Luthuli Memorial Foundation meeting, the stress was placed on 'African nation', composed of a rich variety of ethnic (culture) groups.³⁵² Without the clarity of commitment to a single 'nation' in South Africa, the appeals to separate Zulu identity, within the context of the state's policy of a quarter of a century, are potentially very dangerous. 'Ethnic nationalism' also does not bode well for a future united South Africa, where regional politicians and the remnants of the old apartheid order are sure to attempt ethnic mobilization.³⁵³

There are several cases where opposition to Buthelezi, the KLA, the KwaZulu administration, and to Inkatha, have been labelled in racial and ethnic terms. For example, the celebration of historical figures in a regional past (so necessary for political mobilization) has on occasion taken a reactionary tone. Shaka Day celebrations are held all over South Africa. In 1981, Dr. F.T. Mdlalose addressed 1000 Inkatha followers in Soweto, and Buthelezi, who appealed to employers to let their workers off for the day at Stanger.³⁵⁴ The Stanger, businessmen's Association had called for the closure of shops during the Shaka Day celebrations, mindful of the 'disturbance' that occurred in the town during these celebrations the previous year, when 'may stalls were looted and owners assaulted for not allowing their workers the day off.' It was suggested that 24 September be declared a public holiday in Stanger as well as in KwaZulu prosper.³⁵⁵ Buthelezi told the 10 000 people assembled that Indians had a great

³⁵⁰ Daily News, 17 June 1986.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² S.A. Bernstein: 'African nationalism, black consciousness and the dialectic of Zulu participation in separate development' (unpublished BA Honours dissertation, University of Witwatersrand), pp. 145-146.

³⁵³ G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 58.

³⁵⁴ The Leader, 25 September 1981.

³⁵⁵ The Leader, 25 September 1981.

future, but that they should share “their gifts with Africans”, and in his familiar indirect style reminded them that ‘It will be a sad day if I have to advise my people not to buy from these (Indian –owned) shops’.³⁵⁶

The KLA debate was dominated by the themes of the ‘Zulu nation’ and how it was to form the base for the new Inkatha, references to the first Inkatha and the need for sacrifice, as the romanticized version of that early history demanded, and Inkatha fees.³⁵⁷ The one issue, other than membership contributions, that raised debate was the relationship between the KLA and Inkatha.

This revived Inkatha was not only placed squarely within Zulu ethnicity and even ‘nationhood’, but also based itself on the authority of chiefs in the rural areas, or in areas in which the power of the chiefs held sway.³⁵⁸ A suggestion was made. Early on that branch should coincide with the area of authority of indunas (headmen or councillors to the chief). For urban areas branches would be formed in voting wards for the Bantustan’s elections. Regions in rural areas would then coincide with regional authority areas. To ensure rapid membership increases this strategy made a lot of sense: not only could pressure be applied by the Chiefs on people subject to them in a range of ways, but pressure could also be applied on the chiefs through the KLA and KwaZulu administration generally. So for example, during the same year (1975), while Inkatha committees to run the planned elections (which in the event did not occur before 1978) were being discussed, Buthelezi said that he was ‘distressed to find that the districts here in KwaZulu – for instance here in Nongoma, Inkatha is almost dead. It is a dead duck.’³⁵⁹ The blame was laid squarely on the shoulders of obstructionist Chiefs, who were called to account in the KLA. The assembly was already being used to advance the Inkatha movement because, in effect, the two could not be distinguished. It was only later when Inkatha was established and national political considerations become more important, that it became important to deny the symbiotic relationship between the two bodies.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Natal Mercury, 25 September 1981.

³⁵⁷ KLAD, vol. 5, p. 195.

³⁵⁸ G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 59.

³⁵⁹ KLAD, vol. 7, p. 921.

³⁶⁰ G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 60.

This debate also made it clear that the decision to form Inkatha had been taken by ‘the cream of the Zulu elite’ and that at the grassroots level there had been very little knowledge, and certainly no consultation. For example, a representative from the Hlanganani Regional Authority complained that thing was being done in a great hurry and he wanted time to go back and inform the people. The KLA chair assured him that he would ‘be given the opportunity to go back to your people and to tell them what is going on.’³⁶¹ Inkatha had been formed, to represent all the Zulu people, a couple of months earlier.³⁶² It was not only the Chiefs that appeared to be reticent in certain areas. The month after the formation of Inkatha, Buthelezi was already complaining that civil servants (‘some of them are in this House’), were running down’ the Inkatha constitution,³⁶³ an accusation that was to be repeated over the years, but with an ever larger number of people being included in the anti-Inkatha conspiracy.

