



C·O·M·M·I·S·S·I·O·N

**FOR THE PROMOTION & PROTECTION
OF THE RIGHTS OF CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS
& LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES**

R E P O R T O N
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The Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities

Research and Policy Development Unit

Edition 2010

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Postal Address

Private Bag X90 000

Houghton

2041

Physical Address

158 Jan Smuts Avenue

1st Floor West Wing

Rosebank

Johannesburg

Telephone: (011) 537 7600

Fax number: (011) 880 3495

Email: Chairperson@crlcommission.org.za

Website: <http://www.crlcommission.org.za>



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1. Glossary of Terms

- *Abakhwetha*: The initiates.
- *Abesowe*: The principals.
- *Amakhankhatha*: Traditional nurse.
- *Amabhoma*: Huts that are built and used to shelter initiates.
- *lingcibi*: Traditional surgeons.
- *Inkosi/Morena/khosi*: A Traditional Leader.
- *Koma/Ulwaluko/Lebollo/Mophato*: Initiation school (initiation rite).
- *Mahlo a thaba*: Traditional leadership structure or a community-based structure that oversees the setting up and running of the initiation schools.
- *Maine*: Medicine man.
- *Vhandabi*: Recent graduates.
- *Ramophato/Mosuwe*: The principal of the initiation school.
- *Swirubani*: Graduandi.
- *'Ho wela*: Crossing over, shedding the old self and embracing the new understanding of the self.
- *Usosuthu*: A man designated to host the initiation ceremony.




SECTION A

2. Foreword




The public hearings on the challenges and problems of male initiation are both an initiative and a response to the crisis threatening a cultural practice that has been conducted in African societies in South Africa and elsewhere from time immemorial. The recent problems occurring in male initiation schools have resulted in negative perceptions of the practice; perceptions which find expression in criticism directed at the initiation schools; especially, that they represent an outdated cultural practice. Furthermore, the initiation schools are seen by many as death-traps for young people.

The South African society is being confronted with issues that force it to re-examine its ways of doing things, and as historical memory of these cultural practices begins to fade, such reality creates opportunities for opportunists to take undue advantage of some communities.



Years of cultural erosion has undermined traditional lifestyles. Some communities have had to reinvent and reconstruct the practice of initiation from a blurred "historical memory", and many insist that culture should change and adapt to modernity. The question is what aspects of culture and cultural practices need revision.

During the course of the hearings on the problems of initiation schools, communities insisted that changes should not run too far ahead of the people. So, in a sense, while this inquiry on initiation practices was specifically directed to deliberate on the causes of accidents, injuries and deaths at initiation schools, it has also become a national debate on the entire body of practice of initiation and the rites of passage.



The present South African Constitution guarantees people rights that enable them to carry out their cultural practices. However, it must be recognised that the same Constitution is not neutral on values. It challenges South African citizens to exercise their rights according to the values that are entrenched within it. These include respect, human dignity and freedom. However, these rights sometimes clash and need to be discussed and negotiated.

Contemporary South African society requires initiation practitioners to re-examine their activities, if they are to be responsive to their changing social environment. The challenge is that, in the exercise and enjoyment of cultural rights, the rights of others and modern values should not be negatively impinged upon. In addition, while the South African society increasingly opens up shared cultural spaces, it should allow cultural spaces for individuals and groups to enjoy their specific cultural rights. This latter should not in turn deprive others of their cultural rights.



Rev. Dr Wesley Mabuza

Chairperson, CRL Rights Commission

3. Acknowledgements

The Commission for the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (henceforth The CRL Rights Commission/The Commission) is grateful to all the communities who participated in the public hearings that relate to problems in initiation schools. It is appreciative of the participants' willingness to share their views with the CRL Rights Commission, and providing insights into the challenges and opportunities of promoting and protecting initiation as an important cultural rite. The Commission thanks its partners and colleagues in the hearing process from the National House of Traditional Leaders, especially Kgosi Dikgale and Prince Makhaula; past Commissioner, Manthatha, of the South African Human Rights Commission; and past Commissioners: Boshago, Mgcina and Mndende of the CRL Rights Commission.

The Commissions also acknowledges the generosity of the past CEOs of the institutions (CRL Rights Commission, SAHRC and the NHTL) who saw the need to collaborate on this project when it was initiated: Ms. P. Madiba, Adv. T. Thipanyane and Mr. A. Sithole. Appreciation is directed to the staff of these institutions that provided invaluable support before, during and after the hearings of this project. The initial work on the initiation project was initiated by Dr. Mongezi Guma, former Chairperson of the CRL Rights Commission. The Commission is thankful for his immense contribution.

The Commission is indebted to the following structures and institutions for making this project successful: Provincial Houses of Traditional Leadership located in the affected provinces, Traditional Leaders who were involved in this project in various capacities, Community Councils, Elders' Council, the Office of the Public Protector in the Free State, Free State Department of Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation, Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Eastern Cape Department of Health and Municipalities in the Waterberg and Sekhukhune regions of Limpopo, Department of Traditional Affairs in Kuruman region in Northern Cape Mahikeng North-West.

The Research and Policy Development Unit (henceforth The Unit) and the Commission is grateful to its Chairperson, Rev. Dr Wesley Mabuza and its CEO Adv. P S. Moreroa for supporting this initiative. The Unit is also grateful for the direct and indirect instances of support, and encouragement received from the Research Committee while in pursuit of this project: Commissioners N. Zulu, G. Martin, M. Tyatyeka, M. Neluvhalani and M. Jobson.

Finally, and certainly top of our list, the Unit expresses its heartfelt gratitude to Ms B Kotelo for her splendid administrative support, Mr T Komane (SAHR); Mr M Lekhooa, Adv. A Madiba, Mr M. Mahanke and Ms N Matsaba (Free State); Mr F Cindi, Mr L Mnguni, Ms L Magadla (Eastern Cape Provincial House of Traditional Leadership); Mr Z Dweba, Mr W Madlavuza (Eastern Cape Dept of Health); Mr M Mpeqeka, Mrs S Sodo, Mrs N Nkohla and Dr. Mithobeli Guma





(Eastern Cape): Mr J Mamputa, Mr A Dyasi, Mr X Tshongolo, Mr P Nqolombe, Mr G Mamputa, Chief Zwelidanile Galada, Mr Z Pakade (Western Cape) for their active participation in the field work exercise.

A significant contribution by Mr Matthew Gopane, Research Manager – Culture, for taking full ownership of the compilation of the initial report, is highly acknowledged. Lastly, acknowledgement is also due to Dr. Monwabisi Ralarala, Senior Manager: Research and Policy Development, for his immense contribution in the partial write-up and ensuring that this project reaches completion.

(A detailed account of all the names of people who were involved in this research project (those who participated in both phase one and two) is indexed as appendix A in this report. The Commission is thankful to all of them all wholeheartily)



SECTION B

4. Key Words, Concepts and Methodology

This report conceptually employs a few key words and concepts which are fundamental to the work. These key words and concepts are **culture, initiation, rites of passage and circumcision**.

Culture is the totality of human creation and expression in both tangible and intangible forms. The tangible forms include all materials products of society created out of the genius of human beings. The intangibles consist of areas like language, beliefs, tastes, attitudes, rituals, religion, etc. which are also created by humans in order to facilitate their individual and collective existence. Culture and cultural products are constantly being changed and altered. They are handed over from generation to generation. Cultures are never static. They are dynamic realities which are in constant flux. Cultures diffuse and also absorb influences and traits from other cultures. It is cultures which distinguish us from the rest of the animal kingdom. Cultures make human beings in as much as humans make cultures. In today's world, cultural rights, in other words, the right to live and practice one's culture, so long as it does not infringe on the rights of others, is acknowledged as a human right by the global community. This applies equally to individuals and groups.

Initiation practices are universally common to many cultures. They come in many forms and institutional expressions. They are historical indicators used by human communities to mark the transit from one stage of life to another. It is in fact a rite of passage acknowledging the induction of an individual or individuals into a group or society. In a sense it recognizes a social rebirth for the individual or individuals. The group into which the induction is made could be an open society or a secret society. Initiation rites are sometimes secret ceremonies with degrees of esotericism. Universally known examples of initiation include the Christian baptism or the Jewish bar mitzvah. Another important set of initiation and the attendant rites are the puberty rites common to some societies. These puberty rites attest to the transition from childhood to adolescence or in some instances adulthood. In many African societies and beyond shamanism is invariably accessed through an initiation process. Such initiation processes always involve specific rituals and rites of passage which announce and herald the advent or the new status. Male circumcision is in many cases part and parcel of the institution of initiation. It can also in some societies be a practice standing on its own.

Male circumcision which consists of the removal of some or all of the foreskin from the penis has been present in many human communities and societies from the earliest times. The oldest available documentary records of circumcision are from ancient Egypt. On the African continent clearly male circumcision has a history buried in the eons of time. It is mostly carried out on adolescent boys to announce and symbolize their transition to warrior status or adulthood. Although the origins of male circumcision cannot be ascertained, it is largely assumed by anthropologists to have started as a religious sacrificial rite of passage to mark a boy's entry into adulthood.





In the instances under consideration here, they mark the change from boyhood to adulthood. Initiation often appears also as the ushering in of age-sets into adulthood and community responsibilities. In various cultures and societies, they come with different obligations and responsibilities. The rites and devotions which are attached to initiation symbolically lift the practice to sacredness. Ultimately, initiation and rites of passage are age-long institutions which make individuals more fully part of the community. With initiation individuals or groups graduate into seniority or some elevation in status within specific communities. Initiation and the rites of passage that are attached bestow identity to individuals and groups.

Methodology: in collecting data for this report, two phases of the work had to be jointly undertaken by 3 institutions: the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Culture, Religion and Linguistic Communities (CRL Rights Commission), the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL).

The data for the project was collected as follows:

- (i) Public hearings in 3 provinces (Free State, Western Cape and Eastern Cape) in 2006/7.
- (ii) Round Table discussions in 7 provinces (Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Free State and North West) in 1 -4 designated areas in each province – during 2011.

In respect of phase one, the institutional partners resolved to employ the South African Human Rights Act 54 of 1994 in running the processes and procedures of the hearings.

The following steps were followed:

A call seeking public submissions from interested parties was made in state through the media.

The said submissions were lodged with or posted to the offices of the CRL Rights Commission.

The parties resolved to assist persons (should there be a need) in formulating their submissions. The submissions were in writing and names, addresses and other contact details of the respondent were disclosed. Anonymous submissions were not considered.

The parties resolved that the submissions be published. However, if a respondent objected, such a wish, together with non-disclosures made under the cover of the Protected Disclosures Act No 26 of 2000, were respected. Nevertheless, such confidential submissions did not form the basis of the findings against individuals or institutions.

Submissions closed on the 15th of September 2006. However, the Head of the Legal Department, at his discretion, considered late submissions.

Pursuant to the provisions of the Act, a panel presided over the public hearings, and the past Chairperson of the CRL Rights Commission, as designated by the panel, chaired the



proceedings.

In respect of phase two, a research panel, constituted by officials and Commissioners from CRL Rights Commission, conducted Round Table consultations in order to enhance and augment the report: Report on Public Hearings on Initiation Schools in South Africa with a view to table it in parliament. In addition, the panel considered the following steps:

For purposes of a thorough and representative consultation, a number of central areas – through the support of the Provincial offices of the Houses of Traditional Leaders, South African Human Rights and, in some cases, the Public Protector- Free State and the Dept of Health-Eastern Cape were visited. These central areas comprise the following:

- (i) Lusikisiki, Nyandeni, Mthatha and Ncera Village (Eastern Cape)
- (ii) Langa and Khayelitsha (Western Cape)
- (iii) Bloemfontein (Free State)
- (iv) Malamulele, Sekhukhune and Waterberg (Limpopo)
- (v) Kwamhlanga (Mpumalanga)
- (vi) Mafikeng (North-West)
- (vii) Kuruman (Northern Cape)

Critical stake holders (such as the Community Councils, Youth organizations, Elder's Councils, relevant government structures etc.) represented by not less than 60 resource persons were in the forefront of the process of data collection.

The proceedings were recorded and transcribed, and the collected data were analysed and consolidated in this document: *Report on Public Hearings on Male Initiation Schools in South Africa*.

This process was designed to be informative, exhaustive and as inclusive as possible. The outcome – drawn from the discussions – was not necessarily aimed at reaching consensus or agreeing to disagree. Rather, the object was to use the cultural incidents in order to arrive at viable solutions that will inform individuals and collectives to take action regarding the seasonal death toll of initiates.

The specific role of the facilitator involved initial consultations, conducted on the basis of the presentations of the recommendations of the existing report, in plenary. Secondly, the exercise involved discussions in groups, key questions as (i) the distinction between initiation and culture, (ii) human rights and culture, (iii) gender roles in the initiation practice and the role of government structures, and, (iv) best practices informed by guidelines/legislation in various provinces.

The parties resolved that the draft reports be sent – subsequent to the Round Table discussions – to the various provinces for commentaries before the final integration of the information into the existing document.

The final report was informed by an analysis of the information obtained from these processes.



5. Introduction

In South Africa, African male initiation is traditionally used as a transitional rite of passage from 'boyhood to manhood', conferring on the individual the right to participate in the decision-making processes of the clan and the family; to share in the privileges, duties and responsibilities of the community and, in many instances, to take a wife and raise a family. It must be noted that among the Venda, Pedi and Tsonga, found mainly in the northern parts of Southern Africa, the initiates can be as young as 9 years. However, in these latter cases, the young man is not expected to undergo additional rites before getting married. Male initiation parallels female initiation as a rite of passage, either from childhood to the teenage phase or from the teenage phase to adulthood, according to the practices of different cultural communities.

In all instances, it confers changed social status on the individual. There are instances of even older men being persuaded to undergo initiation. The vhaVenda and the Basotho call it '*u wela*', and '*ho wela*' respectively, both with the same understanding of the notion of crossing-over, shedding the old self and embracing a new understanding of the self.

Even though the practice has survived the passage of time, it is faced with the need for some modernization and its attendant challenges. Its resilience is being tested against its capacity to adjust to and accommodate these modern tendencies, and at the same time finding its rightful place and expression. Beyond that, today, male initiation faces the challenge of a public outcry about its various problems.

The public hearings process acknowledged that (male and female) initiation rite is a very wide area of cultural practice often characterised of its own complexities. Some of the knowledge of this practice is expressed in myriad of voices some from initiates themselves, women in general and parents in particular, traditional leadership and practitioners such as principals and traditional nurses – all of which are important voices to this investigation. . The scope of this investigation was however constrained to the rite of male initiation schools and the problems it encounters, the systems governing the rite and most importantly to respond to the problems of injuries and fatalities of initiates in various regions in South Africa.

