



THE EXPERIENCES OF NEWLY INITIATED BASOTHO MEN IN SELECTED BOTSHABELO HIGH SCHOOLS, FREE-STATE PROVINCE

By

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DECLARATION

“I, Ntsofa Clasper Monyela, declare that this Master’s Degree research dissertation that I herewith submit for the Master’s Degree qualification in Africa studies at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.”

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my late beloved mother, Mapula Onicca Monyela, who supported me during thick and thin times, undergoing difficult situations, making sure that I also get hold of the Key to Success (education). MAY HER SOUL REST IN PEACE. To my brother, Matome Godfrey Monyela, my sister, Ntswaki Julia Monyela, as well as to my beloved daughter, Mapula Lesedi Mohale, who lived her life without her dad around. Lastly, I dedicate this study to the youth of 1976.

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KEY CONCEPTS

Banna A plural reference for males who have gone for initiation.

Bashemane A plural reference for males who have not gone for initiation

Basuwe A group of men from age 30 or older who have already gone for initiation and who play the role of taking care of the initiates whilst they are still at the initiation school and teaching them about manhood (playing a role of social fathers) appointed by the father of the initiation school.

Dikwata A derogatory name that is synonymous to barbarians.

Lebollo Basotho initiation school practiced as their traditional and cultural ritual and rite of passage into manhood.

Ma-phura-khoatla An identification of Basotho newly initiated men when they are incorporated back into their society.

Monna A singular name referring to a male who has gone for initiation.

Moshemane A singular name referring to a male who has not gone for initiation.

Raditlhare A male elder who has gone for initiation and possesses knowledge and skills of traditional medicines used for *lebollo*.

Monga lebollo a father of initiation or an initiation school owner

UFS University of the Free State

ABSTRACT

This research study in selected high schools in Botshabelo, in the Free State, sought to analyse, understand and present the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men, when they are incorporated back into the high school environment. Such experiences include how they see themselves as new men, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as their interaction with other learners. Therefore, this research study was conducted within the methodology of ethnography as an academic requirement, grounded in empirical work in the discipline of African studies. The theoretical framework underpinned in this study centred mainly on two theories: 1) The Rite of Passage as proposed by Van Gennep (1960); and 2) The Psychosocial Theory proposed by Erikson (1956 and 1977). The findings noted a particular paradigm shift in the meaning of manhood which suggests and juxtaposes a dichotomy between Basotho's cultural and traditional logic of the changing meaning of manhood in a contemporary South African context. This is influenced by an existing strong relationship between age and time for initiation, high school and initiation, as well as the type of education that *ma-phura-khoatla* receive from initiation. This study also noted that the newly initiated men experience mockery, stigmatization and intolerance from the majority of male teachers, a few female teachers, as well from some fellow learners. On the other hand, the findings noted a mutual and convivial relationship among the majority of female teachers, as well as other learners and the newly initiated men. Therefore, this suggests that there is a partial and very limited acknowledgement of cultural knowledge and recognition of initiation as one of the African indigenous cultural and traditional practices in these schools.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1 Introduction

This chapter fore-ground the work found in this thesis by outlining the background of the study and its significance for the democratic South Africa. Details such as the aim and objectives of the study, research problem, research question, as well as the significance of the study are discussed. The focus is centralized around the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* (newly initiated Basotho men), whose indigenous cultures, knowledge systems, identity and ways of being, have been ridiculed, demonized, declared inferior and irrational, and, in some cases, 'disregarded' (Fanon 1952: vi).

Furthermore this study endeavored to explore such experiences from the emic perspective by analyzing the social interactions, interpretations and responses between the *ma-phura-khoatla* as research participants, their male and female teachers, as well as their fellow learners. This issue was studied because the question of manhood is seen as a socially constructed identity among Basotho people. In this account, the analysis also reflects how manhood identity shifts and is negotiated through different environments. To account for this shift, the researcher also looked at the dynamism that has been driving such a shift. Therefore, this research study presents a particular dynamic movement in the development of Basotho's cultural and traditional logic of manhood and the lived experiences of the *ma-phura-khoatla* in the school environment.

Lastly, this particular dynamic movement is also examined through the ways in which manhood identity amongst the Basotho in this area is changing. The researcher therefore sought to examine the changing meaning of traditional and cultural identity of manhood by reflecting on what is lost? What shape does it take at different points? What factors are at play at each particular moment when these changes take place?

This study zoomed into the initiation cultural identity politics in terms of how young men who have been newly initiated are incorporated into the high school environment and their community. In this account, the researcher took the concept of rite of passage beyond the normative understanding of initiation as rite of passage from one stage to another to a process of identity confusion, shifting and adjustment.

It is also crucial to mention here as a point of departure that the researcher used the Sesotho key concepts interchangeably and in a descriptive manner in order to maintain authenticity, because such concepts are culturally untranslatable and there is no equivalent English words (see page ix).

2 Background to the Study

Despite the penetration of colonialism, industrialization, urbanization, apartheid, and birthing of democracy (cultural, social and political changes), the meaning of manhood is still a critical debate in contemporary South Africa and male initiation is at the center of this manhood debate. The literature shows that since time immemorial, male initiation, which includes traditional circumcision, has always been regarded as a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood. According to Ntombana (2011: 22), this is one of the oldest traditional practices that have been observed in many cultures across the world. Some regions and people who practice the ritual of circumcision include: Sub-Saharan Africa, North African, Middle Eastern Moslems, the Jewish Diaspora, Australia and some Asian countries. Some African counties that still practice the circumcision ritual include: Kenya and Uganda among the Maasai and Bungoma and Guinea (Martinez and Waldron, 2006).

In South Africa, the ethnic groups that practice this ritual include the amaXhosa, amaSwati, amaNdebele, Southern Sotho, Venda (Hammond-Tooke, 1974: 229). Studies done by Silverman (2004); Munthali and Zulu (2007); Vincent (2008); Mfecane (2008); Matobo *et al.*, (2009) and Ntombana (2011), document that, since time immemorial, in many African societies, one must undergo the initiation ritual – as a rite

of passage - from boyhood to manhood. However, among various African countries, the practice of this ritual differs in various ways. What is common among all of them, though, is its relationship in the meaning and the formation of manhood.

In the South Africa context, initiation is still persistent among the Basotho, Bapedi and BaVenda people in the Limpopo province and amongst Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape Province. In South Africa, among all communities that practice male initiation, this practice is still regarded as a gateway to manhood. Thus, during the school vacations; both in June and December of each year, in some communities like among the AmaXhosa, Amandebele, Basotho and VhaVenda, males are still sent to initiation schools in their numbers. In fact, the recent literature shows that in post-apartheid South Africa more and more males have taken an interest in initiation schools and as result, even though this practice has been associated with all a lot of problems, more and more young men attend these schools (www.gov.za/.../report-public-hearings-male-initiation-schools-south-africa-2010). According to Kepe (2010), Ntombana (2011) and Vincent (2008), even though this practice has been associated with major problems such as health hazards, an escalating number of deaths, a growing number of illegal schools and commercialization, more and more young men would rather die as men than live as boys.

After having gone through initiation, newly initiated men are incorporated back into their families and societies with new responsibilities and privileges. Ntombana (2011) indicates there has been a change in these responsibilities and privileges when compared to the old traditional practice. In the old tradition, the responsibilities of the new initiates included taking care of their fathers' homestead, working hard to support themselves and their families, upholding their clan name and being present at all family and ritual ceremony gatherings. Privileges include being respected by the society, participating in the *Kgotla* (public discussions summoned by the Chief to discuss and resolve issues facing the society), protecting their families and society, as well as inheriting their father's possessions. They can also publicly date their women and get married. Over and above this, there was a high expectation of responsibilities from the

newly initiated men such as the: expectation of bravery, responsibility, respect for others, self-respect, self-discipline, independence and respect for the law (Molapo, 1976).

As already mentioned, the meaning and the emphasis of both responsibilities and privileges have changed. For example, responsibilities now include: not drinking too much alcohol, not breaking the law and avoiding prison and a criminal record, avoiding having multiple sexual partners and avoiding HIV/AIDS, going to school and being educated, getting a job and supporting one's family. The privileges now also include: being respected by women, being respected by those who have not gone through initiation, sitting and eating with initiated men during rituals and ceremonies, as well as gaining general respect from everyone in the community.

If one considers the last point, which is gaining the respect of the community, one wonders how they are treated at mainstream schools which do not necessarily pay much attention to the initiation practice. At the school all learners are equally learners. There is no distinction between initiated and uninitiated learners. In fact, some teachers call them all *bashemane* (boys) in the plural, which is a derogatory term to use to *monna* (initiated man) in the singular. The main challenge here is that the newly initiated are taught that there are various privileges associated with being *monna* and then they go back to a school environment where all learners are treated as equals and they are still regarded as *bashemane*. This in itself brings to question manhood and identity.

One may argue that initiation as a rite of passage – from being *moshemane* (a boy) into being *monna* (man), creates divided social groupings – those who have been to initiation and those who have not been to initiation. However, the reality of the matter is that school environments in South Africa are completely regulated by their own policies, which are enshrined in the constitution of the country, among which the recognition of traditional and cultural practices, particularly initiation rituals, is embedded within African customs.

This is very limiting and ambiguous. For instance Vincent (2008: 77) says:

In a liberal democratic constitutional state, social order is conceived as a contract between the individual and the state in which the state upholds the rights of individual citizens. The state, in this conception of order, is the sole source of social authority. Final recourse is to the impersonal mechanism of the constitution as interpreted by the courts. Traditional rituals seem to suggest alternative loci of authority and alternative conceptions of the production and maintenance of social order. As a result, they can be seen as threatening to the liberal democratic version of order.

Here, what Vincent (2008: 77) suggests is that, since time immemorial, initiation has been one of the most identified cornerstones of social order and identity formation cutting-across "...age and gender, renewing group unity and means for the transmission of values across generations", as well as identity formation in many South African societies (Vincent 2008: 77). This role in contemporary South Africa is very limited. Hence, even in school environments, the identities of those who have undergone initiation are not acknowledged; instead, they are seen as threatening.

It is from this background that this study focuses its attention on the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla*, when incorporated back into the school environment. It considers their identity, manhood to be specific, as formulated through initiation. In doing so, it examines how *ma-phura-khoatla* see themselves and negotiate their identity in the school environment, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as the treatment they received from interacting with other learners.

