

**AN EXAMINATION OF CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED AT MALE INITIATION SCHOOLS:
THE CASE STUDY OF MTHATHA DISTRICT IN THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE OF
SOUTH AFRICA.**

BY

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Declaration

I, **TSETSELELANI DECIDE MDHLULI**, hereby declare that this dissertation for Master of Arts Degree In African Studies at the University of Venda hereby submitted by me, has not been submitted previously for a degree at this or any other University and that it is my own work in design and execution, and that all reference material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

Signed (Student): Date:

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Dedication

I dedicate this Dissertation to the following people with love and appreciation:-

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to examine the challenges experienced at male initiation schools in the Eastern Cape Province, Mthatha District. It is alleged that during the month of June every year, some boys die at initiation schools mostly in Eastern Cape Province. One of the reasons of the cause of death is because some of them attend illegal initiation schools. The overall objectives were to explore the role of initiation schools, to assess the regulations that govern the opening and running of initiation schools, to identify palliatives that can be put in place to curb negative implications at initiation schools. The study was founded on the following theoretical framework to attain its findings; the socio-cultural theory. This study utilised the qualitative research design. Data collection methods included one-on-one interviews, un-structured interviews and focus groups. The study informants were selected using purposeful sampling technique and snow-balling sampling. The study of examining the challenges experienced at male initiation schools submits appropriate recommendations which may help in the effective indigenous knowledge management, curb unethical practices and challenges associated with the running of male initiation schools and sharing strategies in South Africa, other African countries and the world at large, particularly communities that still follow the cultural practice of male initiation. The study recommends that parliamentary legislative framework (policy) on initiation rite should be standardised and promulgated. Also, traditional leadership must have the powers over all matters of initiation rite and initiation schools in particular. Lastly, the study recommends that for future research, the use of male researchers would be advisable to allow more probing.

Key words:

African Value Systems, Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Initiation Rites, Initiation Schools

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ATRs	:	African Traditional Religions
BC	:	Biodiversity Convention
CBD	:	Convention on Biological Diversity
FGD	:	Focus Group Discussions
HIV	:	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
IK	:	Traditional Knowledge
IKS	:	Indigenous Knowledge System
IPA	:	Interpretative Phenomenological Approach
ITK	:	Indigenous Traditional Knowledge
MC	:	Male Circumcision
MK	:	Modern Knowledge
SA	:	South Africa
SK	:	Scientific Knowledge
STDs	:	Sexual Transmitted Diseases
STI	:	Sexual Transmission
TEK	:	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
WK	:	Western Knowledge
WKS	:	Western Knowledge Systems

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

“We are not Africans because we are born in Africa, we are Africans because Africa is born in us.”

– Chester Higgins Jr.

1.1 Background of the study

Since time immemorial, Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) has been an imperative tool to administer serenity, harmony and order in Africa. IKS is defined by Dixon (2005:3) as traditional, cultural, local and community knowledge. South African academic institutions and the government have acknowledged the importance (IKS) in the improvement of the country. For instance, in South Africa, traditional kings, traditional chiefs and medicinal healers are recognized for their value in society through legislation. In addition, Nyota and Mapara (2008) also labelled it as Traditional Knowledge (TK) and/or Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (ITK). IKS formed the bedrock of almost all African people and every activity of their welfare was centred upon it. The study of IKS alludes that it manifests itself through diverse outlets; cultural practices, traditional beliefs or religion, agricultural activities, food, linguistic, medicine, etcetera.

Although some IKSs still prevail in Africa, most of these systems have failed to stand the test of time. Others are gravitating towards extinction. Despite the extinction of some, most cultural practices of the African people seem deeply embedded in the psyche of the majority of them. Some of these cultural practices that have stood the test of time include initiation rites, worship of ancestors and customary marriages.

Initiation is argued to be a common rite of passage among numerous world communities (Mosothwane, 1999). In other words, initiation rites are transition rites which raise a person from a lower position in community to a higher position. Nearly the majority of these communities are of the view that initiation rites mark the transition from one stage of life to another. In other words, initiation rites indicate a responsibility to monitor the youth from the childhood phase to the adulthood phase. La Fontain (1986: 11) opines that initiation rites are episodes with a real social meaning and genuine symbolic actions. It is because of this that initiation rites remain an important feature for most African societies even though they are now performed in a shortened

form (Fiedler, 2005:5). Furthermore, positions of power and social relations within the society are demonstrated through initiation rites.

Numerous anthropologists explain initiation schools in terms of education (Mquqo, Rapitso, Vincent & Makgato 2002). In that vein, they describe a case wherein boys at the initiation are taken to the conner of the elders who teach them about how to become a community men, they are being taught how to fight, hunting and initiation songs as well as many other things. According to Blacking (1969), one of the main goals of initiation schools is to train initiates to have courage and endurance. In addition, the initiates are not being treated well, the, are made to perform uncertain things, also they are being beaten and abused it is regarded as a part of culture

Initiation rites are typically ordered into two; male and female initiation rites. The start of young men and young ladies was at first settled as a mystery custom and has remained a well-kept mystery since the presentation. For a considerable length of time, young ladies have been cautioned that they will wind up noticeably insane in the event that they enlighten others regarding the mystery of start (Khumalo, 1996: 26). The start of young men was kept mystery from particularly the mother who needed to stay poorly educated and uninformed about "how young men move toward becoming men" (Mabena, 1999: 3). This reality obviously clarifies why Western analysts still locate the more profound measurements of start limitless (Eliade, 1958:10). In female start, some perform female genital mutilation and some emphasis on instructing or giving young ladies 'passport; to womanhood (Mtezuka, 1995: 64). Then again, an uncircumcised man is never noble (Mtezuka, 1995: 64). Both young men and young ladies, going from twelve to twenty years old, experience start. Start is additionally offered to young people who are going to wed and have not yet gone to any start school. Unless the youngster has gone to a state school (which is necessary in South Africa), he or she had next to no formal tutoring up to the point that he or she goes to start school. In the conventional setting, there are no educators or mentors exceptionally utilized to help with the instruction of the kids and no schools or unique places that are put aside to learn. Traditional children learn by being around and impersonating their parents and different grown-ups. They additionally learn through information and all things considered step by step figure out how to practice control over their conduct without anyone else. By giving the children a chance to accept accountability and by making them, as individuals from a bigger gathering, in charge of the performing of specific assignments, their own particular conduct and the conduct of their companions, the "framework"

adds to the instruction of the kid (Makopo, 11 July 1995, meet). The young man is by and large viewed as generally irrelevant, an undignified individual from his family, not joined with his spirit, and, subsequently, "not by any stretch of the imagination human". He is in this manner moderately allowed to do however he sees fit (to the point of going to start school), and any type of misconduct, even burglary, is not excused from a young man (Makopo, 11 July 1995, meet). Prior to the start ritual practice, young men and young ladies are taken as generally minors as well as insignificant individuals from the group. As it were, it is for the most part acknowledged that before the start is played out, the male has not been joined with his spirit and therefore is not by any stretch of the imagination human or be taken to have any ability to act (Mtezuka, 1995: 63; Elliot, 1989: 15).

As per Isaacson and Wigoder (1973:66), start was executed as a religious ritual on the male offspring of Jews and the slaves of Jews on the eighth day after birth, as recorded in the Hebrew Bible, be that as it may, start is not a solely Jewish custom. Ishmail was circumcised when he was thirteen years of age - that is, at the period of adolescence. The custom was drilled in the old Middle East, as well as rehearsed right up 'til today in Ethiopia and by all the primitive tribes of Africa, Asia, and by a considerable lot of those in Australia. For the Jews, start was really a contract which Jehovah passed on to Abraham (Good News Bible 1994:17). Garry (1939: 142) affirms that it was expressed on the specialist of Heroditus that the Egyptians were the first to present the start ritual from thought processes of individual cleanliness and that they at that point bestowed their traditions and thoughts to the neighboring individuals. He includes to state that start has been polished for more than five thousand years among the local tribes of the West Coast of Africa and it is as yet honed today as all around as at whatever other period.

Start schools in Africa have generally been socially settled in among the distinctive indigenous gatherings as a feature of the customary instruction of the tyke and can incorporate sexuality training (Young, 1965: 30; Mphalele, 1992: 8) or instruction forever (Lewinsohn, 1958: 29; Crooks and Baur, 1996: 121; Fafunwa and Aisiku, 1982: 10). A portion of the best known start schools in Africa are Poro and Sande in Liberia (Mtezuka 1995: 39). These are shrub schools sorted out by transients. In Sierra Leone and Guinea, numerous start schools vanished after 1822 with the presentation of Western instruction. Other surely understood schools are the Dipo Ceremony in Ghana, the Fertility House in Calsbar and Nigeria (Mtezuka, 1995: 39) and the Jola in Senegal (Mark 1992: 49). Nonetheless, a few people in East Africa don't go to start schools, for instance, in Kenya Luo of Western Kenya.

Le Roux (2006) hypothesizes that among the Gikuyu individuals of Kenya and the Masai individuals of Kenya and Tanzania, start schools have been the graduation component of training program which educated tribal convictions, practices, culture and esteem framework to the young. In most African nations, start functions are executed as characteristics of section into new transitional phases of life. This service is accomplished for the two guys and females as a method for traveling from youth to adulthood. This social practice is regularly an open declaration of the young ladies' or young men's eligibilities for adulthood and marriage. Practically every culture on the planet ritualizes the imperative points of reference that their kin experience for the duration of their lives (Lincoln, 1981). In numerous African social orders, start is done for social reasons as a start custom and a soul changing experience into masculinity (Makgopa, 2005: 66).

Start schools are regular all through South Africa. To untouchables, the idea 'start school' alludes to a particular kind of school that needs to do with the tyke's "growing-up". The start of young men and young ladies was at first settled as a mystery ritual and has remained a well-kept mystery since the presentation. For quite a long time, young ladies have been cautioned that they will end up noticeably crazy on the off chance that they enlighten others regarding the mystery of start (Khumalo, 1996: 26). The start of young men was kept mystery from particularly the mother who needed to stay badly educated and oblivious about "how young men progress toward becoming men" (Mabena, 1999: 3). This reality obviously clarifies why Western scientists still locate the more profound measurements of start unfathomable (Eliade, 1958: 10).

There are various start schools as yet working among the diverse social gatherings in South Africa (Jewkes and Vundule, 2001: 733). For instance, among the Southern Ndebele (Gupta and Mahy, 2003: 42 and Bozongwana, 1983: 18), Northern Sotho, Tsonga, Venda and the Xhosa (Mwamwenda, 1995: 19). For most of the South African individuals, start schools have the extremely uncommon significance of speaking to a representative entry. Be that as it may, with the happening to Western civilisation, a great deal of conventional organizations experienced a few changes (Blacking, 1969). The part of start was being deleted by the new types of specialist, however this was a change not invited by traditionalists, as portrayed by the 1930s connection between the protectorate government and the "locals". The protectorate government needed to stamp out start schools since they thought of them as savage, merciless and unhygienic (Mosothwane: 1999). Xhosa traditionalists supported their great old convention,

while the administration required a substitution of start schools by Western instruction frameworks.

Presently in South Africa, numerous conclusions are voiced against start schools, mostly on the grounds that it keeps kids from going to formal school for up to ten weeks to go to the start schools (Motlotle :1998). Besides, a rising number of adolescents lose their lives as an immediate aftereffect of the amateurish circumcisions that are executed (Segobye and Reid: 2000). The issue has turned out to be serious to the point that another Bill to screen enlistment and control of start schools was affirmed in Parliament in 2003. In spite of this contention and the control measures that have been set up, start schools still shape the foundation of customary instruction (Huffman: 1996). However, the media has reported that the current cultural position of initiation has changed. Numerous reports of initiation schools being ran by individuals who are in it for financial gain have been on the rise (Makina & Dlakavu: 2002). Consequently, this has led to many complications and even the subsequent death of initiates.

1.2 Problem statement

Even though several benefits are given to initiation schools, it also faces several shortcomings. During the month of June every year boys die at initiation schools mostly in Eastern Cape Province, because some attend illegal initiation schools, and others run away from home and attend initiation schools which are conducted by people who are not trained to perform surgery and therefore, cannot render professional care to the initiates in treating them after surgery and as a result, the young initiates die. The penises of others boys had to be mutilated just to save their lives, as a result of these illegal initiation schools. Bleeding to death is another problem due to the fact that initiates are not cut in a proper way, it result to botched circumcision or death. Initiation becomes a health issue when a traditional surgeon receives poor training which can lead to errors in surgical techniques. The sterility and reuse of surgical instruments is also very critical, but traditional male initiation schools used an assegai and this practice has been implicated in the spread of blood-borne infections, such as Tetanus, Hepatitis B and STD's, including HIV/AIDS. This is transmitted through the use of equipment that is not sterilised between each use. It is also evident that aftercare medical complications occur most frequently during the aftercare period of the initiates.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The problems highlighted above signify the basis for a rethinking of the cultural practices, attitudes and approaches of practitioners, researchers and policy makers. With that at the back one's mind, this study is deemed significant because of the following reasons. These are the stakeholders that will benefit from the study:

1.3.1 Practitioners

The findings of commercialisation of the cultural practice of initiation schools and the atrocities taking place at the initiation schools will help in the effective indigenous knowledge management and sharing strategies in South Africa, other African countries and the world at large, particularly communities that still follow the cultural practice of initiation. This will ultimately promote sound cultural beliefs that are in line with the Bill of Rights (Act of 108 of the South African Constitution). This study will propose strategies that the diverse practitioners who advocate for initiation schools can employ for better utilisation of TK in cultural practices. Moreover, the study will suggest the need for traditional surgeons to be taught basic health skills to minimize diseases and deaths and to observe the cultural sanctity of the practice and not be driven with monetary agendas.

1.3.2 Policy-Makers

The outcomes of this research are required to edify the strategy producers of the distinctive indigenous learning frames that are accessible in groups and to recommend techniques that they can utilize to record this knowledge and formulate policies that will govern it. The study will highlight the importance of male initiation rites among the African societies that follow this cultural practice. As such, policy makers will formulate policies to preserve this indigenous cultural practice with the dangers that can be associated with it.

1.3.3 Researchers

Through the suggestions of the investigation, rules for the documentation and scattering of start, this study will be useful to the academia. This study is anticipated to add contemporary and relevant knowledge in the existing methods of documenting and disseminating IKS for future scholars. The outcomes are expected to open up areas for further study and generate public interest and awareness about initiation rites. Thus, the study is aimed at stimulating research and development in local initiation.

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to examine the challenges experienced at male initiation schools.

1.4.1 Objectives

- 1) To examine the role of initiation schools
- 2) To assess the regulations that govern the opening and running of initiation schools
- 3) To identify palliatives that can be put in place to curb negative implications at initiation schools

1.5 Research questions

To achieve the objectives mentioned above, the following research questions were asked:

- 1) What are the roles of initiation schools?
- 2) Which regulations govern the opening and running of initiation schools?
- 3) What palliatives can be effective in curbing the negative implications at initiation schools?

1.6 Definition of key terms

It is indispensable that key expressions or terms used in the study be defined. The definitions below are key terms used in the entire study;

1.6.1 Knowledge

According to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2000:658), knowledge is defined as a subject of understanding practical, theoretical, educational experience through acquired skills, facts and information. In this study, the researcher is interested in facts and information known regarding the risks and benefits of initiation among adolescent learners.

1.6.2 Indigenous Knowledge Systems

This term is used by Ajibade and Shokemi (2003:7-44) to explain indigenous Knowledge System 'system knowledge of developing by community opposed to the scientific to refer to Morden knowledge. (Grenier 1998)

1.6.3 Male initiation

Male circumcision is characterized as the surgical expulsion of all or part of the prepuce of the penis, and might be rehearsed as a major aspect of a religious custom generally performed soon after birth or in youth as a therapeutic strategy identified with contaminations, damage or oddities of the prepuce, or as a component of a conventional custom executed as a start into

masculinity (Siegfried, Muller, Volmink, Deeks, Egger, Low, Weiss, Walker and Williamson, 2003).