The scope of this investigation is further influenced or constrained by the very nature of the practice of initiation. The investigation of initiation practice is restrained by its ethos of sacredness and secrecy. While it is desirable to have all the voices equally reflected during the hearing process, the public hearings by their very nature do not always provide such a guarantee. Whilst efforts are made to have a balanced representation that will reflect the various voices affected by the practice, the public hearings of this nature are open and participation is rather random. Furthermore, there are cultural exigencies that guide and inform such participation from various members of the community.

Under colonial and apartheid rule in South Africa, the initiation rite underwent severe subjugation and prejudice. Yet, despite the apartheid system's cultural oppression and marginalization, the



rite thrived in many communities. The reasons for the resilience and sustained integrity of this institution in the face of oppression and poor conditions, merits examination in order to provide lessons on how to deal with modern challenges.

In the wake of the democratic and emancipatory ethos of the 1994 Constitutional and democratic dispensation, the debate on the dignity and role of *Ulwaluko/ Koma/Lebollo* (initiation) emerged. The debate which was prompted by the problems encountered in initiation schools can be understood as an aspect of the challenges posed by modern realities to old African cultural practices.

Given the principles of sacredness and secrecy of the practice of initiation, open and public debates and the apparent problems faced by the institution present a circumstantially problematic reality. The problems relate to the violation of the rights of initiates, botched surgery and, worse still, the death of initiates during the rite. These debates are taking place in the context of a country that is endeavouring to heal the divisions of the past, to promote respect and tolerance of its diverse cultures, and in particular to protect those cultural practices that were marginalized, and are still threatened in the new dispensation.

The problems of the initiation schools constitute an emotive cultural and spiritual issue; therefore the debates and discussions that attempt to find solutions must be conducted with extreme caution. They should be discussions that seek to uphold the spirit and ideals of the country's Constitution, that is, respect and tolerance of the diverse cultures and the right of individuals, communities or groups to practise and enjoy these rights, while observing and respecting the rights of others.

Problems emanating from initiation schools are not a recent phenomenon. Many studies, conferences and ultimately institutional and legislative interventions have been undertaken in this respect. While this report will highlight the initial intervention programmes, it will also attempt to explain why the problems posed by initiation schools persist, even after some corrective interventions were made. It is also important to note that this report, while it may comment on the initiation rite, does not seek to assess initiation as an institution, but rather the manner in which the institution is conducted. For example, the inquiry does not intend to enter into a debate on either the abolition or the continuation of the initiation rite. Yet, it warrants mention that such distinctions are important, because there appears to be a somewhat blanket approach to the issue, which unduly undermines the institution itself rather than dealing with its implementation weaknesses. Discussing the problems of initiation schools leads to other important issues relating to the country's human rights-based ethos.

Throughout the ages, the various African rites of passage: birth, puberty, adulthood, ageing and death - all have not been treated as simply individual experiences, rites and rights. In African tradition, individual self-understanding, identity and self-actualization are deeply embedded within the structure and coherence of the community. In other words, community rights are important in informing the individual's rite of passage, rights and responsibilities.





The initiation rite is seen as an embodiment of the ideals, values and aspirations of both the individual and the community, reflected in the transmission of certain knowledge and practices during the rite. Given this, initiation cannot simply be reduced to an individual experience outside of community values, aspirations and heritage. The institution of initiation and its protection is a community's cultural, spiritual and religious right. The Constitution is very clear on the protection and advancement of these rights, which it guaranteed by establishing the various Constitutional bodies that function independently of government in safeguarding cultural rights and thereby strengthening Constitutional democracy in the Republic.

The public hearings on initiation schools conducted by the the CRL Rights Commission, South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), and the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL) (hereafter the stakeholders) come amidst nationwide reports and concerns prompted by the rising number of deaths and the various health risks to which initiates are exposed in initiation schools in parts of the country.



The stakeholders pointed out that initiation schools are part of our cultural practices in South Africa, and are protected by the Constitution. The schools are regarded as cultural educational institutions where initiates are taught the values inherent in courtship, social responsibility, discipline and acceptable conduct, as well as about their culture. The values filtered down to younger boys as they grow into manhood are critical to their social and psychological development in the middle stage of childhood and adulthood. The adolescent stage, according to Mead (1973), if not monitored, could be destructive for the individual adolescent, the family and the community. Mead (ibid) goes on to describe this stage as a delicate stage. The boy is neither a child any longer, nor is he a man, developmentally excluded from the community. She argued that; "This is the time when teenagers begin to look beyond themselves and they are in this stage faced with two choices: to join the ranks of responsible adults or follow the band with his peers in an alternative society" (Mead, 1973, p. 3). The role of initiation therefore becomes critical in helping to steer a young man towards becoming a fully responsible man of dignity in his community.



However, many initiates have lost their reproductive organs owing to the negligence of traditional surgeons. Some surgeons have been found operating under the influence of alcohol. They often use unsterilized instruments, which may contribute to the spread of blood-related diseases such as HIV/AIDS and tetanus.

It has been established that some initiation schools are opened for purely economic reasons, and initiates are required to pay exorbitant fees. In addition, some traditional surgeons abuse their positions of power. They are often inadequately trained to perform traditional circumcision (CRL Rights Commission, 2006).

It is emphasized in this project that the debates on *Ulwuluka/ Koma/ Lebollo* should reflect the values and spirit of the Constitution and its provisions, such as, the right to human dignity, life, freedom and security; the right to health-care, food, water and social security; the right to language and culture.

6. The Mandate of the CRL Rights Commission

The CRL Rights Commission is one of the institutions established by the Constitution to strengthen Constitutional democracy in the Republic of South Africa¹ and was given effect by Act 19 of 2002.² By this Act, the Commission is mandated to, inter alia:

1. promote respect for and further the protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities;
2. promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance, national unity among and within cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association;
3. foster mutual respect among cultural, religious and linguistic communities;
4. promote the right of communities to develop their historically diminished heritage.

There is overwhelming and indisputable evidence suggesting that the institution of initiation has immemorial history in South Africa, the rest of Africa and the world. This practice, to which communities owe their identity, ideals, values and heritage, is rooted within communities rather than in external structures. Elsewhere in this report, it is argued that the practice of initiation is a community right. In other words, it is the community that can claim the right rather than its individual members. This means that the individual's right to the cultural practice stems from the community's culture.

The CRL Rights Commission is charged by the Constitution to assist communities in promoting and protecting their cultures and recovering their diminished heritage. It is a fact that, as a result of the colonial and apartheid experience, this sacred practice, the initiation rite has become, or is becoming, victim to the diminution of community cultural heritage. The recent and continuing spate of deaths and other challenges of modern society are impinging negatively on the integrity of this institution. Some popular ideas of modernity negatively regard rites of passage in general. In certain sectors of South African society, the very continuation of initiation is being questioned, and it is even argued that it is a backward and an irrelevant cultural practice that has become a death sentence for many young people.

Clearly, there is an urgent need for the Commission, charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of communities to assist in addressing the problems faced by cultural communities, with particular reference to the institution of initiation. In sum, the role of the Commission, in fulfilling its mandate, is to assist communities in safeguarding the integrity of their cultural practices and the institution of initiation. Furthermore, the Commission should help them recover the diminished meanings, symbolisms, values and heritage that guided and informed the practice of initiation over the centuries.

¹ The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Section 31(1) stipulates that persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community – a) to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language.

² The objects of the Commission are set out in section 4 of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, Act 19 of 2002. Read this with section 185(1) of the Constitution.



7. The Historical Background of Initiation

The practice of the initiation rite and its challenges in contemporary South Africa is arguably informed not merely by the challenges of modernization and democratization, but also the human rights ethos of the new South Africa. The traditional initiation rite is to a great extent also influenced and has been shaped by the historical challenges – social, political and economic, particularly those emanating from the colonial and apartheid systems. This section reflects on the factors that inform and shape the initiation rite and initiation schools both in the colonial and post-apartheid periods. It further considers the various interactions, forums and measures that are aimed at intervening in the challenges and problems of the initiation rite and initiation schools in the post-apartheid South Africa.

7.1 The Initiation Rite: A Rite of Passage

As earlier indicated, cultures worldwide practice significant rituals that define the individual's social standing and status from one phase of life to the next. Transition from one state or status to the next is potentially disruptive to both the smooth functioning of the community and the psychological development and functioning of an individual. Many of these rituals are rites of passage, which are central defining features of many African societies. Van Gennep (1960) who coined the phrase 'rites of passage' to define the ritual practice, delineated it as a set of symbolic actions, either in ritual or ceremony, as a process intended to mark a transition in the human life cycle of both the individual and the community.

According to Van Gennep (1960), rites of passage are diverse, and are often recognized as such in the cultures in which they occur. In practice, society or the community holds such rituals in high esteem, and they play significant roles in defining how the community and/or individuals in the community define themselves and their values. He suggests that rites of passage are rituals and ceremonies surrounding events such as childbirth, puberty, initiation, circumcision, menopause, ageing and death. While the rituals and ceremonies differ in their details, he observes that they are for the most part universal. In some societies, such rituals are religious and are conducted for religious purposes, as is the case in almost all religious faiths in South Africa. In others, they are traditional, spiritual and cultural.

Today, the practice of initiation as a rite of passage is often viewed too simply and superficially. Many commentators and policy-makers equate initiation solely with circumcision. This, in turn, perpetuates the misconception and stereotypes associated with the institution, especially in South Africa.

Though inaccurate, this simplistic view of initiation; equating it with circumcision, is possibly reinforced by the fact that many initiation rites, especially those for males, are regarded as incomplete without the traditionally performed ritual of circumcision. Indeed, this is a crucial ritual affirming the male's passage to manhood. In some South African cultures, the rite is not complete, the transition and its symbolism are viewed as not being complete, and as such a male initiate is not viewed as having fulfilled all the requirements of being a complete man unless circumcision has taken place. It is this important aspect of the initiation rite that today



poses a severe challenge to public health in the country; particularly those relating to HIV/AIDS and other STIs.

As earlier indicated, the initiation rite comes at a critical phase in a male's life. It marks the transition from boyhood to manhood. It is a process through which the individual is equipped to pass from one stage to the next, when he is welcomed and socialized into the values of a family and community. The initiation rite, mostly for adolescents, is a ritual that mediates the shift of an individual from the socially-recognized status of child to that of an adult (Broude, 2005). Beyond instilling the values of exercising discipline and being a responsible member of a family and community, initiation "allows [for a] young person's knowledge and mental outlook that are compatible with some features of his culture" (ibid). These are important values if one wishes to become a man of dignity in communities that cherish such values. The male initiation rite has other important functions, such as creating solidarity among men, especially where male ties are important. It is institutional practice which maintains solidarity within a historical group.

The understanding of initiation as a rite of passage among the testimonies of those communities practicing it seems to carry a more profound meaning than is expressed in the simple definition encountered in most literature on the initiation rite as a transitional institution for moving from childhood to adulthood. Many outsiders also tend to simplify the notion of initiation. The initiation rite is firmly entrenched in a community's values, beliefs, identity and spirituality (Turner, 1969).

The legal age limit of 16 years for undergoing initiation can be seen as indicative of a simplified definition of initiation and its purposes in African traditions. A similar point can be made with reference to the initiation process as a 'school'. This latter point raises questions as to whether the word *Ulwaluko/Koma/Lebollo* as used by the cultural communities – attaching profound cultural meaning to it – does, in fact, carry the same meaning as initiation "school".

While there is inherently nothing wrong with the use of the word "school" when referring to an initiation rite, it potentially allows imprecise interpretations, the most obvious being that of a "school" in the Western sense. This opens it up to misunderstanding. The term 'school' could lead to simplification of the critical cultural and spiritual values of the initiation rite. South Africans should be able to use their indigenous names which define better and more precisely what they mean.

7.2 The Initiation Rite in the Colonial Period

The scholarship on the impact of colonialism on traditional African cultures and customs is vast. It is however necessary to briefly highlight some of the intrusive and unhelpful practices of the colonial experience with regard to African initiation rites. Reflection on the historical reality of the initiation rite will help place in clear perspective some of the real and perceived challenges to the rite in South Africa. In the course of this discussion, it must be noted that, even under conditions of colonial subjugation, the rite thrived in many African countries, including South Africa.

It is commonly recognized that acculturation was a cornerstone of the colonial strategies





for ruling African people. This meant that Africans were forced to abandon their indigenous practices and structures and adopt the more, so-called 'enlightened' modern Western colonial belief systems and practices. Different terminologies were used by the colonialists in their attempts to reduce African cultural practices to inferior status while at the same time affirming the cultural superiority of the colonial masters. Practices like initiation, were referred to as 'barbaric'. Missionaries made reference to initiation as 'pagan belief'. All these qualifications were intended to eventually eliminate the practice.

Definitions of the initiation rite by many scholars and practitioners who favoured the colonial project and its tenets were mainly a reflection and consolidation of stereotypes about African cultures and prejudices inherent in the Western colonial system. For example, in the study conducted in Malawi on the Chewa, Kaspin (1990) states that: 'purpose of male initiation is to turn boys into sexual men and predator men of the Nyau....Female initiation is the complement of male initiation, for its purpose is to turn girls into succulent' (1990:43, p.2).



The cultural practice was shunned and with the expansion of the missionary project of Christianization, it became difficult for the institution of initiation to find legitimate expression. In many parts of the continent, communities resorted to secrecy. In South Africa, the practice was often referred to as *donker skool* in Afrikaans ('dark school' in English), indicating the barbarism and backwardness of the practice. The 'dark school' was a rhetorical phrase, which even many of the then African urban middle-class came to use in expressing hatred of, or dissociation from this cultural practice. Despite the apartheid subjugation and marginalization of many African cultural practices, the initiation rite and circumcision ritual continued to thrive. The rite is deeply embedded in African society, and the value placed on it by communities gives it the resilience it enjoys today. This can be attributed to a number of reasons; some of which are indicated below:



First, despite the constant harassment by the apartheid authorities, the rural communities in particular retained a relatively strong social system starting with the family and going up all the way to the political structures centered in Traditional Leadership. The values and traditions of the community were strictly adhered to and enforced by all its members, especially the elders.