3 The research site

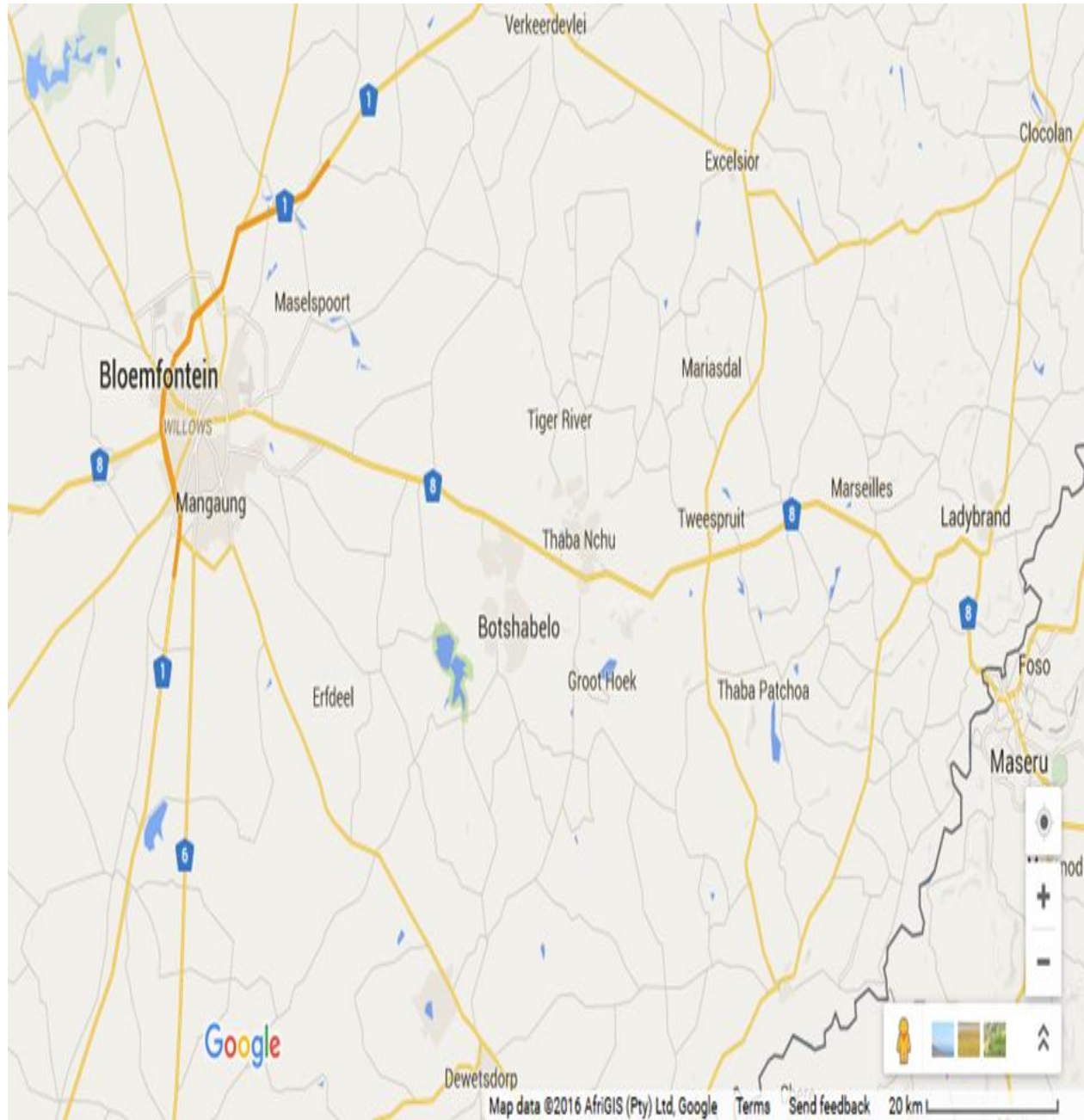
This study focuses on selected schools in Botshabelo, Free-State Province. Botshabelo is at the centre of the eastern part of the Free State Province (see Map 1). Initially, the name Botshabelo means a place of refuge (Botshabelo in Sesotho). It was a bare veld in 1979, now it accommodates perhaps about half a million people and it is the second largest black township after Soweto (Murray 1987: 312). According to Tomlinson and Krige, Botshabelo was established in 1979 (Tomlinson and Krige, 1997: 692). Furthermore, at the time it served as a refuge for thousands of farmworkers displaced

from 'white' farms as a result of agricultural restructuring, as well as deliberate population relocation (Tomlinson and Krige, 1997: 692).

The most predominant population in this area is Basotho from the Southern part of South Africa. Furthermore, Botshabelo is a township in the Thaba 'Nchu district of the former Bophuthatswana, part of the "independent" Tswana Bantustan. It is a long way from QwaQwa, the 'non-independent' Southern Sotho Bantustan on the boundary of Natal, Orange Free State and Lesotho (Murray 1987: 312).

Murray (1987) seem to have captured better the geographical, the socio-structural and historical background of Botshabelo. According to him, Botshabelo forms part of the central Development Region C, which embraces the provincial capital of Bloemfontein, capital city of the Free State Province. In addition, Botshabelo is one of Apartheid's most controversial creations, and currently constitutes the third largest town in the Free State Province. It also constitutes an important constituency for the African National Congress (ANC) (Tomlinson and Krige ,1997: 691). In addition, Botshabelo is one of the major settlements that are distant from any Central Business District (CBD) or cities in lay-man's language. It is about 55 kilometres from the Bloemfontein CBD. The mode of transport between Botshabelo and the Bloemfontein CBD is mostly two mass transport systems: the Interstate Bus Lines and the local mini-bus taxi industry. Unlike many other formerly 'black' townships in South Africa, Botshabelo' s isolated location means that it cannot easily integrate with the adjacent formerly 'white' town, neither can it benefit from its economic infrastructure, rates and service payments, and institutional capacity (Tomlinson and Krige, 1997: 692).

4 The Botshabelo Map; Free State province



5 Research problems

As already mentioned in the background, prior to going through male initiation school, Basotho males are regarded as boys by both their families and society. It is only after graduating from initiation that they are regarded as men and then expected to embrace a new identity. The main problem resonates from the fact that the high school environment which the newly initiated men are incorporated into, is governed by its own legislations and policies that do not necessary cater for products of initiation rituals. In such an environment all learners are regarded as children and every male learner is a boy or school boy. The newly initiated who now regard themselves and by the society at large as men are still regarded as “boys” in the high school environment. For instance, at the time the researcher was negotiating access to the school premises and to learners, one school principal stated: “In our schools all learners are treated equal and all male learners, regardless of whether they have been to initiation or not, are regarded as *bashemane*.”

However, this cannot be regarded as the representation of the views of other schools, or teachers per se. But taking into consideration the fact that initiation is a rite of passage – from being a *moshemane* into becoming a *monna* - it is important to examine, understand and explain the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla*, when incorporated back into this environment. Such experiences include how they see themselves as new men in the school environment, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as their interactions with other learners.

6 Significance of study

This study topic was chosen, because in contemporary South Africa there are various available choices for the youth in constructing their identity, and initiation persists in playing a major role in this regard. However, there is an outcry that newly initiated men do not live according to their expectations and that the initiation no longer plays its tradition and cultural teaching role (Ntombana, 2011: 23). It draws input from different

disciplines, including sociology, anthropology and history. Therefore, it attempts to bridge disciplinary boundaries by producing factual uncertainties and thereby cultivate debates: both in academia and public spaces, in relation to youth identity formation and cultural change. This fosters intercultural and intergenerational dialogues in a democratic and diverse country such as South Africa. Further, it has the potential to inform policymakers in the government in dealing with these dialogues, as well as debates on inclusivity and exclusivity. Thus, this study contributes to the body of knowledge on Basotho ethnography, the transformation of African societies, the understanding of initiation and the relationship between formal and indigenous education in South Africa. This is done by addressing the objective dynamics of social-cultural issues that emerged with societal structural issues in a manner that resurrects defect level of the community's existence – the social, the community and the personal.

7 Research Aim

- This study aims to critically examine the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men when incorporated back into the high school environment.

8 Research Objectives

- To describe and examine the meaning of social interactions and lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men in high school environments.
- To depict the cultural knowledge and recognition of African endogenous practices in education in high school environments.

9 Research Question:

- The overarching research question in this descriptive phenomenological approach is: what are the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men when they are incorporated back into the high school environment?

10 Outline of the thesis

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter one is the introduction of the study. It includes the background to the study, the research site, the research problem, the significance of the study, the aim and objectives, as well as the main research question.

Chapter two discusses the theoretical framework underpinning this study. Here, the researcher validates theories used in this study and explains the relevance of these theories in answering the research question, as well as in achieving the research objectives.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology, which is the bedrock of this study. The discussion includes the reasons for choosing and using particular research techniques. The chapter also outlines in detail how permission for access to the field was negotiated. Further, the chapter outlines the experiences of the researcher on how he was received by both school management and research participants. Lastly, this chapter discusses codes of ethics that guided the researcher during the research process.

Chapter four presents the findings and data, informed by the research question, objectives and research aim. In this chapter, the researcher outlines the experiences of newly initiated Basotho men when incorporated back into the school system. This chapter furthermore presents in-depth findings that are based on the person to person interviews, as well as of the focus group discussion.

Chapter five provides an interpretation and analysis of the findings and data that are based on the presentations of the experiences of newly initiated Basotho men. These experiences include how they were received and treated by both male and female

teachers, as well as their interactions with other learners at the two selected secondary schools in Botshabelo, Free State province.

Chapter six is a presentation of the conclusion and recommendations of the research study, based on the fundamental knowledge produced by the study, as well as suggestions for future studies. Further, gaps and contradictions identified during research process are outlined in this chapter.

11 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has fore-grounded the work of this study and further provided the background for reasons to conduct the study. There is a fundamental and undeniable and acknowledged fact that there have been several studies done specifically on initiation in South Africa. However, this study which considered the experiences of *Ma-phura-khoatla* and their identity is situated in an area of research on which very little research has been done.

Furthermore, as an aspiring academic who possesses an interest in examining and understanding youth cultures and identity formation, the researcher sought to explore the formation of youth identities in contemporary democratic South Africa. The researcher explores the cultural logic of identity formation, especially through initiation changes, as well as the contributing factors that influenced this change. This is done through examining African cultural practices that continue to determine the everyday rituals of the existence of the African people.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2. 1 Introduction

This chapter discusses theoretical framework underpinning this study and the literature that was found relevant to this study. The discussion covers the conceptualization of manhood as an identity formulated through '*lebollo*'. Further, this chapter presents theories that enhance an understanding of identity formation and cultural change in postmodern society. The discussion forms part of an illustration of the relevance of both these concepts in enhancing the modern lifestyle, which is faced with a lot of challenges, such as the lack of essential tools for identity formation, especially among the youth. Among South African male youth in particular, these challenges are accompanied by critical questions, such as: "Who am I?" and "Who do I want to be-(come)?" Such questions facilitate how South African male youth position themselves in the environments in which they find themselves, as well as throughout their everyday life activities. Therefore, theories adopted in this study play a major role in examining and unpacking how the facilitation and positionality of male youth manifest, especially in modern society.

2. 2 Theoretical Framework

Using a theoretical framework derived from the classic study of initiation rituals as: The Rite of Passage by Arnold van Gennep (1960) and the theories of socialisation associated with the psychologist Erik Erikson (1956 and 1977), the study explores the process of re-entering the community after initiation. These theories play an important role in examining, understanding and explaining how identity is formulated and shifts through different moments. In a country penetrated by colonialism, urbanization, industrialization, apartheid and birthing of democracy, such as South Africa, these

theories enhance an understanding and examination of the dynamic movement which consist of culture and tradition, through the formation of identity. This includes the juxtaposition of culture (in reference to tradition) and change. Furthermore, an understanding and examination of what is left and what is lost in this change is determined. What shape does culture take from one point to the other? What factors are at play at each particular moment when these changes take place? In this instance, culture is essentially contextualized as a tool for identity formation practiced through initiation.

2. 2. 1 Erikson's psychosocial theory

A well-known German psychologist, Erikson (1956 and 1977) posited the formation of identity based on what is called the eight psychosocial stages of human development. However, as already indicated, this study is based on culture (in reference to tradition) and identity formation, not on the science of the mind. In the case of this study, Erikson's theory resonates very well by providing an explicit analysis of human development (especially the formation of identity). All the eight stages which Erikson developed, which he refers to as stages of human life cycle, are important. However, the researcher found one stage: Identity versus role confusion, particularly relevant to this study.

Identity versus role confusion, according to Erikson (1957 and 1977) occurs from around age 12 to 18 years. It is a transitional stage from childhood to adulthood. It is further regarded as an adolescent stage, a stage in which children begin to examine their identity in terms of who they are, who they want to be-(come). This kind of examination is in relation to their roles in the environment they live in. According to Erikson (1957 and 1977) the examination is a process of two aspects, namely: psychological and social aspects, as central for identity formation. Marcia (1993) identifies three other important aspects of identity formation, namely: structural, phenomenological and behavioural. Both Erikson (1956 and 1977) and Marcia (1993) agree that the formation of identity or identity formation takes place dominantly in the

late adolescence or teenage stage – a marker of an end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood stage. In other words, this speaks to the question of adolescents forming their own identity that fits into the society they live in.