1.6.4 Initiation rites

Start is a transitional experience checking passage or acknowledgment into a gathering or society. It could likewise be a formal admission to adulthood in a group or one of its formal parts (Brumbaugh1980:332)

1.6.5 Commercialisation of initiation schools.

Herdman (1995: 2) defines commercialisation as “the attempt to profit from innovation through the sale or use of new products, processes, and services... More than invention or innovation, commercialisation is driven by firm’s expectations that they can gain a competitive advantage in the marketplace for a particular product, process, or service”. However, for the purposes of this study, commercialisation shall be defined as the sale of services of male circumcision by the traditional surgeon.

1.7 Arrangement of Chapters

This section presents the arrangement of chapters for the dissertation;

1.7.1 Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the field of study and reflects predominantly on the envisaged research process. This research part introduces this research write-up. It focuses on the background of the study, the research problem, significance of the study and objectives of the research. It also includes the theoretical framework and definition of key terms appropriate to the research.

1.7.2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this chapter, various books, journals and article shall be assed to refine the research objectives as to unveil the gap that exists.

1.7.3 Chapter Three: Research methodology

Chapter three provides a discussion of the choice of method of study and research design as well as its justification.

1.7.4 Chapter Four: Research findings and presentation of data

In this chapter gathered data is presented, analysed and interpreted. It is in this chapter where the raw data were reduced to meaning. The chapter present the study findings.

1.7.5 Chapter Five: Summaries, Conclusions and Recommendations:

In this chapter, the main facts are highlighted, findings will be indicated; the researcher's recommendations were made followed by the concluding remarks.

1.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter introduced the research study as a whole by giving an overview of the study, challenges experienced at initiation schools in Mthatha district, Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This chapter outlined the background of the study, significance of the study, problem statement, objectives, and definition of concepts. The following chapter of the study gives an analysis of the theoretical framework and literature review.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

“Until lions tell their tale, the story of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.”

– African Proverb

2.0 Introductions

This chapter discusses the re-emergence of initiation schools as a cultural practice that has been revived as a health intervention for the prevention of HIV/AIDS and other diseases. The first part of this chapter addresses the theoretical framework used in this study. The second part will give a critical analysis of literature on the topic under study to provide the reader with in-depth understanding of arguments put forth by the proponents and opponents of initiation as a practice.

2.1 Theoretical Frameworks

Lysaght (2011) defines a theoretical framework as:

“...a ‘blueprint’ for the entire dissertation inquiry. It serves as the guide on which to build and support your study, and also provides the structure to define how you will philosophically, epistemologically, methodologically, and analytically approach the dissertation as a whole.”

It can be noted from Lysaght’s definition that the significance. For the purpose of this study, the socio-cultural theory of Vygotsky was used.

2.1.1 Socio-cultural Theory

The study of challenges experienced at male initiation schools was informed by the socio-cultural theory which is the brain child of Vygotsky (1931/1997). The socio-cultural approach to learn and development were first systemised and applied by Vygotsky and his collaborators in Russia in the 1920s and 1930s. Their approach was based on the concept that human activity takes place in a cultural context. These cultural aspects are reflected through language and other symbol systems, and can be best understood when investigated in their historical development. The socio-cultural theory stresses the bond that exists between developing people and the cultural practices they subscribe to. Vygotsky stipulates that an individual’s growth can be understood by studying the particular individual’s cultural practices. Thus,

examining the cultural practice of initiation informs the researcher of how people behave and why associated implications result because of this cultural practice.

This theory outlined views in the lens and in conjunction with the IKS. The Xhosa tribe (which is under study) have their own identity and this makes them unique from other tribes. Their values, norms, rituals like initiation schools give Xhosas a sense of belonging together as the Xhosas because the values, norms as well as customs have a meaning attached to them and it is how they are identified as a social group. Thus, studying the social and cultural life of the Xhosa people gives the researcher a good picture of what they do and belief systems they subscribe to. In that regard, the researcher focused more on the cultural practice of male initiation school to understand their cultural values.

In the Xhosa context, men and women no longer get their identities from traditional roles, but they create new ones through interacting with other people. Because of globalization, Xhosas have adopted Western ways of circumcision instead of traditional and cultural ways of doing it (Giddens, 2006:169). Drastic globalization came with change, it is evident as to why new identities have been created and cultural values eroded, because people want to change with the times. Vygotsky contends for the uniqueness of the social milieu and views socio-social settings as the essential and deciding element in the advancement of higher types of human mental movement.

As per Vygotsky (1978) as referred to in Lantolf (2000), the socio-social condition gives the tyke an assortment of assignments and requests, and connects with the youngster in his reality through the apparatuses. This indicates that most male children in the Xhosa communities are influenced more in their thinking through their participation in the initiation schools and also the interaction they have with their parents and guardians who are custodians of the cultural practice. In the early stages, the youngsters are totally reliant on other individuals, generally the guardians, who start the tyke's activities by training them on what to do, how to do it, and additionally what not to do. Guardians, as delegates of the way of life and the conductor through which the way of life goes into the tyke, actualise these directions essentially through dialect. This is the IKS perspective assimilation the researcher assessed. Guardians, who start the children's activities by training them on what to do, how to do it, and in addition what not to do. Guardians, as agents of the way of life and the conductor through which the way of life goes into the tyke, actualise these guidelines principally through dialect.

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review is a target and basic outline of distributed research writing pertinent to the point under investigation (Thompson, 2000). Its motivation is to make commonality with the flow considering and legitimize future research into previously overlooked or understudied areas. Under this section, a critical analysis of literature has been provided to provide the reader with in-depth understanding of arguments put forth by the proponents and opponents of the topic under study, challenges experienced at male initiation schools.

The study covered the following headings; (IKSs), definitions of Indigenous Knowledge vis-à-vis Western Knowledge, preservation of IKSs, constraints of documenting indigenous knowledge systems, initiation and initiation schools, male circumcision, defining initiation and initiation schools, people's perceptions on male initiations, preferred age for initiation, the role of initiation and initiation schools and challenges experienced from cultural practices.

2.2.1 Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKSs)

Since time immemorial, Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) was an imperative tool to administer serenity, harmony and order in Africa. This IKS was defined by Sillitoe Dixon (2005:3) as 'traditional, cultural, local and community knowledge'. South African organizations and the administration have perceived the significance of (IKS) in the advancement of the nation. For instance, in South Africa, traditional kings, traditional chiefs and medicinal healers are recognized for their value in society through legislation. In addition, Nyota and Mapara (2008) also labelled it as Traditional Knowledge (TK) and/or Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (ITK). IKS formed the bedrock of almost all African people and every activity of their welfare was centred upon it.

2.2.1.1 Definitions of Indigenous Knowledge vis-à-vis Western Knowledge

According to Kumar (2010), Indigenous Knowledge (IK) has been built and passed to the next generation over time all the way through amassing of knowledge and personal comprehending of the environment in a given cultural set up. It is highly believed and agreed that IK is distinctive to a specific culture, community or a nation. Aluma (2010) succinctly adds that this knowledge is not generated within the international systems of universities, research centres or private firms but developed by a community and passed to the next generation. Thus, the knowledge is named as follows; native knowledge, traditional knowledge and cultural knowledge.

Hobart (1993:17) gives a general definition of knowledge which emphasises learning as a 'functional, arranged action, constituted by a past, yet changing history of practices.' Further, the

act of knowing is situated, in that it assumes 'truth' by the evaluation of appropriateness to particular circumstances (Hobart, 1993; Van Beek, 1993). Other definitions of IK imply a responsibility to nature and to others (Berkes, 1993; IUCN, 1997; UNESCO, 1994). Kuhn and Duerden (1996) in their review of traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), found that major attributes of TEK included 'empathy with all forms of life' and the 'obligation to maintain ecological integrity'. Johnson (1992) states that sustainability is part of the very definition of TEK. Many authors disagree with 'scientised' definitions of IK, in that IK should be viewed as a system of worldviews, values and processes (AFN/NAFA, 1995, cited by Simpson, 2001:3).

Scores of studies researched distinguished IK and Western Knowledge Systems (WKSs). These WKSs has also been named differently by scholars; Modern Knowledge (MK) or Scientific Knowledge (SK). To add, numerous scholars agree that there is a notable distinction between IK and the WK. Agrawal (1995) boldly emphasises this distinction of these forms of knowledge (IK and WK) with respect to their history and unique attributes. Nevertheless, a convoluted school of thought does not agree on the presumptions that are made about these knowledge systems; IK deals mainly with the instantaneous and real necessities of people's daily livelihoods, while in contradistinction WK endeavours to formulate general explanations. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) perceives that the novel learning held by indigenous people groups is vital in saving biodiversity. Despite the fact that liberalities identified with biodiversity were hostile, the Biodiversity Convention (BC) in the long run fused the accompanying goal: Article 8. In-situ Conservation: Each Contracting Party might, quite far and as suitable:

(j) Subject to its national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices.

The incorporation of the empirical and practical knowledge of local populations is being acknowledged for its critical contribution to development projects for two reasons. Local knowledge is valued for its applied and pragmatic understanding of the local ecosystem, which is useful for management purposes. Second, project ownership by local stakeholders is

increased through their participation and it is well established that local ownership increases chances of project success

Given the foregoing background of IK and WK, this study therefore makes critical reflections on how traditional beliefs of male initiation and initiation schools contribute to lives. It looks at the unique and culturally evolving attributes of the traditional belief systems. The current study also reflects on challenges experienced at male initiation schools in Eastern gap. It is evident enough that most writings about IKS have touched about conservation and other topics and side-lined issues of cultural practices like male initiation school thus, the gap the study seeks to cover.

2.2.1.2 Preservation of IKSs

From the foregoing analysis, it can be noted that IK takes the central point with regards to development in numerous of the developing countries. With no speck of doubt, Tabuti (2012) noted that in Tanzania, agricultural productivity has been enhanced because of farmers' knowledge, thereby ensuring food security. Lwoga and Ngulube's (2008) research proves that ICTs are pivotal tools in facilitating the administration and incorporation of IK in developing countries. As per Malhan and Gulati (2003), the archiving and spreading of IK by means of ICTs intensifies to the disintegration of indigenous societies and this further ferments to loss of indigenous peoples' intellectual property rights.

Contrary to the above-mentioned view, Aluma (2010) submits a different view all together about IK documentation and preservation. Even though he acknowledges the existence of the ongoing documentation and preservation of cultural practices, medicinal plants, crop protection and food preservation, he boldly accepts that it has been done not in a systematic way. Unfortunately, Aluma (2010) stipulates that no specific funding has been given to publish these for sharing with others but it has been there for some time. Despite the existing proof, different writers stand with different and contradicting views about the management and preservation of IK. However, the vast body of literature points out that the majority of the notable IK documentation and preservation initiatives are taking place largely and remarkably in the developed world.

The research embraced the fact that the initiatives to document and preserve IK are taking place. This highlights the collaboration that exists, or may exist among the communities, governmental, scientific, and conservation agencies for the protection and restoring of dignity for male initiation and male initiation schools. This prompted a prudent investigation of challenges experienced at initiation schools.

2.2.1.3 Constraints of documenting indigenous knowledge systems

Documenting IK has always been coupled with many challenges. According to Ngulube (2002), the chief limitations to the documentation and safeguarding of IK are issues connected to technique, shortage and mystery of the information, protected innovation rights and the outlines in which to preserve it. In such manner, most of the information organization progresses in Africa are inclined towards the logical techniques which are to a great extent created by analysts, research centers and colleges. As indicated by Ngulube (2002), such techniques are not viable as they leave next to zero space for IK of the neighborhood groups to be coordinated into the exogenous information framework. Sighn and Rajoo (1993) pointed out with emphasis another predicament faced when documenting IK. Firstly, they observed the inconsistency between the plan and medium of conveying knowledge from one place to another. Secondly, they maintain that the need to maintain and develop cultural diversity of a locality is also problematic. Karter (1993) goes further to indicate that IK is specific to specific environments and is mainly planted in a given socio-cultural environment. Taking it from this view, they implied that it is not easy to transfer location-specific knowledge to another place from a dissimilar place.

The main challenge that nonetheless remains is that IK need precise documentation other than the information go around verbal exchange done by seniors for it to support itself into the future (Gadgil et al., 1993; Langton and Ma Rhea, 2005). In that regard, the current research shall seek to narrow the study from IK generally to a specific IK male initiation in the selected areas of Mthatha district, Eastern Cape Province.

2.2.2 Initiation and initiation schools

However, most literature that were written about the initiation also speak about circumcision. These two aspects tend to be confused. When one speaks about initiation, people presume that the matter is about circumcision. Thus, because of this confusion, the researcher shall discuss these matters combined but distinguish them so as to narrow the focus of the study.

2.2.2.1 Traditional Initiation Schools in South Africa

In the Eastern Cape Province, the amaXhosa tribe practice male initiations (Ngaloshe, 2000). According to them, the process of initiation involves three stages: separation, transition and incorporation (Van Gennepe, 2002). The main purpose of the initiation process is to transform boys from dependency on women to the world of men. In the circumstance, women are considered to be too soft, a quality which is considered not good for a man. Xhosa adult men

gather together in the mountains or hills during the initiation process and are given instructions by the elders. These elders are considered to have something to teach young people. These may include certain skills such as dances, stories, magic, visions and rituals. Boys are also taught what it means to be a 'man'. They are also shown sacred places and objects which are usually located in isolated areas. The process of becoming an adult does not simply unfold (Ngaloshe, 2000). Adults usually pave the way for youth to join their ranks. It is believed that without proper guidance from adults the journey of adolescents is not going to be smooth and as a result, adolescents often become restless and wreak havoc in their communities (Ngaloshe, 2000).

Among Venda individuals, start schools for young men are called *murundu* (Maqubela, 2002). In Venda, the customary start of young fellows ordinarily goes on for a time of three months which is regularly spent in the hedge. The hedge is intended to disengage the start from the universe of ladies. The procedure of start includes circumcision. Male circumcision is related with the change from adolescence to masculinity. Young men for this situation are changed through the circumcision of their penis. It is trusted that the expulsion of a prepuce brings about the honing of the warrior's lance. The lance alludes to the penis, which should be utilized to strike the elephant (Milubi, 2000). The elephant here alludes to the lady. As per Milubi (2000), the start procedure mingles men to trust that ladies are their sexual items. This is clear in the melodies utilized by men at start schools. This is too illustrated by the reference to women's private parts as sexual objects in most of the songs used by initiates during the initiation process (Milubi, 2000).

2.2.2.2 Initiations in other African Countries

Lesotho is an enclave of South Africa with a total population of 1,865,040 (CIA, 2004). Almost 99.7% of the population belong to the Sotho ethnic group (Mturi, 2001). In Lesotho there are traditional initiation schools that are frequently attended by Basotho young men and women during their adolescence or early twenties. In Lesotho, Basotho adolescents are expected to attend initiation schools as a rite of passage into adulthood (Mturi & Hennink, 2005). However, due to the emergence of modern schools in Lesotho, attendance at traditional initiation schools has declined. The primary aim of the schools was to prepare young people for adult responsibility. The schools were expected to raise awareness among young people on issues or experiences they would face as adults in their future. However, some of these schools no longer

exist in some parts of Lesotho. Young people in the rural areas are more likely to attend both modern and traditional schools.

In Kenya there are different ethnic groups such as Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin, Kamba, Kisii, and Meru. Among these ethnic groups and especially those living in the rural areas, the initiation of girls is the most important aspect of initiation into adulthood (Molloy, 1999). There are three different types of initiations that are practiced in some parts of Kenya. These initiations usually involve some form of genital mutilation. As indicated by Smith (2005), female genital mutilation (additionally alluded to as female circumcision) includes the cutting or fractional or add up to evacuation of the outside female genitalia for social, religious, or other non-medicinal reasons. Studies show that it is drilled for the most part in provincial ranges, particularly among those that have bring down instructive levels as well as subscribe to non-Christian beliefs (McCall, 1995; Molloy, 1999; Welsh, 1995). The fundamental go for this training is for social and social control of ladies' sexuality by evacuating the most touchy parts of their sexual organs (Smith, 2005). Female genital mutilations are likewise rehearsed by a few Christians and Ethiopian Jews who now live in Israel (Maina-Ahlberg, 1998). This training is viewed as necessary to a young lady's development. The start incorporates guideline about sexuality, sexual relations with spouses, pregnancy, conduct and the significance of wedding outside the tribe. A bit much (Maina-Ahlberg, 1998).