Secondly, the apartheid Pass Laws restricted the movement of Black South Africans, individual mobility was restricted, but those who had left their homes to work on the mines and in the cities came back to their communities when initiation time arrived for them or their children. In addition, even while the practice was carried on under difficult circumstances, no frequent cases of death occurred.

7.3 Initiation Schools in Post-apartheid South Africa

The new Constitution and the creation of new values affected initiation in a largely negative way. For example, the urbanization phenomenon in the new dispensation meant that people departed their rural homes for the towns and cities, contributing to a collapse in the

management of the practice. The traditional role and status of traditional leaders and elders as principals and overseers of initiation schools either collapsed or declined. The problems now facing the initiation schools could also be indicative of the collapse or loss of the significance of the traditional authority structures in many communities and the assertiveness of young people as important players in the resulting vacuum.

From 1994, with the new democratic and Constitutional dispensation, emphasis on individual human rights became important. This meant that what was regarded as representative of community identity changed as people tended to follow novel inclinations. Long-held cultural values have declined. For example, while it was a community expectation for all young people to be initiated at a particular age, individual youngsters have now the right to choose not to participate in the initiation practice.

Furthermore, the government, through various departments and agencies, presents the country as a beacon for the ideals of cultural diversity. In this new climate, many young people are finding ways of making money out of the initiation practice (Refer to 10.7 for a detailed discussion).

Thus many youth have assumed active roles in many aspects of cultural practices, including the initiation rite, which in some instances, is carried out by inexperienced traditional surgeons and principals, resulting in injuries and even the death of some initiates. The rise of unemployment and the lack of access to economic participation among young people have also contributed to the mushrooming of illegal initiation schools in various urban areas.

The problem of HIV/AIDS and other STIs has brought further complications to the initiation practice. When inexperienced practitioners conduct the circumcision ritual during initiation, it sometimes leads to infections. Such problems are an embarrassment to those who still value the rite as an integral aspect of their community life. The essence of the practice is seen to have lost and it is losing its cultural value, its secrecy and its sacredness.

7.4 Initiation Schools and the Role of the Media

In any democratic society, the right to freedom of speech and press is taken as one of the cornerstones of democracy. The media is arguably the most appropriate and aggressive vehicle in ensuring the protection and furtherance of this right. However, it is a matter of debate how the South African media has conducted itself on this issue. In exercising the right to freedom of speech and expression, the media also has to exercise this right responsibly (Anon, 2011:6). In other words, the media has a responsibility to further the ideals and values of society as espoused by the Constitution of the Republic.

Whether the media is living up to this expectation or not is a matter of opinion. However, there is a growing sense among many cultural communities that the South African media has played a role in portraying negatively African cultural practices, by promoting stereotypes,



misconceptions and demeaning perspectives about African culture in general and the practice of initiation in particular. This is not to suggest that the African culture cannot be criticized in any way. Like many other world cultures, African cultures have not been without challenges, some emanating from the manner in which cultures respond to the pressures of modernity.

7.5 Initiation Schools in South Africa: A Fifteen-year Review

This public inquiry into the problems of initiation schools has not been the first to seek solutions to the many issues surrounding the practice of initiation. The discussions regarding initiation schools have taken place at various forums. It must be pointed out that these forums were not intended merely to discuss problems of male initiation, but rather to find proactive ways of strengthening the integrity of the institution amidst the existing challenges and negative perceptions.

The hosting of *The 2004 Traditional Initiation Schools Conference* was an indication of sensitivity for the problems of initiation schools. During these deliberations, a great many issues and problems were raised. First, the conference agreed about the positive role that the initiation rite can play towards building African communities, especially in the context of the moral decay, social disintegration and increasing irresponsibility of many young people. The increased number of unwanted teenage pregnancies, the high crime levels and the abuse of drugs and other substances young people could be said to indicate the collapse of both our moral social fibre and an ailing family structure in our communities.

The conference argued that the institution of initiation plays a critical role in building and preparing young people to deal with the challenges and pressures both in and out of their communities. Because the initiation rite in practice was an embodiment of the moral values and ideals of communities, it was clear that this institution plays a pivotal role in contributing to building and strengthening the social and moral fibre of African communities today. The institution facilitates the maintenance of social cohesion and the ethical basis of *ubuntu* that has from time immemorial governed and guided the institution.

While not making excuses for the malpractices, crimes and violations committed on initiates in South Africa since the beginning of the democratic era, the conference recognized that the problems plaguing initiation schools were a reflection of the broader challenges facing the new democratic society. To a great extent, these problems are an end product of the destruction by the colonial and apartheid systems of the spiritual, cultural and ethical basis of the institution of initiation.

However, according to the conference, the challenges that the African indigenous cultural and spiritual practices, including initiation, face and are forced to cope with, could not be viewed simply in the light of the apartheid and colonial experience. If the practice of initiation is to thrive in an ever-changing modern society, the realities of current challenges have to be acknowledged, and some of the practices reconsidered and realigned where necessary. Most



developed and developing societies world-wide make progress by realigning some of their cultural practices without altering the values and ideals that are fundamental to their various cultural and spiritual practices and beliefs.

The experiences of these societies provide useful lessons for solving the crisis in initiation schools, engaging cultural communities and answering difficult historical questions. For example, there are questions such as: How did this sacred institution lose respect and integrity? What are the values that have to be restored? What should the role of the traditional authorities be? What should the role of young people be, especially in changing circumstances; socially, politically and economically?

In October 2006, the House of Traditional Leaders prepared a discussion document on the initiation rite and the problems surrounding it. This document was part of the broader processes that propose measures to restore dignity and respect to the institution because it had been compromised by incidents in parts of the country. The discussion document, informed by the different modern challenges, and the recognition of the important role that the initiation rite plays in many communities, proposed creative ways in which the practice could be made relevant and could contribute to broader national challenges. For example, there was the question of how the practice could be used to contribute, in a holistic manner, to issues of youth participation to programmes for the development of youth in the country.

In an attempt to bring stability, accountability and certainty to the institution of initiation, the document proposed the National Initiation Curriculum Framework (NICF). Within this framework, the document deals with the stages in the process of setting-up and running an initiation school; and making concrete proposals on the management of these various stages. The proposed framework will help provide a national guideline without prescribing what has to be done to create successful initiation schools.

The primary question, given the work that has been undertaken to address the problems and challenges of initiation schools, pertains to the persistence of these problems. Does such persistence mean lack of political commitment and coordination or even mere ignorance of the recommendations and the related laws?

7.6 Initiation Rite: Legislative Overview

As threats to the lives of initiates escalated, some provincial governments and municipalities established legislation and by-laws to regulate certain aspects of the cultural practice. Different provincial legislations regulate medical, environmental and governance aspects of the institution, while municipal by-laws regulate community governance with specific reference to the role of traditional leadership, traditional surgeons and healers.

These legislations constitute an overall progressive intervention in the critical aspects and challenges of initiation schools. An interesting aspect of these pieces of legislation is their





location within the Department of Health. This suggests that government's intervention in the initiation schools is concerned primarily with the health aspects of initiation, with the main emphasis on circumcision. However, as we see from the submissions during these hearings, the initiation rite and initiation schools require holistic rather than cosmetic intervention.

The decision to locate the issues of initiation in the Health Department raises the question of cultural and other challenges relating to initiation schools. While the Act is explicit on the need to establish, inter alia, experience as one aspect of an application to hold an initiation school, it does not clearly address other issues that are possibly also as important as the health of the initiates. For example, how does government deal with challenges relating to assistance for poor families or destitute initiates? How does it help address the challenges pertaining to other services, such as, water or supplements? The continued mushrooming of initiation schools, at which initiates often sustain injuries and illnesses, suggests that not much is being done to proactively engage communities in making sure they act within the ambit of the law prior to the initiation season. This requires monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the initiation legislations. It would appear that the initiation schools legislations, even if they have the potential to create an environment conducive to successful initiation schools, have so far not been effectively implemented.



The laws and policies applied in various provinces with regard to initiation and initiation schools differ. For example, in the Eastern Cape the Traditional Circumcision Act 5/2001 (Application of Health Standards) does not conceptually distinguish between the initiation practice as a whole and the circumcision component. One standard Initiation School's Bill should be introduced for the whole of South Africa, addressing the conceptual framework of initiation as cultural practice; health, security, space and infrastructural issues; justice and governance issues; and monitoring and quality assurance. The Free State Initiation School's Act 1/2004 in contrast, focuses more predominantly on health issues. What the Free State experience points to, amongst other things, is that it would be best to use indigenous terms to describe and cover the initiation practice. A unified Bill should be able to provide scope for differences in the implementation of the initiation rite from community to community. During the hearings in the Northern Cape, in the Kuruman region, the view was that legislation should clarify and formalize the roles of the various stakeholders. This province has very clear processes for opening initiation schools. It was found that in the Malamulele, Sekhukhune and Waterberg regions of Limpopo where the *Dikgosi* appear to function more prominently as overseers for the opening and running of initiation schools, malpractices seem to be under better control. It is worthy of note that similar patterns of best practices were echoed in Langa in the Western Cape, where co-ordination of the initiation practice is within the hands of community structures rather than Traditional Leaders due to the urban nature of the area. The view here in all the cited regions has been that a national policy/legislation governing initiation would assist to streamline current practices in all parts of the province. In the Kwamhlanga region of Mpumalanga where there were zero fatalities during the last initiation season, policy and practice is more needed to support *Amakhosi* in their work. Legislation should be clear about their powers. The province is receptive to the idea of national legislation to help improve the running of initiation schools.



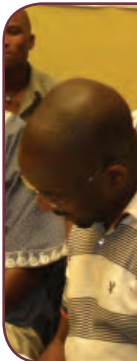
During the hearings, various voices drew attention to the need for government to develop a national legislative framework that is sensitive to the varied practices in the different provinces of the country.

In the North-West, stress was put on an urgent need for a national and provincial legislation that will give powers to the police services to monitor initiation schools for any forms of criminality and the need to be able to enforce the law against illegal traditional surgeons and principals. Issues like the age of admission at initiation schools; the administration and governance of initiation schools; the issuing of permits; health considerations; criminality; the powers of Traditional Leadership in the processes of initiation; can be best dealt with in an overall national policy or legislative formulation.

Not all provincial governments have enacted pertinent legislation on problems that are manifested from time to time in initiation schools, or the factors that influence them. This lacuna could be attributed to the non-existence of a national legislative framework that would guide the legislative process provincially. In turn, not all municipalities would consider it necessary to address the problems and related challenges in accordance with their constitutional competencies.

Where there is legislation or policy guidelines, there are still some shortcomings when it comes to initiation, as legislation and policy do not address all the problems. They address only those relating to circumcision, without including the relevant social and cultural systems or their contexts. The overarching pitfall in all these legislative regimes is the presumption of the superiority of Western ways as reflected in the various powers given to government officials. The various legislations do not acknowledge and recognize the existence of indigenous problem-solving mechanisms. Most of the policy guidelines remove from the practice its cultural meaning; thus contributing in effect to cultural erosion. They give more powers to government bureaucrats, so they become like chief magistrates who regard themselves as 'bureaucratic potentates' directing everybody else under their unchallenged authority.

This report notes that, because of the injuries and fatalities resulting from the practices in some initiation schools, the initiation rite has virtually become a matter of public health. The recent findings by medical researchers suggest that circumcision contributes to the reduction of chances of contracting sexually-transmitted illnesses, including HIV. This reality affirms the need to call for government to address the area of initiation practice. There is general agreement by practitioners that the current legislative framework on initiation is not user-friendly and to a great extent unduly interferes with the practice. However, there is also consensus that the government still has a role to play and a responsibility to establish regulations on health standards (these must include other health-related issues such as water or food) relating to the way in which the institution, especially the aspect of circumcision, is carried out.





8. Statement of the Problem

As has been pointed out, male initiation is traditionally used as a transitional rite of passage from 'boyhood to manhood'. Despite this traditionally important role, male initiation continues to generate public outcry. The challenges facing the institution of initiation include:

- botched surgeries;
- dubious traditional practitioners (surgeons, amakhankatha and ramphato);
- penis amputations;
- deaths of initiates.

It is primarily these problems which prompted the inquiry and report into the initiation schools in South Africa with a view to finding lasting solutions.



9. Objectives of the Hearings

The public hearings set out to achieve the following:

- Assess present practice in setting up and running *ulwaluko/koma/lebollo/mophato*;
- Identification of existing community-based support structures for initiation schools;
- Determining the cause of the high number of injuries and deaths at the initiation schools;
- Determining whether or not the existing legislative and policy provisions relating to male initiation are sufficient to address any emergent problems;
- Solicitation of ideas and recommendations towards possible solutions to the problems of male initiation.



SECTION C

10. Discussions: Factors Influencing Male Initiation

This section presents the various views emerging from the submissions and representations of the different communities during the public hearings. These submissions relate to the range of issues and challenges that are regarded as affecting initiation schools in South Africa. However, while the investigations into the causes of injuries and deaths in initiation schools were the primary object of the hearings, it appeared that explanations and reasons provided by many submissions to this enquiry pointed not only to initiation schools but also to the broader problems surrounding the initiation rite as a practice.

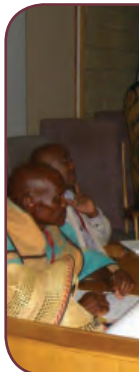
The different opinions from the hearings vis à vis the issues affecting initiation can be categorized as;

- challenges in setting up and running the initiation schools;
- diminishing appreciation of the cultural value of male initiation;
- inappropriate circumcision seasons;
- unfavourable health conditions;
- causes of death in initiation schools;
- negative public influence on the initiation rite; and
- the commercialization of initiation schools.

10.1 Present Practice in Setting Up and Running Initiation Schools

It appears from the submissions that one of the most pressing problems concerning initiation schools relates to the setting-up and running of the schools. The participants argued that the traditional systems and processes of setting up initiation schools have either collapsed or have been compromised. That much said, in all the provinces that were visited (that is, North-West, Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State, Eastern Cape and Western Cape- primarily in Khayelitsha)), the notion that "*Koma ke ya Kgosi*"; was strongly echoed by both Traditional Leaders and communities, meaning that in terms of tradition it is inconceivable for anyone to open *koma* without the permission of Traditional Leaders. These communities argued that only a Traditional Leader, in consultation with the traditional council, is the only authority in matters of:

- calling for initiation schools and declaring them open;
- overseeing their organization;
- appointing the traditional healers and entrusting them with ritual responsibilities ; and
- ensuring that all the necessary and preliminary requirements (i.e. parental consent, availability of resources, health fitness of initiates) are satisfied before the initiation schools can open.