As already mentioned, Erikson's Psychosocial Theory resonates well in the case of this study. It resonates well in the sense that it enhances an examination, understanding and explanation of the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men. Further this theory, especially on its fifth stage (Identity versus role confusion), a stage from adolescent stage to adulthood, provides the researcher with the relevant context in which to examine manhood as an identity formulated through initiation schools. In many South African societies, initiation is practiced as a rite of passage from boyhood into manhood. As in Erikson's (1957 and 1977) Psychosocial Theory, this study also considers the transition from boyhood into manhood as a transition from the adolescent stage into adulthood. The examination of identity formation begins with the children asking themselves questions such as: 'Who am I and who do I want to be-(come)?' Initiation, as a rite of passage in the case of this study, is regarded as a cultural practice that facilitates the transition from adolescent stage into adulthood and provides answers to the above questions.

The Identity versus role confusion stage is found taking place mostly in the environments where social relations and interactions are taking place. The school environments, together with 'lebollo', serve as such an environment (see 3. 7 Sample description and size). The Psychosocial theory according to Erikson (1957 and 1977) indicates that at the transitional stage – from childhood into adulthood - adolescents begin to be more concerned with their appearance and relation to others. Their formation of identity is based on their identification with others. Here the researcher suggests that this identification forms part of the process of a sense of belonging. Belonging to society, belonging to social grouping, belonging to family and belonging to the school environment are critical in this case. Hence, during this stage adolescents begin to ponder the roles they endeavour to play when entering adulthood (Erikson 1957 and 1977)

According to Erikson (1957 and 1977) these stages must be well-balanced or aligned in order for the identity formation processes to take place. An unbalanced identity formation stage leads to what Erikson (1956 and 1977) calls an identity crisis. According to Erikson (1956 and 1977), an identity crisis is an excruciating internal conflict and a confusing stage adolescents experience during the ending of the adolescence stage and the beginning of adulthood. This includes being unsure about specific ways in which they should conduct themselves and be-(come) fully fledged members of their society. This addresses the question of identity formation: 'Who am I in relation to others'. Here, '*lebollo*' and the school system play a very critical role in channelling *ma-phura-khoatla* (in the context of *lebollo*) and learners (in the context of school) through a process of the sense of belonging. The role here also means preventing confusion during the transition from the adolescent stage to adulthood through the construction of an identity with specific socio-cultural roles, expectations and responsibilities. During this process adolescents undergo psychosocial and subjective or psychological stages (see Erikson 1957 and 1977).

In this study, the Psychosocial Theory by Erikson (1957 and 1977) provides the researcher with very important basic analytical tools to examine the lived experiences of the newly initiated Basotho men. It is with an understanding of the literature that the researcher suggests that becoming newly initiated Basotho is a process that is determined by a transition from boyhood into manhood, and this is channelled through '*lebollo*' as a rite of passage. Therefore, the researcher posits that '*lebollo*' is a cornerstone of a cultural practice to socialize adolescents (boys) into becoming adults (men). These two identities are socially constructed. Below the researcher expands this discussion of the formation of identity (or the socially construction of identities) by also adopting the work of Van Gennep (1960) on Rites of Passage.

2. 2. 2 Initiation as a rite of passage

Van Gennep (1960) regards a rite of passage as a ceremony or ritual that marks a transition from one stage of life to another, and it is used to examine and explain the

inevitable transition from the adolescence stage to the adulthood stage. These transitions include birth, marriage, death, burial, occupation, etc. Van Gennep (1960) considers these stages as part of the human life cycle. In this case, Van Gennep argues that a rite of passage is categorized by three interconnected phases, namely: Separate phase, Transitional phase and Incorporation phase. In the case of this study, the literature shows that initiation school is a rite of passage – a rite for the formation of a new identity.

Lebollo is a cultural and traditional practice that the society follows to construct the manhood identity. It is a rite of passage in a sense that boys pass the puberty stage and enter the adulthood stage to become men. According to (Silverman 2004; Munthali and Zulu 2007; Malisha *et al.*, 2008; Vincent 2008; and Ntombana 2011) initiation is practiced as a rite of passage in various socio-cultural and economic structures. Further, these authors indicate that it has been commonly practiced in many African societies since time immemorial (pre-colonial times). It has been practiced as a marker of men and a cornerstone of male socialization.

Among the Maasai (Kenya) and the Bungoma (Uganda), initiation school has been practiced as a social reproduction of new men for the society. (Martinez and Waldron, 2006; Bailey *et al.*, 2008; and Wilcken *et al.*, 2010). In Guinea, Hobart (1997) observed that initiation carry a rich diversity of customs as an integral part of renewal and affirmation of human growth, maturity and belonging. In Muslim Middle East, the Jewish diaspora, Australia, Asia and elsewhere, Silverman (2004: 425) and Ntombana (2011: 22) emphasize that the male initiation school is practiced for religious-cultural purposes.

In South Africa, among the Basotho in the Free-State Province, the Bapedi, the, BaTsonga and the BaVenda in the Limpopo Province, among the amaXhosa in Eastern and Western Cape Provinces, Delius (1989), Mosothwane (2001), Rankhotha (2004), Du Plooy (2006), Selepe (2008), Vincent (2008) and Matobo *et al.*, (2009) found that initiation school also served as a military strategy for soldiers, constituting elements of politics. In addition, Ngwane (2004) emphasizes that since pre-colonial times, male

initiation has been practiced as a means by which chiefs consolidate their political and symbolic power within constituencies. In this case, male initiation in pre-colonial times was practiced as an institution for the (re)production of the whole socio-political and socio-cultural knowledge.

According to Comaroff (1985: 85) '*lebollo*' articulates personal growth and transience with mechanisms of social reproduction and continuity by reforming subjective identity, and in the process encompassing the domestic domain in the agnatically ordered collectively. In extension, Comaroff emphasizes that '*lebollo*' subordinated male political competition to supreme legitimacy of the chiefly hierarchy, imposing on the experience of a persuasive, hegemonic model of the world (Comaroff 1985: 85). In other words, through male initiation, male domination and male supremacy, were socially constructed in favour of the whole society. This was further expressed and reproduced well in the government of the Chief and society as a whole. The expression and reproduction "...affected a transition to a social state of being, which betokened a fully adult role within the community" (Comaroff 1985: 85).

In his psychosocial theory, Erikson (1957 and 1977) identified eight important human developmental stages of which the fifth stage (a transitional stage from boyhood stage into manhood stage), in the case of this study, is pivotal. Van Gennep (1960) in his theory on rites of passage identified at least three stages in which the process of identity formation is experienced. Both theories enhance the examination, understanding and explanation of the lived experiences of the newly initiated Basotho men. Lastly, these theories allow the researcher to posit a process of identity formation and culture change.

2. 3 Three stages of rites of passage

Three stages of rites of passage are developed by Van Gennep (1960) seeking to posit stages of life that human beings undergo in their development. Employing these three stages, namely: Separation stage, Transitional stage and Incorporation stage, Van

Gennep (1960) seeks to examine, understand and explain the processes of change occurring through people's lives and how these processes shape their identities. In this study, the researcher has adopted Van Gennep (1960)'s approach to examine, understand and explain the lived experiences of the newly initiated Basotho men after coming back from '*lebollo*' (initiation). Van Gennep (1960) in this study provides important basic epistemological premises in examining, understanding and explaining how '*lebollo*' has changed the identity of the Basotho men who have been to '*lebollong*' and shaped it into the new one.

2. 3. 1 The separation stage

In the separation stage an individual is separated or detached from the old identity and his/her definitions and social structure to enter the new one. During the separation phase, Ntombana, an anthropologist, argues that an individual is separated from his/her familiar environment and former roles, and enters a very different and sometimes foreign routine to which he/she is forced to adjust and with which he/she must become familiar (Ntombana 2011: 81). In addition, Blumenkrantz and Gavazzi (1993) refer to the separation stage as a stage in which individuals are separated from their already existing social statuses and identities into new ones. For Wendling (2008), the separation stage refers to an ending of something that is either outside or ourselves or something that defines who we are into what we are becoming (Wendling, 2008:1). An example would be separating from boyhood through the initiation school and becoming a man. The literature shows that the boys are separated from all social activities and kept in a secluded place where their transition from adolescence stage into adulthood or from boyhood into manhood takes place.

2. 3. 2 The transitional stage

The transitional phase is a stage in which the participants learn the appropriate behaviour for the new stage they will be entering (Ntombana, 2011: 81). Furthermore, during this stage, initiates are given instructions and advice in preparation for their

expected new roles in the society (Munthali and Zulu, 2007 and Dyck and Dyck cited in Mahdi *et al.*, 1987: 24). In his introduction to Van Gennep's book: *Rites of Passage*, Kambali (1960: ix) states that the transitional stage is met with rites of passage which cushion the disturbance. He further argues that, in one sense, all life is transition, with rhythmic periods of quiescence (a state or period of inactivity) and heightened activity (Kambali, 1960: ix).

In this case, the pre-existing identity (boyhood) is becoming extinct and substituted by the new emerging, socially well-defined, identity (manhood). This alteration is socially defined by specific rituals to ensure the safe and formal transition when attaining a new identity (Ntombana, 2011). This process can also be regarded as a transformational stage that expresses itself in everyday aspects of social existence of human lives (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2011). It is during this stage that the initiates' social, psychosocial and subjective aspects of their new identity are developed. In the case of this study, the literature further shows that before the colonial encounter, initiation among the Basotho was used as an intrinsically social construction of knowledge, particularly for the initiates. They used it to transmit a very specific type of education, an education that provides novices with social conceptions of their identities, as well as a sense of belonging.

2. 3. 3 The Incorporation stage

The incorporation phase is a phase or stage in which initiates are incorporated or re-enter their families and society with their new identity after completing the rite. They become fully-fledged members of the society. The incorporation is practiced in a form of celebration which is in the form of a farewell of the extinct identity and a welcoming and embracing of the new identity. This is commonly also known as the aggregation stage. Here, initiates consolidate the instructions, teachings, advice and skills taught during transitional stage (Wendling, 2008). Furthermore, Comaroff (1985: 6-7) noted that in this account, the initiate mediates all actions upon the world and simultaneously constitute both the self and the universe of social and natural relations of which he is part.

The separation, transition and incorporation stages play an important role in societies and to social scientists in examining, understanding and explaining the social construction of the self or identity of the initiate, who he is, or what he wants to become to the world that he is part of. He should exercise his agency. In fact this agency begins from the moment he begins to make a decision to separate from his pre-existing identity (boyhood) and assume a new one (manhood).

2. 4 Incorporation of newly initiated Basotho men

Delius (1989), Mosothwane (1999) and Seema (2012) state that when newly initiated Basotho men are incorporated into the society, they participate in social and economic activities and what the researcher calls 'strategic development skills (SDS)'. Seema (2012) says that when newly initiated Basotho men are incorporated into their societies, they are given names and blankets to wear as a proof that they have reached the manhood stage. Seema (2012: 132) further argues that these Basotho names are not arbitrarily chosen. By giving a name society confirms the individual's existence and acknowledges its responsibilities towards the person who emerges from initiation. In conceding with Seema, Guma (2001: 1) stresses that:

Among the Basotho in southern Africa 'Names' and the naming process is a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. They embody individual or group social experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority, as well as personality and individual attributes.

These attributes are set in the family and society to enhance and guide the social, economic and political aspirations that are fundamental to the development of the society. The main problem comes from the fact that the high school environment, which the newly initiated men are incorporated into, is governed by its own legislations and policies that do not necessary cater for individuals from initiation rituals. In such an environment all learners are regarded as children and every male learner is a boy or school boy.