Within the KwaZulu Bantustan, Inkatha arose as a ‘Zulu’ organization, inextricably tied to the Bantustan structures of KwaZulu, and has never been able to escape this past in any significant way. As a ‘Zulu’ body, it was able to mobilize readily, this past in any significant way. As a ‘Zulu’ body it was able to mobilize readily, and as a Bantustan movement it was protected from state action during its early years, but these apparent advantages have since become serious hindrances as the general mood of the country has changed.³⁶⁴

5.5. The Availability of the Past

Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, President of the Inkatha and the Chairman of the South African Black Alliance, continued with several references to the Zulu Nation and placed the administrative capital of the KwaZulu Bantustan, Ulundi, within that history. He further argued that ‘from this place of our forefathers, we are pursuing the ideals of establishing a free and open society.’³⁶⁵ Chief Buthelezi was extremely aware of and sensitive about the historical tradition that underpins modern ‘Zulu’ identity and gives legitimacy to his participation in the politics of the ‘Zulu Nation’, as distinct from

³⁶¹ KLAD, vol. 7, p. 801.

³⁶² G. Maré and G. Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power: Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, p. 60.

³⁶³ KLAD, vol. 6, p. 306.

³⁶⁴ N.J. Makumea: *Historical Survey of the Development of Political Awareness among the Zulus*, p. 134.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1.

participation in the apartheid-created KwaZulu Bantustan. This awareness is displayed in the frequent tracing of his genealogy in his speeches.³⁶⁶

However, it was not only Buthelezi's personal history that has given a measure of coherence to the ethnic identity of the Zulu-speakers of Natal, but also the history of African in southeastern Africa since the late 18th century, and especially since the colonial occupation of Natal in the 1840s. It was during this period that the patterns of government, labour exploitation, and land occupation were established that were subsequently to be given extreme expression under apartheid, with its massive population removals, racial separation, political exclusion, labour exploitation and allocation, and concomitant repression of the vast majority of the country's people.

In the early 19th century, the strongest state yet seen in southeast Africa emerged under the leadership of Shaka Zulu. The formation of this state involved deep-seated changes in the social and economic structures of the productive units that made up the Zulu nation. As Peires has wrote,³⁶⁷ the effect of all these changes was to produce 'one of the most arresting features of the Zulu state, its capacity to harness the energy of its subjects in its service.'³⁶⁸ This, in turn, meant that the Zulu state was able to withstand the political, military and, importantly, the economic pressures of colonialism until late in the century. The existence of such a definite and a relatively long-lasting political entity and its resistance to colonialism has made available to Buthelezi, as it had two politicians before him, a rich tradition of symbols that could be used to mobilize a regional population.

The frequency with which the Zulu past is invoked in speeches and at political events demonstrates the great importance of Zulu history to Inkatha. Pride in the Zulu heritage is one of the aims of the Education Department of KwaZulu, and one of the reasons for the introduction of Inkatha textbooks in schools. As part of a larger complex used as the site of

³⁶⁶ Buthelezi Speech (BS 26 Oct 1976) – 'Human Rights and constitutional development in South Africa' (address to the Institute of International Affairs, Nigeria), pp. 4-6.; Buthelezi Speech (BS 7 Feb 1979)- 'The Bias of historical analysis' (opening address at a conference on the Anglo-Zulu War- a centennial Reappraisal', University of Natal, Durban), p. 1; Sunday Tribune, 6 November 1983.

³⁶⁷ J. Peires (ed.): Before and after Shaka, p. 8.

³⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

mass political gatherings, the KwaZulu government constructed a Zulu historical museum in Ulundi.³⁶⁹

Zulu pride, of course, is one way to draw support, and Buthelezi often refers to his royal ancestry as a way of inspiring support from traditional Zulu who see in him the rightful heir to the old leaders. He also uses his traditional titles in order to prove that he is not a puppet of the white regime and that his legitimacy does not originate in Pretoria. He claims that he "was the traditional prime minister to King Cyprian (Bhekuzulu) for 16 years, long before there was any KwaZulu Legislative Assembly."³⁷⁰

Buthelezi's status as a traditional leader served him well in his negotiations with Pretoria. Since the 1960s the government's policy was to enforce ethnicity on blacks in South Africa as a way to legitimate its homeland policy, making it possible for Buthelezi to use his position as a traditional leader to press for his political goals. In doing so, he often found it effective to present a rather unique interpretation of the past. Inkatha's handling of opposition from the Zulu king and from opponent parties in KwaZulu provides two examples. Buthelezi attempted to persuade Pretoria to pass a resolution stating that a Zulu king should be above politics, arguing that this was traditionally the case. The king was thereby discouraged from publicizing his opposition to the movement, for fear he would be seen as violating tradition, the very tradition that was the basis of his own legitimacy. For similar reasons Pretoria was asked to prevent all other parties from taking part in elections in KwaZulu in 1978.

In 1978, Buthelezi reminded his opponents that the Zulu traditionally made decisions by consensus, and seldom let disputes separate them. In both cases Inkatha presented an interpretation of Zulu history with clear benefits for the movement. Many other examples of the particular advantage Inkatha derives from its presentation of the Zulu past could be cited. Blaming white historians for falsely describing the Zulu Kingdom as centralized, the movement claims that the king was always dependent on his administrators. The desire to strengthen the position of the KwaZulu bureaucracy at the expense of the kings' authority lies just beneath the surface of the argument. Another example is Buthelezi's stand on the Ingwavuma affair, when Inkatha found a historical basis for its opposition to the South

³⁶⁹ The museum houses some rare objects from the collections of the royal family, some of which were donated by Chief Buthelezi himself.

³⁷⁰ Sunday Times; 6 November 1983.

African government plan to cede Ingwavuma to Swaziland.³⁷¹ Finally, apart from the immediate usefulness of the Zulu past, history is important to Inkatha for the development of the movement's ideology, with images drawn from tradition to envision the future.

The similarities between the ANC in 1912 and the Inkatha movement in 1975 should not be stressed to the exclusion of fundamental differences-differences that increased as Inkatha gained confidence in its role in South Africa. The ANC was founded in 1912 with the self-conscious desire of the 'founding fathers' to 'encourage a sense of supra-tribal unity',³⁷² while Inkatha was born out of 'tribal' or ethnic institutions of the apartheid state. It has tried to escape the legacy of that birth ever since, in repeated calls (with little success) for 'black unity' under the banner of Inkatha.

5.6. Conclusion

The term "tribe" was used political to mislead and distort non-western people societal structures. The chapter established that the notion tribe was used exclusively in reference to subject and colonized people. One has observed that increasing numbers of scholars are questioning or have already abandoned the use of "tribe." They have done so because the term lacks scientific preciseness and it carries with it pejorative meanings.

It is important to outline that one of the liveliest figures in Zulu politics of the 1970s and 1980s was Shaka. Inkatha leaders regularly portray him as one of the greatest personalities in world history, and they describe the formation of the Zulu kingdom as his own personal achievement. The chapter further established that the annual Shaka day ceremony had become an important political gathering for Inkatha members, with key political speeches given each year by the leadership of the organization.

The chapter can thus conclude by positing that throughout the period of the nineteenth century, the history of the Zulu nation has been characterized by African nationalist leaders, whose efforts from the mid-1960s onwards focused on gaining state recognition, political and cultural rights for the Zulu people. While it became important for these leaders to present the Zulu people as a homogenous and well-defined linguistic and cultural group, it to a large

³⁷¹ *Washington Post*, 15 June 1982, and 21 June 1984; *Christian Science Monitor*, 6 July 1982.

³⁷² P. Walshe: *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912-1952*, p. 412.

extent enabled them to associate the history of the Zulu. The presentation of Zulu history by these politicians was in itself full of contradictions. From a theoretical standpoint, what is noticeable about the politics of the revived Inkatha is that it emerged in a context of rapid revolutionary transformation where a number of political movements competed for membership and grappled over definitions of culture, tradition, modernity, liberation, rights, democracy, blackness, worker interest and feminism.