Currently, the opposite is the case in as far as opening and running of initiation schools are concerned. There is a decentralized source of authority with a lack of 'checks and balances' which guarantee the accountability of those running the schools. The practice of initiation is not seen as an important matter for policing by those authorized under law, and worse, it opens a critical loophole for so-called 'fly-by-night initiation schools' and principals. Schools established without authorization have often unqualified individuals masquerading as principals.

These current malpractices seem to have eroded the traditional 'checks and balances' of the initiation schools. In many instances, inexperienced people are now responsible for setting-up these schools. The apparent breakdown of authority structures has created a further loophole for criminality. Livestock is stolen, boys are abducted and initiates assaulted. Guns are carried at *mophatong*. All these developments have altered the authentic process and changed it to one of merely sending boys to the locale for the rites, and excluding all other preparatory or attendant processes. The result is shoddy and meretricious arrangements. Shoddy arrangements have, in turn, resulted in a progressive erosion of the educational aspects of the initiation schools.

Some of the submissions indicated that police interference should not be disruptive and that interventions should not give rise to poor organization or closure of the initiation schools. The view was that once the school has been opened, it is irreversible and things should be allowed to take their course until completion. The challenge is ultimately to ensure that only 'legal' and compliant schools are operated.

10.2 Diminishing Appreciation of the Cultural Values of Male Initiation

Cultural practices are not static. They undergo change with time through contact with other communities or sometimes diminishing institutional memory. In addition, social, political and economic factors can have negative or positive influences on cultural and religious practices.

There was a strong feeling among participants that some of the problems (like the challenge of Westernization) affecting the initiation rite and the initiation schools emanate from the broader problems and challenges faced today by many cultures in general and African cultures in particular. The promise of emancipation of African cultural practices including rites of passage like initiation has not been fully realized.

There is a strong view that the cultural and moral values at the heart of male initiation and circumcision are diminishing. It is argued that one of the reasons for this is the long history of attitudes that have undermined traditional African cultures. Some participants argue that this is partly the reason for communities, especially in some parts of Eastern Cape and other parts of the country, completely or partly discontinuing the traditional practice.



For example, in the southern areas of the Eastern Cape: former Transkei and Ciskei, male initiation has continued without disruption, but some aspects of the practice have changed. Until recently, some communities reduced the institution merely to circumcision and excluded the full teachings associated with the initiation rite. In the northern areas of the province that straddle the borders of Kwazulu-Natal, the institution was discontinued in earlier times when younger males were conscripted into regiments during wars. However, when the Black Consciousness Movement became popular in the 1970s, many young males demanded the opportunity to go through the traditional system of community-based initiation and circumcision.

10.3 Inappropriate Circumcision Seasons:

Traditionally, male initiation lasted approximately three to six months, taking place between autumn and spring. This period is considered the most appropriate because it coincides with harvest time. In addition, it is a dry season when the grass used for erecting initiates' dwellings is ripe and ready for harvest.

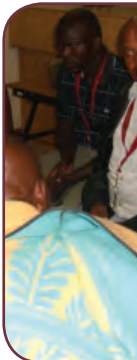
The submissions at the hearings noted that the national education calendar interferes with the traditional seasons. The fact that the summer holidays are longer than the winter holidays has influenced a shift in the timing of the traditional practice of male initiation from winter to summer. The time used during school holidays impacts negatively on the quality of instruction that could take place, especially in winter. Consequently, the initiates are deprived of the opportunity to grasp the full meaning and significance of *Koma*.

Many communities and leaders complained that the summer season, November through to January, is the hottest season of the year in South Africa, and the high temperatures negatively affect the healing process of the wounds of initiates. The summer heat increases the potential for septic wounds especially if they are not properly and immediately attended to. The winter season, May through to July, though not without its problems, is the ideal season for setting up of *Koma*.

10.4 Age of Admission

The age of admission was also one of the critical factors that were considered during the discussions. Submissions at the hearings reflected a variety of views in relation to the age factor. However, a salient voice in all the provinces suggested that the age factor is also one of the aspects that contributes to the malfunctioning of the initiation schools. For example, in Northern Cape and Eastern Cape, the reasons expressed are, for instance, that at age 16 or younger the youth may be forced to go for initiation due to antisocial behaviours observed either at school or home. Put it differently, in certain designated areas, initiation is perceived as an intervention to circumvent bad behaviour or any form of delinquency.

In the case of Limpopo, where the provincial legislation has set the age of admission at 10 years, a concern was further expressed that the acceptance of younger boys opens up an opportunity for boys who are too young, for example, 7 years of age to be initiated, and this is in direct contradiction of the accepted age in the province. Other provinces such as the Free





State and the Western Cape noted that the maturity age for admission to the initiation school is 18 years. As acknowledged in the discussion in the said provinces, the age of admission especially from age 16 and under contradicts some of the national legislations dealing with children such as the Children's Act. It is also clear that there are disparities in the manner in which various provinces deal with the issue of age.

This is even more problematic in regard to provinces that do not yet have established provincial legislation. There is a clear need to establish a standard age of admission whilst being sensitive to traditional and customary peculiarities

10.5 Initiation Rite and National Health

A submission by the Eastern Cape Health Department cited a number of health conditions that affect male initiation/circumcision, namely, pneumonia, meningitis, gangrene, dehydration, hunger and abuse of initiates by *amakhankatha*. In addition, the Department submitted that the use of one surgical instrument for all the initiates increased the chances of spreading HIV, Tetanus, and Hepatitis A and B.

This submission also indicated that some of the initiates had weak immune systems owing to pre-existing malnutrition and other health conditions, causing lower resistance to infection, which could significantly contribute to deaths among the initiates. HIV among men is a national health issue, so this process should be managed by all relevant stakeholders, including the Department of Health.

Starvation or low food intake was also cited as a significant contributor to the deterioration of initiates' health. In some instances, the *Ramphato* may not have enough resources; this results in initiates not being fed properly. Many communities have no clean water supply, and their source of fresh water is often streams and rivers. It was also debated whether the traditional practice of initiates abstaining from drinking water for the first week could be a contributing factor to dehydration. Submissions were made that initiates sometimes died of injuries inflicted on them during the initiation event.

10.6 Deaths in Initiation Schools in South Africa

Various reasons were offered by the informants during submissions in the hearings on reasons for the injuries and fatalities of initiates during initiation schools. Some of those who led submissions were principals who conduct initiation schools. Among these were also those who had recently undergone initiation themselves (recent graduates). There were also officials from the various provincial Department of Health, members of the Royal Houses (Traditional Leader and members of the traditional councils) and representatives of various clans or cultural communities.

The incompetent performance of the circumcision ritual at the initiation schools was singled out as the major cause of amputations and initiates' deaths. Circumcision is a surgical procedure. While the risks of circumcision-related complications have been viewed as very low, recent



fatalities in South Africa indicate that “a poorly carried out circumcision, i.e. with post-operative bleeding and infections can be catastrophic”. Amputations and deaths are the worst-case scenarios in this procedure. Circumcision requires experienced people to perform it.

At the heart of the problem in many initiation schools is the issue of the death of initiates. According to the respondents, the people who run the schools are often young and have just graduated. They do not have adequate knowledge of circumcision, especially traditional circumcision. Because of their lack of both the necessary experience and the absence of an authority structure overseeing the process, these young people appoint inexperienced traditional healers who cannot manage things like bleeding problems during circumcision.

Schools with zero fatalities in the recent years are invariably those in which a principal is carefully chosen by both the guardians of the initiates and the chief (if the area has a chief) as has been pointed out in Limpopo, Free State, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Western Cape, North-West and of course some parts of Eastern Cape (Refer to appendix B- Statistics). One of the respondents argued that ‘experience and age of a principal is a long-standing requirements and feature for successful circumcisions and successful initiations’. This argument suggests that parents and guardians also have a critical role to play in a successful initiation school.

The Department of Health argues that some of the illnesses experienced are caused by the harsh conditions to which initiates are exposed, such as cold, lack of access to clean drinking water or/and unhealthy water from the streams nearby the schools. Some of the principals of the schools, however, argued that certain deaths were not necessarily the result of the conditions at the schools but were due to already existing health deficiencies that become apparent only when the initiates are at the school. It is therefore critical that before a prospective initiate attends a school he should undergo physical and medical examination. Should any illness be detected, a medical practitioner should have the final word. The doctor should provide a recommendation on whether the initiate can attend the initiation school under medication.

One of the historical challenges is that Western medication has not traditionally been allowed in the initiation schools. This exacerbates the health problems of the initiates where and when medication is needed. If an initiate takes medication from a hospital with him to the school, he is perceived as weak and unmanly, and could be victimized and abused by other initiates and even by the principal. Other schools are flexible, accommodating medicine for sick initiates.

Some observers suggest that a way forward would be to seasonally engage medical practitioners to do circumcisions. Centers with clean facilities could be contracted to cater for the initiates for the period of the initiation. Education could be carried out in a systematic and organized fashion. All of this would need to be supervised by provincial authorities and Traditional Leaders. In other words, these observers suggest the thorough modernization of the institution.



10.7 Commercialization of Initiation Schools

There was a widespread view among the participants that there has been a mushrooming of initiation schools that are neither authorized nor monitored. Most of these are found in the townships, and according to many of the submissions they do not adhere to the cultural codes or the cultural practices of establishing schools in secluded areas, far from communities. One of the communities' primary concerns, which are also suspected of being the reason why there are so many deaths in the schools, is the massive commercialization of the initiation schools.

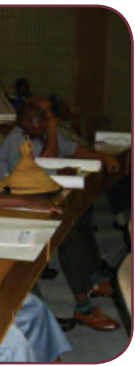
Culture, including male initiation and circumcision, has become a commodity, and there is a major and growing economic activity around the practice of the initiation rite. Some submissions suggest that some aspects of the male initiation practice are put out to tender as a service in return for remuneration. As a result, there is competition at the expense of cultural ethics and accountability. Another disturbing trend is the emergence of touts who go around recruiting and kidnapping potential initiates for a fee.

It was also submitted that:

- *Ososutho* quote lower fees to attract a lot of initiates and make more money, consequently compromising the quality of care at the schools;
- Bogus '*ingcibi*' masquerade as surgeons for a fee, increasing the possibility of botched operations.
- With high unemployment, *Amakhankatha* are for hire. Many may not have the necessary experience and are susceptible to bribes (usually liquor).
- Some submissions indicated that in certain provinces initiation schools are becoming attractions for 'cultural tourists'. They protested that their culture is being trivialized. Other submissions suggested that the initiation practice is sacred and secret, and it is already too high a price to pay to have 'government' involvement. Voyeurism should be strongly discouraged.

The evidence presented at these hearings indicated that, traditionally, the initiation schools were not run on the basis of profit. They were there to pay respect to culture and the collective belongings of communities. Initiation was regarded as the responsibility of men (as expected by the community) in the community to socialize and train young boys into responsible adults, a responsibility they fulfilled without expectation of remuneration. In fact, elderly men in the community saw it as an honour to be entrusted with this important responsibility by the royal house and the entire community.

In spite of the increasing urbanization and unemployment among the country's young people and the demographic and social changes that come with this, there is also persistent adherence by many communities to such cultural practices. Unfortunately there is now an absence of what used to be tribal authority, at least in rural areas, which used to oversee the establishment and processes of initiation schools. With the combination of all these factors, the initiation rite has become a commercialized practice, which often provides a source of income for many



young people. Their motive is not necessarily to entrench respect for culture and its dignity, but to pursue simple monetary gain. This results in the neglect of the cultural rules of the initiation practice. The principals of the schools often demand exorbitant fees and other things from the guardians of the initiates. This places a resource burden on parents who cannot afford to support themselves and the initiate while he is at the school (Refer on 10.8.2 for a detailed account)

10.8 Consent: Spiritual/Family Consent

The various submissions noted that consent is a critical/ethical issue in the initiation rite. Indeed, this was singled out by most submissions at the hearings as an important aspect of initiation. Some even believe that lack of consent could be one of the reasons why there are many deaths at the initiation schools. The meaning of consent should however be clarified.

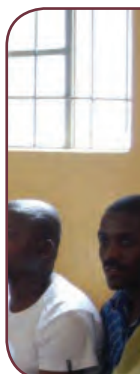
Various community members have argued strongly that initiation is an important cultural and spiritual practice affecting not just the individual involved but the entire family, the community and the ancestors. It is therefore important for the various stakeholders to be involved and provide approval and consents either directly or indirectly for sending an initiate to a school.

The phenomenon of young men who take themselves to the schools without the guardian's or parents' knowledge was noted with concern. The lack of parental knowledge and preparatory work prior to the attendance of the boys to the schools is seen as having potentially negative implications for a successful initiation process. In some families preparatory work such as the cleansing rituals for permission from the ancestors may be required. The consequences of lack of consent could therefore be severe, and even effectively threaten the life of an initiate. It is therefore critical that before a boy is admitted to a school the principal should make sure that consent is obtained from all the relevant parties.

10.8.1 Consent of the Authority Structures

Individuals or principals who open and run initiation schools should be accountable to the initiate's guardians through an authority structure or forum. Some principals are negligent and unaccountable in this respect. Such a structure would ensure that whoever runs a school is suitable and sufficiently experienced to do so (which may be determined by the members of the community or the existing authority structure).

As indicated earlier, during the submissions, it was suggested by members of the traditional councils, that experience and mature age of a principal is a long-standing cultural requirement and feature of a successful initiation. This helps to ensure that the process of initiation is monitored and the principals are accountable. Members of communities argue that '*Koma ke ya kgoshi*'; a Sepedi expression meaning that, 'the Traditional Leaders or king is the custodian of the practice of initiation rite'. In this sense, a Traditional Leaders or king is understood to mean the community, because the Traditional Leader's orders represent the wishes and the will of his or her community. The consent from the tribal/ethnic authority represents a form of authority that provides guidance and ensures accountability from all those who run initiation schools.





The reported success of communities working with authority structures and community involvement in initiation schools, such as *Ndzunza–Ndebele*, *Ibandla Lase Thembisa*, *Bakone ba lebala* and other such communities may provide some elements and indications of best practices.

In the urban areas, where there is limited or no traditional authority, various structures have been established and are involved in fulfilling this role. The primary and most important player is the government; in this case local municipalities and non-governmental organizations. An example of such a structure is the Traditional Medicine Practitioners Board (TMPB) in KwaThema (covering Sedibeng, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni municipal districts) in Gauteng Province, whose responsibility it is to monitor the initiation schools in these areas.