The newly initiated, who now regard themselves and are regarded by the society at large as men, are still regarded as “boys” in the high school environment. This is an indication that their identity, their manhood identity to be specific, is situational. In the society, the initiation graduates are regarded as “men” whereas in the school environment they are regarded as “boys”. Furthermore, the initiation school is regarded as an “informal” school, whereas the school system is regarded as a “formal” school. Pragmatically, the latter is considered “superior” to the former. However, the persisting question is how then initiates, after going to initiation schools, negotiate their identity, especially when they shift from the society into the school environment. The fact must be considered that the school system is widely considered a developing tool of social and psychosocial aspects of identity formation.

These issues are seriously considered because, in our modern society, identity formation has become more individualized (individualism), in the sense of identity which is shaped by the freedom of choice (enshrined in the constitution of the country). This consideration provides an understanding and examination of how initiates waive some of the cultural obligations that underpin their identity formation, and freely form their own autonomous identities (Cote and Levin, 2002). Thus, both Erikson’s psychosocial theory and Van Gennep’s rite of passage theory, particularly the incorporation phase, are used to examine, and understand this conundrum.

In the case of this study, this final stage is very critical, especially, when speaking about the incorporation process taking place in the school environment. The literature shows that the Basotho initiation is a marker of manhood. Prior to going through male initiation school, Basotho males are regarded as boys by both their families and society. It is only after graduating from initiation that they are regarded as men and are expected to embrace a new identity. The graduates are incorporated back into the society with new responsibilities and privileges. The new responsibilities include taking care of their fathers’ homesteads, working hard to support themselves and their families, upholding their clan name and being present at all family and ritual ceremony gatherings (Thompson, 1975).

Privileges include being respected by the society, participating in public discussions, inheriting their father's possessions, being able to openly date their women and get married. Over and above these, there is a high expectation of responsibilities from the newly initiated men such as: the expectation to be brave, proving to be responsible males, respecting other people, having self-respect and self-discipline and being independent, as well as law abiding (Molapo, 1976). Bourdieu (1986) calls these consolidations and mediations an externalization of the internalities that are assumed during the transitional stage. In other words, during the initiation the initiates acquire knowledge that is external to them, which they conceptualize and actualize in their everyday life activities. Lastly, all these educational activities carry a historical background of initiation practices prior to the colonization of the traditional and cultural practices, particularly of African societies.

2. 5 Critique on Van Gennep

Van Gennep's triple schemes or stages of rites of passage, appear to be limited and limiting when examining, understanding and explaining the social construction of the self or identity. From his analysis, it is correct that: (a) in the first stage initiates are separated from the everyday activities of the society; (b) the second stage is a transitional stage where initiation processes take place; and (c) the third stage is an incorporation stage where initiates are incorporated back into their environment.

According to *monga lebollo*, these are not the only important stages when examining, understanding and explaining the social construction of the self or identity. There is what is considered the most important stage – preparatory stage, which should and is regarded as the second stage among the Basotho during initiation processes. *Monga lebollo* pointed out that, even though initiates are first separated from the everyday activities of their society into an isolated space, this space is not a stage where transition takes place; rather, it is a space where initiates are prepared for their transition. The preparation according *monga lebollo* takes about a period of a month.

2. 6 The Preparatory stage of the initiates

According to the Basotho vernacular, the preparatory stage takes place at what is called *hwading*. This is where all boys who want to be initiated, are gathered for a period of a month. In other words, they no longer mingle with other members of their society. It also means that all boys are permitted to undergo initiation, and *monga lebollo* is given permission to initiate them. For instance, if a boy happens to come to the place without parental permission, he is stopped and his parents are called to let them know their child has ran to *hwading*. At the *hwading*, they have *basuwe* who cook for them – because food is not cooked from home. It is the responsibility of *monga lebollo* to gather food for them during this period.

One of the most important rituals that boys practice at *hwading* are called go *qasha* (or *qashisa*), a preparatory stage for initiation which takes place in a secret location. In a general term they say *barwalla*, as in *bashemane* (boys) *ba rwalla dinakedi* (a practice of collecting firewood). This particular ritual is done when *letsatsi le tsega dinoko* (before the sunset) with the herding of an uncastrated or unsterilized bull that will be slaughtered when the initiation begins. The uncastrated or unsterilized bull symbolizes a “real” man and signifies reproduction. Towards the end of the month (the time spent at *hwading*), *monga lebollo* (father of initiation) or a selected skilled man slaughters the bull that the boys have been herding throughout the time they spent at *hwading*. The bull is brought by *monga lebollo* and a specific part of the body of the bull (the arm) is barbecued on the fire and the meat is eaten by the initiates.

The slaughtering of the bull is an indication that the boys are ready to become men. The bull is slaughtered with what, according to the Basotho vernacular, is called *lerumo* (the spear). *Lerumo* is given a special name and called *kwebe* (weapon that can pierce straight to heart of the bull and kill it once). A specific medicine is applied on the bull before it is slaughtered. Both the medicine and *lerumo* are used as preventive measures that safeguard both the initiates and the *mophato*.

Both the initiates and the *mophato* are safeguarded from external forces, such as thunder-storms and hails during heavy rain fall. These are practices or processes that take place during the preparatory stage which Van Gennep (1960) did not mention. To the Basotho, according to *monga lebollo*, this stage is crucial. It cannot be ignored, as it is a cornerstone path towards the transitional stage into manhood. It is during this time that the transitional stage – from boyhood into manhood - begins. But before boys can be admitted to initiation schools their parents or family members must bring enough mealie-meal and a sheep, as well as some other types of prescribed food that initiates will eat whilst at initiation.

In his analysis of rites of passage, Van Gennep (1960) did not mention that changes of stages of life are a process. And every process involves preparation. In order to balance or align with what Erikson (1957 and 1977) calls psychological and social aspects that are central to identity formation, any formation of people's identity involves preparation, and is guided by specific rituals. The process of identity formation through *lebollo* also involves a very important set of rituals and principles to begin a new stage or beginning in life. Thus, the preparatory stage is important in the sense that it also marks the process of passing from one stage of life into another.

2. 7 Background of Lebollo during pre-colonialism

Mosothwane (1999) notes that boys are imparted with knowledge about socio-cultural activities during their transitional or liminal stage. The activities include: the production of tools and materials such as hoes – used for farming; grass, mud and stones – used to build houses; spears – used for hunting and fighting; wood – used for spoons and chairs; iron – used to fashion the hoe, the spear and various kinds of kniv; clay pots – used to store beer and other types of food; and animal skin – used for clothing and bedding. In addition to this, (Mutwa, 1964, Molapo, 1976 and Khunjwa, 2014), the novices are also educated about roots and leaves to form strong and effective medicines to cure diseases. Most importantly, this kind of education can be understood

as an institutionalized socio-cultural reproduction of the self. It determines how the self, or one should say men after having undergone the initiation, represent themselves to world they are part of and position themselves in terms of the socio-cultural practices they acquired during the transitional stage.

The novices, during their transitional stage, are also imparted with knowledge about leadership skills, commitments, respect of the self and respect of others (elders, especially the chief), self-discipline which contributes to their becoming law abiding people, as well as group solidarity (Thobane, 2002: 241 cited in Seem, 2012: 134). In essence, during the transitional stage the novices at the initiation are socially reproduced as morally orientated members of the society. During this training they also undergo physical training to overcome difficulties and pain, to cultivate courage, endurance, perseverance and obedience (Ntombana, 2011: 204). These notions of manhood are crucial during and after the transitional stage. Men are supposed to express these notions in their everyday negotiation of their space.

In a theoretical and practical sense, the education of the initiation provides novices with cultural capital. Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), refers to all forms of knowledge, skills, material belongings, mannerism, credentials, et cetera that individuals acquire by belonging into a particular social class and sharing a similar identity and history (Bourdieu, 1986: 27). Furthermore, Bourdieu (1986) emphasizes that cultural capital forms part of the foundation of social life. In examining, understanding and explaining the education inherent in initiation, it is important to consider its cultural capital as a contributor to the upward mobility of the novices when they are incorporated back into their families and society. Upward mobility in this case, does not refer to the formation of an upper social class, but to the sense of human development – the development of society, sense of self-reliance and social-sustainability.

Cultural capital according to Bourdieu (1986) is subdivided into three phases namely: (a) embodied cultural capital – which is cognitively acquired and are internalized ideas acquired through socialization; (b) objectified cultural capital – involves the possession

of physical objects such as instruments or tools; (c) institutionalized cultural capital – involves the skills and qualifications a person accumulates. In this case, initiation through socializing the novices or initiates into manhood during pre-colonial time, form part of socio-cultural production of knowledge.

Through the knowledge that is bestowed upon the initiates during their transitional stage, and which they have internalized and externalized, initiates exercise their capabilities, responsibilities and expectations throughout their everyday activities. In addition, initiates mediate and reproduce this phenomenological knowledge. This kind of mediation reveals one of the most essential educational aspects of initiation. This educational experience equips them mentally, physically, emotionally and morally for adulthood (Ntombana, 2011: 204). However, this does not mean that initiation as a traditional and cultural practice is a done deal, or an *opus operatum*. In construction of manhood, initiation serves as a *modus operandi*. In other words, initiation during pre-colonialism fundamentally had to do with transformation and identity formation.

2. 8 Owners of initiation during pre-colonialism

Masothwane (1999) in his ethnographic study of initiation schools among the Bakgatle ba ga Kgafela at Mochudi (1874-1988), argues that since pre-colonialism initiation has been practiced amongst the indigenous people in some African societies, established and owned by Kings. Since pre-colonialism initiation schools have operated and they were interpreted as a technology of loyal and obedient subjects whose entire being, including their bodies, had to be at the service of the Chief (Guma, 2001: 87).

A study, in Sekhukhune, Limpopo province, found that initiation schools were formed into *mophato* (regiments) and that the incorporation of newly initiated men served as military recruitment strategy for soldiers of Kings (Delius, 1989). Ngwane (2004) observed that during pre-colonialism in Cancele, Eastern Cape Province initiation schools became a means by which Kings consolidated their political and symbolic power within their constituencies. Moreover, Delius (1989) affirms that when newly

initiated men were incorporated into their societies, they became soldiers fighting for the Kings' government and were promised rewards of land grants. These arguments carry some important elements of the political and economic relationship between the subjects and authority.

2. 9 Political education of initiation pre-colonialism

Political education of initiation also played a very important role in channelling the transition of boys from boyhood into manhood. During pre-colonization, political consciousness was one of the criteria of identity formation and culture. When the newly initiated men came back to their families and societies, they had already been taught about the politics of their societies. Mosothwane (1999) argues that men were taught to engage in the politics of their societies from initiation. Thus, the newly initiated men were incorporated into the communities with an understanding of politics. Mosothwane further argues that this community of men played a crucial role in the society as a means of restoring order in the society. Duka-Ntshwani (2013) found that one of her participants joined the initiation school because he wanted to be educated about how to take conscious decisions and responsibility regarding family and social affairs, and to be included in the community ritual practices.

Delius (1989) states that the politics taught in the initiation school as a form identity formation, served as the cornerstone for political resistance. In this case, the politics and political formation may be critically understood also through this angle of *Mophato*. Especially, on how protests were mobilized and what role manhood played during this mobilization in relation to resistance or a demonstration of dissatisfaction (e.g. resistance to external forces such as wars). Here, one can speak about how manhood instilled bravery, fearlessness, courage, protection and so forth, especially during times of social upheaval and helped to restore order. The political education of initiation presents the role of initiation as an important step in socializing boys to becoming political servants under the leadership of the King. This education was explicitly expressed and negotiated during their participation at the *lekgotla*.