2.2.2.3 Male circumcision

Intricacies by and large incorporate dying, disease and surgical mishaps, including penile rot and penile removals (Williams and Kapila, 1993). These entanglements are for the most part connected with weakness care of customary circumcision by untrained faculty under non-sterile conditions. A review audit of the rate of inconveniences of 1279 cases and 407 cases performed by unlicensed conventional circumcisers happened in pre-pubertal circumcision - circumcision did earlier or at age 12 years.

Hazard remuneration is an impact whereby distinctive individuals may have a tendency to modify their conduct because of saw changes in chance and 782 circumcision cases performed at a urology center by authorized specialists in Turkey found that the complexities emerged from cases performed by unlicensed customary circumcisers (Atikeler, Gecit, Yuzgec and Yalcin, 2005). In another survey including an example of 1007 guys matured 5-25 in Western Kenya, the general rate of antagonistic occasions was around 600, with those circumcised customarily

encountering no less than one unfriendly occasion, contrasted with those circumcised therapeutically (Bailey and Egesah, 2006). Several studies have reported that most individuals in non-circumcising African societies prefer male circumcision to be performed by medical personnel in a hospital setting (Kebaabetswe et al., 2003; Rain-Taljaard et al., 2003), whereas in some societies where male circumcision is a traditional practice, men prefer to be circumcised in a traditional settings by traditional surgeons.

For instance, in a study of 100 males aged 10-65 years in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, 63% of the respondents favoured traditional surgeons (Meel, 2005). The fact that 67% of the 100 participants in a similar report were uninformed of any dangers related with customary circumcision shows that the training is profoundly embedded in the cultural and behavioural setting of the people and few think of it as a health risk (Meel, 2005). In order to address concerns of safety of male circumcision and risk compensations, proper education for service providers and communities should be a component of a male circumcision roll out programmes.

2.2.2.4 Defining initiation and initiation schools

Dan (2010:2) opines that initiation is practical for cultural/traditional purposes. Visser (2007:2) also refers to initiation paintings which were found on wall paintings in the Egyptian temples dating back to 2300BC. The procedure of initiation on the wall paintings depicted the cutting of the foreskin or the whole foreskin. Dwane (1979) noted that circumcision is important for health reasons. Also, he adds that it is used as a strategy for HIV/AIDS prevention. It is believed and argued that when men are circumcised they are at lower chances of being infected with Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STDs). According to Madlala (2009), other tribes are no longer observing this cultural practice but do it as a way for HIV/AIDS prevention. Mehtar and Faas (2001) argue that in cases where initiation schools are used as a rite of passage, it is an essential step in the transformation of a boy into a man.

According to Dean (2002:2), initiation is observed by many religious groups such as Judaism, Islamic, Christianity and many other African Traditional Religions (ATRs). Moreover, Visser (2007:1) states that it is about associated with the transitional experience to manliness in religion. In Judaism, as demonstrated by Dean (2010:1), begin backpedals to the Old Testament in Genesis (17:10-14) wherein God made a promise with Abraham and his relatives. In Judaism begin is executed as a religious model eight days after birth. A brief span later, the whole family and associates hold merriments.

All the more thusly, in Islamic bases, it is practice on Sharia, which relies upon the Koran. The Hadith (account record of the saying of Mohammed and his amigo) Sunnah (the way of life supported as institutionalizing in Islam) are in simultaneousness with these wellsprings of Islamic law. Begin does not show up wherever in the Koran yet rather is that as it might, have the status of Sunnah. Senior part (2010:6) observes that in such way, begin is seen as required, while it is seen as proposed in light of the fact that it is Sunnah. The demonstration of begin in this religion is fought to be mandatory.

2.2.2.5 People's perception on male initiations

Bailey and Lukobo (2007) led an examination in South Africa, in which center gathering dialogs were held with urban and country men to survey start schools practices, conclusions, and agreeableness among wedded and unmarried men matured 12 to 21. The investigation subject had distinctive view of start. Not being circumcised at the start schools is related with uncleanness, untimely discharge, and unfitness for marriage by the conventional gatherings honing start. Start was seen as a point of reference for masculinity, assurance from sickness, and an upgrade for ladies' sexual delight as circumcised men are believed to have the capacity to "perform" longer, in this way expanding their female accomplice's fulfillment (Bailey and Lukobo, 2007).

The men among bunches not rehearsing starts, communicated restricted enthusiasm for starts albeit some said they wished they had gone to start schools in light of the fact that there was a typical conviction that ladies lean toward men who went to the start schools (Bailey and Lukobo, 2007). This could be an issue that a man who did not go to start school could confront, particularly in groups where start is being rehearsed. They could wind up experiencing the methodology not on the grounds that they need to, but rather in light of the fact that they would feel acknowledged by their associates and females, in this manner maintain a strategic distance from trashing.

Bailey and Lukobo (2007), in the South African investigation specified above, discovered that the lion's share of members favored the strategy to be finished by none medicinally prepared individual in a wellbeing office and ought to be free or at least cost. The accompanying were referred to as reasons not to go to start schools: social convention, agony and wellbeing, and different boundaries, for example, costs and the worry that men would take part in more sex in

the event that they saw themselves to be completely secured by start (Bailey and Lukobo, 2007). Mavundla(2005) Nearly the larger part of South Africa are of the view that start customs stamp the change starting with one phase in life then onto the next stage. At the end of the day, start ceremonies show a duty to screen the adolescent from the adolescence stage to the adulthood stage. Moreover nowadays on TV in South African soapies like Skeem Sam they have demonstrated about how start schools is vital. There was a kid that used to have a low confidence however after he went to start schools he turned into a man that was solid and he could remain without anyone else. The analyst contend that start make somebody solid and start schools are transitional experience. Shouldn't something be said about the individuals who did not go to start schools? It implies they did not achieve the adolescence? The scientist expresses that individuals ought to pick what they need is not just start schools that is a soul changing experience.

2.2.2.6 Preferred age for initiation

Westercamp and Bailey (2007) contend that the age at which guys ought to go to start schools will affect how quickly male circumcision mediations may affect on the HIV pandemic. In their survey of agreeableness contemplates in Africa, the investigation discovered two driving headings; either to circumcise guys as infants because of a less difficult strategy, less dread, less demanding consideration, and quicker mending, or take young men to start schools around pubescence and immaturity when young men can choose and deal with the injury for themselves (Westercamp and Bailey, 2007). Pre-pubertal circumcision was observed to be related with lessened HIV chance in a study led in the Rakai region of provincial Uganda among 6281 men matured 15-49 (Kelly, Kiwanuka, Wawer, Serwadda et al., 1999).

Neonatal circumcision was likewise found to have a few advantages. Utilizing a cost-adequacy demonstrate in Rwanda, neonatal circumcision was observed to be financially savvy and more secure than circumcision in adulthood, conveying lower dangers for surgical blunders, disease, and other antagonistic occasions (Binagwaho, Pegurri, Muita and Bertozzi, 2010).

The examination presumed that neonatal male circumcision ought to be viewed as a need in thorough HIV avoidance gets ready for Southern Africa. Furthermore, neonatal male circumcision had a high worthiness for HIV avoidance in Rwanda. In nations, for example, Botswana, Dominican Republic, South Africa and India, the most astounding level of guys lean toward their young children to be circumcised regardless of the possibility that they themselves

have not been circumcised or are not willing to be circumcised (Brito, Caso, Balbuena and Bailey, 2009).

2.2.2.7 The role of initiation and initiation schools

Initiation is argued to be a common rite of passage among numerous world communities Mosothwane (1999). In other words, initiation rites are transition rites which raise a person from a lower position in community to a higher position. Nearly the majority of African communities in South Africa are of the view that initiation rites mark the transition from one stage in life to another stage. In other words, initiation rites indicate a responsibility to monitor the youth from the childhood phase to the adulthood phase. La Fontain (1986: 11) has clearly indicated that initiation rites are episodes with a real social meaning and genuine symbolic actions. It is because of this that initiation rites remain an important feature for most African societies even though they are now performed in a shortened form (Fiedler, 2005: 5). Furthermore, these initiation rites are done at initiation schools, indigenous places (usually mountains) where traditional healers and/or leaders act as patrons.

(i) The educative role of initiation schools

Hudson (1973: 177) keeps up that start is a fundamental state of instruction. Kazepides (1983:316), be that as it may, contends unexpectedly, keeping up that it is unseemly and conceivably deceptive to utilize the illustration of start to portray instruction, and that start is in actuality all the more fittingly connected to the idea of inculcation. As indicated by Epskamp (1991:238), general childrearing instruction, formal school training, and the indigenous or customary instruction offered by start schools, all make the youngster comfortable with his own way of life so he can work inside his gathering as a grown-up - that is the reason it is suitable to compare training to a procedure of start. Thiesen (1985:231) keeps up that start is sufficiently general to cover an extensive variety of exercises like preparing, direction and instructing, all of which can be a piece of training. Along these lines, in each general public, the reason for training, regardless of whether formal, casual or indigenous, is to transmit starting with one era then onto the next all the accessible information about nature, the social association, the basic standards and philosophy, and aptitudes for everyday survival.

Initiation school is a monitored counselling on how to become a man, because young boys are sent to initiation schools in order to be trained on several factors such as to teach them on how to behave like a man. In addition, in initiation schools, they are also trained on several rights that

need to be respected by them. When boys are at the initiation school are trained to take care of themselves and to protect their families. Therefore, they also need to be trained on how to take care of their families all of these in initiation schools. Furthermore, in initiation schools, men are also trained on how to respect their bodies and the bodies of others, because during initiation school, they are trained on how to control their sexual urges and to abstain from sex for long periods of time.

Chief Sekonyela states that in Lesotho, they make sure that the training given in initiation school are not futile, because if men discard what they have been taught in initiation school, the elders of the community will make sure that they repent. For example, they are removed from the community and beaten up if they have wronged. After they are rehabilitated they are brought back into the community. At initiation school, men are trained to secrecy. It is so because they are not allowed to tell anyone what happened at initiation school whilst they were there. According to Funani (1990:29), the advantage of initiation is that it marks the transitional stage to manhood. It pinpoints the acceptance and conferring of responsibility on the initiates. It denotes the acceptance of the tasks of procreation through the family unit. Full assurance is received of community acceptance and respect. It is aimed at training the young to have self-control.

Instructions in the initiation school are usually carried out after the establishment of the circumcision lodge. According to Schapera (1978: 13), during the course of the Kgatla initiation rites, boys are taught various rules of conduct. They are first taught songs. Every day they must sing one or two songs. Only when they have mastered these do the old men give them rules to live by. These rules are usually taught in the evenings. An old man states a single rule to the initiates and explains it. He repeats it until all say that they understand and will remember it. The rules are reviewed in the morning by their local guardians. Initiates who are unable to repeat the given rules and explain them satisfactorily are given special punishments until they know the rules thoroughly.

Schapera (1978) continues to say that boys are not only taught to observe particular rules of behaviour while still in the camp, they also receive formal instruction about the conduct expected of them once they are "men". Among other things, Schapera (1978) maintains that boys are expected to obey their elders, and they must not associate with "disobedient" peers who might teach them to dishonour their parents. In addition, they are taught rules of sexual

conduct. They are warned, for example, not to sleep with a woman during her menstrual period; if she has been impregnated by someone else, if she has recently miscarried, or one who is much older than themselves. Intercourse with such a woman would make one ill, and might even cause one's death.

Bullock (1950:50) highlights some of the traditional schools of instruction of the Ba Venda. He holds that Ba Venda boys in their initiation schools are faced with dreary lessons, including the following: Obey the old! In all circumstances and at all times, respect the aged. If you meet them, leave the path and so show your respect. If you go towards the path where they sit, kneel down and *losha* (greet). Put your hands together in front of your breast, and bow your head, saying "*Ndahandawu!*" ('Hi!'). Not until you have received permission, may you sit. Do not covet the wives of other men, or those promised in marriage.

Makgopa (2005:22) postulates that traditional cultural practices like initiation reflect values and beliefs held by members of a community for a period and it is passed from generations to generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices. In South Africa, initiation is used for socialization where boys are taught how to grow in a good way and how to become future heads of families. Furthermore, initiation schools are attended in winter season whereby the schools are closed and boys have enough time to go and attend it and socialize during that period. The notion of culture is essential for understanding the scope of cultural rights. (Stavenhagen, 1998 cited in Airhihenbuwa, 1995).

From the foregoing analysis on the role of initiation and initiation schools, the present researcher submits that justice has to be done in assessing the phenomenon. However, most authors just gave a narrative of its role without seeking the essence of restoring and safeguarding the dignity of initiation schools. Also, African knowledge and African value systems are grounded on the realisation that much of the knowledge production processes about Africa, and for Africa has been documented with possibilities for misrepresentation and misinformation. It is so because most authors were not Africans. In this regard, the current study seeks to explore the challenges experienced at initiation schools from an IKS perspective.

(ii) Indigenous education and healing in the Initiation School

Start schools ought to be safeguarded and ensured as a component of IKS and social legacy. It ought to be noticed that the foundation of start schools are fundamental and ought to be protected by IKS in light of their recuperating an incentive among others (Makgopa, 2005:23). Individuals who are continually pestered by sickness that don't react to present day medicinal treatment are prompted by the conventional healers (inyaka) in conference with their precursors to go to start schools as the way to discover changeless help. In the long time past days, individuals used to go to the start schools with various sorts of affliction and they were returning being recuperated on the grounds that the greater part of the general population who were in charge of starts schools were conventional healers (Makgopa, 2005). It is trusted that a portion of the starts went to start schools with the afflictions that advanced treatment was neglecting to analyze or potentially recuperate however help was at long last acquired at the start schools.

(iii) The socialization role of the initiation school

Socialization, as indicated by Johnson (1968:110), is portrayed as discovering that empowers the student to perform social parts. As indicated by Gunter (1977:27), the instructive circumstance is dependably a social circumstance and the instructive connection is dependably a social connection. Consequently, the start school as an instructive circumstance is likewise a social circumstance. In Section 2.4.1.1, it was said that circumcision is proportionate to death - trailed by revival or new birth. Yet, the start comes back to life another man, expecting another method of being. He bites the dust as an individual and is reawakened as an individual from the gathering. In his particular discourse of death and resurrection, Eliade (1958:22) alludes to the adjustment in the start from self-centredness to other-centredness, which is normal for social formative in youth.

Eliade (1958:15) likewise holds that the social weights on the youthful towards the obligations of development continuously restrict conceit and implement expanding thought of others' welfare. To an ever increasing extent, the pre-adult is compelled to yield his own inclinations and aspirations for the satisfaction of others. In the start school, the ceremonies are purposely made extreme so as to improve the relinquishing of conceit for the other - centeredness of development. The start must need and esteem the social nearness of others.

White and Speisman (1977:70) expound on the social part of the start school by saying that it proceeds with the socialization procedure - despite the fact that not generally along the lines

started by the family. The two creators keep up that, while a kid may at first relate to his dad, in the start school he may start to recognize himself in an unexpected way. He may think, for example, "I am currently a man, and a free man; I am a customary good example - somebody who can lead others to the conventional ways". It is clear now that the family, school, peer gathering, church, neighbors and media are by all account not the only mingling specialists. The start school has been appeared to mingle young men to masculinity. In the start school the start figures out how to perform social parts. The whole composition given above is a more broad perspective of start.

(iv) Traditional male initiation schools as a strategy of HIV prevention

The reason against male initiation school are the most commonly mentioned problems to promote culture, pain and healing complications, costs, behavioural disinhibit on stigma and discrimination, and sexual satisfaction factors. Research indicates that the beliefs and attitudes of South Africa on Xhosa tribe towards initiations are found to be clear. However, the acceptability of initiation schools as an HIV prevention strategy in Eastern Cape are so likely to provide information on the knowledge, attitudes and beliefs of male initiation. In Eastern Cape, they acknowledge that male initiation is blameless for HIV prevention. Pappas-DeLuca, Simeon and Kustaa (2008) uncovered that paying little mind to regardless of whether male start schools was ordinarily done in the way of life or region, the occupants of Eastern Cape Province had a general understanding that the wet and shut condition of the prepuce adds to the development of microscopic organisms and this might be identified with negative wellbeing results. For the most part, penile cleanliness is accepted to be a noteworthy facilitator of male start in both customarily circumcising and non-circumcising groups (Halperin et al., 2005; Kebaabetswe et al., 2003; Lukobo and Bailey, 2007; Mattson, Bailey, Muga, Poulussen et al.)