The government's role has been to issue permits and certificates to the principals running the initiation schools. But concern was raised about the way such schools are being conducted out of line with cultural practices. This indicates that nothing is being done to monitor and issue guidelines for the establishment of schools. This suggests that something more needs to be done beyond the mere issuing of permits. There should be wide consultation and extensive preparation by all the stakeholders prior to the opening of an initiation school.

10.8.2 Consent on Resources

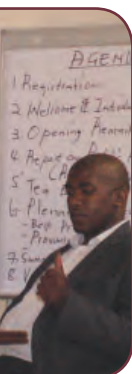
Evidence given at the hearings revealed that another stumbling block to successful initiation schools is resources. This comes in different forms - all with equal importance. One obvious factor is finance. As stated earlier in this report, financial rewards and the benefits of running a school have become a driving force for principals to open initiation schools. Consequently, fees have become exorbitant and unaffordable for many parents or guardians of prospective initiates.

The (high financial) charges also challenge the cultural value of this practice, which requires that initiation should not be practiced for commercial gain. It is argued that this not only places a resource burden on parents but also undermines the necessary consent of guardians, because principals lobby to assemble as many initiates as they can without consulting their parents or guardians prior to admission into the school. It is therefore necessary to look into the matter of fees for admitting initiates into schools with a view to standardizing the fees.

10.9 Inadequate Physical Environment

One of the key cultural principles distinguishing initiation schools from other forms of cultural activity is the seclusion of initiates away from their communities. If this aspect of the rite is not adhered to, the likelihood of encountering serious problems which compromise the school is high. The participants complained that too often, particularly in urban areas, there was inadequate space for the initiation structures.

Residential areas are often crowded, and there is frequently no space for seclusion. In rural areas, the location of initiation schools far away from communities sometimes means that the



location is not only inaccessible but has to be hired for the required duration from the property owner. Besides increasing the financial burden, the inaccessible location often poses the risk that, apart from those responsible for the welfare and lives of the initiates, no one else would be able to intervene in an emergency. In a number of previous instances, the initiation structures caught fire and the initiates were burnt; some to death. Should an initiate fall sick and be rendered helpless, it would be difficult to get to such isolated localities by car or ambulance. In such circumstances the health officers and the police may not be able to intervene.

10.10 The Principle of Secrecy and Sacredness

Many participants and those who made submissions to the hearings displayed frustration and shame in their submissions about the openness of the hearings. Attesting to this are the following comments from different parts of the country:

- a) *It is a sad day for our culture to have to discuss the initiation rite in a public space.*
- b) *As leaders, including the CRL Rights Commissioners who are leading this process, we must apologise to the communities and the ancestors for having to discuss this sacred practice in a public space.*

It is clear from these comments that the problems surrounding the initiation rite and initiation schools in particular have created an undesirable mindset in our communities. The feeling of discontent and reluctance to participate in the hearings was largely informed by what is seen as public exposure of the principles guiding the rite of passage. The participants argued that one of the principles of this cultural practice is that it should not be a matter for public discussion. Even initiates themselves would not refer to it in any way, except under exceptional circumstances.

In a striking submission by one of the participants which underscored the principle of secrecy and sacredness of initiation, the participant suggested that; '*Koma phupa marama re hwa le yona*', a Sepedi expression meaning that the details of the practice of koma are a secret that an initiated person takes to the grave; it is not supposed to be spoken of. This participant was indignant about the public hearing, and urged the stakeholders to apologise in public for the initiative. Other participants expressed the same level of uneasiness about the matter.

However, these respondents noted that the problems surrounding the practice had drawn it into the public arena and measures had to be taken to restore dignity to the practice. This issue suggests that all the stakeholders, including the media and the communities, should act responsibly when reporting on the way in which the initiation rite is conducted in various communities. It also suggests that relevant institutions, when intervening in the problems of cultural practice, should find appropriate ways to preserve dignity and respect for the institution; such as choosing an appropriate space and platform and deciding on who may attend. Without doubt, the principle of secrecy places a limitation on the kind of information divulged and its accuracy.





10.11 Violence and Abuse of Initiates


There seem to be two opposing positions on the issue of violence in the initiation schools. One position, looking at some cultural practices such as stick fights, considers this to be an encouragement of violent behaviour. The opposite view contests this on the grounds that the first view does not understand the cultural context of the practices which take place during initiation. It was argued by many respondents that initiates understand what this engagement with sticks means. The aim is not for initiates to harm each other but to take part in a form of entertainment or sport like boxing or karate.

There is, however, some agreement on the reported cases of physical abuse of initiates. Abuse is sometimes perpetrated by both principals and initiates. Although the representatives at the Gauteng hearing denied any such incidents in their schools, they conceded that cases of initiate-abuse are common occurrences.



10.12 Drug and Substance Abuse

There have been numerous complaints from parents that they send their children to initiation schools but to their disappointment the boys leave the schools as abusers of alcohol, drug and cigarette addicts. The hearing noted the submission of the report from the TMPB on some of the problems in the initiation schools in parts of Gauteng. Problems of drug and substance abuse were cited as one of the concerns in this report. The report noted that it is not the initiates themselves who use these substances, but rather the recent graduates, who are there to assist. In other parts of the province the initiates do use these substances.



Such behaviour is criticized as undermining the integrity of the institution, its educational value and its objectives, i.e. training boys to become responsible men of integrity in their communities. One of the principals contested that the use of alcohol was a long-standing practice that has become part of the culture of the schools. The home-brewed traditional beer was given strictly to the elderly principals at the school in small quantities. It was never abused and if an initiate was found to be using any substance like drugs or alcohol he would be punished severely by the principals and initiates alike. In the past, this code of practice was strictly adhered to. Today, the practice is being distorted by irresponsible principals. Principals should be held accountable with regard to the use of addictive substances. Imposing a ban on the responsible use of home-brewed beer would not be judicious.

SECTION D

11. Conclusion

Following the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early 1970s and more recently the ethos of an African Renaissance and its focus on reclaiming the African identity and pride, African communities began to revive cultural institutions such as initiation and male circumcision. Furthermore, with the promulgation of the Constitution in 1996, which provides everyone with rights to cultural, religious and linguistic expression, previously oppressed communities became enthusiastic about asserting these rights. Regrettably, this has happened against a backdrop of their diminished heritage and sometimes with a declining sense of responsibility with regard to the initiation rite in particular, especially in the Eastern Cape and the Free State, where the numbers of reported botched circumcisions and deaths are high.

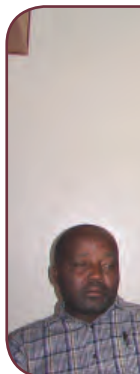
While recognising the attempts being made legislatively and otherwise to redeem these cultural practices, noticeably the interventions appear to address the challenges of initiation-circumcision in a piecemeal fashion. The various forums that have engaged with the challenges and problems in the initiation schools must be noted and a concerted attempt be made to implement the concrete recommendations made by these forums. Solving the problems of initiation schools requires something more than just legislation. It must be remembered that, because of the principle of sacredness and secrecy of this practice, it is a difficult undertaking to monitor and evaluate the negative practices in schools. Because the matter ultimately rests with communities, the government, communities and traditional leadership should form a partnership in enforcing the requirements for opening initiation schools.

It appears that one of the most important roles that the government could play in contributing to the health of initiates is to lend support to destitute families and to the principals by providing the necessary resources.

The practice of the initiation rite is so deeply rooted in communities that even in the most difficult of circumstances (in terms of resources and expertise) many families still expect to send their children to initiation schools. In the same way, when the time arrives, young boys look forward to fulfilling the expectations of their families and their own desire to be recognised as important people in their communities. So integral is this practice that those boys and even much older people who have not undergone this rite of passage are shamed, ostracised, isolated and generally regarded as not worthy of being called men in their communities.

The practice of initiation is not just to turn boys into responsible men in their communities. It is also a cornerstone for the continuation of, and respect for identity, culture, values and heritage of these communities. Despite the adverse publicity and frequent criticism of the practice, sacredness, secrecy and other values remain important guiding principles.


A negative perception of the initiation practice exists in many communities. This has been fuelled by negative media reporting, and the deaths that have occurred. The perceptions, however, could have other causes, such as ignorance of the values of the institution of initiation or stereotypes of one ethnic community by another.





There are many cases of poor and unorganised planning in setting up initiation schools. Amongst others, the hosting of initiation schools requires the following:


- a) The ability and resource capacity of the principal to host an initiation school. There is currently no actual requirement for a principal to prove by way of credentials that he is able to conduct an initiation school.
- b) The preparation by some families who send their children to initiation schools appear to be superficial. Their attitude and approach is as if they are sending their children to a Western school where no important or comparative rituals are performed for spiritual considerations and oversight.



The preparation and hosting of the initiation schools resides in communities and their structures of authority and accountability. This suggests, therefore, that any undue external interference, such as law or policy, or any form of intervention from government could be counter-productive if such interventions are not well considered. Interventions should serve to reinforce, support and strengthen the existing structures and practices that are known and accepted by the communities in which they occur.

Over time, many elders have been forced to abdicate their roles as the custodians of the initiation institution, leaving a vacuum that has been filled by inexperienced youth. These youths, who often conduct the schools for financial gain, contribute to the fatalities which occur during circumcision. They falsely maintain that beating initiates and the abuse of substances represent what traditionally makes a strong man in a community. Arguably, it is often from such schools, that young men come out as disrespectful individuals, alcoholics, drug and substance addicts.

It is this distorted and anti-social character of young men fresh from the seclusion of initiation that has caused great outcry within communities.



There is clear confusion, especially in urban and semi-urban localities, about authority and accountability structures. The existing authority, which is often a municipality, does not see the issues of initiation as their business. As a result, the municipality or police react only when there is a crisis. Proactive steps to be taken at the time of initiation are poorly structured, poorly capacitated and either under-resourced or not resourced at all. Where initiation schools function, frequently these initiatives have poor coordination with local municipalities and other structures of authority.

It is important to preserve cultural practices which give coherence and order to our communities, and provide functionally socialized individuals in our communities along time-tested and age-old lines. But we should be careful not to maintain atavistic practices in the name of cultural continuity; practices which reduce African cultures to ridicule and infamy. In other words, we should be able to modernize aspects of our cultures which need modernization without harming

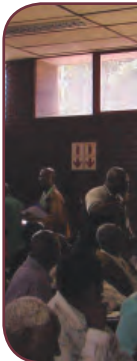
the core values which lie at the heart of our institutions. To do this, efficaciously we must be able to distinguish between the changeable externals of the institution and its core values and practices.

12. Recommendations

12.1 Parliamentary Legislative framework (policy) on initiation rite

There should be standard national cultural initiation legislation on the basis of which provincial legislation may be established or extended. The national legislation should cover, among other things, the following:

- Sacred and secret aspects of the practice
- Variations of cultural practices within this rite in the country.
- Entitlement of provinces to develop their respective legislation in line with the cultural needs.
- A conceptual framework of initiation as a cultural practice;
- The Bill/Act that should be translated into the various community languages, using the relevant terminology;
- Health related issues;
- Safety and social security issues;
- Space and infrastructural issues;
- Justice and governance issues;
- Monitoring and quality-assurance measures
- Education and environment
- Age of admission
- Minimum standards that must be set for the Ramophato.
- 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.
- Code of conduct for every cultural community in which the necessary protocols are clearly stated.
- Methods of promoting cultural practices and human rights of initiates and their families.
- Role of parents and legal guardians in educating their children about the relevant cultural practices.
- Consent by both parents and prospective initiates.
- Issues related to eligible age for initiation in various communities



12.2 House of Traditional Leaders

- Traditional leadership must have the powers over all matters of initiation rite and initiation schools in particular.
- Only Traditional Leaders, in consultation with the council (s), and the House of Traditional Leaders within their jurisdiction who must:
 - a) call for initiation schools and declare them open;
 - b) oversee their organization;
 - c) appoint the traditional healers and entrust them with ritual and other related responsibilities, and
 - d) ensure that all the necessary and preliminary requirements (i.e. parental consent, availability of resources including appropriate space, health fitness of initiates) are satisfied before the initiation schools can be opened.
- The Local House of Traditional Leaders (once established) should serve as a representing structure in terms of, among others, handling matters of complaints, abuse, mediation and arbitration that relate to initiation schools.
- Communities should be encouraged to set up coordinating committees and forums that would assist the presiding traditional Leader(s) to oversee initiation schools. This would constitute what, in some areas, is referred to as *'Mahlo a thaba'*. (This could include membership of various concerned stakeholders). *Mahlo a thaba* could also serve as a community policing forum; and help the police with criminality.
- Where there are no formal Traditional Leadership structures consultation with the nearest House of Traditional Leaders to assign a Traditional Leader to assist such a community in the opening of the initiation school is recommended.
- *Mahlo a thaba* could also play an advisory function to the Traditional Leaders on various logistical and other related matters pertaining to the functioning of the schools. A *database of trained Abeso*e/principals, traditional surgeons, nurses etc. should be established by the National, Provincial and Local Houses of Traditional Leaders.
- The qualification of the mentioned role players (i.e. principals, traditional surgeons and nurses) must also ensure that they are not prohibited to work or deal with children as required by any national or provincial legislations (e.g. the child offenders register, Children's Act etc).
- Everyone who participates in all the activities and structures of governance of initiation schools in South Africa must have the 'necessary credentials', i.e. in terms of both formal training (the latter being offered at the initiation school).
- *Amakhankatha/lingcibi* should be chosen or appointed from highly respected community, for example, people with integrity, high level of maturity and authority,



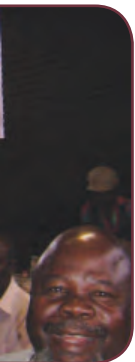
and the 'Great Place' Traditional Houses must be kept informed of the official Amakhankatha/lingcibi operating in a designated area.

- Community-based structures and forums under the Traditional Leaders or their representative must be sufficiently capacitated and resourced to respond to and deal with challenges that emerge in initiation schools that are located in their vicinity.
- Where there are no Traditional Leaders such as in the urban and semi-urban areas individuals who satisfy the required credentials set out by the national framework or provincial legislation and are supported by the community may form initiation schools forum to oversee the opening and running of the schools in their localities. However, to ensure that they are accountable, the municipalities (or any other institution as maybe determined) must ensure these community-based structures comply with the legislative requirements.
- In cases where the status of a particular individual(s) on claims of being a Traditional Leader is in question the Commission on Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims must be consulted to verify their status.
- In line with the provincial and regional preferences and capacities it is recommended that the ratio (i.e. the number of boys taken into the schools is controlled paying due regard the availability of resources, including human resources capacity and other related considerations.
- The Houses of Traditional Leadership and all other relevant stakeholders must function within the mandate of ensuring that initiation rite and initiation schools are protected and promoted as human rights and rights of the communities that practice it.