2. 10 Initiation versus the colonial administration

As already mentioned, since time immemorial, initiation has been under the authority of Chiefs in many African societies. The literature shows that the arrival of Europeans and their colonial administration brought about a qualitative change to these societies. The change of traditional and cultural logic of what it means to be man. Mosothwane (1999: 147) states that on 19 December 1917, the high commissioner of Bechuanaland Protectorate government, the Chiefs and members of the societies that were practicing initiation and inflicted by the arrival missionaries, attempted to revive initiation. But government set a law to regulate the practice. According to Mosothwane (1999) this was because African initiations were meant to be secret practices. Both the church and government have contributed to the loss of important knowledge regarding the way in which initiations were conducted in the pre-colonial period. The law controlled when and where to establish initiation schools.

Mosothwane (1999) indicates that between 1944 and 1945, the high commissioner sent dispatches to different Resident Commissioners asking whether the 1971 proclamation was being obeyed or not. And in this case, Chiefs such as Kgama, Sebele, Lentswe and Bathoeng were praised for having been loyal to the laws of the High Commissioner. According to the author, prior to this proclamation, Lentshwe had been successfully practicing male initiation since his reign began in 1874, and was able to name eight *mophato* (regiments). Eighteen years later, Chief Lentshwe was converted to Western Christianity, introduced by missionaries as a new religion and he was compelled by missionaries' ethics to prohibit some of his people's customs such as initiation schools and paying bride price (Mosothwane, 1999). This illustrates clearly how power was organized and how the state penetrated the society and how this penetration caused a particular change to the cultural and traditional practice of initiation and logic of what it means to be a man.

But the church and the government during this time did not throw in the towel. Chief Lentshwe was put under more pressure to stop the initiation altogether, since he spent most of his time at the church. He then declared again that there would be no initiation schools amongst his people. Again, this time a large group of youth were preparing themselves to undergo the initiation, and the chief was informed to prepare and authorize the initiation. The successful outcome was achieved for these youth in 1902, when Chief Lentshwe finally authorized the school. This was the last practice until 1975 when other chiefs took over and reintroduced the school. Parents, who took their children to the 'bush school', were excommunicated from services, together with their children (Matobo *et al.*, 2009: 105). In order to be incorporated, they had to undergo church rituals of repentance and cleansing before they could be allowed back (Matobo *et al.*, 2009: 105).

Fanon (1952) stresses that the problem of colonialism includes not only the interrelations of objective historical conditions, but also human attitudes toward these conditions (Fanon, 1952: 62). After considering the attitudes of his people towards these conditions, Chief Lentshwe, according to Mosothwane (1999), later initiated another Mophato and named it "*go busapelo*" meaning to calm down. In other words he had withdrawn from his decision to stop the practice of the initiation schools.

The impact of colonialism can be also observed from the work of Thompson (1975 cited in Ntsu, 2008: 49) who argues that:

In 1840 King Moshoeshoe repudiated another fundamental custom: the initiation rites, in which adolescent Basotho were inculcated with traditional values. He ceased to convene initiation schools for his sons and the people of Thaba-Bosiu. He therefore abolished the rite of circumcision not only for all his family, but all who were placed under his influence. He declared himself very openly on the subject of initiation and on one occasion he even instructed several pious individuals to snatch from those immoral ceremonies one of his children who had been taken there secretly.

This reveals the fact that the colonial government and missionaries depended on local African chiefs in the case of the British system of "indirect rule" to maximize their missions. Mamdani (1996: 18) opines that "indirect rule" indicated a rural tribal authority and incorporated indigenous people into an enforced customary order by the colonial

state. Falola (2001) also states that the development project plan of both missionaries and colonial governments on education in African societies was to replace initiation schools, and to develop an industrial base. This industrial base aimed to “create” carpenters, masons, lawyers, sawyers, joiners, agriculturists, smiths, architects and builders. So these colonial forces created what one may refer to as a “new” society not only economically, but political and cultural as well. This also brought a qualitative change to both traditional and cultural logic of the initiation practice, as well as to its education. Hence a new education was introduced and a “new society” was developed.

The “new society” epitomizes and characterizes colonial economies such as the mine industries. Here African traditional and cultural practices are faced with a Leviathan, particularly newly initiated men. This leviathan is characterized by some of the colonial political features of transition to a capitalism system, urbanization, modernization, as well as industrialization. All these systems subjugated the traditional and cultural logic of identity formation through initiation as a rite of passage.

2. 11 Change of traditional and cultural logic of initiation

The discovery of minerals, one of both economic and political activities of colonialism, particularly in South Africa, has brought about a qualitative change to the traditional and cultural logic of identity formation. Manhood was constructed by working in the mines. Almost all attributes constituting of what it means to be a man were played out in the mines. Mines in this case become a substitute for the male initiation. This can be traced back to the discovery of gold and the establishment of mines in South Africa. This discovery brought an essential consequence for the social transformation or transition in Southern African societies. Furthermore, this discovery replaced land cultivation, cattle herding and cattle ownership as symbols of men’s economic security and independence. Mineral resources were also discovered in other Southern African societies, and the colonial government carried out a crash programme in producing among the African peasantry an unskilled labour force to work the mines and to complement the imported white skilled labour (Magubane, 2000: 55).

For instance, the discovery of gold and diamond produced a qualitative transformation in the relationship between Basotho families and white settlers. The newly initiated Basotho men, during this period, were incorporated into the mining sector, instead of their societies working their own land. Here migrant labour became an alternative means of survival and an instrument to play out their roles as providers. According to Coplan (2006), the Basotho men began to depart to the mines as they were challenged by the demands of their prospective socio-cultural notions of what it means to be a man. In other words to become a man one had to work in the mines.

The domination of mining over agrarian capital in late-nineteenth-century in South Africa as elsewhere posed afresh the question of the reproduction of autonomous peasant communities that would regularly supply male, adult, and single migrant labour for the mines (Mamdani, 1996: 18). In this case, Coplan (2006) indicates that Basotho men began to migrate from their “homes”, which were mostly in rural areas, to the cities by rail, particularly in the period 1860 till the present and to sell their labour in order to support their families and fulfil all that was necessary for men to be recognized as men in the society. Mfecane (2008) indicates that migrant labour (working in the mines) enabled men gain financial support for their sexual partners' financial and material needs. This lead men to begin to measure their manhood on the basis of their ability to provide for their multiple partners.

2. 12 The Changing meaning of manhood

The starting point for an academic analysis of the experiences of newly initiated men when incorporated back into the high school environment, is that penetrations of colonialism, urbanization, modernization, industrialization and capitalism have brought cultural meaning of manhood into what Thomas Kuhn (1962) calls a paradigm shift. The paradigm shift here is that what matters the most is not only the experiences of newly initiated Basotho men per se. Social spaces or structures such as those at initiation and at the school environment germinate from these experiences. The literature on these

events show that, both initiation and school environment in general, produce 'social differences, social groupings and double social identities which seem to be inscribed in the lives of learners. And they seem to be in a consistent struggle in negotiating their spaces. The struggle is about knowing when to be and when not be. In fact, it is a question of belonging.

The paradigm shift was also discussed by one well-known *monga lebollo*. The researcher was referred to *monga lebollo* by one Deputy School Principal during the negotiation of access to the field. Using the words of the principal the "*monga lebollo* is the one who establishes *lebollo* in this area and also is a member of the School Governing Body (SGB)." This suggests that he knows the dynamics of initiation practice and the experiences of the newly initiated Basotho men when incorporated back into the school system.

Meeting with *monga lebollo* was very helpful also for the study. His views and experiences contributed and corresponded with the already existing literature, especially on the changing meaning of manhood identity. One of the major contributing factors to this change is age. According *monga lebollo*, they did not initiate school learners in the past, or any child under the age of 24 years. Their main targeted age group in the past was those from age of 24 years and older. These groupings were referred to as *Batlankana*. *Batlankana* are boys who have passed their adolescent stage and are ready according to the expectations of their families and society, to uphold social responsibilities as per customs and traditions.

2. 13 Manhood positionality

The literature shows that initiation has been regarded as a very secretive and sacred practice. And the position of newly initiated men, both in the family and society, has been a sensitive conundrum. After having been to initiation school, newly initiated men were restricted from mingling with those who had not been to initiation, as well as with females. Women's involvement in some cultural activities, such as initiation school, was

considered a taboo (Kang'ethe and Nomngcoyiya, 2016: 126). It was also considered a taboo for newly initiated men to share their lived experiences with females and males who had not been to initiation school. Here, there was what Tajfel (1970) calls intergroup discrimination. This is a situation where there is a conflict between two or more groups of people, discriminating against one another in favour of their own group. An example of this would be between a group of married, working and initiated men and those who are not. In this case, men who are working, married and initiated happened to see those that are not, as not “real” men and they tend to taunt them as those that are not practicing their cultures, and sometimes they call them “weak” men.

Furthermore, Mawethu & Ncaca (2014: 39) has elegantly put this clearly when he argues that:

There are ranks that cannot be crossed between boys and men. For example, boys and men do not share the same bathroom or communal shower or even the toilet. Boys are required to be respectful and honour men. Boys need to make sure that they are in no position to view men's genitals and men need to conduct themselves respectfully and dignified in order to protect the custom.

And this is having untold consequences. One aspect which somehow tends to be overlooked in these explanations could be the fact that, the men who engage in such discrimination are most likely influenced by their notions of manhood as being socioculturally constructed.

2. 14 Democratic meaning of manhood

In a country that is internationally regarded as a liberal democratic constitutional state, where social order is conceived as a contract between the individual and the state in which the state upholds the rights of individual citizens as South Africa is, the meaning of manhood has also changed (Vincent, 2008: 76). Here, traditional and cultural practices are no longer identified as the main mechanisms contributing to social order in all societies, maintaining the organization of groups into hierarchies, specifying the

performance of roles linked to factors such as age and gender, renewing group unity and a means for the transmission of values across generations (Vincent, 2008: 76).

It is out of this context that this study contextualizes the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men after they are incorporated back into the school system, a system which has adopted the constitutionality of the state. A conversation the researcher had with one of *monga lebollo* suggests that manhood formulated through initiation has adopted a democratic meaning. According to *monga lebollo*, *ma-phura-khoatla* are given an absolute democratic right to exercise their rights without infringing the rights of others. For instance, they are no longer prohibited from mingling with either females or those have not been to initiation. Subsequently, they must neither discriminate against others who have not been to initiation nor call them *bashemane* (boys).

Furthermore, *monga lebollo* stated that *ma-phura-khoatla* are encouraged to respect both their fellow male and female learners. They are given freedom to participate in all the academic and social activities taking place in the school environment. They are also taught to tolerate everyone regardless of whether he has been to initiation or not, and, treat everyone equally. In as much as these rights are inculcated at the initiation, they are also enshrined within the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, no. 108 of 1996. According to Chapter 2, Bill of Rights, under section 9: Equality, - (4) “No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability , religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth”.

Monga lebollo emphasized that all these rights are extended into *lebollo* and are accompanied by what is called *Boikarabelo* (responsibility). It is the responsibility of *ma-phura-khoatla* to ensure that whilst they participate in the above activities and mingle with their fellow female and male learners, they must neither reveal any information related to *lebollo*, nor talk about it in any way. They must ensure the dignity of *lebollo* and manhood is protected. This suggests that *lebollo* also gains its constitutional right.

Thus it must be protected. Lastly, *monga lebollo* mentioned that, as the owner of initiation schools, and an expert in Basotho initiation education, he is supposed to move with times. In other words, he must not treat culture as static, but a practice that is consistently changing influence by both internal and external social forces.

2. 16 Initiation as a source of agency

Most of the anthropological literature, especially of the 19th century, regards initiation as a done deal type of a cultural and traditional practice. In this study, initiation is studied with the intention of examining, understanding and explaining how it determines people's everyday practices. Albeit, in this study, this view is tenable. It does not necessary mean that initiation regulates and constrains people's everyday practices and coerces them to act in a particular way without allowing them to exercise their own agency as structuralists and objectivists would argue.