General Conclusion

The focus of this section is to make an analysis of the findings and proffer possible solutions to the manipulation of the notions of tribe and nation as it affects the Zulu people's way of life. The major finding in this research is that the notions Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have interchangeably been used to refer to the same group of people. The study has further established that the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation have been used individualists and nationalists to gain advantage in the national politics of South Africa.

The study has established inappropriate application of European concepts onto distinctly African situations. More disturbing was the political use of the terms. The notion 'Zulu tribe' was used by the South African governments to legitimize opposition movements and by journalists as a code of disorganized, primitive, and less civilized people. Gabrielle Lynch argues that the idea that "every African belonged to a tribe, just as every European belonged to a nation" was central to how colonial rulers understood sub-Saharan Africa and to how they justified colonial projects.³⁷³ The concept of "tribe" served as a central element of the discursive repertoires through which the continent was conceptualized as a dark continent in need of civilization and development

The study asserts that misperceiving and misnaming ethnicity in Africa create an error however, it is not a small error. As the Confucian Analects note, "If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language is not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success."³⁷⁴ Misonaming African ethnicity as tribalism has long bedevilled European foreign policy in Africa, leading to miscalculations and errors of judgement.

The success of the term 'tribe' in shaping our perceptions of the African societies may be seen in the widespread usage of the term by African journalists and scholars. Because English, French, Portuguese, and occasionally Afrikaans were the languages of the schools, tribe, *tribu*, and the other cognates defined the language of urban and political interaction and defined the categories into which rural and urban societies were allocated during the colonial period. Now, prominent African leaders use the term in appealing for "an end to tribalism", referring to the urban and national struggles for power in utilizing ethnic and language ties as a means to aggregate power and authority. They too miss the ethnic dynamic and mistakenly

³⁷³ J. Iliffe: A Modern History of Tanganyika, p. 323.

³⁷⁴ J. Legge: Confucian analects: The great learning, and The doctrine of the mean, pp. 263–264.

link the urban ethnic dynamic to the rural societies. One can clearly establish that tribe is a source of misunderstanding the great diversity of rural Africa by labelling small hunting and gathering groups of less than 100 persons as a tribe as well as a far-flung, multinational Zulu trading group of millions of persons as a tribe. The term had no validity in the pre-colonial period. It has less legitimacy now.

Finally, one can argue that if by tribe we mean a social group that shares a single territory, a single language, a single political unit, a shared religious tradition, a similar economic system, and common cultural practices, such a group is rarely found in the real world. These characteristics almost never correspond precisely with each other today, nor did they at any time in the past.³⁷⁵

The Zulu people consider themselves as a nation made up of several chiefdoms and kingdoms. These people have pointed out that the resultant amalgamation of several chiefdoms and kingdoms constituted the current Zulu nation. This, along these lines implies that the Zulu individuals are no more drawn out a tribe yet they are a nation constituted out of effective chiefdoms and kingdoms. This is concurred by Secretary General of Inkatha, Oscar Dhlomo, who wrote that the 'Zulu are not a tribe; they are a nation'.³⁷⁶ The period from the onset of the Zulu clan up to 1815 represents what is historical referred to as the Zulu Tribe. From Shaka's reign up to date the Zulu are a nation made up of different chiefdoms and kingdoms. The study has clearly established that the notions of Zulu tribe and Zulu nation are not only different but also represent different epochs in Zulu history.

When one studies the way in which Inkatha used the history to garner its votes many questions arises. Was Inkatha's Zulu nationalism really about defending the interests of the Zulu nation, or was the primary concern to advance the objectives of the party as defined by the IFP leadership? What implications may this hold for the future of party politics in this province? In this study I look at the ways Inkatha has, since its formation, used the Zulu past to draw support, to achieve political gains, and to educate the youth in KwaZulu. I have used political speeches of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Inkatha's leader, as well as speeches by other key individuals in the movement, texts by the historians of the movement, novels written in the spirit of Inkatha.

³⁷⁵ Africa Policy Information Center. <https://pdjeliclark.wordpress.com/2013/01/18/postcolonial-fantasy-and-africa-against-the-word-tribe/> (accessed 7 September 2016)

³⁷⁶ NW, 7 February 1980.