There are a few issues of worry with respect to the usage of male starts. One of the primary concerns is hazard remuneration, particularly the lessening in condom utilize or increments in number of sexual accomplices that may emerge from the conviction that circumcised male offers add up to insurance to HIV/STI transmission (Kalichman, Eaton, and Pinkerton, 2007). Confirmation demonstrates that in some populace gatherings, individuals see start schools as an aggregate security against HIV contamination, and it has even been alluded to as the "undetectable condom" (Van Dam and Anastasi, 2000). For instance, in an examination in Westonaria area of South Africa, minority of circumcised men and greater part of uncircumcised men announced that circumcised men don't have to utilize condoms (Lagarde et al., 2003). A

similar report found that the dominant part of circumcised men and 18% of uncircumcised men trusted that circumcised men can securely have intercourse with numerous ladies (Lagarde et al., 2003). In a comparative report the dominant part of men and minority of ladies in South Africa, referred to that male start could manage the cost of aggregate assurance from HIV (Scott et al., 2005).

This investigation raised germane issues as to the approach in which indigenous information issues are by and by attempted inside the advancement worldview. With a basic focal point, it likewise examined the capacity that history played in the contemporary conceptualisation of IKS with a view to influence and help the social routine with regards to male circumcision. Moreover, the analyst sternly tested the veracity and propriety of social advancement activities inside South Africa. Moral instruction in pre-frontier Eastern Cape Province was established in an indigenous learning arrangement of training which showed youngsters social and good esteems. The point of customary training was to educate the Ubuntu moral code that featured ideals, for example, the significance of group and recognition of shared and social practices (Gaie and Mmolai, 2007) as referred to in Matemba (2010:330). Indigenous instruction in pre-pilgrim Eastern Cape Province came chiefly through start schools known as starts for young men. In conventional start schools, youngsters were shown all parts of customary basic instincts, traditions, values, marriage, child rearing, religion and regard for others, in a formal setting under the direction of accurately named experienced town teachers. The main phase of start when the kid is turning 12 years. Guideline happened in the town, where kids were in some cases taken away to a separated region for parts of this period. The start school's educational modules comprised of guideline in societal standards, sex instruction, conventional taboos, farming exercises and self-protection (Matemba, 2010: 330).

2.2.3 Challenges experienced from cultural practices

Most cultural practices in South Africa had stood the test of time and are still being practiced today despite the influx of modernity in the country. Despite the advent of the Constitutional democracy in the land, some ethnic groups are still religiously resilient to their practices and at all odds stand for it. However, some of the cultural practices have diverted their goals and lost the original cultural intends of the practice. Consequently, these cultural practices led to diverse challenges emanating from them. Below is the review of some cultural practices that pose challenges to the followers and immediate members of some cultural practices.

2.2.3.1 *Ukuthwala*

Just like virginity testing, the researcher focused on the cultural practice of *ukuthwala*. This cultural practice is one of the most criticised, more especially looking at the gross human rights of the girl-child. For this reason, the researcher also included it in the literature as a means of assessing the challenges that are experienced from cultural practices.

The cultural practice of *ukuthwala* is argued to prevent and limit the right of access to education of a girl-child. Makho (2014) investigated how the school heads in the rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal are coping and managing in the environment where bride abduction is rife. The study findings revealed negative implication on how the cultural practice of bride abductions was resulting in poor academic results, high rate of girl-child student drop-outs, unexpected absconding and absenteeism from school. Makho (2014) recommended that the school heads should be spear-heading progressive strategies to address the adverse cultural practices that affect education. The recommendation was advised to be done through the school governing bodies. In addition, this recommendation was guided by the view that principals have influence on communities they serve. Moletsane (2011) quoted the United Nations Human Development Report of 1990 – 2011 which notes that:

Disadvantages facing women and girls are a major source of inequality. All too often, women and girls are discriminated against in health, education and the labour market – with negative repercussions for their freedoms

Molapo (2005) explained the cultural practice of *ukuthwala* is performed at schools as a “drama”. He gave a moving and disheartening story of how his sister’s treasured vision of becoming a teacher disappeared when she was abducted and was denied her human rights to pursue her studies. Consequently, this coerced him to explore the practice and stand for the girl-child’s rights. Going through the memories of his past experiences with abductions in Lesotho he cites the following (2005: 5):

It has been always painful for me to experience this form of harassment and abusive violence done against the consent of the Mosotho girl, to force her to enter into unplanned marriage. Her career and dreams of a future life are being disrupted and completely jeopardized ...Basotho girls are denied the right of movement to any place at any time, let alone their choices.

Achua and Lussier (2010: 157-164) say that collaboration and engaging with the community members are inherent duties and obligations of the school principals. These duties and obligations ought to be exercised in restoring effective and progressive management of academics and other aspects that affect the lives of learners directly or indirectly. In KwaZulu-Natal, the average pass rate went down from 90 percent to 36 percent (Department of Education, 2002). These poor matric results dropped due to what others argued to as a result of the practice *ukuthwala*. Hanzi (2006) argues that these bride abductions produce marriages, 'unwanted retrogressive camps', where the future of girls are aborted as they will not have anything to do because of lack of education (Hanzi, 2006). Consequently, Iyanuolo (2008) concludes that such girls end up ploughing in farms, nursing babies and fending for the new family. Thomas (2009) gives the same sentiment that these bride abduction marriages are a roadblock for girls to be excluded from opportunities hence, clashing their academic career.

2.2.3.2 Virginity testing

Virginity testing is also a cultural practice that is being exercised by indigenous peoples. As such, the cultural practice of virginity testing is also facing challenges with regards to its practice. It is because of the cultural practices that are being abused that the researcher chose to include it in the literature as a means of assessing the challenges that are experienced from the cultural practice.

According to Bower (2003), the rate of assault in South Africa is high and continues rising, especially the assault of youthful youngsters. Government has done much in fighting the sexual mishandle of youngsters and non-legislative associations assume an essential part in such manner. A great part of the work being done spotlights on perceiving, dismissing, and announcing touching of privates regardless of the possibility that the individual doing the touching is more grounded and more capable than the youngster. "Virginity testing goes against this system and the inconsistency of the directions to kids for their assurance can and will confound them. It renders youngsters more defenseless against sexual manhandle" (Bower, 2003:4). George (2007) opines that virginity testing likewise puts young ladies in danger of assault and sexual compulsion in high HIV predominant nations in light of the conviction that sex with a virgin can wash down a man of contamination. Gupta (2000) watches that in South Africa, a myth has emerged that a HIV positive man can be cured by having intercourse with a virgin. This is one of the components that has prompted the assault of numerous young ladies and brought about them obtaining the infection (Gupta, 2000). As virginity testing affirms that

specific young ladies are virgins, in this way, it opens them to the danger of being assaulted and contracting HIV/AIDS. Many individuals go to the service not on the grounds that they are cheerful for the young ladies who are virgins however, in light of the fact that they can distinguish which young ladies are virgins and will pursue them requesting marriage. George (2008) contends that men who are HIV positive might probably target virgins. The investigation detailed that young ladies are "looked for as sexual accomplices by more established men" trying to abstain from contracting HIV/AIDS from more seasoned sexually dynamic ladies who might be tainted (George, 2008: 1462). As effectively expressed, Zungu (2000) likewise noticed that virginity testing assumes a positive part in recognizing cases and occurrences of kid manhandle in groups.

Ladies' sexuality is seen as something that must be controlled by society and the state. A portion of the social reasons given for playing out the test are affirmation that intercourse has not occurred preceding marriage and that the young lady tyke has not experienced assault before marriage. Loss of virginity and confirmation of premarital sex are critical taboos. Therapeutic specialists are influenced to affirm virginity if a lady has engaged in sexual relations previously marriage. Ladies who are observed not to be virgins encounter vilification and experience psychological mistreatment by their spouses. In Muslim culture, ladies ought to lose her virginity on her wedding night.

2.2.4 Commercialization of initiation schools

Commercialisation of the rituals of initiation is one of the key challenges that the world is facing. According to Mabotse (1995), the passage of time and introduction of the cash economy in African transactions and affairs brought more danger to cultural practices. In that regard, circumcision has not escaped the impact of commercialisation and abuse by other people. For example, circumcision which was a procedure formerly performed by elders is increasingly being taken up by younger men. Some of these young surgeons do not understand proper dressing techniques and the procedures of traditional circumcision, hence, some of them are guilty of negligence in the area of cleanliness (Menjies, 1998). In the past, the practitioners were respected as they were older members of the community. Building from the foundations laid down, the current research seeks to explore the African value systems with regards to initiation and initiation schools. The researcher contents that nowadays, young men, often the unemployed, are taking the job for financial reward (Menjies, 1998). These young traditional surgeons and nurses are accused of charging money instead of being paid as a token of

appreciation. Thus, this study shall be covering the gap on whether some of these young traditional surgeons and nurses running initiation schools no longer perform their services as traditional contribution or obligation, but are just money mongers.

2.2.5 Complications associated with circumcision at initiation schools

According to Matya (2005), the traditional cultural practice of initiation in South Africa has indeed been a contentious one for some years. The debate now has generated considerable controversy on whether it should continue or not due to the complications that are taking place in the initiation schools. The present researcher will objectively examine the challenges experienced at initiation schools in the Eastern Cape Province. In addition, the researcher also went deep to evaluate whether the challenges are as a result of the indiscipline of initiates who ignore the instructions from traditional surgeons or guardians or otherwise. In addition, the poor health and poor infrastructure reported by the United Nations AIDS/World Health Organisation (UNAIDS/WHO 2010:2), were explored in examining how it exacerbates the vulnerability of the initiates living under such conditions, thus covering a gap left.

2.2.6 Cultural practices and the law

Babirye (2007) critically examined South Africa's process of cultural transformation through quizzing the IKSS' policy framework. In this thesis, the researcher advocated that the government should prioritise cultural initiatives for effective social transformation in communities. More so, she submitted that the South African government should also address social imbalances and infringements and not merely put their thrust and commitment on political and economic ills. With regard to this transformation, Babirye (2007) assessed the degree in which the social and cultural significance was being trailed and the effectiveness of constitutional and legislative reform measures to meet the established policy framework of IKSS. In the study, the researcher observed that the ineffective development mechanism to combat diverse aspects of violence is largely due to be a lack of engagement of critical elements of IKSS, namely epistemology.

2.2.7 Chapter conclusion

The chapter reflected on the theoretical framework used in this study; the socio-cultural theory. In addition, the chapter also discussed various topics that are directly and indirectly linked to the broad topic, thus unveiling the gaps the study sought to fill. In that regard, the following topics were covered: (IKS), definitions of vis-à-vis Western Knowledge, preservation of IKS, constraints of documenting indigenous knowledge systems, initiation and initiation schools, male circumcision, defining initiation and initiation schools, people's perception on male initiations, preferred age for initiation, the role of initiation and initiation schools and challenges experienced from cultural practices. The next chapter, therefore, presents research methods and adopted.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

"The systemic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds."

- Neuman (1997:68)

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methods used in the study. The study is largely qualitative in nature and the researcher used qualitative methods: desk based, un-structured one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions. The chapter started by describing the research design, qualitative methods used to collect data, as well as the method used to analyse the data. This study adopted the best available research methods to acquire credible results. Thus, to attain credible results and anticipated results, the researcher used and was directed by the following sub-headings; research design, research methodologies, study area, population, data collection and analysis methods.

3.1 Methodology of this study

Research technique alludes to a system of enquiry, which moves from the hidden suppositions to look into plan, and information accumulation (Myers, 2009). Research system is characterized by Kgatla (1992:9) as the art of strategies which allude to the devices or gadgets that individuals use to appreciate a marvel in sociologies. In spite of the fact that there are different qualifications in the examination modes, the most widely recognized order of research strategies is into subjective and quantitative.

At one level, subjective alludes to refinements about the idea of information: how one comprehends the world and a definitive motivation behind the examination. On another level of talk, the terms allude to inquire about techniques, that is, the route in which information are gathered and investigated, and the kind of speculations and portrayals got from the information. In straightforward words, strategy determines the down to earth utilization of what is to be examined, how the analyst means to for all intents and purposes approach the marvels to be contemplated. Myers (2009) notes unequivocally that an exploration technique is a methodology

of enquiry which moves from the fundamental presumptions to inquire about plan and information accumulation.

3.2 Research design

Research design is characterized as the blue print for satisfying the exploration destinations and reacting to the inquiries (Bluemberg, 2008: 68). Research configuration tends to the inquiry that is viewed as key, question of what kind of study will be embraced to give satisfactory responses to the exploration question or issue (Mouton, 2008: 49). Research configuration can be thought of as the rationale or ground breaking strategy of an exploration that tosses light on how the investigation is to be directed. It indicates how the greater part of the real parts of the examination ponder, the examples or gatherings, measures, medicines, or projects cooperate trying to address the exploration questions. Research configuration is like a design diagram.

Research configuration can be viewed as actualisation of rationale in an arrangement of techniques that upgrades the legitimacy of information for a given research issue. As per Mouton (1996: 175) look into configuration serves to plan, structure and execute the examination to expand the legitimacy of the discoveries. It gives bearings from the basic philosophical suppositions to investigate outline, and information gathering. Research configuration is the arrangement as indicated by which the specialist acquires look into members and gathers data from them. The scientist embraced a subjective research in this investigation.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

As per O'Neil (2010), subjective research implies any sort of research that produces discoveries not landed at by measurable methodology. As it were, subjective research is worried about creating clarifications of social marvels (O'Neil, 2010). Accordingly, the utilization of a subjective research configuration causes the scientist to comprehend the world and why things are how they are. Likewise, it is worried about social parts of the world and tries to answer inquiries regarding why individuals act the way they do (Creswell, 2006). O'Neil (2010) additionally expresses that subjective research is utilized to enable us to see how individuals feel and why they feel as they do. It is worried about gathering top to bottom data and asking inquiry, for example, for what valid reason something is finished.

Rossman and Rallis (1998) opine that a subjective research approach recounts a story from the members' perspective, consequently, giving rich graphic data important to demystify taboos and break hushes about the point under investigation, challenges experienced at start schools. As per Edgerton (1974: 3), the principal instrument for concentrate social practices like start and start schools, and coming to comprehend it is the brains, affectability and feeling of another individual, and the way that culture must be seen through the eyes of the individuals who live in it.

Un-un-structured interviews, center gatherings and work area based research are the regular strategies that were utilized for gathering subjective data. Another strategy for subjective research is contextual analysis investigate. With this technique, accentuation is set on the significance of taking a gander at factors in the normal setting in which they are found. The purpose behind utilizing the subjective technique in this investigation was to enable the analyst to see how to individuals feel. In addition, the analyst utilized this strategy since it enables the specialist to know individuals actually and to consider them to be they are and to encounter their outside troubles they confront on every day basis. The scientist utilized this technique since it enabled her to find out about the start schools and to test more on the difficulties experienced at start schools. Moreover, this outline enabled the scientist to investigate people close to home impression of occasions, rather than endeavouring to deliver a target record of the marvel itself.

3.4 Study Area

A study area is a geographic boundary created to define the extent of study analysis. One of the most important factors in choosing the study area is the ability to nominate an area that one can study more effectively.

Purposive examining technique was received for the determination of groups under scrutiny, that is, Mthatha locale of Eastern Cape territory: Ngangelizwe, Tyunbu and Mthatha. These spots were picked by the specialist on the grounds that the pilot Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) distinguished these groups as where the act of start is as yet incredible. These people group were likewise purposively chosen because of their geological areas, as pilot FGDs showed that place is protected and safe. It was a benefit it might be said that one of my examination associates was initially from these groups and filled in as my exploration contact. The number of inhabitants in every one of these groups comprises to a great extent of Xhosa-talking individuals, whose social practices and customs are still particularly regarded,

safeguarded and watched. This was an added advantage as the researcher was well conversant with the local language used in study area. Furthermore, the area was nominated because media reports of victims who are affected by unethical cultural practices resulting from initiation and initiation schools were noted to be from the place in question. These areas are largely occupied by traditionalists. Below is a detailed description of the area under study.