Despite the fact that at initiation, the initiates acquire specific education that guides them throughout their everyday practices, initiation is a source of human agency. Agency is the capability, the power, to the source and originator of acts (Rapport and Overring, 2000: 1). Indeed, in as much as their energy determines the nature of certain relations and objects in the world, individuals (initiates) could be said to be creators of cultural and traditional practices (Rapport and Overring, 2000: 3). Lamla (2005: 6) an anthropologist, observed that it is the boy's agency that determines when he should undergo initiation, but the father's wishes are important. He is the one who upholds all social implications and the economic preparations of the initiation. In this case, Lamla (2005: 6) made an observation that it is the boy's capability and power that determine the existence of initiation as a cultural practice. The father may have his wishes for the boy to go or not to go to initiation, but the boy's agency remains crucial. If the boy decides not to go for initiation, the father may not coerce the boy to go. The same applies if the boy decides to go to initiation; the father may not prevent him from going. Rapport and Overring (2000: 4) noted that:

Indeed, individuals are forever in the process of remaking their meanings, senses, evaluations and actions; they negate the essence of their own creations and create again. They might seem to be surrounded by the 'actual facts' of an objective historico-socio-cultural present, but they can nonetheless transcend the latter' brutishness, and hence surpass mere being-in-the-midst-of things by attaining the continuous possibility of imagined meanings.

This view suggests that to construct and sustain a society that is focused on the common socio-cultural and economical goals and tasks requires the production of socio-culturally oriented responsible individuals with a full sense of agency. Such individuals are referred to as those who become fully-fledged members exercising their rights to act. Furthermore, such rights include: the right to be (come) and right to belong.

2. 17 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has identified the writing of Erikson (1957 and 1977) as one of the most important theories that address explicitly the process of transformation of identities and human development. Like Van Gennep (1960), Erikson (1957 and 1977) provides very important basic epistemological premises to examine, understand and explain processes of people's identity formation and the stages they undergo. Specific historical and contemporary literature on the discourse of identity formation through *lebollo*, and the role of *lebollo* in the context of Basotho and of the African continent in general, is also presented.

Lebollo has been identified as a rite of passage, based on the writing of the anthropologist, Van Gennep (1960). Furthermore this practice has been identified as a practice that deals with transformation, and has been considered as a cornerstone of the Basotho's cultural and traditional practices, socializing *bashemane* into manhood. In this case, the researcher also suggested an additional stage (preparatory stage) of rites of passage as also a cornerstone of initiation practice and of identity formation. The researcher argued that stages of rites of passage are not limited only to those Van Gennep (1960) has suggested. Stages of rites of passage are context based, and they should be examined based on the specific socio-cultural and traditional premises that exist.

This chapter has also considered that there is something that precedes this identity formation through initiation. This precedence is about how the meaning of manhood shifts through different moments. So, the way to account for its difference in the present is also seen from the kind of dynamism that has been driving it. This will help to see the dynamic movements which culture and its politics take throughout the development of African societies. Further the researcher examined and explained how the cultural and traditional logic of what it means a man changes? What has changed in terms of manhood responsibilities and privileges and what is left unchanged? What shape does it take at one point or the next? What factors are at play at each particular moment when these changes take place?

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. 1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research procedures and methods the researcher adopted in examining, understanding, explaining and describing the phenomena under study. The presentation deals in detail with the research methodology used, the sampling, data collection methods, ethical considerations, data presentation methods and data analysis methods.

The researcher has adopted the qualitative research approach as a research method. Qualitative data in this study was collected through the literature as secondary sources and ethnographic fieldwork, which was based on semi-structured interviews, using person to person interviews, as well as focus group discussions. The secondary sources included books, articles and other documents that the researcher found relevant to the Social Sciences disciplines, such as Anthropology, History and Sociology. A review of this literature is found in this chapter and chapter two. The size of the population interviewed does not necessary reflect the population size that participated in the focus group discussions. Lastly, ethical standards and conducts were followed and acknowledged all the times, because this study involves the cultural practices and lived experiences of human subjects.

3. 2 Research Design

The research design refers to the plan of how research will be conducted (Berg, 2001: 28). This design involves a sequence of vital research questions or ideas, such as: what types of data will be collected and through what forms of data-collection technologies

and at which site or setting will the research be conducted? This is the research target population (Berg, 2001: 28). In the case of this study, these questions play a crucial role as they are embedded within the qualitative research method. Furthermore, these questions were used to examine the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* when they are incorporated back into the high school environment and how these experiences influence how they posit and position themselves in this environment. Lastly, the questions enable the understanding and conceptualization of the meaning of manhood, as formulated through the initiation school and then incorporated into the school environment.

3. 3 Qualitative research methodology

As already mentioned in the introduction, the researcher has adopted the qualitative research approach as a research method. Neuman notes that studies that use the qualitative method examine social processes and cases in their social context, and study the interpretation or meaning of their identities in specific-cultural settings (Neuman, 2011: 174). In addition, Berg states that qualitative methods allow the researcher to share in the understandings and views of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives (Berg, 2001: 7). In the case of this study, this approach was appreciated for its focus on the views of the participants.

The main intention in adopting this method is that, on the one hand, it allows the researcher to immerse himself in the field and examine the lived experiences of the participants without losing his or her main objective of the study. On the other hand, it allows research participants to express their experiences and position themselves in their world without being judged. This afforded the researcher an opportunity to examine, comprehend and depict the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* when incorporated back into the school system, as well as how the incorporation of the newly initiated men can be enhanced in the school system. Lastly, this research method provided the researcher with an understanding of the dynamism shaping these experiences.

3. 4 Research instruments

Given (2008) and Creswell (2014) indicate that data collection using the qualitative method can be done in various ways with a set of specific boundaries for the research; from documents, semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, observations, documents such as diaries and so forth. In the case of this study, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions were adopted and helped the researcher get closer to the research participants, as well as making them part of knowledge production in this study. Both of these data collection instruments are eminently used in social science disciplines such as Anthropology and Sociology. In post-modernity, Anthropology, in particular, is regarded as a discipline that prioritizes how human beings in general comprehend their everyday life experiences and define their world. This study is not strictly anthropological; nevertheless, this priority is necessary.

3. 4. 1 Semi-Structured Interview

A semi-structured interview obtains descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena (Kvale, 1996: 6). Furthermore, interviews yield rich insights into people's experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes, feelings and the world they live in (Kvale, 1996: 5, May 1997: 109). A semi-structured interview according to Kvale (1996: 6):

Is a conversation that has a structure and a purpose? It goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge.

As already illustrated, this instrument was adopted and enabled participants to form part of knowledge production. Because of this careful questioning and listening approach, the interview is not a conversation between equal partners. The researcher defines and controls the situation (Kvale, 1996: 6). In other words researchers have an authority during the research process, which was not absolute in this study. During the research

process, the researcher realized that participants also have authority in defining and controlling the situation. Because of effect that the focus and liberty qualitative research method has on the views of the participants, participants were able to take control in expressing their lived experiences, as well as defining their world.

This aspect forms an integral part of the argument that researchers do not have absolute control of knowledge production during the research process. Instead, both researcher and participants co-produce knowledge during the process. But this does not nullify the fact that it was the researcher who was probing this knowledge through a set of specific questions which he took control of. Lastly, semi-structured interviews always leave space for the participants to take control in the way they respond (Bernard 1988 and 2011).

Some participants' responses in this study allowed the researcher to ask follow-up questions, seeking more clarity. During his study on initiation among Xhosa people in Eastern Cape, Ntombana realized that semi-structured interviews provide an opportunity to question thoroughly certain areas of inquiry and permit greater depth of response (Ntombana, 2011: 50). This is so because, during semi-structured interviews, the participants do not have to respond in a certain order to the questions the researcher asks, as they might irrelevant to their experiences (Ntombana, 2011: 50). It is this aspect of questioning thoroughly and seeking clarity that carries an element of authority for participants. This provides a qualitative illustration of their lived experiences.

In the case of this study, the researcher noticed an element of freedom of expression from participants in endeavouring to explain in depth issues relevant to the interview questions and to the objectives of the study. These questions were scheduled and prepared to assist the researcher with posing them during the interview. *Ma-phura-khoatla* were interviewed at their school premises, using one of their classrooms and educators' office after school hours for confidentiality and safety purposes.

3. 4. 2 Focus group discussion

The focus group discussion was conducted to supplement the semi-structured interviews. The focus group discussion is a special research instrument eminently used in a qualitative research method with people in an informal interaction (Neuman, 2011: 459). Furthermore, focus group discussions have been successfully conducted in a variety of locations, such as restaurants, hotel rooms, private homes, public buildings, and so on (Krueger, 1994: 48). As already mentioned, in this study the focus group discussion was conducted in the school premises. This location was very convenient for both the researcher and participants. It was purposefully selected as a field of study, and was free from outside destruction and was neutral.

Krueger further notes that the focus group discussion is typically composed of 7 to 10 participants who are selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic of the focus group (Krueger, 1994: 6). Neuman, however, notes that a focus group discussion is composed of 6 to 12 participants, and generally lasts about 90 minutes (Neuman, 2011: 459). In the case of this study, the focus group discussion was composed of 10 participants and lasted about 60 minutes. This formed part of the strongest research instruments used in this study, as it was particularly founded on the micro-level. However, the number of participants who participate in focus group discussion does not necessarily represent the number of participants interviewed.

During the focus group discussion, the researcher provided participants with consistent background information about the purpose of the study in order to minimize tacit assumptions (Krueger, 1994: 65). Here participants were able to demonstrate a comprehension of the focus group questions and its purpose. As during the interviews, participants were free in responding to the questions. This was so, because questions were in an open-ended format, thus, participants were able to respond on several dimensions. Their responses were both verbal and non-verbal. Whilst some participants were responding verbally, others nodded as an indication of agreement with what their fellow participants were saying. In other words, they shared similar experiences.

The literature indicates that socio-cultural formation of initiation is facilitated by putting initiates into groups. According to the Basotho vernacular this is called *mophato* (in a loose English translation, this is a regiment where initiation is practiced). In most cases, the *mophato* is age based. In other words, the initiates are grouped according to their age group (as peers). However, there are seniors within the group. The *mophato* plays a crucial role for identity formation among the Basotho. To a certain degree, this is an indication that people are a product of their environment and are influenced by the people around them (Krueger, 1994: 11). Thus, it would be difficult to find a human being who has not been in a group (Krueger, 1994: 5).

During focus group discussion *ma-phura-khoatla* were able to relate to one another as all had undergone, more or less, the same experiences. In this case they were able to interact and respond to the set of questions in the study. The trust among them was generated long ago during their initiation period. Thus, it was not as difficult and confusing as Krueger (1994) argued. Through a certain level of homogeneity within the group, many shortcomings were easily mitigated. However, this study credits Krueger when indicating that group members influence each other by responding to ideas and comments in the discussion (Krueger, 1994: 6). This was indeed very visible during the research process. Even though the participants did not go to initiation in the same year, and are not in the same grades or classrooms, during the focus group discussion they showed a realization that, to some degree, they all share more or less similar lived experiences after being incorporated back into the school system. This made the focus group discussion, as a supplement to the interviews, very valuable. Lastly, because the focus group discussion was a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain views on a defined area of interest in a tolerant, not threatening environment, conducted by a skilled interviewer, participants demonstrated a sense of freedom (Krueger, 1994: 6). They were able to express themselves freely.