12.3 Municipalities

- 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, spaces or centres or cultural villages where initiation structures may be located, taking into account of the needs of the various communities as they, for example, require different distances and proximities (from their domestic spaces).
- There must be a central location for registering all initiation events/rites in a designated area. These could be certified by Traditional Leadership structures or a designated municipality.
- Municipalities, in consultation with the Traditional Leader(s) or community representatives who are knowledgeable about the practice, should designate areas where *Ulwaluko/Koma/Lebollo/ Mophato* could be set up, taking into cognizance the cultural peculiarities and sensitivities of different communities.
- Practical guidelines should be developed to specify what should and what should not be done in establishing an initiation school, including matters of resource mobilization.





12.4 South African Police Services

- Intervention by the police should be in relation to the *Ramophato* and/or Mahlo a thaba, even when criminality, such as substance abuse, is suspected in order to protect the dignity of the practice.
- A special (SAPS or Metro Police) police initiation-event unit should be formally designated.
- Peace, safety and security officers should visit the Koma/Ulwaluko/ Mophato to weed out criminality and deal with reported drug and alcohol abuse cases.
- Preferable initiated male not female emerging from the same area should assist and monitor when the need arises.
- In the event that a school is declared and closed down, the initiates must not be sent back home before they have completed the processes rather contingent measures be devised to ensure that initiates complete initiation process.



12.5 Department of Education

- A proposal is being directed to the Dept. that the initiation period be extended to two months in order to cater for school going boys.
- The length of the winter/summer school holidays should be taken into consideration with respect to the 'initiation season' depending on the needs of the various communities

12.6 Department of Social Development.

- The Dept. should make provision for poor homes and families that are in need, should the children who belong to those families reach the stage of going to the initiation school.
- The Dept. in consultation with the chief (s), should consider providing 'emergency' food parcels for *Abakhwetha* or *Swirubani* while they are in seclusion.



12.7 Department of Home Affairs

- The Dept. should ensure that personal details contained in the Identity Document is correct, and as such reflects the appropriate age and the identity of the boy in order to prevent previous fraudulent cases that were reported.

12.8 Department of Health

- Prospective initiates should go through a series of thorough medical check-ups before they undergo initiation rite especially the ritual of circumcision.
- Traditional Health practitioners should be designated to deal with emergencies that may arise at initiation schools.
- The Department of Health should provide surgical tools and training on the usage of

such tools.

- Training could also be given to care-givers in first-aid and healthcare.
- Counseling should be provided to all concerned in cases of botched circumcisions or the death of an initiate.
- The Mayine/Vandyabi and the Ramphato should be instructed about 'liquid' replacement foods to compensate for the traditional practice of abstinence from drinking water in the early days of initiation, in order to avoid the dehydration of initiates.
- There should be a mobile medical facility on stand-by to avoid the referring of cases to local hospitals.

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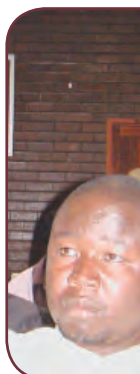
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14. SECTION E

Appendix A:

Eastern Cape Department of Health Statistics (Deaths, December 2010)

Area	Deaths	Admissions
NMM	1	NIL
Elundini	2	5
Intsika- yethu	2	7
Emalahleni	2	Nil
Qaukeni	1	4
Mnquma	1	10
Lukhanji	1	2
KSD	3	20
Camdeboo	Nil	2
Sengqu	Nil	2
Buffalo city	Nil	19
Mbashe	Nil	5
Nyandeni	Nil	3
Engcobo	Nil	19
TOTAL	13	98

SUB-DISTRICT	AGE	AREA	P R O V I S I O N A L DIAGNOSIS
ELUNDINI	19 years	Tsitsana Loc Mt Fletcher (Khohlombeni Qumbu	Jaundice & Gangrenous Penis
	18 years	Matatiele; lodge @ Dengwana	Asthma Attack
KSD	17YRS	eJojweni, Mqanduli	
	17YRS	eNgcengane Mtata	
	18YRS	eWaterfall	dehydration, septicaemia, pneumonia
Qaukeni	18yrs	Mbongweni admin area Bizana	Septicaemia
Lukhanji	19yrs	Machibini village	Thirst, loss of energy and loss of appetite
Emalahleni	19 years	Glen Grey	Septic Circumcision
	22yrs	Cacadu location	dehydration
NMM- P.E	26yrs	Newbrington	dyspnoea, treatment failure
Mnquma	20 years	Thanga Village, Butterworth	Septic Circumcision
Intsika Yethu	18 years	Cotho Village	Septicaemia
	19 years,	Sikhobeni village Cofimvaba	Dehydration



COMPARISON TABLE FROM JUNE 2006- TO DECEMBER- 2010

YEAR	HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS	AMPUTATIONS	INITIATES DEATHS	LEGAL INITIATES	ILLEGAL INITIATES	ARREST
June 06	288	5	26	3470	285	
Dec - 06	512	7	32	11243	708	
2007 JUNE	329	41	24	12563	1460	
2007 DECEMBER	311	11	8	33005	1327	



YEAR	HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS	AMPUTATIONS	INITIATES	LEGAL	ILLEGAL	ARREST
			DEATHS	INITIATES	INITIATES	
MARCH 2008	18	NIL	5	241	152	2
2008 JUNE	352	11	24	14741	1694	49
2008 DEC	267	NIL	5	40290	553	23
June -09	461	47	55	17538	2470	29
Dec -09	252	2	36	39581	896	9
June -10	389	22	41	18450	1429	12
December	98	Not known yet	13	Not known yet	Not known yet	Not known yet
TOTALS	3277	146	269	191122	10974	124

Highlights about deaths during December 2010.

- 19 year old; Jaundice & Gangrenous Penis Tsitsana Loc Mt Fletcher (Khohlombeni Qumbu) chief Jerry Moshoeshoe.
- 18 year old; ?Asthma Attack (Illegal) died @ Tayler Bequest - Matatiele; lodge @ Dengwana The initiate came from Cape Town with an asthma pump & this was brought when it was too late to help.
- 17: DOD 4.12 .10 @ 10H00 eJojweni, Mqanduli .was Legal circum.
- 17: eNgcengane Mtata: DOD- 5.12.10: legal circ:
- Waterfall. DOD 12 12.2010.
- 19yrs,date of circum 03:12:2010,died on the 8th he c/o thirst, loss of energy & loss of appetite, Case No. 25/12/2010 from Machibini village-Queenstown Lukhanji, he collapsed & became worse after he had been given traditional Rx by a traditional healer, waiting post mortem result.
- 18 year old of Mbongweni admin area Bizana died on 12 Dec 2010 at the legal initiation school due to Septicaemia.
- 19 year old transferred from Glen Grey _Frere_ CMH hospitals. Septic Circumcision Died 08/12/10 @ CMH.
- NMM- P.E. 26yr old, legal; Day of Circum -20-11-2010- DoD -21-11-2010 dyspnoea, TB patient, treatment failure
- 22yr old died 08-12-2010 due to dehydration; circumcised 30/11/10 Cacadu location, Cofimvaba.
- Mnquma- 20 year old; septic, illegal: circumcised on the 03/12/2010 and died on the 10/12/2010, Thanga Village, Butterworth.
- 18 year old, died of septicaemia, legal enter on the 01/12/2010, died on the 10/12/2010, Cotho Village Intsika yethu.

13. 19 year old, died of Dehydration, was legal entered on the 04/12/2010, died on the 10/12/2010, Sikhobeni village Cofimvaba, Intsikayethu.



Appendix B:

List of participants: Phase One

Attendance register

Qwaqwa: 09 OCTOBER 2006

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Dr M Guma	CRL
Dr. LP Boshego	CRL
Dr. M Masoga	CRL
Mr. S. Nkosi	CRL
Ms. B Kotelo	CRL
Commissioner T Manthata	SAHRC
Mr. P Mabiletsa	SAHRC
Adv. M Lepheana	SAHRC
Adv. Khanya	SAHRC
Matshediso Moletsane	Education
Tsolo Jonas Mokoena	SAPS Phuthaditjhaba
TL Mabote	FSHOTL
Paseka Moloji	Local Govt and Housing
Paseka Moloji	FSHTL Harrismith
M Mosia	Kudumane
Julia Makau	
MM Mofokeng	
Alice Mokoena	Tebang
NT Mopeli	Thaba Bosiu
Lizbeth Motloung	
Maria Molakeng	THO
Anna Nkomo	THO
Mofokeng Feitjie	

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Modiehi Mphuthi	
Job Mohale	TL ThabaTsoeu
Setsheetso Mohale	Traditional Leader
SA Mofokeng	Ngaka ya setso
Makalo Mofokeng	Ngaka ya setso
Nthabiseng Leokaake	Ngaka ya setso
Meshack Simela	
Capt MS Makhabanyane	SAPS
JPMngomezulu	Initiation committee SAPS
TS Moloji	Bakholokoe
LJ Moloji	Kholokoe Chiefs Council
RD Moccus	Bataung
T Mohale	
T Mohale	

Attendance register

Qwaqwa: 09 October 2006

NAMES	ORGANISATION
LE Mohale	
MM Sithole	ThabaBosiu
Mamorena Makitle	Lekhotla la Basotho
Thabang Nkhabu	Lekhotla la Basotho
Motsie Lekhooa	Lekhotla la Basotho
Kelebone Manalane	Lekhotla la Basotho
Setlaba Maema	Lekhotla la Basotho
Maletshe Mofokeng	

MB Lethlata	SAPS
NJ Mokoena	Phuthas SAPS
PE Sethunya	Matsieng T Leader
Anastacia M Sesoane	Mphalatsane
Lisa Tsepo	Matsieng TC
Z Lekgwaba	MTC
FP Mkhwane	N A H A
KJ Msimanga	Traditional Affairs
SJ Matla	
Rapeo Mokoena	Lesedi FM (Journalist)
T Mpholo	Lekhotla la Basotho
Tsotetsi Mababane Moses Moloji	PR Councilor
MJ Moloji	
AM Mofokeng	
Maria Mahlaba	
Morena QD Moloji	Kholokoe T/C
Phehello P Moeti	FSHOTL
PE Molefe	FSHOTL
BM Tsotetsi	FSHOTL
Prince LSK Tsotetsi	FSHOTL
MI Mthokwa	Thibella Traditional
TP Nyamate	Winnie Park T/C
Mr. Khuzwayo	LHTL
Lesole Nzimande	
AP Mokoena	Ward Ward Councilor
Zanele Makhanya	NHTL
Puseletso A Mokoena	Ward Councilor
Meshack Simelane	
Morena Pinare SAVL Moroka	FSHOTL

Attendance register

Hamanskral: 16 October 2006

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Inkosi Makhaula	NHTL
Kgosi Dikgale	NHTL
Comm. Manthatha	SAHRC
Comm. Ntlha	CRLRC
Councilor Mahlangu	Tswane Metro
Ikosi Mahlangu	
Makena Makapane	NorthWest Provincial
Adv. Lepheana	SAHRC
Adv. Mabiletsa	SAHRC
Dr. Masoga	CRLRC
Adv. Khaya	SAHRC
Ntate Abram Thindisa	Initiation Committee
Khenzani Mthunsi	Mosuwe
Raymond Mahlalela Mkhondo	Principal
Vusi Velembé	Traitional Healer
Hosi Chauke	
Dingaan Suleman	Principal
Mr. Mathabela	
Mamotho Kotelo	CRLRC
Kgoshi Mohaswa	
Kgosi Mageu	
Comm. Khethiwe Marais	CRLRC
Captain Tselapedi	SAPS
Senior Superintendent Ledwaba	SAPS
Given Maluleke	Inspector of Health Tswane

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Simon Sikhosana	
Mrs Mmolaoa	
Me Sonia Mabolawa	PR Tswane Metro
MJ Nkosana	
Eric Hlengane Ringane	
Maubane Frans Manjesi	
Mkhonto Khubani	

Attendance register

Johannesburg: October 2006

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Dr. M Guma	CRCRC
Prince Makhaula	NHTL
Comm. Dr Mndende	CRLRC
Comm. T Manthatha	SAHRC
Mr Samuel Chauke	TSO Mamelodi
Ms Sebina Masemola	TSO
John Motho Phoku	Bakuni ba Mpumalanga
Bryan Mahlangu	Ndzundza Ndebele
Thomas Mahlangu	Ndzundza Ndebele
Victor Langusa	GDE
Dudu Fakutze	
Mamotho Kotelo	CRLRC
Adv. K. Zweni	SAHRC
Adv. Philander	CRLRC
Adv. T Thipanyane	SAHRC
Adv. M Lepheana	SAHRC

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Comm. BB Mgcina	CRLRC
Petrus Kekana Kopane	Principal
Stephen Ngobeni	
Ikgopoleng A Marumo	Dept of Health Gauteng
Dr. Elizabeth Kaye Petersen	Dept of Health Gauteng
Mahlaba Sebata	Mashigo Community`
Mr. Berry Mashigo	Denilton
Dr. M Masoga	CRLRC

List of participants: Phase Two

Attendance register

Lusikisiki: 07 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
L Magadla	PHOTL
Thambile Ngane	Ndimbaneni
Sibonagaye Bodoni	Mhlumba A/A
Mtungu Gideon	Goso Forest
Nom Dyantyi	Msikaba
Vadiphathwa Mgola	Msikaba
Peterson Mkhwanazi	Zalu A/A
Dweba J Yolisa	EDCON
Xoliseka Phaga	Mfinuzweni
Nonhlanhla Cakethiso	Mthayeli TLC
Ivy Gebhuza	Thaneni
Sandile Mathwaza	ZDV A/A
ME Mangange	DOH