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Appendix I
TURNITIN REPORT

The notions of zulu tribe and zulu nation and their use
towards national political aspirations in south africa

ORIGINALITY REPORT

0%

SIMILARITY INDEX

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INTERNET SOURCES

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Appendix II

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

**UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**
(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030)



RESEARCH & INNOVATION

Website: <http://www.unizulu.ac.za>
Private Bag X1001
KwaDlangezwa 3886
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Fax: 035 902 6222
Email: ManqeleS@unizulu.ac.za

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGM 2016/355				
Project Title	The notions of 'Zulu Tribe' and "Zulu Nation" and their use towards national political aspirations in South Africa				
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	MP Mbatha				
Supervisor and Co- supervisor	Dr MZ Shamase				
Department	History				
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year	Master's	x	Doctoral	Departmental

The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project proposal and the documents listed on page 2 of this Certificate.

Special conditions:

- (1) This certificate is valid for 2 years from the date of issue.
- (2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format [due date-31 October 2017]
- (3) Principal researcher must submit a report at the end of project in respect of ethical compliance.

The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this Certificate, using the reference number indicated above, but may not conduct any data collection using research instruments that are yet to be approved.

Please note that the UZREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the UZREC
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

Classification:

Data collection	Animals	Human Health	Children	Vulnerable pp.	Other
					X
Low Risk		Medium Risk		High Risk	
X					

The table below indicates which documents the UZREC considered in granting this Certificate and which documents, if any, still require ethical clearance. (Please note that this is not a closed list and should new instruments be developed, these would require approval.)

Documents	Considered	To be submitted	Not required
Faculty Research Ethics Committee recommendation	X		
Animal Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Health Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Ethical clearance application form	X		
Project registration proposal	X		
Informed consent from participants			X
Informed consent from parent/guardian			X
Permission for access to sites/information/participants			X
Permission to use documents/copyright clearance			X
Data collection/survey instrument/questionnaire			X
Data collection instrument in appropriate language			X
Other data collection instruments		Only if necessary	
		Only if used	

The UZREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Certificate if
 - Any unethical principles or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in this Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting the research


 Professor Gideon De Wet
 Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee
 Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation
 24 February 2017

CHAIRPERSON
 UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND RESEARCH
 ETHICS COMMITTEE (UZREC)
 REG NO: UZREC 171110-80

24-02-2017

RESEARCH & INNOVATION OFFICE

MP Mbatha - PGM 2016/355

Appendix III

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participant)

Project Title: **The notions of ‘Zulu Tribe’ and ‘Zulu Nation’ and their use towards National Political Aspirations in South Africa**

Mthandeni Patric Mbatha, from the Department of History, University of Zululand, has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. Firstly, to clearly establish that the notions of ‘Zulu tribe’ and ‘Zulu nation’ are not only different but also represent different epochs in the history of the Zulu people. The notions ‘Zulu tribe’ and ‘Zulu nation’ have interchangeably been used to refer to the same group of people. Secondly, to discuss how the concepts were used to manipulate the populace of Zulu extraction to gain advantage in the national politics of South Africa.
2. The University of Zululand has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/ my request to see the clearance certificate.
3. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards the production of a better understanding of the research objectives, with the aim to promote a more sustainable counter-insurgency in the effected societies and the global community at large.
4. I will participate in the project by responding to interview questionnaires
5. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.
6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.
7. I am aware that there is no risk associated with my participation in the project.

8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of Journal article and book and/or book chapters. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.

9. I will not receive feedback in any form regarding the results obtained during the study.

10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Dr. M.Z. Shamase of the Department of History, University of Zululand; Tel: 0359026769; Email: ShamaseM@unizulu.ac.za

11. By signing this informed consent declaration I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I,.....Have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

.....

.....

Participant's signature Date

Date

Appendix IV
SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What were communities like on the eve of the rise of the Zulu empire?

2. How the Zulu 'tribe' and 'nation' came into existence?

3. How can we describe the historical development of the Zulu people?

4. Can you describe Zulu people as a tribe or nation?

5. In what way does the notions 'tribe' or 'nation' get politically manipulated

6. Does nationalism becomes political manipulated?