3. 5 Language used during research process

When entering the field, the researcher realized all the participants were very comfortable and confident in communicating in their “home” language or vernacular. They were able to share their experiences in a more informal way. The participants were able to articulate and express themselves, and interpret their experiences. This made the researcher realize that allowing research participants to use their vernacular, enables them to make recourse to specific local histories, and these must be understood in their own right and by anyone who takes part in a research process (Mafeje, 1997: 109). This is important because participants always wish to claim universality for their particular experiences and interpretations (Ortner, 1984: 127).

Using their vernacular, participants provided the researcher with a legitimate access to more relevant information that contributed to the achievement of research objectives. It became a convenient resource for the study, for generating data and co-creating new knowledge with research participants during the research journey. In this regard, Kvale (1996: 4) noted:

The journey may not only lead to new knowledge; the traveller might change as well. The journey might instigate a process of reflection that leads the interviewer to new ways of self-understanding, as well as uncovering previously taken-for-granted values and customs in the traveller’s home country.

During this journey of the production new knowledge, the traveller metaphor illustrates the inferences of a particular theoretical understanding of the research interview (Kvale, 1996: 3). Further, this metaphor refers to post-modern constructive understandings that involves a conversational approach to social research, and bring interviews into the vicinity of the humanities and art (Kvale, 1996: 5). This had also made the researcher realize that not all knowledge is universal; some germinate within specific locales. It is important therefore, that data collected and knowledge created from this study is understood as representing the experiences of the local cultural and traditional logic of identity formation.

3. 6 Recording instruments

During the research process data can be collected using various tools to assist the researcher to answer research questions (Creswell, 1998). These tools among others mainly include: audio recording, note recording and video recording. By using these tools, data become a permanent archive of primary information that can be passed on to other researchers when it is necessary and ethical to do so (Bernard, 2006). In this study, both interviews and a focus group discussion were recorded from the two selected research sites, using a cell phone (Samsung Galaxy Trend Neo) as a form of technology to collect data, as well as for note-recording. According to Ntombana (2011), note-recording provides the researcher with an opportunity to conceptualize what is being said and increase the level of concentration, whereas, an audio-recording eliminates the necessity of writing during the interview, especially, when both the researcher and participants are focusing on a most critical discussion that requires their undivided attention.

All the interviews and the focus group discussion (data) were conducted, recorded and transcribed verbatim in Sesotho (The Basotho vernacular) and translated into English. In this case, the valuable facts and meanings are refined by transcribing them from the oral to the written mode (Kvale, 1996: 4). In cases where there were words with no equivalent terms in English, the researcher presented them in Sesotho to maintain their level of authenticity.

3. 7 Sample description and size

In social science, generally, there are various types of sampling, namely: non-random sampling (accidental and quota samplings), simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling, purposive sampling and many others. When we sample, we select some cases to examine in detail, and then we use what we learn from them to understand a much larger set of cases (Neuman, 2011: 240). In this study the researcher adopted both purposive sampling and snowball sampling.

Snowball sampling is also referred to as network chain referral – a non-random sample in which the researcher begins with one case and then, based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again (Neuman, 2011: 269). Purposive sampling is a non-random sample in which the researcher uses a wide range of methods to locate all possible cases of a highly specific and difficult-to-reach population (Neuman, 2011: 267).

This particular technique played a very important role in the study. It enabled the researcher to select research participants based on features in which he was interested as per the research topic and the research question (Russell, 1998: 151; Miller and Brewer, 2003: 273; Kothari, 2004: 59; Silverman and Marvasti, 2008: 166; Flick, 2009: 122). Neuman indicates that this technique selects cases with a specific purpose in mind (Neuman, 2011: 268). The specific purpose that this research had in mind was strictly the *ma-phura-khoatla*. In this case, the researcher was referred to the *ma-phura-khoatla* by both school principals of the selected schools. The researcher asked two of *ma-phura-khoatla* to identify those that they know as having been to initiation school. However, these selected cases rarely represent the entire population (Neuman, 2011: 268).

The sample in this study was used on all accounts. It included also *monga lebollo* from the Botshabelo area. As already indicated, this study was conducted in two selected secondary schools located in Botshabelo area, Free State province. In both schools, the participants were in various grades; for instance some were in grade 11 and others in grade 12. These schools were selected in order to make the study manageable in terms of analysing data collected from interviews, focus group discussion, as well as from the literature review. Initially a total number of 10 *ma-phura-khoatla* was interviewed. They were selected in consultation with their school principals and deputy principals. In essence, the participants were selected because they were all known to their educators as having been to initiation school.

3. 8 Ethical consideration

In social sciences research ethics define what is or is not legitimate to do or what “moral” research procedure involves (Neuman, 2011: 143). Here Neuman indicates that ethics form part of most important basic guidelines for a research study. Ethics guide the researcher to be able to balance at least two important research values; the pursuit of scientific knowledge and the rights of research participants, as well as the society they live in (Neuman, 2011: 143). Neuman (2011) further notes that studies that researchers conduct should attempt to add value or benefit to participants and their society in terms of advancing their understanding of their social world, improving their decision making, maintaining human dignity and enhancing their freedoms. In essence, ethics can be also regarded as codes of conduct for the researcher in making sure that research participants are respected and not taken advantage of.

3. 8. 1 Informed consent, Confidentiality and Right of participants

According to Neuman (2011: 149) a fundamental ethical principle in the research process is that no-one should be coerced into participating in any research. In other words all research participation must be voluntary. In this study, the researcher designed a CONSENT FORM for *ma-phura-khoatla* to sign after they had learned the important details about the research. The reason for having them sign this form was to ensure that participants were aware of their rights and that participation in this study was voluntary. Another reason was to ensure that the participants’ confidentiality was not betrayed and that the researcher would not divulge any sensitive information participants had provided during the research process to anyone. In the case of social sciences research, confidentiality means that researchers may attach names to information, but they hold it in confidence or keep it secret from the public (Neuman, 2011: 153).

3. 8. 2 Permission

In the social sciences it is important that researchers consider research protocol by observing and upholding research ethics. Scholars who have contributed positively in social sciences research ethics include, amongst others, Neuman (2011: 143-161), who has indicated that researchers must make sure that they obtain permission before collecting data. In other words researchers must ensure that all research participation by research participants is voluntary and they must never be coerced into participating.

In view of the above and in the case of this study, the research complied fully by making sure that permission was granted before the study was conducted. The request was made to the University of the Free State (UFS). The research rules and procedures of this University require post-graduate students who conduct an empirical research in particular, to complete the ethics form as an indicator of whether the research will be conducted according to the code of ethics. In this study, the researcher complied with the rules and regulations of UFS by requesting permission from the Free State Department of Basic Education. The permission was granted by this department and a letter of approval was sent to the researcher.

In addition, permission was also sought from each secondary school principal, which was also granted. As already mentioned earlier, the principals requested learners to recruit their fellow learners to take part in this study. However, the names of the school principals and of the schools cannot be mentioned in this study, because the proposal was made based on anonymity, and purely as a form of protecting their identity as per research ethics requirements. Additionally, the names of *Ma-phura-khoatla* cannot be mentioned for the same reasons mentioned above.

The above-mentioned letter of approval from Free State Department of Basic Education was submitted as an attachment to the ethics form within the Research Ethics Committee under the Humanities Faculty, UFS. The UFS ethics forms (Human) were completed and submitted to the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty for ethical

clearance. The ethical clearance application was successful and permission was granted to conduct the research at the two selected secondary schools in Botshabelo.

3. 8. 3 Respect and dignity

During the research process, the researcher and participants were able to maintain mutual respect between them. In this case, The Department of Basic Education, the School principals as well as participants were made aware that the participation of *ma-phura-khoatla* was voluntarily and that were not coerced into participating in this study. The above is in line with what (Neuman, 2011: 149) called the ethical tenet which requires that the researcher must never force anyone to participate in research. In other words, a very serious ethical standard is that participants should explicitly agree to participate in a study.

This specific ethical standard guided the researcher to be able to treat participants with respect at all times and under any circumstances. This particular respect was also informed by the confidentiality clause to respect and protect the interests of the participants. This is in line with what (Neuman, 2011: 153) indicated when he said that confidentiality is the ethical protection for those who are studied by holding research data in confidence or keeping them secret from the public and not releasing information in a way that permits linking specific individuals to specific responses. Researchers do this by presenting data only in an aggregate form.

3. 8. 4 Honesty and transparency

The assent consent forms given to research participants are also used to indicate that transparency and honesty were the bedrock of this study. These forms are regarded as binding documents ensuring that participants have access to the information regarding the final product of this study. Neuman (2011) argues that assent forms are a written agreement to participate, given or signed by people after they have learned basic details about the research procedure (Neuman, 2011: 149). In addition, the same author

further indicates that before participants can sign consent forms, they should be made aware of what the study is all about, in order to exercise their rights and what they are getting involved in, when they read and sign the form. The researcher in this study explained the purpose of the study and all letters of permission from Department of Basic Education as well as UOFS Ethics committee were presented to the participants who read them all.

3. 8. 5 Responsibility and accountability

Accountability and responsibility were also rigorously observed during the conduct of this research. The researcher was very responsible in ensuring that there was full accountability for all the activities that the research participants were involved in. He made sure that the manner in which the study was conducted was fair and authentic. In terms of responsibility and accountability, the researcher made sure that the time of the research participants was respected, by ensuring that they arrived safely at their homes. This was because the study was conducted after school hours, when all their other school mates had already gone home.

3. 8. 6 Limitation of the study

The characteristics of the research methodology employed in this study have set limitations in terms of the interpretation and utility of the results. The limitations include restrictions on generalization of the findings. Both semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions are used to put these limitations within a specific context. The other limitation to the study is the fact that it only focused on learners who had gone to initiation school and were incorporated back into the school system (*ma-phura-khoatla*).

This study was conducted at a time when initiation in South Africa has generally been under scrutiny by the main stream media, public perception and other academic research studies, because many initiates who graduate from the initiation schools are seen to be disobedient and undisciplined, as well as bullied by their fellow learners and

teachers. Consequently, many of the participants were concerned about the negative publicity. The undisputable reality is that experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* are not limited only to the participants, but include the experiences of those with whom they interact, such as their fellow learners, as well as teachers. This has restricted the research and made it difficult to explore other issues in details.

Furthermore, the lack of readiness and punctuality of research participants sometimes was a major limitation. For instance, sometimes the researcher would arrange in advance to meet with participants at a specific time, but would find them still roaming around with their other friends. Sometimes some of them would not come to school on that day. This led to the researcher having to postpone the arrangements of the large amount of interviews for the next day. It was also difficult for the researcher to secure enough time with school principals, as some of them were preparing for their school term tests. Lastly, the researcher was faced with other limitations such as a lack of resources, which include transport, particularly convenient transport from one school to another.

3. 8. 7 Delimitation of the Study

Creswell (2014) refers delimitations of a research as features that limit the scope and define the boundaries of the research which are under the control of the researcher (Creswell, 2014: 325). In this research, the focus is mainly on newly initiated Basotho men who are incorporated back into the high school environment after graduating from the initiation. This environment is governed and regulated by its own legislature and policies influenced by the social and political changes taking place in the participants' everyday lives. The scope of this research was restricted to the examination of the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men, when incorporated back into the high school environment. Such experiences include how they see themselves as new men in the school environment, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as their interactions with other learners.

3. 8. 8 Position of the researcher

This study is conducted from the complex perspective of an insider, an insider in the sense that the researcher himself had undergone male initiation at the age of 13 in a village in the Limpopo Province. This is because he was socialized since boyhood to view the male initiation as the sole legitimate route to manhood. It has, therefore, been difficult to distance himself from this view. He participated regularly in annual initiation activities taking place in the extended family, his village and among families of his friends. He played various roles in these events, such as accompanying the boys to the initiation, visiting the new initiates in their initiation lodge to monitor their healing and transition into manhood; educating them about manhood and the language of men; and being involved in community celebrations marking the completion of initiation and the return of new initiates to a life of being a man (known as *monna*). These experiences have provided the researcher with a unique insight into the practice and the changing meanings of initiation and manhood in the social and cultural background it is from.