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Sabelo Mana	DOH
Zanoxolo Mqoqi	Malangeni
MT Nyembezi	LUCARC
S PLAATJIE	LUCRC
Nomthandaso Sicgau	Qubeni
JT Cingo	Marizweni
L. Nozaza	Nkunzimbini
BB Mdleleni	Qaukeni
Mzimkhulo Vena	Ntsimbini
Mandakayise Modolo	
Lungani Gotye	
Mzuvukile Wilton Madlavuza	Dept of Health
Mnguni L`	PHOTL
Dumisani Mqhangala	Goqhana
Thando Sigwebo	DOH
Zwine Sigcau	Tsheleni
Luvuyo Ntuthu	DOH
Ddumzi Mjira	DOH
Vuyokazi Cetywayo	Phumlo
Thandiswa Sichwe	XVRA a
Lindelwa Mbana	Amatlane
Mzanyetlwa Sigcau	Ngobozara
Mayelwa Mpindiswa	
Zephania Mzambo	Qaukeni
Mcedici Simka	Bonniri T/C
Sylvian Mgiba	Qaukeni
Gugulethu Singqi	GosoForest
Siyabulela Mzibi	

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Mdunyiswa Noxigi	Mbudu AA
SM Wilderbest	Lambasi
Phumelele B	Xirana
Matloasandile M	Mdimbaneni
Mathew Witbooi	Mdimbaneni
Mpumdilo C Jiba	Ntantela
Misikhaya Jutu	Nttenzi
Ntsikelelo Mabena	DOH
Banda Ndunge	Bizana Health
Funisile Mlindazwe	Bizana
N Matanda	Headman Matharo
Lizm Zondani	Qaukeni
Siyabonga Nozungolo	Qaukeni
Mzwandile Cumse	Qaukeni
Z Sigcau	Qaukeni
Zalanzima Mthanbeka	Mthweni
Mlungisha Mghijazo	Ngobozana
Mzame Dalena	Plangeni

MTHATHA: 09 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Linoswa Magaqa	PHOTL
John Mkefelele	Zimbani
Mzukisi Fatjela	SAPS
Dalighunga Zaga	Mpheko Trad Leader
S Kolwane	
Mnguni L	Official PHOTL

NAMES	ORGANISATION
W/Odada	SARS
NK Majola	Cluster Office SAPS
M.C. Swazi	Libode CIS SAPS
Z.M. Pongomile	Traditional Leader
CF Nokayi	Mpezo
Mbulelo Dlulane	Mpeko
Gedani Mname	Ncesi
Sakamzi Tshira	Nqanbele
RZ Mnggarapri	Engcobo Moshi T/C
T Ranchodu	UNITRA Community Unity Radio
Z Pontshwa	Inkosi Igija Kroza tlc
Z Sakhela	Inkosi Cacadu tlc
N Hlabeni	SAPS
W Nqgodwana	SAPS
A Lwazo	SAPS
ZA Matakane	Silverton
X Mahola	Qweqwe
N Zwelakhe	Modern Farm
AWH Mdikane	DOH
TS Bodoza	DOH
S Ngqasana	Luthuthu
P Bonga	DOH
S Mbanga	Waterfall
M Msila	Nqangelizane
GZ Mandela	DOH
TM Sandile	PHOTL
J Mjandla	Mganduli
F Sodo	Dalindyebo Region

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Y Libazo	SAPS
M Simata	Mqganduli
F Cindi	PHOTL
HZ Dweba	ECDDH
MS Xokwa	Dalindyebo Region
N Ntipha	Peri
WN Bacela	Inkosi Mganduli
ZM Ngonyana	Mqanduli
ST Ngwenya	Mganduli
Leletho Thuso	SAPS
Ndundi Nkewu	SAPS
Sportgtez	SAPS
V Andrea	SAPS
D Myezi	Inkosi Mganduli
MT Makuline	MTA Publishers
S Nongogo	Qwegne
BK Mini	Public Works
T Lobi	Comm. Members
B Kotelo	Zimbane
SV Malgas	WSU
T Grebidlala	Inkosi Xdamath
M Doughlas	WSU
V Kota	WSU
AH Cwathi	DOH
S Mchiza	Corr. Services
M Tjatyeka	CRLRC

Mdantsane: 10 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Ayanda Phaliso	Village Five
M Gheba	Village One
M Thuthani	Village Eight
N Thuthani	Village Eight
T Loliwe	Village One
G Feni	Village One
S Thethani	Village One
M Mbatho	Village Eight
A Jongilanga	Village One
N Mohanjana	Village 4
K. Mkokeli	Pato T Council
K Ntozake	Village 4
M Mali	Village 2
J Hlekani	Village 7
BE Rusi	Iphakathi
J Tini	ABSA
K Mlumbi	ABSA
M Mdonga	Pato IT Council
CY Ngumntu	Pato T Council
Prince K Jonkilanga	Indushae Yaselwadle
Dweba Zweliphakamile	ECDOH
M Tjatjeka	CRL
T Gloria Bonyongo	Village 4

Bloemfontein: 17 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Marena Tsomodi	Lekhotla la Basotho
Motsie Loape	Lekhotla la Basotho
Sekonyela Mncayi	Lekhotla la Basotho
Paul Tladi Thaele Amoholo	Lekhotla la Basotho
MJ Mapharisa	Lekhotla la Basotho
Mampheding Thoahlane	Lekhotla la Basotho
Ntate Mabula	Lekhotla la Basotho
Daniel Fanasa	Lekhotla la Basotho
Rabokhanana Ketela	Mokhahla oa Thesele
Nkopane Pule	Lekhotla la Basotho
Makalo Maifo	Lekhotla la Basotho
Pulumo Andile	Lekhotla la Basotho
Lekhema Seiso	Lekhotla la Basotho
EMN Chaba	Lekhotla la Basotho
Paseka Mohlokaqala	Lekhotla la Basotho
J Mokgosi	Lekhotla la Basotho
M Malashe	Lekhotla la Basotho
Me Masego Phetlu	SAHRC
Me Nnono Matsaba	SAHRC
Tshidiso Pule	Lekhotla la Basotho
Dintso Mothae	Lekhotla la Basotho
Tshitso Mpholo	Lekhotla la Basotho
Mapitse Mapitse	Lekhotla la Basotho
Lichabeng Pule	Lekhotla la Basotho
Justice Semoli	Lekhotla la Basotho
Andile Madiba	Public Protector

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Mosololi Mohapi	Lesedi (SABC)
Mothe Mothe	46
TS Maema	Lekhotla la Basotho
NS Zulu	CRL Commission
Keke Letsoso	Sportzone
Patrice Tsolo	Technical Support
Tshidi Mpeli	Bloemfontein
Sophia Mohapi	Bloemfontein
Thandi Bengeza	Bloemfontein
Julia Matsaba	Bloemfontein
Mathene Mahanke	Sports, Arts and Culture

Malamulele: 07 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Kgosi KS Mamaila	Kgosi
ME Mamaila	Mamaila T Council
M Pheeha	Pheeha T Council
MK Malungani	Mahumani T Council
R Cuma	Mahumani T Council
S Mahumani	Mahumani T Council
M Mahumani	Mahumani T Council
FN Rakgogo	Mamaila T Council
FC Kwinda	Vhangona National CM
SJ Malukele	Chief Xigalo
NT Nephawe	Chief Nephawe
TE Nemavhulani	Maine
NC Hothonche	Maine

NAMES	ORGANISATION
AC Munarini	Maine
MK Vheyhonde	Maine
MR Mabasa	Hosi
TE Manenzhe	Khosi
T Nilhainu	Xioalo
Ramanyimi Andries	Tshimbupfe
MH Shayi	
MG Hlongwane	Malonsitia
MI Shiviri	Ahiciririx
HW Matjuviki	
IS Ndavale	DCO
MK Shiviti	Shiviti
Makwarela	
MI Shiviti	Ahiciririx
HW Matjuviki	
IS Ndavale	DCO
Shiriti MK	Shiviti
Makwarela	
HE Mabasa	MOL DCO
Fhumulani	
MA Ramohale	Sekgopote
Pilisa Maek	Sekgopote
J Baloyi	Sekgopote
HW Maluleke	Xigalo
HE Mathebula	Mopani Local House
RJ Malu	Mdledge
MJ Modjadi	Nemavhola
MJ Modjadi	Modjadi

NAMES	ORGANISATION
MP Mathege	Modjadji
Manyama	Modjadi
Netshubhoyhole	
YC Rammlouda	
RL Chauke	MTTT
SP Manyanyi	Mavambe
Mkhari	
Hosi Nkuna	Nkuna
Tom	
Freddy	
MA Seroto	Maake
Johannes Bopape	Maake
TV Khuzwayo	HTL
NE Raphahliso	Royal Chair
LP Raphahlelo	Raphahlelo
ME Mashego	Selwane
RR Mashego	Selwane
MT Mabunda	Dzumeri
Khessivho	LHTL
Hosivho Machamba	LHTL
Hosi Sechaike	LHTL
Khoshi Sekororo	LHTL EXCO
Hosi MS Muhlava	LHTL

Waterberg: 11 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Thwadi Komane	SAHRC
Thomas Malapane	Ga-Matlala
Mathew Gopane	CRLRC
Samson Sebola	Ga-Madiba
James Mashishi	Masehlaneng
Frans Leso	Maroteng
Joseph Ledwaba	Haagmanass
Isaac Marakalala	GaMasenya
Richard Nkuna	P. Lanka
Kgoshi EV Kekana	M/TLC
Khoshi Tau ea Tsoala	Babirwa TLC
Bethuel	Bakone T LC
J Matlala	Bakone TC
Rahukula	Babirwa
RA Dikgale	Dikgale TC
J Molobela	Gilead
Alphios Matlosa	Mmamatlakala
KX Machaka	Machaka TLC
MB Sekwaila	Machaka TLC
Khosi Mashamba	LHTL
KB Taueatsoala	Babirwa
Kekana Phillia	Mahwelereng Zone 1
Lina Maswanganye	Mookgophong
Christina Baloyi	Mahwelereng
L Boshomane	Bakone TLC
LL Kgosana	Ntona

NAMES	ORGANISATION
HM Baloyi	Voortreter Hospital
Khosi Lubi	Lubi TLC
Johanna Rrammutla	Moshate-Morateng
Tsweleng Samuel	Masehlaneng Dev. Committee
Simon Maluleke	Tswane
Jane Matsemela	Masehlaneng
Maria Hlongoane	Skuruwe
Annah Baloyi	Thamahase
Selinah Muundlela	Masehlaneng
Albertinah Motlane	Josias Matlala
Annah Khoza	Ga-Baloyi
Joyce Masenene	Sekgakgapeng
Florah Nyalungu	Ntona Majeke
Lekalakala Monty	Ntona Masodi
MJ Lekalakala	Ntona Masehlaneng
Maxwell Themba	Thamahase
LJ Letwaba	Ga-Moshira
Rosinah Shibambo	Gamatshikiri
Sarah Gumbu	Tshamahantshe
Mtjale	Mapela Traditional C
Lerato Mdau	Tshamahantshe
Gravis Shibambo	Tshamahantse
Kgosi Johannes Matshiki	Go-Matshiki
Mahlangu Jotham	Spirit Arts Culture
LE Molele	Bakone
Jim Khoza	
Wilheminah Khoza	
Maria Maswanganye	Matebeki

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Samuel Baloyi	TSU
MJ Masemini	Mokone
Albert Sefelega	Ga-Mokaba
LC Movalo	Ga-Madiba
Maria Matlou	Sekgagapeng
Rosina Matlou	Sekgagapeng
Abram Madlanato	Ga-Madiba
Johanna Seanego	Monte Christo
SJ Makhakhe	Dept of Health
RF Aphane	Dept of Health
Patricia Rafapa	Kgoshi Lekaka
Capt Moakanedi	SAPS
Fanny Matlola	Ga-Matlala
Alpheus Chokwe	Ga-Chokwe
Thabo Frank	Ga-Matlala
MJ Mongwe	DSAC
LR Matlala	Rakone TLC
T Khuzwayo	LHTL
France Ramashala	Kgosi Lanka
Malesela Mathibela	Kgosi Kekana
Elias Maluleka	Kgosi Langa
James Letlalo	Kgosi Kekana
Patricia Sebola	Kgosi Kekana
Jones Koopedi	Kgosi Langa
Elias Chokwe	Kgoshi Langa
Rebecca Chokwe	Kgoshi Langa
Mpho Mokoena	Ga-Matla
Alphios Mashiane	Nkgoro

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Linah Matlaila	Kgosi Kekana
Rosinah Matlaka	Kgosi Kekana
Jonas Selebelo	Kgoshi Kekana
SC Ramuhashi	Office of the Premier
SC Kutumela	OTP Waterberg
SS Mathemba	Premier
MM Moetlo	Mapela Traditional
Kgosi Sekororo	
MG Makhode	Premier
Segabutla Salome	Zebediela TLC
Daniel Kekana	Zebediela TLC
Fikile Montaleka	
Betty Maswanganyi	Crecy
Stephina Maswanganyi	Crecy
Elina Moleba	Ga-Madiba
Philemon Mabotja	Makware
Daniel Phago	Health.Mapela
Johannes Baloyi	Nduna Ntungwane
Kale Jam	Ntuna Sekgakgapeng
MJ Langa	George Maebe
Mothibi Noah	Ga-Masenya
Ledwaba Frans	Ntona Gasekgoto
Patricia Ramakhakha	Kekana
Mokgaetji M Rafapa	Kgoshi Kekana
Joseph Moshehla	Mosebetjane
Rebecca Mashaba	Mosebetjane
MM Ramokolo	THO
Nelly Mathebola	THO

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Richard Mokgamatha	Kgosi Lanka

Kwamhlanga: 19 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
WJ Mabena	Manala Mgibe TC
MD Kabini	Manala Mgibe TC
K Msiza	Chief Johannes Mahlangu
SM Mahlangu	Somphalali TLC
RB Mahlangu	Somphalali TLC
GC Nkuna	Manala Mbongo
D Mabena	Manala Mbongo
Chief BV Mabena	Kwapofu Royal Kraal
JD Mabena	Manala TLC
VJ Nkabinde	Kwa Makenang
DI Thulane	Mgibe
Ikosi AJ Mabena	Manala Mgibe
Petrus Mabena	Chief Moerana
Frank Nkadimeng	Mabena
LM Mabena	Gamgibe
Elias Mabena	Gamgibe
Maklaas Ngotella	Kgosi Shokhutumi
Piet Moshe	Kgosi Mahlangu
Ceelbooi Ndou	Pofu Royal Kraal
Moshe Ledwaba	Pofu Royal Kraal
Johannes Mokgotholela	Pofu royal Kraal
Mishack Mahlangu	Kgosi Mahlangu
Augor Sibanyoni	Mgibe