3.4.1 Eastern Cape, Mthatha District

This study was conducted in Mthatha District, Eastern Cape Province; Ngangelizwe, Tyunbu and Mthatha (See map: Figure.1 below). The capital for Eastern Cape is Bhisho, however its two biggest urban areas are Port Elizabeth and East London. History has it that it was shaped in 1994 out of the Xhosa countries of Transkei and Ciskei, together with the eastern bit of the Cape Province. The Eastern Cape Province South Africa, was chosen with the end goal of the examination.

Figure 1: Map showing Mthatha, Eastern Cape Province



Source:

https://www.google.co.zw/searchph?q=mthatha+map&biw=1536&bih=747&tbm=isch&imgil=NtETaNFiJAnR0M%253A%253B1QIIVWe_qIFQM%253Bhttp%25253A%25252F%25252Fwww.stolafs.org.uk%25252FUpdate-35--17th-January-2017. (Accessed 017/01/2017)

3.5 Population of the study

According to Potter (2011), population of the study is a group of individuals drawn from the general population under study. Asika (2000:39) defines the population of a research as all conceivable elements, subjects or observation relating to a particular phenomenon of interests to the researcher. Eastern Cape Province has a total population of 6.5 million (Vhamannadzi Foundation, 2013). Almost 53 percent of the population of Eastern Cape constitutes women. It is regarded as one of the most disadvantaged provinces in South Africa with a high unemployment rate. Almost 36 percent of the population is unemployed (McCord, 2004). Most of the population is dependent on agricultural employment (May, 2000).

The study population consisted of the following groups of people from the provinces selected: traditional leaders, traditional health practitioners, traditional surgeons, and initiates, parents/guardians of initiates, and community members who are knowledge holders.

3.6 Sampling

Payne and Payne (2004:200) perceive sampling as the process of selecting a subset of people or social phenomena to be studied. Judd, Smith and Kidder (1991:131) define sampling procedure as collecting some of the elements with the intention of finding out something about the population from which they are taken. Flick (1998:41) states that in subjective examining, it is the respondents' significance to the examination point as opposed to their representativeness which decides the path in which the general population to be considered are chosen. It at that point winds up noticeably basic that choosing the way of getting information, and from whom the information will be procured be finished with sound judgment, particularly since no measure of examination can compensate for disgracefully gathered information (Bernard, 1986).

The researcher used judgemental or purposive sampling technique. The judgment inspecting is the think decision of a member because of the qualities the member has. It is a non-arbitrary strategy that does not require basic hypotheses or a set number of informants. Thus, only those who were considered more likely to give the required information are the ones that were targeted in the study.

The study thus employed non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling can best be defined to mean a *modus operandi* where the samples are collected in a process that does not allow all the entities in the population equal chances of being chosen. This method was selected

because it has many advantages; it is not very sophisticated and reasonably cheap in terms of time constraints and financial expenses.

3.6.2 Sampling methods

The selected methods for the study are purposive or purposeful sampling and snow-ball sampling. These sampling methods are discussed below:

3.6.2.1 Purposive sampling

Silverman (2000) is of the opinion that in purposive sampling, a specific case is picked in light of the fact that it shows a few elements or process that is of enthusiasm for a specific report. Neuman (2000) alludes to purposive testing as "a sort of non-arbitrary examining in which the scientist utilizes an extensive variety of techniques to find all conceivable instances of very particular and hard to-achieve populace. Singleton, Straits and Mc Allister, as cited by Strydom and Venter (2002), allude to purposive examining as the kind of test that is construct altogether in light of the judgment of the specialist in that a specimen is made out of components that contain the most trademark, agent or normal characteristics of the populace.

This technique is also called judgemental sampling (Rubin & Babbie, 2005). This type of sample is based entirely on the judgment of the researcher. Purposeful sampling technique helped to ensure that only respondents with the information on initiation and the implications associated with the initiations schools and unscrupulous behaviours of the stewards of the initiates were chosen to give in-depth information.

The categories of respondents targeted and used included three traditional healers, three traditional leaders, three traditional surgeons, nine initiates and nine parents or guardians of initiates. These respondents were chosen through non random sampling Strategy was picked on the grounds that it empowered the choice of members in light of their insight inside the examined zone. Most importantly, the technique was sparing on the grounds that exclusive a piece of the populace that has essential information to the territory of study was chosen.

3.6.2.2 Snowball sampling

Snow-balling includes moving toward a solitary case that is engaged with the wonder to be examined keeping in mind the end goal to pick up data on other comparable people. A solitary case alludes the specialist to another comparable case and ideal more than one other case (Grinnell 2008). Alston and Bowels (2003) opine that in snowballing, the researcher approaches

the desired participants and those participants who are approached act as informants and identify other members who are experts in the field. During the data collection process, the targeted respondents to be interviewed were asked to identify other knowledge holders or informants. The nominated respondents were then contacted and interviewed, and the process repeated until data saturation was achieved.

One benefit of snowball sampling during this study was that the researcher was able to unveil hidden participants who were of value to this study. Thus, this selection process enabled the researcher to include certain participants in the research project that she would otherwise not have known about. In this study, 38 respondents were sampled through snowballing were: three (3) traditional leaders, three (3) traditional healers, three (3) traditional surgeons, nine (9) initiates, nine (9) parents/guardians and eleven (11) community members who participated in the focus group discussions.

3.6.1 Sampling size

Sampling is a selection of research participants from an entire population and involves decision about which people, settings, events, and behaviour to be included in the study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:49). In this study, the researcher interviewed 38 respondents; three (3) traditional leaders, three (3) traditional healers, three (3) traditional surgeons, nine (9) initiates, nine (9) parents/guardians and eleven (11) community members who participated in the focus group discussions.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the gathering of information required by a specialist to address an exploration issue (Pilot and Hungler, 1995:639). As indicated by Brink (2001:109), overview ponders are worried about social event data from an example of the populace. The accentuation in the accumulation of information in study ponders is on organized backhanded perception, polls and meetings. In the specialist's view, information accumulation involves a procedure of getting data from the examination subjects in this investigation. The specialist utilized the following instruments to collect data from the participants; desk-based research, un-structured interviews and focus group interviews. These research instruments are discussed below:

3.5.1 Desk-based research

Desk-based research is exceptionally compelling and can be directed in the beginning period of statistical surveying as it is very fast and shoddy and the greater part of the fundamental data could be effectively gotten which can be utilized as benchmark in the examination procedure. In this investigation, the work area based research included an inside and out enlightening examination of the essential and auxiliary sources. In such manner, the specialist examined course readings, expositions, proposal', diaries and articles, daily paper reports and insightful materials from the web.

Desk-based is the examination procedure which is basically done by sitting at a work area and looking for data. Work area inquire about is essentially associated with gathering information from existing assets, henceforth it is regularly viewed as an ease method when contrasted with field look into, as the fundamental cost is engaged with official's chance, phone charges and indexes. Be that as it may, it could likewise be an entire exercise in futility and cash if the analyst does not have the best possible information of how the examination in performed.

Atkinson and Coffey (1997: 47) alert analysts to carefully consider whether and how work area based research can fill specific research needs. As the creators underline:

We should not use documentary sources as surrogates for other kinds of data. We cannot, for instance, learn through records alone how an organization actually operates day-by-day. Equally, we cannot treat records - however 'official' - as firm evidence of what they report. That strong reservation does not mean that we should ignore or downgrade documentary data. On the contrary, our recognition of their existence as social facts alerts us to the necessity to treat them very seriously indeed. We have to approach them for what they are and what they are used to accomplish.

Based on the above comment, documents used in this study provide background and context, additional questions to be asked, supplementary data, a means of tracking change and development, and verification of findings from other data sources. Moreover, documents may be the most effective means of gathering data when events can no longer be observed or when respondents have forgotten the details.

3.5.2 Un-structured interviews

The unstructured one-on-one interview also sometimes referred to as the in-depths interview is referred to as a conversation with a purpose. According to Bless *et al* (2006), an unstructured one-on-one interview involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem. Un-structured interviews were carried out with the following the respondents; traditional healers, traditional surgeons of initiation school, traditional leaders, and parents.

3.5.2.1 Interview procedure

The recording of the interview information occurred by methods for note-taking and sound recording as prescribed by among others Huberman and Miles (2002) and (De Vos *et al.*, 2005). Note-taking filled in as an extra recording measure and as a move down technique if assent was not acquired from the interviewees to record the meeting by methods for a sound recorder. Meetings occurred in the members' homes, under the trees or where the members felt agreeable. The underlying undertaking was to set up a cordial, secure and agreeable association with the member by an expression of much obliged for being willing to share in the examination. The members were guaranteed of the classification of their cooperation in the meeting and the foundation of the exploration and related points were disclosed to give the interviewees with relevant and necessary information about the study. The format and sequence of questioning were also explained before the actual interview. The pace and time during the interview were continuously monitored (Best and Kahn, 2003; Breen, 2006). They were done during the day and not at night. The preceding information and explanations were also included in the cover letter that was handed to each participant (annexure A). A duplicate of the meeting plan, with the contact detail of the specialist was given to every interviewee to conceivable future enquiries.

3.5.3 Focus group discussions

Focus groups discussions were used in this study, three groups were carried out each group with 13 respondents. The venue were booked where the respondents gathered. The respondents that were under age were given consent forms to fill and they were addressed of what is going to happen in the discussion. The FGD were carried out of 38 respondents; which are three (3) traditional leaders, three (3) traditional healers, three (3) traditional surgeons, nine (9) initiates, nine (9) parents/guardians and eleven (11) community members who participated in

the focus group discussions. They are a means of better understanding how people feel or think about an issue, product or common service. Participants were selected because they had certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic of the focus group. Lewis (1995) suggests that the purpose is to obtain information of a qualitative nature from a limited number of people. Some studies require that several groups are convened. For the purpose of this study, eleven people participated and only one FGD was conducted.

The reason for including focus group discussions as part of data collection was to obtain comments from participants at community level where participants could get the opportunity to discuss among themselves. The spontaneous comments reflected the views, experiences and feelings of the members about the examination point and made new experiences conceivable that further clarified existing outcomes (Sekaran, 2006). De Vos et al. (2005) respect the quality of a concentration amass discourse as the capability of gathering association to reveal extra information that could have been lost on account of separately assembled information.

3.8 Data analysis method

According to Marshall and Rossman (1995:111), data analysis is a messy, ambiguous, time consuming, creative and interesting process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not tidy. Krueger and Casey (2000:127) are of the opinion that analysis begins by going back to the purpose of study. A key principle is that the depth and intensity of analysis are determined by the purpose of the study.

As indicated by De Vos (2002: 339), subjective information investigation is a procedure of bringing request, structure and significance to the mass of gathered information. Moreover, Marshall and Rossman (1995:111) set that subjective information investigation is a scan for general articulations about connections among classes of information and it fabricates grounded hypothesis. Morgan and Krueger (1998:3-17)

The critical ingredients of qualitative analysis are that analysis must be systematic, sequential, verifiable and continuous, it requires time, it is jeopardised by delay, it seeks to enlighten, it should entertain alternative explanations, it is improved by feedback, and it is a process of comparison.

This study employed a thematic data analysis method. This method is discussed below:

3.8.1 Thematic data analysis method

The specialist utilized topic recognizable proof strategy to break down information. As per Ryan and Barnard (2011), subject ID is a standout amongst the most crucial errands in subjective research. Topics can be portrayed as umbrella builds which are typically recognized by the analyst some time recently, after and amid the information gathering. Hayes (2005) characterizes subjects as intermittent thoughts or themes which are recognized in the contents being examined and they more often than not come up in more than one event in a specific arrangement of information. Subjects can likewise be distinguished by looking into the first field notes. The scientist distinguished every one of the information that identify with the previously mentioned example or topic and entered the information fittingly. In such manner, the scientist drew subjects from the exploration targets of the examination. The scientist used this approach since it is the standard and for the most part worthy strategy for examining subjective information.

3.9 Quality Criteria

The pattern that somewhat underscores the utilization of meticulousness to guarantee unwavering quality and legitimacy in subjective research was followed in this investigation (Tobin and Begley, 2004; Twycross and Shields, 2005). Meticulousness alludes to the exhibition of respectability and skill in subjective research by adherence to detail and exactness to guarantee validness and dependability of the examination procedure. All things considered, the meticulousness of the subjective segment identifies with the general arranging and usage of the arranged research configuration led in a coherent, methodical way to guarantee the realness and dependability of strategies as per the accompanying criteria:

3.9.1 Credibility

Engagement with the data (recordings, notes and transcripts) was done intensively to demonstrate clear links between the data and interpretations. The use and indication of verbatim examples of participants' responses reflect for example, the range and tone of the gathered responses. The credibility of the study was further increased by the presence of experienced researchers (my supervisors). After completion of the decoding process, the results were again submitted to my supervisors for an independent evaluation of my presentation and interpretation of data. Regular discussions were held and adjustments were made according to suggestions and recommendations.

3.9.2 Conformability

An example that fairly underscores the use of fastidiousness to ensure steady quality and authenticity in subjective research was followed in this examination (Tobin and Begley, 2004; Twycross and Shields, 2005). Fastidiousness insinuates the show of respectability and aptitude in subjective research by adherence to detail and precision to ensure validness and steadfastness of the examination system. Everything considered, the carefulness of the subjective fragment relates to the general masterminding and use of the orchestrated research setup drove in a cognizant, efficient manner to ensure the realness and trustworthiness of systems according to the going with criteria:

3.9.3 Transferability

This shows the degree to which the discoveries can be connected in different settings or with different members (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The systems for accomplishing transferability involves careful depictions and purposive testing (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). To guarantee intensive portrayals, nitty-gritty depictions of information are given. Purposive testing was connected inside this examination in view of its inclination to augment the assortment of the data that can be gotten inside a particular setting (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

3.9.4 Neutrality

Oxford English Dictionary (2001) defines neutrality as not supporting either sides or impartial. It implies that the researcher will not take sides when directing the examination. The discoveries of the investigation will be impacted by the members and not by the specialist's predisposition, premium and inspiration amid a talking procedure. So during the study and compilation of the findings, the researcher kept the duty of good faith and reported the findings without any attachments of the feelings of the research.

3.9.5 Truth Value

According to Oxford English Dictionary (2001), truth value refers to the trait given to a proposition in respect of its truth. The researcher did not interfere with the findings of the study to suit personal outcomes. The researcher applied all relevant methods to make the study speak for itself.

3.9.5 Dependability

The study was done and implemented according to the criteria for qualitative research to ensure that the authenticity and trustworthiness of the research was met. The stated criteria did not

serve as a restrictive checklist for the qualitative research process, but were regarded as parameters to generate informational knowledge in accordance to the research aims (Freeman et al., 2007). The legitimacy of the interview was thus assured by a clear conceptualisation, a purposeful design of an interview schedule, as well as a set plan or protocol to conduct the interview. The consistency of responses was checked by restating questions in different forms at various stages of the interview (Anderson, 1998; Best & Kahn, 2003).

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are characterized as the branch of reasoning managing esteems that identify with human lead, concerning the rightness or misleading quality of particular activities, and to the decency or disagreeableness of the thought process of and closures of such activity (Mafunisa: 2000:79). Chapman (1993:93) contends that morals are concerned not just with recognizing appropriate from wrong and great from terrible, yet additionally with the sense of duty regarding make the right decision and satisfactory. The morals which were followed in this investigation are examined underneath.

3.10.1 Informed consent

Educated assent is an announcement, generally composed that clarifies parts of an examination to members and for intentional consent to take an interest under the watchful eye of the investigation starts (Lawrence and Neumann: 2014:151).The participants were fully informed about the procedure and risks involved in the study and they were allowed to give their informed consent. The researcher made sure that the participants were completely free to express their feelings. The researcher guaranteed that exploration members were not be presented to physical or mental mischief, and they were not be subjected to bizarre anxiety, humiliation or loss of confidence.

3.10.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity is the moral security that members stay anonymous, their characters are shielded from exposure and stays obscure (Lawrence & Neumann, 2014:154). Anonymity is one important ethical considerations which encourage participants to give information freely. Anonymity is a good foundation for confidentiality where respondents know that the information given will not be misused. To achieve this, informants' identities such as their names were not used in the analysis.