NAMES	ORGANISATION
JT Matshiqo	Education Communica.
Mike Bhengu	House of Tr Leaders
J Nkosi	Prov Youth Desk
C Mnguni	King Ya Mahdebele
Mahlangu	Ndzundza Mabho
PIP Masanabo	Mahlangu (Chief)
C Thobane	Kgosi Mabena Phola Park
EE Mahlangu	
ST Mahlangu	
States	Initiation Forum
Steve Mnguni	Initiation Forum
Skhosana	Under Chief Mabena
Dan Masompula	Mavala Traditional
J Mnguni	Mandela
A Mashiane	Verina
Tshepo Letshwera	Premiers Office
MF Matlala	Service Prov
JM Monama	Service Prov
Jabulane Monnote	Service Prov
Thomas Malapae	Ga-Matlala
C Thobane	Kgosi Mabena
MJ Mahlano	COGTA
M Gopane	CRLRC
T Komane	SAHRC
J Mokoto	Service Prov
G Makola	Service Prov.
DJ Mabena	Manala Mgibe T/C
SP Msiza	Traditional Health Pr

NAMES	ORGANISATION
S Baloyi	Traditional Health Pr
EJ Kapole	SAHRC
D Masilela	Nzunza Fene T/C
Aron Mahlangu	Nzunza Fene T/C
P Mthimunye	Nzunza Fene T/C
SJ Mogadime	Traditional
Mr P Ranoto	Traditional
MW Magolego	Traditional
Joseph Mabena	Leratong Ext
JT Tshabangu	Manala Traditional
MP Mtshweni	Manala Mbongo
JD Mahlangu	Nzunza Mabusa
BD Mahlangu	Nzunza Mabusa
R Skhosana	Nzunza Mabusa
I Siphos Mahlangu	Nzunza Mabusa
Fred Malinga	Nzunza Mabusa
M Moses	MPHTL

Mahikeng: 18 March 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Puoeng Mudiriwa	Madibogo
Andries Modirwa	Madibogo
Abel Seoka	Madibogo pan
KB Togone	Madibogo pan
Lucas Lebeko	Thutlwane
Israel Kgothitswe	Madibogo Pan
Samuel	Lekomanyane

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Benjamen	Thobega
Lekebe	Thobega
IM Mosadi	Madibago
Justice	
Becumela Mogomotsi	Lomanyaneng
TS Segwe	Barolong Boo Tshidi
OB Mmutle	Madibogo
MM Gontse	Setlhwatlhwe
R Kgokong	Setlhwatlhwe
MD Seichokelo	Ganyesa
TG Mafeo	Madibogo
G Mokole	Madibogo
MJ Sehloho	Madibogo
J Mokoto	Madibogo
Alfred	Madibogo
D Seebooi	Xenxe
J Mosec	Mohatlhe
MF Maanoapelo	Gaseetshubelwe
Jonas Mashali	Madibogo
Gladys Tsheko	Madibogo
TA Makapela	Htl
Seoka Aandie	Madibogo
Keoboditse Sechokelo	Ganyesa
Mohulenyane Mothadi	Ganyesa
Keagaletse Mochusi	Ganyesa
Letsholo Betha	Moshana
Tsikang Lencoe	Moshana
Thembinkosi Mbadla	Lomonyaneng
Solly Dail	Lomonyaneng

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Bonke John Gura	
Toto Nikoni	Swartkamur
Mafukisa	Ditibane
T Kigorwana	
KJ Musitsi	Mosehla
Alfred Noane	
RF Moono	
TR Ditibane	
NJ Mompe	
Chubudu Dintlarekeng	
Norman Mabiletsa	
FH Mokgattha	Gopane
Montsi Molokwane	Gopane
Daniel Tlotleng	Gopane
Ramoshibidi Sethaiso	Gopane
Ratsuru Sedumedi	Gopane
Tsholofelo Motholu	SAPS MFK
Disebo Mothupi	Manthe
SP Khakedi	Manthe
Maduku	Manthe
MJ Akkers	Manthe
CJ Mosimang	
Iden Seoka	Madibogona
M Seoka	Madigogopan
Pogiso Seoka	Madibogopan
G Legae	
Petrus Serapane	Madibogo Pan
Andrew Lekoko	

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Pule Mokomele	
Lorato Moshoelette	Khunwana
Gothata Moshoelette	Khunwana
Motsewamakgoa Moshoelette	Khunwana
Golaolamang Mokgosi	Khunwana
Olehile Sejamohelo	Khunwana
Morapeli Bosigo	Khunwana
Mothusi Mothibi	Khunwana
Nel T Mazaleni	
Rachel Maneli	Vetgevaal
Mittah Loane	Valgevaal
Angelina Ganta	
Anna Twesha	
George Kgopolelo	Magageng
Tuelo Meko	Taung
Mokganedi Merapelo	
Kgopolelo	Magogong
Tebogo Lekaowa	Magogong
Phillip Moetsi	Magogong
Tumelo Hotsele	Taung
Otsile Monchisi	Modutung
Maphefo Motlhaba	Modutung
Gasengwana Tolong	Modutung
Simon gaditshese	Modutung
DJ Gaanakgomo	Moduting
Hotsele	Moduting
Ikobeng Monnagadi	Moduting
Kedibone Tsabone	Moduting

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Hadiliele Molapo	Moduting
Maggie Morakanele	Taung
Queen Thiye	Taung
Thoncho Meku	Taung
Banini Mothibi	Taung
One Boy Bosepilwe	Taung
Dikeleli Maleho	Taung
Tuelo Mekwa	Moduting
Dimakatso Mokwa	Taung
Molwagole	Moduting
A Maanakgomo	Moduting
Maetso	Moduting
Mokgalagadi	Moduting
Z Mole	
MJ Mahambehloa	
IU Laitsi	
Motibili	Khayakhulu
Sydney Dayel	
Jeremia Thambe	
OA Lesetedi	Manthe
OM Gaothaelwe	Manthe
MM Mongwaketse	Manthe
MS Mothepu	Manthe
JJ Moseki	
TF Mmolaeng	Kokomeng
A Mokari	
MM Diloke	Manthe
Selina Morakabi	Longaneng

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Robinah Gaesale	Dikhuling
OM Oferame	Ganyesa
SD Maeco	Matlhonyane
BA Thwane	Masephe
SP Gwabeni	Magoekoikoi
PH Kgarane	Ganyesa
AS Lehogele	Ganyesa
CE Gomolemo	Ganyesa

Nyandeni: 08 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANIZATION
Gobogobo Rhexwana	Ngqeleni
Simphiwe Mncela	Ngqeleni
Thembisile Jama	Ngqeleni
Anele Begezi	Coza
Thembikhaya Mnyamezeli	Mbobeleni
Siyasanga Teyisi	Mbobeleni
Vuyisile Ndyebo	Misty Mant
Luthando Manyifolo	Mbobeleni
B Nondetye	Misty Mount
M Nongena	Maqini
Sipho Mgqukuza	Mafini
A Maqolo	Mafini
Maphelo Mayekiso	Coza
Mzolisi Mohaji	Coza
LG Siziba	Coza
Mlondolozzi Nkono	Mdlankomo*

NAMES	ORGANIZATION
Andile Boya	Peni*
Sandile Ntshona	Mdlankomo
VuyisileMaliwa	Mdlankomo
S Mpayipheli	UbuntuBethu
F Cindi	PHOTL
L Magadla	PHOTL
Suprise Tution	Godini
Sbabalwe Mazana	Mangwaneni
Lonwabo Nkonzo	UbuntuBethu
DE Nqawe	Coza
L Mnguni	PHOTL Official
GM Mpeqeka	Mtozela
Dweba ZH	ECDOH
Andile	FUMA
Xolile	Mbangata*
Lungisile Buje	Mafini
K Mnukwa	Mandileni
Zibele Qangule	Mandileni
M qhajane*	Mandileni
Avuyile Dlaka	Mandileni
M Vinindwa*	Mandileni
S Nomveku*	Nyandeni
S. Mpoza	Nyandeni
Nylon Fodo*	Zinduneni*
T Nomatole*	Bhungu
L Kuzana	Bhungu
F Celu	Nxukwebe
Z Mtshukuma	Ntshele

NAMES	ORGANIZATION
M Phoyiyana	Ntshela
N Nochuze*	Nkanga
M Nocuze	Nkanga
S Nomathole	Dikela
M Yokhana	Nkanga
Z Celani	Dikela
Z Lugomo	Dikela
B Mtshazi	Dikela
S Joseph	Nkanga
P Mbangata	Nxukwebe
SN Ndamase	Nkosi COZA AA
Z Dunyana	Nkosi COZA
Makhaya	Nyandeni Kingdom
MM Ngqolo	Port St Johns
Mgcotyelwa*	Amasame tlc
M Mgcotyelwa*	Mngazi A/A
N Zanywa*	Mngwenyane
Z Mgcotyelwa*	Mngazi A/A
B Mnyaka	Mgwenyane
Zolile Jiba	Mgwenyane
T Langa	Cibeni
Z Mtikitiki	Cwele
P Mankuntsu*	Cibeni
F Modubela	Mgwenyane
S Maja	Siyafundisana*

Kuruman: 03 March 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
KG Makgetla	COGHSTA
DT Molema	Baga Jantjie
ED Seikaneng	COGSTA
Boitumelo Moreri	COGSTA
Tholo Mokubung	COGSTA
Pelenome Toto	Kgosi Ba-Ga Motlhwane
Tsalano Tshidigge	Local House
Nomandla Bloem	COGHSTA
Motshidisi Jantie	Bag-Jantie
IH Tlhakwe	COGHSTA
K P Sewedi	
TB Thahanyane	Kgosi
TB Kalagobe	TLC
IS Dioka	Kgosi
KE Jantjie	Kgosi
M Gopane	CRLRC
KC Mkuchane	COGHSTA
I Maepa	COGHSTA
T Mocwane	COGHSTA
B Assegaai	COGHSTA
R Kopeledi	COGHSTA
L Mosala	COGHSTA
K Mabuse	COGHSTA
OJ Ntong	COGHSTA
KE Solomon	COGHSTA

Khayelitsha: 08 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Chief M Mazinyo	Cultrum
Princess F Mbalo	Cultrum
Chief NV Roto	Cultrum
Themba Mandindi	Cultracm
Banjule Fanteni	ANC
ZR Kutyala	Cultram
Bulelwa E Sambutho	Cultram
M bhantom	Site B
Mrs V Mcatsha	Cultram
F Bambi	Cultram
Chief GM Gamulana	Cultram
S Sobuza	Cultram
Princess T Namba	Culdram
Zipopo Mbeke	SANCO
A Paka	Cultram
N Sixhenxe	SANCO
B Notike	SANCO
M Mbulali	SANCO
Chief d Vaphi	Cultram
Chief EX Cofe	Cultram
D Mfecane	Caltram
WM Mathobongwana	Caltram
S GXilisha	Language Services
Phetho Ntaba	Language Services
Johnson Bambatha	Site B U364
Buntu Ndoko	SANCO

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Zodidi Veru	
Xolile Tshongolo	Language services
Nokwanda Matanda	Langa
M Swartboi	Site B
Ms M Masoka	Site B
Chief Galada	Caldtrum
Hunha	D139
N Futshane	Site B
P Futshane	Site B
T Dlamini	Site B
H Nposwazo	Site B
Richard Mnchi	Site B
Thobeka Mbaho	Cultram
JM Mgumaru	Cultram
T Madolo	Site B
Luvuyo Ntlakana	Makhaya
Nokuthula xego	SITE C
Athur	Kweberg
Abraham	Kayzer
S Xholisa	Site C
K Nnqanqeni	Site C
M. Mpondo	Hazeldene
FF Mbalane	Philipi
T Bolo	Katram
L Bolo	Katram
T Mohare	Kraaifontein
Z Gxagxa	Kraaifontein
X Mavela	Kwilsriver

NAMES	ORGANISATION
MD Mngqanden	Wanga
Mxolim Nonsalaza	Langa
Vuyani Nkunzi	City of Cape Town
Makupula Silumko	Embo Initiation
Noswiwe Pasaiya-Mndende	K/Litsha
JP Grootboom	New
G Grootboom	New
Steven Motale	Langa
M Ntaba	Crossroads
M Mazimgo	Khayelitsha
Mr D Volofu	Langa
E Kotoyi	Cultram
Chief A van Wyk	XORAXAUKHOE
D Magidela	XRoads
T Gqabi	Phillipi
F Sobantu	KTC
Chief Vaphi	Langa
E Sdlayi	Kraaifontein
N Gobisandla	Flei Phillip
D Mokoena	Kraaifontein
B Diko	New crossroad
D. Galada Chief	Langa
N Mathanda	Langa
Chief EO Stemela	Blowberg
MJ Mdimba	Nyanga/Gugs
Tembinkosi Kotoyi	Culttacam
Toto Nongwe	Crossroads
Coetzee Ntotovinyane	CONTRALESA

NAMES	ORGANISATION
C Ralarala	Gugulethu

Langa: 12 February 2011

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Ntombi Febana	Culdrum
Sandi Mnxwiwa	Nkosi Manxiwa
M Mamondela	Cultrum
TG Qwabe	Cultrum
TE Nyumka	Cultrum
Bonisile Fadana	Cultrum
Nolini Tyindyi	Cultrum
Nondoda Mbawuli	Grossroad
Bongani Kilo	Philipi
Masumpa Sigruzuba	Langa
MA Mndende	Khayelitsha
Vuyisile Ngandlela	Cultrum
M Nenweli	Cultrum
Siphino Freddie	City of Capetown
Zolisa Pakade	City of Capetown
Sindile Namba	City of Capetown
Nomahlubu Deliwe	Langa
Phumzile Nteyi	Resident Gugulethu
Phetlo Ntaba	Language services
Muntu Phillips	Language Services
Xolisa Tshongolo	Language Services
King Zukile Rafura	Cultrum
Caroline Ndashe	Gugulethu

NAMES	ORGANISATION
Ronny Nyuka	Dept Cultural Affairs
Z Abenta	SAMORA
F Fesi	Langa
P Ntswayi	KTC
T Namba	Harari
Priscilla Jumba	Site CKha
F Mbalo	Kitha Park
E. Gcora	Site C
N Ntyikwe	Site C
N Quqani	Site C
MJ Semela	Site C
N Ntsika	Site C
Chief Zamomthetho	X Road
T Msengana	Site C
L Shokhoa	Site C
Chief Bambi	KTC
M Ngala	Phillipi
NM Gubevu	Guguletu
M Skukula	Site C
M Tseke	Philliri

978-0-620-51683-9

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