3.10.3 Voluntary participation

Interest ought to constantly be intentional when leading examination and nobody ought to be compelled to take an interest in a venture (Rubin and Babbie, 2005:71). Members were permitted to pull back from the examination extend at any given time or stage of the project. The participants in this study voluntarily participated without being forced under any circumstances.

3.11 Chapter Conclusion

This section presented the exploration technique and strategies for the investigation. A subjective approach was received to explore the key issues in connection to this examination, trailed by a nitty gritty depiction of the usage of research techniques. This depiction included data about information accumulation and information examination methodology for this investigation. The moral contemplations for this investigation had been laid out in this section. The essential concentration of this section was to give depictions to the exploration procedure and its immaterialness to the examination inquiries close by. The accompanying part reports in detail on the discoveries of this activity examine think about utilizing an organized account arrange.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from a study conducted in rural Mthatha District, Eastern Cape Province. The study investigated the challenges that boys experience at initiation schools. The findings presented emerged from the data obtained through un-structured interviews and focus groups discussions with. In this study, the researcher interviewed respondents; traditional leaders, traditional healers, traditional surgeons, initiates, parents/guardians and) community members. Furthermore, the themes to be discussed in this chapter are based on the objectives of the study and the recurrent ideas which emerged from the interviews.

4.2 Findings

In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented and analysed. The purpose of using qualitative data was made in order to better understand traditional leaders, traditional healers, traditional surgeons, initiates, parents/guardians and community attitudes to traditional initiation schools.

4.2.1 Description of initiation schools

The first part of the findings looked at the definition of traditional initiation schools. The main question asked at this point was 'How would you define traditional initiation schools?' The aim of the question was to try and determine young people's understanding of traditional initiation schools as well as to establish whether there was any difference in the description of initiation schools among participants. Different views were aired out by participants and these are discussed below.

Most young adolescents who were interviewed were able to describe fine male initiation school. They defined male initiation as follows:

"Male Initiation school is a place where men gather and elderly men to circumcise young boys who then become initiates and 'real' men after the initiation process." (Respondent 1)

"Initiation school is the only place that creates 'real' men. Elderly men gather to initiate young boys and teach them about life. The whole process is done in

the bush for a long period until elders know that those boys are now 'real' men.” (Respondent 2)

“Initiation school is a traditional school where men are supposed to be transformed from children to adults. In the olden days they used to say that if a man does not attend initiation schools he couldn't be a 'real' man since he did not go through the circumcision process. During that time it was compulsory for everyman to be initiated.” (Respondent 3)

“Male initiation school refers to a type of school that was initially established as a secret rite, which, in a symbolic sense, serves as the teenager's "transit education" or "passport" to adulthood.” (Respondent 4)

Traditional surgeons and community elders who are custodians of initiation schools were also interviewed about the definition of traditional initiation schools. Interestingly, facilitators shared very similar views with young people concerning the definition of traditional initiation schools. They explained that initiation schools were crucial for the socialisation of young people. Most facilitators felt that traditional initiation school encouraged young men to be brave and courageous. These are some of the comments made by the respondents during the interviews:

“It is the most important training for young boys or any other men in life. This is where men are trained to be survivors or "real' men. They learn to be brave and live life as 'real' men are supposed to. Young boys coming for the first time are initiated and circumcised. These can only be attended and witnessed by men.” (Respondent 1)

“It is about circumcising young initiates, teaching them rules of life and training them to be 'real' men. 'Real' men are supposed to be capable of staying in the bush for the period of three months. If a boy cannot take it then he is not going to be a good man.” (Respondent)

According to the respondents, male initiation school is a place where boys are taught respect, good manners and Xhosa culture. It is also a place where boys are circumcised and are taken to perform their traditional initiation activities. Lastly, the traditional initiation school is a school that teaches boys how to behave like men. It is indeed a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood.

Participants were able to identify the procedures involved in male initiation schools. Male start school resembles some other school, it is an organization that is formally organized and sorted out with the end goal of accepting the kid into his general public. Start schools make a setting in which the immature can be cheerful but tested. They are spots to create ideal individual and relational characteristics and, in that capacity, augment the individual's capacity to add to society, male members says - the starts stay in the circumcision school for up to three months.

Besides, amid this period they sing tunes and are educated sure good codes explained as "masculine" conduct, and are given the elusive information of the tribe. Subsequently, the start school affects the youthful in that it gives the physical condition in which the juvenile meets his companions who could progress toward becoming long lasting companions. Along these lines, the pre-adult is managed the chance of characteristic joining into the world. From the data assembled on start, one can set up that start schools are customary establishments, portrayed by oral lessons of recondite information of the tribe, and by ceremonies whose capacities are to impact the progress from pre-adulthood to adulthood, and are required for all individuals from a specific culture. Most importantly, start schools are included with enculturation.

Be that as it may, a portion of the respondents had diverse feelings about customary start schools. Some held exceptionally pessimistic impression of customary start schools since they were viewed as misleading or deceiving youngsters. A few tunes and words that were utilized to depict sexual exercises and conceptive organs were viewed as unsuitable.

In traditional initiation schools, emphasis was placed on courage and bravery. It is also interesting to observe that men who were not initiated were not considered to be 'real' men. Living in the bush for a long period was considered as a form of training because initiates were taught to be resilient and brave. This is because the training normally takes place during the chilly winter season. Those young men that were able to weather the storm as it was, were considered to be capable. In these schools, the emphasis was on nurturing 'real' men.

4.2.1 Administration of traditional initiation schools.

This part of the study focused on issues involved in the administration of traditional initiation schools. This emanated from the previous question where we found out that adolescents were the ones who mainly attend the initiation school. The main purpose of following up on that question was to find out the average age of adolescents who attend traditional initiation schools. This section also deals with issues such as age group, decision-making, preferred time and recruitment.

4.2.1.1 Age

Young men reported attending these schools at different ages. The majority of the respondents said that they attended circumcision school at the age of 13 years. However, some of the respondents attended either at an earlier or later age. Only one respondent indicated that he went to the school as early as age 6. The respondents made it clear that parents or guardians usually have a say with regard to their children's attendance age. However, participants indicated that age was not the most important factor determining attendance at traditional initiation schools. There are also economic factors which influence attendance at these schools; the parents should be able to afford the fees charged at traditional initiation schools.

4.2.1.2 Reasons for Time Preference: Winter

The researcher also probed on the specific or preferred times of attending the initiation school. It emerged in the definitions that some respondents gave the time-line of winter as the time for commencing these initiation schools. In that regard, the researcher probed why winter was more preferred than the other seasons.

(i) Healing process

Facilitators of initiation schools indicated that young men mainly attend traditional initiation schools during the winter season. In most cases, June and July were the preferred months of the year. However, some reported that they went earlier before the schools closed for the winter vacations. This enabled them to stay at least two to three months in the bush. The main reason for attending initiation schools in winter was because it hastens the healing process. In summer the healing process is likely to take longer because the province has one of the highest temperatures. As a result, summer would not be ideal because it is too hot to conduct circumcisions. The following reasons were offered:

"Of course there is a specific time when boys are supposed to attend initiation schools. You see these things depend on the environment and seasons. If boys can just be taken for circumcision during summer or spring their wounds will never heal. That's why there is a specific season to take young boys for circumcision." (Respondent 1)

(ii) School vacations

The respondents indicated that traditional initiation schools are held during winter. This was due to the fact that these coincided with the long school vacations which enable finishing the whole process. The spring vacations were not preferred because they were short and affected the completion of the process of initiation.

(iii) Recruitment methods

The researcher also intended to probe into the *modus operandi* used in recruiting initiates to initiation schools. The respondents were asked to describe the way in which young people were recruited to traditional initiation school. Below are the diverse views of respondents who were recruited:

(a) Unrealistic Promises

The majority of young men indicated that the elders and other young people normally persuaded them to attend. Often they were deceived into attending traditional initiation schools. Some young men indicated that they joined the schools because they were made to believe that they would receive gifts such as helicopters and motorcycles. These are some of the examples provided by the adolescents;

"They tell us the in the initiation schools there are motorbikes and helicopters whereas there is none." **Respondent 1**

"They normally mislead us and tell us that we will get gifts such as a bed. These kinds of gifts make us excited and look forward to the traditional initiation schools." **Respondent 2**

(b) Parents' guidance and peer influence

In most cases, attendance depended on whether or not the parents or guardians wanted young people to attend. Some of the adolescents pointed out that they were coerced to attend these schools by their parents. The influence of peers at times also played a vital role in recruiting some young people to attend traditional initiation schools especially in the case of young men. Some of the respondents pointed out that some young people attended traditional initiation schools without parental consent. The following examples illustrate this.

"Normally there are no methods used to recruit boys to attend the traditional schools. This depends on the individual or the parents of the children. When I say it depends on the individual, it is because some of the boys do not wait for

the parent's decision but just want to follow their friends. No one tells them to go or there is no one who recruits them to the initiation schools but they just feel like they are missing out." Respondent 1

The data gathered by the researcher showed that some young men are forced to attend traditional initiation schools by their parents. They were not allowed to refuse to attend traditional initiation schools. In this case, attendance for young men is made compulsory by their parents. However, some parents duped their children into attending traditional initiation schools. Young people attended because they believed that they would receive gifts. These gifts were therefore used to encourage them to attend. This suggests that parents place a heavy emphasis on traditional practices and would do almost everything to ensure that their children adhere to these traditional practices. This sometimes means that the elders sometimes have to entice them with lucrative gifts.

Analysis

The respondents indicated that historically winter was the best season for initiation schools because the wounds heal faster than in summer. Some of the respondents also noted that winter is the best because the season is dry and is not likely to rain, winter is the best because we are not troubled by the rain or thunderstorm, said the respondents. In some instances it differs from one ethnic group to the other. For instance, the Xhosa prefer winter and summer due to the number of initiates. However some of the complications to the wounds are likely to happen during summer because of the hotness. Some respondents assert that winter is not good because it is cold" and some of the initiates they have diseases like arthritis it will be difficult for them to be the part of the initiation.

4.3 Duration of initiation schools

The participants were asked how long do initiates stay at initiation schools. Most respondents seemed to explain as follows:

"The period of staying at initiation schools used to be three to six months, but today it is less because the initiation schools take place during school holidays. Participants indicated that in some initiation schools initiates only stay for two months, but others would join during the course and they are likely to stay for a month or even for three weeks. However, some are going to traditional initiation schools that last a week."

Some respondents said these days some initiation schools only last for one month because of cold. However, they also indicated that this was not good because some of the initiates would go back home with the some wounds not healed.

4.4 initiation process

Initiation process were solicited from the sorts of exercises and practices that are being performed at start schools. A portion of the respondents demonstrated that start is important for condition for instruction. In any case, a few respondents contended that it is inadmissible and conceivably deceptive to utilize the illustration of "start" to depict instruction. Members likewise noticed that general youngster raising instruction, formal training and indigenous or conventional instruction offered by start schools was foundational.

The members portrayed the start procedure as it is a sufficiently general to cover an extensive variety of exercises like preparing, direction of showing all of which can be a piece of instruction. Over the span of the start, young men are educated different guidelines of lead. These tenets of starts are normally educated at night with the old men. An old man instructs a solitary administer to the starts and clarifies it. He instructs the standards until the point when they all show that they comprehend it and will recall in the event that they are asked once more. The starts who overlook the principles get discipline until the point that they know the standards by heart. They are first shown melodies and they should sing maybe a couple tunes each day.

The members called attention to that not exclusively are they educated to watch principles of conduct while they are at the start schools, they likewise get formal guideline about the conduct expected of them when they are men. In addition to other things, young men are required to regard senior citizens and not connect with the ones who do not comply with the older folks.

Male respondents showed that there are diverse parts of starts schools. The part of male start schools is to help starts to think about their own particular culture and customs. Eliade (1985) holds that in present day terms we say start puts a conclusion to the regular man and acquaints the starts with the way of life. It is through culture that man re-builds up contact with the world heavenly. Learning in the start schools occur through tuning in, watching and doing, perception, impersonating and hone. This is what is called "by and by started learning technique" as indicated by Ocitti (1988).

Nonetheless, members likewise noticed that a vital component of conventional instruction is that it readies the starts for some grown-up obligations including governmental issues, religious, legitimate, conjugal and sexual parts, these parts, notwithstanding, contrast from society to society. A few members pointed that in Xhosa start, the custom has a political concentration in preparing guys to accept noticeable initiative obligations in their separate groups. Members said that it regularly involves guideline in the gathering lessons and open talking.

Bianchi (1984) demonstrates that start breaks solid reliance upon the mother to guarantee distinguishing proof with grown-up guys and acknowledgment of the male part. Similarly, it keeps up the attachment of the social unit. In such manner the members said that start likewise gives every individual from the general public lasting recognizable proof inside the Xhosa tribe and start in Xhosa is additionally an ethnic distinguishing proof stamp.

Respondents additionally showed that starts are likewise educated about sexual conduct. They are given educated for instance not to lay down with a lady amid her menstrual period, in the event that she has been impregnated by another person, or in the event that she has as of late lost or one who is considerably more established than themselves. Intercourse with such ladies would make one sick and may even reason one's demise. A few members showed that:

“We were taught about the rate of HIV/AIDS infections and how the initiation process contributes to a reduction of HIV I AIDS.” **Respondent 1**

In the perspective of the over, a few members contended that the advancement of male circumcision as a general wellbeing measure to constrain the spread of HIV should be evaluated inside particular neighbourhood social settings. Inside the circumcising society of the Xhosa of South Africa's Eastern Cape, conventional and group pioneers are in wide assertion that chronicled instruments for the sexual socialization of youth have to a great extent separated. The part that start schools once played in such manner has been dissolved, to be supplanted by the development of a standard in which circumcision is viewed as a portal to sex as opposed to as denoting the time when dependable sexual conduct starts. In this unique circumstance, battles for circumcision went for checking HIV can be exceptionally confounding on the grounds that they are layered onto different messages – of forbearance, sexual limitation and sexual duty from one viewpoint, and the rights and benefits that accompany Xhosa masculinity on the other. They emerge in a social setting in which coercive, unequal and savage sexual relations lie at the base of especially high rates of female hetero HIV contamination.

*“Initiation is part of educational situation... **(Inaudible)** is always a social situation and the educational relation is always a social relation. However, the initiation school as an educational situation is also a social situation.”*

Respondent 2

“Initiation schools are viewed as general childrearing education, formal school education, and the indigenous or traditional education offered by initiation schools, all make the child familiar with his own culture so that he can function within his group as an adult - that is why it is appropriate to liken education to a process of initiation.” **Respondent 3**

Initiation schools for boys are used for moral education in Xhosa culture. The Xhosa culture is established in an indigenous learning arrangement of training which shows youngsters social ethics and qualities. The point of customary instruction is to teach the *ubuntu* moral code that featured temperances, for example, the significance of group and recognition of common and social practices (Matemba, 2010: 330). In customary start schools young men are shown all parts of conventional ingrained instincts, traditions, values, marriage, child rearing, religion and regard for others, in a formal setting under the tutelage of particularly selected experienced town educators.

4.5 The mystery of initiation schools

The respondents pointed out that the activities of initiation schools have been kept secret. It should be kept a secret because it dignifies our heritage. People pay to learn at initiation schools and they do not want to disclose something they paid for. Also, they are told that they are not allowed to share any information with people who have never been to initiation schools. Respondents indicated that some initiates are told that if they tell other people who have not been to initiation school about what transpired, they will die. Initiates are warned about the initiation rituals.

The process of initiation is kept secret because when they graduate from it, they believe that if initiation schools are kept secret, boys will want to go there in large numbers and it will motivate those who have never been there. This, according to respondents, was aimed at increasing the interest of non-initiates in order to motivate them to join initiation schools.

4.6 The role of setting up initiation schools

The respondents were also asked about the person responsible for the setting up of the initiation schools. Diverse views were given by different respondents over the issue of setting up and administration of initiation schools. Below are the different responses elicited from the respondents:

4.6.1 Traditional healers

Some of the respondents said the traditional healers have the mandate of setting up initiation schools and also to administer them. In this case, the traditional healer was said to be the person who performs the circumcision and also treats the wounds. Furthermore, the traditional healer was noted also to have the supernatural power, hence, the power to offer protection to the initiation school he establishes and also its initiates. Some believed that initiates may become bewitched during the process of circumcision. Therefore, the traditional healer protects the initiates during this process. The traditional healer was therefore considered to be a protector, the healer and the manager of the process.

On the other hand, some respondents indicated that it was not the sole responsibility of the traditional healers alone but they worked closely together with some chiefs and elders of the society. Traditional healers were interviewed and to the interview they gave their views with regard to the initiation schools. Traditional healers view initiation schools as something that is sacred. And the duty of traditional healer is to protect the initiates even the owner of the initiation school because when the initiation starts there are any tests that are coming from different people. Traditional healers have a supernatural power to protect the initiates until the end of initiation school, said the traditional healer.

4.6.2 The traditional leaders

On the other hand, some of the respondents differed with the ones who said the traditional healers have the mandate of setting up initiation schools and also to administer them. They indicated that this was the role of the traditional leaders who are the custodians of the land and communities. With regard to who has a say on the setting up of initiation schools, some participants indicated that the dominant chief is the only person to officially declare the initiation school to open. In other words, the chief is the one who has a say to the opening of the initiation schools. It was said that before the boss can open the start school he is obliged to play out certain religious ceremonies. The specific boss makes an offering called *ukuphahla amathongo* (precursors) at the old private structures of the predecessors. In this manner, the last

proclamation of the opening of the start is made by the principal boss within the sight of every single tribal structure. In FGD that were held with the parents and the adolescents, some participants also said that the royal family has a say or power on the opening of the initiation schools. It is so because some of the chiefs are not from the royal family but they are headmen and they were taken to work with the royal family when they have problems. They also indicated that the chiefs were given powers because sometimes there were disturbances within the royal family. Most respondents gave diverse views in as far as opening and running of initiation schools are concerned.

4.6.3 The role of traditional surgeons

Nonetheless, most respondents demonstrated that there is a decentralized wellspring of expert with an absence of 'balanced governance which ensures the responsibility of those running the schools. The act of start is not seen as an imperative issue for policing by those approved under law, and more awful, it opens a basic escape clause for supposed "fly-by-night start schools" and principals who subsequently popularize the training. Schools set up without approval have regularly un-qualified people taking on the appearance of principals. These present misbehaviors appear to have dissolved the customary 'governing rules of the start schools. In many cases unpracticed individuals are presently in charge of setting-up these schools as a wellspring of salary.

Respondents said that some of the traditional surgeons are not liaising with traditional leaders because they do not want to share the money that they are making from initiates. Respondents indicated that some of the traditional surgeons y are opening and running initiation schools on their own without informing the leaders. However, some indicated that some traditional surgeons are just informing the traditional leaders only for them to know that there is an initiation school that has opened. This uncertainty made the researcher to inquire about the legal framework that govern the issue of initiation schools.

4.7 Legal framework that regulate and govern the running of initiation schools

It shows up from the entries that a standout amongst the most squeezing issues concerning start schools identifies with the setting-up and running of the schools. The members contended that the customary frameworks and procedures of setting up start schools have either crumpled or have been traded off. As far as convention, it is mind boggling for anybody to open ulwaluko without the consent of customary pioneers.

These people group contended that lone a conventional pioneer, in discussion with the customary gathering, is the main expert in issues of opening and running of start schools. Even though the provincial department does not have a legislation on initiation, there are municipal by-laws that govern the practice. Several provinces have promulgated legislation regulating circumcision such as the Application of Health Standards in Traditional Circumcision Act, 2001 (Act No. 5 of 2001) (Eastern Cape); the Initiation School Health Act, 2004 (Act No. 1 of 2004) (Free State); and the Limpopo Circumcision Schools Act, 1996 (Act No. 6 of 1996).

Ever since the enactment of the by-law in 2004, one would assume that the majority of the residents are familiar with at least some of its provisions. Information gathered from FGDs and respondents in this study show that a large number of the people do not know what the law says about the opening and running of initiation schools. It was gathered that many of the people have never even heard about the law. In addition, a small number of FGD participants claim they sometimes hear it mentioned on the radio. When the respondents who had said they knew what the law says were asked what it states; some said that the Act states that nobody should open an initiation school without the consent of relevant authorities.

In FGDs, respondents opened up and admitted that they do not know any provision about the Act and what it says. On the other hand, a few of the participants in the FGDs maintained that they were familiar with the provisions of the Act. Some of the youth and the middle-aged respondents appeared slightly more knowledgeable than the children and the elderly.

This may be attributed to the fact that the majority of the youth and middle-aged persons can read and also have better access to information such as the internet, radio and newspapers. When those who claimed to be familiar with the law were asked to unveil what the law entails; they gave following answers:

The initiation schools should not overcharge clients (exorbitant profits):

Respondent 1

If anyone dies at the initiation schools, the police should arrest the one who caused the death: **Respondent 2**

At initiation schools, the practitioners there are not allowed to use same razor blades: **Respondent 3**

It was plain from the data gathered that even though traditional leaders steward the running of the initiation schools, some of them are not conversant with the Acts and by-laws that regulate the issue. It was also gathered that numerous traditional leaders who participated in this study handled the cases not in accordance with the dictates of the law. As such, the general public (community members under their jurisdiction) fear to challenge the chiefs even if they erred because they are regarded as custodians of this practice. Some of the chiefs confidently claimed that there was no law or rules addressing how their initiation schools were run.

The researcher also asked the respondents whether the opening and running of initiation schools should be recognized by law so as to check the awareness of the by-laws to the inhabitants. The majority of people were of the view that it should be recognized for the reason that its recognition would diminish deaths of initiates and also prevent people from profiteering through the running of initiation schools.

On the other hand, a few of the respondents were of the view that initiation schools should not be recognized by law merely because this is a cultural practice of indigenous people. In addition, this group was of the view that the recognition of the law to govern this would result in continuous Westernization of African values thereby resulting in sacred things falling in wrong hands.

From the answers given by respondents, it emerged that the knowledge of the law that regulate initiation schools is low in spite of the fact that it was passed. This is an obvious signal that the public has not been adequately sensitized to the law. In addition, this ignorance of the law explains to some extent, why commercialization of initiation schools is accepted by the majority of the people. On the other hand, those who are running initiation schools for financial gain are also taking advantage of the ignorance of the people to pursue their personal enrichment agendas.

4.8 Challenges

There are challenges that presented themselves from this study's findings on the construction of masculinity within *ulwaluko* and within masculinity in the Xhosa context. Namely, the impact of socio-economic challenges, as seen in alcohol abuse, economic strain, and potential extortion of the tradition for economic gain; the impact of absent or missing fathers and male elders; a

language and teaching that may discriminate against others; and a potential inflexibility toward other constructions of masculinity.

4.8.1 Alcohol and Drug abuse

The initiation school is not immune to the socio-economic challenges that townships and the South African public are facing. The challenge of substance abuse seems to be bearing presence in the institution. Most participants raised a sorry state of most conventional specialists working while affected by liquor or medications. The utilization of liquor by starts additionally speaks to a risk to themselves. Utilized preceding, and after, the technique which is led without painkiller in an offer to reduce torment, liquor has been embroiled in unreasonable draining once in a while prompting passing (Mayatula and Mavundla, 1997).

Abuse of alcohol could be an alteration and potential threat to this school. Alcohol usage in all the rituals needs to be seriously questioned. The issue is not about banning alcohol, but the amount of consumption by stakeholders needs to be considered. Traditional beer has always been a part of the institution, however, drunkenness has not.

Cases which respondents indicated of the traditional surgeons are remunerated with a bottle of brandy seem to be problematic because after drinking the brandy they abuse or mistreat the initiates.

“I had a bottle of brandy as a form of payment.” **Respondent 1**

In addition, the young men who normally accompany the initiates to the bush are rewarded with alcohol. One concerned respondent asked:

“Are there creative ways of thanking people without encouraging a culture of substance abuse?” **Respondent 2**

This abuse of alcohol can create insufficient care of the initiate (poses health risks) and also does not inculcate the pattern of responsible living advocated for by the institution.

4.8.2 The Rise of Fly-by-Night initiation schools for Financial Gain

Also amidst the backdrop of the economic challenges of the township, the initiation school, the challenge of substance abuse seems to be bearing presence in the institution. Some concerns were raised by the respondents of some places where surgeons are charging up to R3 500.00 per initiate and recruiting more initiates. And it is not unusual for a single school to circumcise over 100 people. Circumcision is a substantial wellspring of wage in neediness stricken zones where joblessness is high. The money related motivating forces are in this way extremely

significant. Thus, self-declared conventional specialists and customary attendants work without the authority of their groups or the boss in expert in a specific territory, and they don't enlist with the legislature named medicinal officer said the respondents.

Most parents indicated that the traditional surgeons seemed more concerned with the receiving of the money than the performance of the actual practice. Furthermore, most people were in consensus that the payment of the money for the acceptance of the initiates was now obligatory and compulsory despite the parents' financial status. Initiates have also been reported to be excluded from initiation schools for failing to pay admission fee. On the contrary, some traditional leaders indicated that the money collected were not for personal use of the traditional surgeons but for the provisions used for the entire school session. Although some agreed to the views of the traditional leaders, some traditional surgeons and leaders also indicated that it was also part of their remuneration.

There was, however, a wide cry from most respondents noting that some initiation schools were in a sorry state and providing poor services which made their children vulnerable. This, they complained, was not worth the money that they paid for the children to be admitted in these schools. Also, it was said by some respondents that the traditional surgeons, after the winter schools, seem richer than ever and will be drunk most times and some buying new goods with their monies. As that was insufficient, a few respondents suggested that the untrained faculty were opening "start schools". They specified three critical guys who are associated with key parts of male start. These are the specialist or the circumciser (*ingcibi*), the gatekeeper or customary medical attendant (*ikhankatha*) and the anointer (*umthambisi*). As indicated by the respondents, these individuals all must be of good social standing and do their obligations as a support of their groups. It was regular to offer parts of the meat butchered amid start to the specialist and the conventional medical attendant as a token of appreciation. This has changed after some time and is best caught by the expressions of the previous Eastern Cape wellbeing priest Dr. Bevan Gowanda, who deplored that;

'The primary issue is that the entire thing has now been marketed and individuals are profiting out of the custom'

In addition, the greater part of guardians noticed that the charges or expense to go to start schools are too high in Mthatha. Different respondents did not mince words but rather noticed that the specialists and the conventional medical attendants request to be paid in real money or a blend of money and liquor. The specialists and customary attendants charge anything

amongst R100 and R200 per start. Charges of R300 or more per benefit have been accounted for in a few sections of the Eastern Cape Province.

This commercialization of the custom is rebuked for a considerable lot of the wounds and passing's that starts endure at show. The expansion of start schools and in addition the expansion in the quantity of individuals asserting to be talented customary specialists or conventional medical caretaker, indicate a solid test to the custom. This expansion has brought about firm rivalries and charging of absurd expenses for participation at start schools. As indicated by the custom, the circumciser (*ingcibi*) should take in the ability from a relative or another qualified instructor, as an understudy. The norm, nonetheless, is bad news for traditionalists and conventional pioneers, who long, minimum in their talk, for an arrival to the 'old methods' for leading the custom.

The unlawful customary specialists take any measure of cash from the little young men of 11 and 12 years, some charge R150 or even a chicken, the enrolled conventional specialists need to be paid a considerable measure of cash. Some conventional specialists take cash to purchase liquor and some they need cash for the

4.8.3 The use of language and teaching at the school

The language of teaching at the school can be oppressive and divisive to anyone who does not conform to the form of masculinity prescribed by it. An example is portrayed in the words used to refer to women—*isiqwathi*. Many of the participants were shocked by the meaning of words referring to their mothers, sisters and girlfriends as that. The language used could potentially result in justification of abuse. One of the respondents commented;

"I think how women are being treated and spoken about must be looked at and be modified. Especially when you listen to the news about the abuses against women and children sometimes it creates that impression that women are there to serve you. And they are not important in our society besides that...for example even though you call girls 'is'qwathi'... they are the ones who cook for you when you are an initiate. Boys do not cook for you, girls cook for you; but how you are being taught about them is that you must look down on her, but she is the one who cooks for you. So I think if that can be modified a bit." **Respondent 1**

Furthermore, the language used to refer to any other non-initiated or 'unsuccessfully initiated' man is dehumanizing. The words such as '*inja*' (dog) and '*inqambi*' (unclean thing) and

oosondoda, relegate the person to a non-human status. This can create space for xenophobia, violence and condescending attitudes against 'others'.

A respondent stated that:

"I personally have seen such disrespect amongst those who were initiated at traditional schools towards those that have done it in hospitals." Respondent 1

Some relate this to the pain they endured compared to those who were circumcised in hospitals where they are given pain killers, whereas in traditional circumcision school they are not given pain killers. The harsh living conditions result in initiates perceiving themselves as comparatively superior to those that were circumcised in hospitals.

One of the respondents said,

"To go to hospital is meaningless, because traditional initiation schools are not only about the removal of foreskin, but about many things that a man has to be taught, which is something one cannot get in hospitals." Respondent 2

This categorization lends itself to a lack of acceptance of other constructions of masculinity. The understanding of the 'other', needs to be reformed to affirm individuals throughout the changing South African contemporary context. It needs to yield to an acceptance of other constructions of masculinity (for example: those with non-ancestral forms of masculinity, boys, non-initiated men, those with 'failed' circumcisions, those with variable understandings of manhood as taught by the initiation school, and those who were 'successful.')

4.8.4 Lack of Skill and Knowledge of Traditional Surgeon Leading to Incorrect Surgery

A customary specialist is ideally a man prepared by his antecedent with aptitudes being passed on starting with one era then onto the next. Most conventional specialists met demonstrated that in a contemporary period portrayed by substantially more prominent social change, portability and social break, the preparation and skill of customary specialist is not generally guaranteed. They showed that a few wounds happen because of inaccurate surgery with for instance, an excessive amount of skin being evacuated. Related difficulties incorporate drain because of gash or removal of the glans or potentially the penile shaft and additionally evacuation of an excess of prepuce, exposing the penile shaft (William and Kapila, 1993: 1231-1236; Menahem: 1981: 45-8).

In interviews with elderly group individuals about the procedure, concern was regularly raised about the learning of current conventional specialists. Regularly the procedure whereby the conventional specialists would be investigated by older folks of the group has offered route to a more free enterprise (indulgent) approach whereby practically anybody can claim to be a qualified customary specialist.

The respondents demonstrated that conventional specialists are to a great extent insensible of examination as confirm in the regular routine with regards to cleaving as opposed to extracting the prepuce. Customary chaperons or medical attendants are uninformed of aseptic procedure, the significance of blood course and nourishment in twisted mending as confirm by the nature and use of dressings and limitations on protein-rich sustenances. Since torment and enduring is respected by witnesses (conventional specialists and chaperons) as useful for starts there is no endeavor to control or mitigate torment, discharging, stun or drying out as demonstrated by the respondents.

4.8.4.1 Re-use of Instruments without Sterilization

Unsterilized instruments relate to the problem of the training and competence of traditional surgeons are questions of hygiene, some of the traditional surgeons use one blade to the dozens of initiates which is unhygienic, the correct use of appropriate instruments is to use the instruments that are sterilized as indicated by the respondents. Contemporary reports highlight the re-use of instruments without cleaning or sterilization, the use of blunt instruments and a lack of appropriate hygiene mechanisms at many circumcision schools. As an answer there are concerns about infection and the spread of venereal disease and HIV/AIDS in particular.

4.8.4.2 Sepsis and Gangrene

The respondents were asked of any difficulties identified with start schools and a few respondents said that the period amid which inconveniences most as often as possible happen is not amid the surgery itself but rather under the watchful eye of starts after circumcision. Customarily, an orderly is doled out to each start and is in charge of bounding and dealing with the injury which is wrapped in a tight thong.

Where the dressing is made too tight gangrene comes about because of narrowing of blood dissemination with consequent loss of penile tissue, at times spreading all through the body. Septicemia because of poor cleanliness practices can prompt demise if not treated with suitable anti-microbials. Respondents said this is not another issue, in an obvious certainty, simple

settlement with culture the medical attendants would discreetly dress and clean the injuries and send the start back to the hedge. Sepsis is a standout amongst the most widely recognized and incapacitating worries for conventional circumcision with the impacts now and then so serious that it brings about loss of the penis.

4.8.4.3 Dehydration

Starts live in separation in the shrub. Customarily grass cottages were worked to live in at the circumcision stop. These are burnt at the finish of the procedure. Grasses are cooler than the plastic sheeting which is regularly utilized at contemporary circumcision lodges, especially those nearer to urban regions.

Respondents demonstrated that the troubles in the after-mind time frame are that of lack of hydration which is basic at start schools since starts are debilitated from drinking liquid. This forestalls visit pee but at the same time is viewed as a trial of survival. Two changes in contemporary practice have made drying out a greater hazard today than it was previously: initially, circumcision is much of the time performed in the more blazing summer months probably to oblige school occasions though in the past it regularly happened in fall. Besides, plastic sheeting is currently regularly used to assemble the start's cabin rather than the customary leaves and grass which were substantially cooler said the respondents.

4.9 Conflicting practices and leadership crisis

Some participants indicated that the health professionals are enforcing their policies and medical practice without considering the culture. In that regard, the respondents noted that it is good for medical professionals to help at the initiation schools but they should also consider the traditional leaders before enforcing their policies and medical practices. On the other side, traditional healers claim to be the custodian of the practice.

Respondents were asked about the conflict practices and; leadership crisis they said

“What we see here is that the government is pushing us to follow their circumcision policy which is not respecting the custodianship of chiefs. However, the government and the chiefs should work together to fight this leadership crisis.” **Respondent 1**

It was noted in some areas whereby the community members are ruled by the chiefs saying that the initiation is for the traditional leaders not the health professional.

The community members also said the health professionals should work only at the hospital and leave their culture alone.

“The medical doctors are taking over our practice, they use their razors and stitches, hospital bandages with and the chemicals to clean the wounds antibiotics, and they undermine our traditional herbs.” Respondent 2

As a result, traditional surgeons hide and run away with the initiates especially when they see the oncoming vehicles from the department of health.

4.10 Poor environmental conditions of the initiation schools

One of the key is that cultural principles are different from other types of cultural activity. In Xhosa initiation schools, initiates sleep at the dusty places and some of the initiation camps are built of plastics, and the initiation schools in Eastern Cape Province operate in summer and winter. In summer plastics are hot, and in winter the plastics are very cold. Some of the children are not used to sleeping on the dusty ground contrary to their comfortable houses that are warm. The houses of the initiates are very cold in winter and very hot in summer.

Some children who grew up well used to sleeping on beds at home then all of a sudden, the children are instructed to sleep on the dusty ground and dwell in small plastic covered shacks (*amatyotyombe*). This is causing trauma to the children, physically and psychologically they are disturbed.

Some parents indicated that;

“These plastics used to cover bush huts are very hot in summer and in very cold in winter. It very hot in summer and it contributes to sweating and dehydration of our children in the bush.” Respondent 1

The respondents indicated that the initiates are living in very risky places because it is easy for the plastic houses to be burnt and also burn some of the initiates to death. Furthermore, if the initiates fall sick during the initiation school days, it is rendered helpless as it would be difficult to get into such places with a car or an ambulance. Some places are in the mountains and usually far from human settlements. In such circumstances the health officers and the police may not able to intervene.

4.11 Inappropriate and unbalanced diet

The initiates indicated that the food that they are given is not healthy. They said they are given half cooked maize which is full of starch without the stew or soup. They also allege they are served with very hard porridge that is hard to chew. In addition to that, any food that is salty is not allowed in their diet. Health professionals said that an initiate should eat food with nutritious substances and drink fruit juices in order to speed up the healing process. All this is looked down upon thus, making initiates vulnerable to disease and slow healing pace.

4.12 Abduction of Boys into initiation schools

The Focus Group Discussion (FGD) held with guardians and older folks likewise revealed about the snatchings of young men who are removed from their home region to an alternate regions to be circumcised. Individuals from general society talked about individuals that are going around in trucks gathering young men for start without getting consent from guardians and without detailing even to the neighborhood conventional pioneer.

The guardians demonstrated that there are many cases that were accounted for about the young men who were recently picked from their homes or in the lanes. Eastern Cape Province is portrayed by large amounts of destitution and joblessness is evaluated at more than 30 percent. Money related factor is one reasons making a few people to break the social esteems by kidnapping young men to enlist at these start schools. With each start being charged an expense by the conventional specialist, circumcision is enormous business and there have been reports of young men as youthful as eight years of age being abducted from their homes to expand numbers at some start schools. Disappointment by the guardians to pay for the charge of the tyke would bring about the tyke staying there and utilized for shoddy work.

4.13 Absence of Parental Involvement

An investigation led in the Mthatha wellbeing area of the Eastern Cape in 2016 found that most starts did not illuminate their folks previously racing to the start schools. They just vanished from home and advanced toward the start site (Mogotlane et al., 2004). Since custom endorses that circumcision is not talked about at all with female relatives, children in female-headed family units are confronted with a veritable bind. One respondent stated:

“I have no father or any male relative. When I felt that I was ready to enroll, I told my mother and I noticed that she was against this. So I brought myself to the initiation school.” Respondent 1

Also, the circumcision of young men more youthful than 16 seems to keep on being broad. The witnesses themselves felt that the most fitting age at which to be started ought to be 18. Across the board joblessness and neediness in the area implies that numerous families can't sufficiently spare to pay to send a child to start school. Subsequently some young men left school right on time to look for some kind of employment keeping in mind the end goal to pay for their introduction.

4.14 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the findings from a study conducted in rural Mthatha district, Eastern Cape Province. The study focused on investigating the challenges that boys experience at initiation schools. The findings emerged from the data obtained through un-structured interviews and focus groups discussions with adolescents and parents. Furthermore, the discussed themes emerged from the objectives of the study and the recurrent ideas which emerged in the interviews. Now that these have been discussed, the next chapter shall focus on the summaries, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARIES, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate the challenges experienced in male initiation schools at Mthatha District, Eastern Cape province. This chapter, therefore, presents the findings of the study. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three (research methodology), qualitative data analysis techniques were used to answer the research questions to eventually solve the problem and come to conclusions. The previous chapter found out that by answering the questions in the focus group discussions, the answers to the original research were also included in the answers, the three main research questions were: What are the roles of initiation schools? Which regulations govern the opening and running of initiation schools? And what palliatives can be effective in curbing the negative implications at initiation schools?

5.2 Summary

In summary, the study indicated that the cultural practice of initiation schools is one form of IKS that has stood the test of time and is a bedrock of enculturation. The qualitative method gave the study the detailed information regarding a traditional initiation school camp, period of stay, how it is performed, the necessity thereof, what is expected of an initiate after initiation, (for instance responsibilities and good manners) and also the meaning of it. However, some studies and information collected from participants show that young people are experiencing diverse challenges at initiation schools, thus, the main reasons for carrying out this study. In addition, most studies have focused on the traditional leaders and the elders of the society to determine the relevance of the custom (Kaarsholm, 2005; Madlala, 2001). Furthermore, there are studies that have focused on initiation schools as a strategy to safeguard against HIV/AIDS (Kinoti, 2005; Madlala, 2001). This study sought to fill the gap that exists in research by focusing on the challenges experienced at male initiation schools.

The results from this qualitative study indicate that adolescents identify male initiation schools as a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. All the male respondents who had undergone initiation schools reported that the procedure is both forced and voluntary. Their understanding and definitions of initiation schools are consistent with literature sources as indicated in Chapter Two. For example, Mabena (2002) argues that male initiation school is a place where boys are

taught respect, good manners about Xhosa culture. It is also a place where boys are circumcised and are taken to perform their traditional initiation activities.

The study reveals that today, the traditional initiation school has been turned into a quick business practice. People who are responsible to head the initiation school are the chiefs, traditional leaders and elders who have been initiated. Recently, anyone can open up a school illegally without experience. Even those who have been trained by medical doctors and certificated can open a school. Westernization influences people to go to hospitals instead of traditional initiation schools and that has reduced the importance of traditional initiation schools. This kind of tradition has been demoted into a simple Western way of life.

5.3 Findings of the study

The findings of this study with regard to the challenges experienced at male initiation school are also consistent with evidence which other scholars got. If a boy did not attend the initiation school, he is not taken seriously by his peers. The study reveals that if a boy is not circumcised at the initiation schools, they call him names and claim that he is not clean. Also, the use of language for teaching is oppressive and divisive. The language used to refer to any other non-initiated or 'unsuccessfully initiated' man is dehumanizing. The words such as '*inja*' (dog) and '*inqambi*' (unclean thing) and *oosondoda*, relegate the person to a non-human status. This can create space for violence and condescending attitudes against 'others'.

With regard to attendance, some of the boys are dragged to attend the initiation schools because of the influence of their peers and their parents. Some parents reported that their boys were forced into initiation schools by people who are going around and recruiting boys to initiation schools and they pointed out that they were promised many things like sweets, helicopters and beds.

The challenge of substance abuse seems to be increasing in the institution; the traditional surgeons are using drugs in front of initiates. Moreover, sometimes they use vulgar language and undermine women. This has a negative bearing on children who come back home with no or less respect for their mothers and sisters.

The rise of fly by night initiation schools show that traditional surgeons seem more concerned with the receiving of the money than the performance of the actual practice. The economic hardship is leading the traditional surgeons to charge more money for the initiation. On the contrary, some traditional leaders indicated that the money collected was not for personal use of

the traditional surgeons, but for the provisions used for the entire school session. Consequently, the study unveiled that some of the initiates' contract gangrene, septic wounds and botched circumcision as their health is jeopardized by money-mongers. This is also attributed to lack of skills and knowledge of traditional surgeons, thus leading to incorrect surgery such as botched circumcision. Also, the use of unsterilized instruments relate to the problem of the training and competence of traditional surgeons.

5.4 Recommendation of the study

In order to improve on the challenges experienced in initiation schools, the study offers the following recommendations:

(a) Legislative regulations

Parliamentary Legislative framework (policy) on initiation rites should be standardised and promulgated. Such national legislation should cover among the entitlement of provinces to develop their respective legislation in line with the cultural needs. The parliament should also come up with the framework that should address the timing of initiation schools and consider the preferences of the various communities, as well as factors considered conducive to the health and welfare needs of initiates.

Municipalities should also establish by-laws in consultation with local community leadership institutions, (including Traditional Leaders) to address the provision of the necessary infrastructure, such as land, clean water, space or centres or cultural villages where initiation structures may be located, taking into account the needs of the various communities as they, for example, require different distances and proximities from their domestic space.

(b) House of Traditional Leaders

Traditional leadership must have the powers over all matters of the initiation rite and initiation schools in particular. Only traditional leaders, in consultation with the council and the House of Traditional Leaders within their jurisdiction should be given the powers to:

- (i) Call for initiation schools and declare them open;
- (ii) Oversee their organization;
- (iii) Appoint traditional healers and entrust them with ritual and other related responsibilities.

- (iv) Ensure that all the necessary and preliminary requirements, parental consent, availability of resources including appropriate space, and health fitness of initiates are satisfied before the initiation schools can be opened.

(c) South African Police Services (SAPS) intervention

Intervention by the police should be carried out in relation to the initiation schools. The SAPS should investigate and weed out criminality such as substance abuse in order to protect the dignity of the practice. Peace, safety and security officers should visit the initiation schools to weed out criminality and deal with reported drug and alcohol abuse cases.

(d) Department of Health

The Department of Health must also be involved in the admission and running of the initiation schools to ensure that the health of initiates is safeguarded. As such, prospective initiates should go through a series of thorough medical check-ups before they undergo initiation rites, especially the ritual of circumcision. Traditional Health practitioners should be designated to deal with emergencies that may arise at initiation schools.

(e) Directions for Future Research

The study was conducted by a female researcher and as such the researcher had limitations on the aspects of initiation schools and its methodologies. For future research, the use of a male researcher would be advisable to allow more probing. Also, the use of triangulation method by using interviews, focus group discussions, and documentary sources should be utilized so that it can cover all the necessary characteristics of initiation schools. The use of observation is also encouraged. The observations of community initiation ceremonies must not be overlooked; for instance, when the traditional initiates arrive from the Initiation Mountains, the commercialisation of the initiation schools and the ceremonies that are performed before the arrival of initiates from initiation schools are important and relevant. A case study method could form part of the methodology to investigate a case or small number of cases. Qualitative methods of study should be used to capture the rate of increasing number of deaths at initiation schools, number of initiates per year and month.

5.5 Conclusions

In this dissertation, challenges experienced at male initiation schools were investigated. The objectives of the study were; to assess the regulations that govern the opening and running of the initiation schools, to assess the regulations that govern the opening and running of initiation schools and to identify palliatives that can be put in place to curb negative implications at

initiation schools. The study also unveiled that there are diverse challenges that were identified to be affecting males who attend initiation schools; conflicting practices and leadership crisis, poor environmental conditions of the initiation schools, inappropriate and unbalance diet, abduction of boys into initiation schools and absence of parental involvement. The fact is that traditional initiation school operations practiced by money-mongers and unqualified surgeons or healers are the main cause of the challenges experienced.

Appendix A: Consent Form

I am Tsetselelani Decide Mdluli and studying for Masters at the University of Venda. You are kindly invited to participate in this study on the following theme.

1) Procedures

I, _____ (Name), understand that participation in this research is voluntary and that I have the right to withdraw from participation at any time. I understand that I can contact about any concerns I have about this project and may also contact the following contacts with any questions concerning this research and about my rights as a participant:

- Professor Tshilidzi Mashamba (Tshilidzi.mashamba@univen.ac.za), and
- Doctor Pfarelo Matshidze (Pfarelo.Matshidze@univen.ac.za).

You may be asked to answer questions contained in a questionnaire as well as face to face discussions or individual group interviews.

2) Right to Refuse Participation

Participation in this project is voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw at any time. You may skip any questions you do not want to answer. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not in any way be prejudicial to you. This consent form may contain words that you may not understand. Therefore, feel free to stop me and ask any questions concerning the consent form and other things related thereto. I will take my time to answer and explain to you all you need to know.

3) Confidentiality

All information obtained in this project will be kept private and confidential and would be used for purposes of research only. You will be assigned a code or number that is unique to you for this study. No one will know whether you participated in this interview. All information will be stored in a locked file cabinet. It can be viewed only by authorised research staff members. No information about names will be released and recorded other than in terms of the consent forms. All personal information about you will be kept private. When the study is completed, all information linking participant's names to the study will be destroyed and your name would not be used in any report.

4) Risks and Benefits

Risks of participating in this study are minimal. Participating in this study will help the researchers to better understand the practical implications of witch-hunting. It may also tangentially benefit your community. There are no direct benefits to be given to participants.

5) Participants with limited legal capacity

I will endeavour to obtain consent of the guardians on behalf of persons with limited legal capacity and those with disabilities.

6) Informed Consent

By signing this consent form, you indicate that you have read the procedure described above and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the procedure and you have received a copy of this form. You also consent that this interview will be audio recorded.

7) Signature

Signature of participant: _____ **Date :** _____

With my signature, I affirm that I am 18 years of age and that I have received a copy of the consent form to keep.

Appendix B: un-structured Questions

1) The role of traditional leaders in setting up initiation schools.

- Who has the role or say in the setting up of initiation schools?
- Are traditional leaders having a role or say in the setting up of initiation schools?
- Do traditional surgeons lease with traditional leaders in setting up of initiation schools?

2) To determine and access regulations, if any, that govern the opening and running of initiation schools.

- Is there any law or rule that should be followed to set-up the Initiation School?
- If there is, who is the one who oversee such?
- Are there any mechanisms in place which can be used to punish those who do not comply or make them to comply?

3) Factors that lead to commercialisation of initiation schools.

- What is your view with regards to allegations of commercialisation of initiation schools?
- What do you think are the factors that to the com contribute commercialisation of initiation schools?

4) The dangers brought by initiation schools

- Are there unscrupulous traditional surgeons running initiation schools?
- What atrocities do you know that are happening at such initiation schools run by unscrupulous surgeons?
- Are such atrocities also happening at formal initiation schools?

5) Palliatives that can curb commercialisation of initiation schools.

- How can the issue of commercialisation of male circumcision be solved?
- What means have been put in place to solve or to avoid the commercialisation in the past?
- Why did you think such means are failing or thriving?

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