The position of an insider has its own challenges for researchers who are studying both cultural and traditional practices that have shaped their own life experiences too, especially the representation of their identity formulated through initiation, which has been fully debated by academics, particularly anthropologists. Perhaps the most important undeniable challenge to mention here is the fact that the researcher shares more or less similar experiences with the participants. This makes it difficult to adopt an objective stance towards the title of the research as a study subject. However, the researcher attempted to objectify these embodied experiences of being incorporated back into the school environment after graduating from initiation, instead of taking them for granted.

Furthermore, these experiences during the research process became part of resources that made the study possible. The manner, in which the participants communicated, treated him as an insider, someone to whom they can relate and share similar experiences with. The fact that the researcher has the background to understand their

language, means that he did not need the extra services of an interpreter. Even though there were some words that are dialectal, they were not difficult to comprehend. This mitigated many challenges that some researchers face in the field. In this case, the researcher's supervisor, Dr Ntombana, who also conducted a study that is related to the experiences of newly initiated men and initiation as a rite of passage, warned him that it is very important to show humility and respect, and assure the participants that their views are important. Because of these important warnings, the researcher made the participants to feel relaxed during their participation. In most of the times when the researcher set another appointment for interviews, participants would call and ask when he was coming again. They even wanted to visit him to have more discussions with him, but the researcher realized that this would end-up becoming irrelevant to the objectives of the study and the research question.

This positionality made the researcher realized that conducting research "at home" is like bring a service to the society. However, in the process of the study, the researcher learned that there were other important issues that came out of the study that needed to be treated with a certain level of sensitivity. Sensitivity is needed because, as an insider, there is a high possibility that one may return to the field or meet the participants. Thus, it is difficult to objectify the above mentioned experiences or take them for granted.

3. 9 Data presentation

As already mentioned, all the interviews and focus group discussion were conducted, recorded and transcribed, as well as translated from Sesotho. In the field, the researcher realized that all the participants were much comfortable and confident in communicating in their "home" language or their vernacular. They were free to share their experiences in a more informal way. The data therefore, are presented in both Sesotho and English so that anyone from a Sesotho or English speaking background can comprehend them. In cases where there were Sesotho words with no English equivalent, the researcher used the Sesotho word to maintain authenticity. This is in line with what has been argued by Mafeje (1997: 109), that by allowing research participants

to use their vernacular, enables them to make recourse to specific local histories, and these must be understood in their own right and by anyone who takes part in the research process. Lastly, the data were analysed thematically, in order to emphasize, examine and record the main themes of the study and also to describe the phenomena associated with specific research questions in the study.

3. 10 Data analysis

All research employing either the quantitative or qualitative research method concludes with the analysis and interpretation of sets of data and objectives (Mouton, 2001: 108). This suggests that data analysis involves categorizing data into manageable themes and concepts. Further, this particular aim of data analysis is understood based on various constitutive elements of the collected data through an examination of the connection between concepts, theories as well as methods. However, there is no “correct” or “right” way of analysing the data in a qualitative study (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001: 160). This is influenced by the fact that data analysis for a qualitative study is a complex and time consuming process. Most of the time, the research goes through a great deal of data, some of which is more useful, than others (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001: 161). This is in line with what transpired in this study. On the one hand, some of data were found less useful as it did not answer the research question and on the other hand some data is repeated.

3. 11 Conclusion

This chapter is the bedrock of this study, as it focuses on the research methodology and methods employed in this study. Further, this chapter covered for instance, the outline on the research techniques used in this study to collect the data. These include one on one interviews guided by an interview schedule; an outline on the secondary sources is utilized to comply with a particular standard on how research is conducted. It has also covered an outline on the sampling size of the study, indicating how many people participated in this study. Lastly, it outlined the codes of ethics that are concerned with

what is or is not legitimate do, as well as what moral procedure is involved in doing research.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DATA PRESENTATION

4. 1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of the data gathered during the research process on the lived experiences of the *ma-phura-khoatla* after being incorporated back into the school system. The findings of this study are emic perspectives of *ma-phura-khoatla*'s encounter with their school environment after returning from initiation. Data are presented mainly in two ways: by narratives which are in thematic form and case studies of six of the informants. Case studies were used to address specific topics related to the research questions, more especially their family background, financial situation, family support and specific reasons for attending initiation.

However, as noted in the research methodology chapter, these case studies did not necessarily represent the total number of the participants because some of them were not willing to share their detailed background. The data in thematic form was used to address specific research questions which were built from the main research question and the aim and objectives of the study. As already noted in chapter three, the findings are mainly based on one on one interviews and focus groups. The narratives are based on both direct and indirect quotations of the responses from participants.

4.2 Case studies of some of the participants

4. 2.1 The case of Mpho

Mpho was born in 1997 in Botshabelo K section. He currently lives with his father and is doing grade 12. Mpho's mother passed away in 2004 before he could undergo initiation. He went to the initiation at the age of 12 years and spent 3 months at the initiation, from mid-November until mid-January of the following year. It was his grandmother and a friend who influenced him to go to initiation. However, it was his father's responsibility to support him and pay all his initiation costs.

There are different reasons why Mpho attended initiation. The most important reason was that his father and other male relatives had also gone to initiation and therefore he had to follow the family tradition. Another reason that fascinated Mpho was the aesthetic representation of the Basotho culture and tradition expressed by the newly initiated Basotho men. When they return from initiation, they are adorned with red-ochre and beads of different colours. Thus, Mpho desired to be part of this orthodox culture. Further, Mpho went to initiation expecting that after graduation from this practice he would live comfortably and would also be treated well by his family and the society at large. When asked why he went for initiation, Mpho replied *"Ke ne ke batla hoba monna feela jwalo ka ntate waka, hape ke ne ke batla ho latela meetlo ya heso."* (I wanted to be a man just like my father and I wanted to follow my tradition.)

According to Mpho, going to initiation meant that one was no longer a boy but a man, and the manhood lifestyle is shown in giving respect to elders and also in being humble towards others. Mpho further narrated that, since he is a man he no longer represents himself but his clan and his family as a whole and would not want to bring his family name into disrepute. In addition to that Mpho said he was taught in the initiation that a real man avoids fighting and conflict situations. Mpho was also given more responsibilities, such looking after the family and to respecting the time to return home in the evenings. Mpho also learned that a man should make sure that the family has

food to eat and is protected. Lastly, Mpho was taught to fulfil other male related household chores such as cleaning the yard and working together with people.

The main people who played a part in Mpho's teaching are his father, *monga lebollo* and other *basuwe*. Mpho said on his return from initiation he was a different person. When asked how, he said that he is no longer associated with un-initiated boys. He came home before it was dark, he was more helpful and reliable at home, and even at school, he tried to not to get in trouble, so as to uphold the dignity of manhood. He added that, at school he felt that sometimes teachers just created unnecessary conflicts with learners that come from initiation, and this made him and some his peers to rebel against such teachers. According to Mpho he did not like or support such a situation, but it was mainly caused by teachers, especially female teachers. In this instance Mpho said "*Kantle ho dikgohlano tseo, hone ho sena diqwaketsano sekolong.*" (Otherwise apart from such conflicts there was no further tension at school.)

4. 2. 2 The case of Peter

Peter was born in the year 1997 in Botshabelo section C1. He currently lives with his single mother and his elder brother. He is aware that his father is still alive, but has no relationship with him. His mother informed him that his father has never played any part or supported her in raising him and according to his mother, Peter has no father. Peter is currently enrolled for grade 12. Like most other participants, Peter went to initiation at the age of 14 and spent 3 months, from mid-November until mid-January of the following year. Prior to going to initiation, Peter had no knowledge of initiation, but his elder brother who also had undergone initiation influenced him to also go to initiation. His elder brother informed him that the only way he could be an accepted man and attain respect in the community is by attending the initiation school. Both Peter's elder brother and their mother were the ones responsible for all the initiation costs. According to Peter, the major impetus for the timing of the initiation was the fact that he was suffering from a lot of painful pimples on his face and he believed that the initiation

rituals and medicines used at initiation would cure his pimples. When asked whether the pimples were cured after initiation. For instance, Peter responded that:

Ee, ka mora hore keye lebollong, bothata ba hoba le makgopo sefahlehong bofedile, mme hofihlela letsatsi la kajeno ntse ke sena bothata boo. Ke dumela hore makgopo a fedisitswe ke methokgo eo ke neng ke e sebedisa hane kele lebollong. (Yes, for sure. After having gone through initiation the pimples were gone and even today I don't have them and that is due to the herbs I used while in the initiation.)

Like other participants, Peter was also cared for by his care-takers (*basuwe*), as well as elderly men who had also previously been to initiation and *monga lebollo*, a type of herb was used to treat his pimples. Further, the *basuwe* taught Peter about the relationship between initiation and manhood privileges and responsibilities. In this case he (Peter) learned that initiation is a central key to socialize boys into manhood and his responsibility is to ensure that all the decisions he makes, henceforth, must have a positive impact on his life as an individual and the life of others, especially when he gets to university. Furthermore, respect of the self and of others is crucial. Peter, further noted that for him initiation did make a man out of a boy and he strongly believed that it is important for all males to go for this practice. In this instance Peter responded that:

Ee, ke tseba bashamane ba bangata Botshabelo mona basa bollang empa hake ba kgetholle leha hole jwalo. Ke lakatsa eka le bona ba kaya lebollong hore ba iphumanele monyetla oo otlala fetola maphelo a bona. (Yes, I know a lot of other boys here in Botshabelo who do not attend initiation, I do not discriminate against them but I wish they could also attend this life changing experience.)

Furthermore, Peter said that when he was fresh from initiation, he used to have conflicts with both female and male teachers, but after sometime there were no more conflicts. According to Peter:

A mang a matitjhere, haholo bao basa dumellaneng le lebollo ba ne ba monela bashemane batswang lebollong le ho bathatafalletsa bophelo. Ka mora hore ke kgutle lebollong ke ne kesa rate ha matitjhere a mpitsa moshemane kaha kene ke dumela hore kese kele monna. Seo ke neng ke sehloka feela ke kelo hlooko. Empa ka ha ke rotile lebollong hore le ha ho le jwalo, ho batswadi sekolong le tulong eo ke dulang ho yona ke tlameha ho dula ke le ngwana. (Some teachers, especially those who do not believe in initiation become jealous of the initiated males and make life difficult for them. After I graduated from initiation I did not like it when teachers called me a boy, I was no longer a boy, I was a man and all I needed was

not much respect but only to be recognized as an initiated man. But I was also taught at the initiation that even if this is case, to all elders whether at school or in the society I must remain a child. Therefore, I must have a respect towards them all.)

For Peter, teachers both male and females did not recognise them as man and that frustrated them a lot.

4. 2. 3 The case of Thabang

Thabang was born in 1997 in Botshabelo section C2, where he currently lives with his mother who is a single parent and his cousin sister from his mother's side. His mother and his cousin sister are the ones who supported him financially for initiation. Thabang attended initiation at the age of 15 and is currently doing his grade 12. One of the main reasons that influenced the timing for initiation according to Thabang, is that the majority of the youths of his age in section C2, wanted to go for initiation. Subsequently, he ended up going for initiation

Whilst at the initiation, Thabang was taken care of by his *basuwe*, as well as *monga lebollo*, through whom he learnt a lot of principles and values of the Basotho ways of life. One of the main principles was the importance of ensuring that the *seriti* (dignity) of men, who had undergone initiation, is not demeaned. For instance, he indicated: "*Ke ithutile hore ho sireletsa seriti sa monna ho tshwana le ho sireletsa seriti sa lebollo.*" (I learnt that protecting the dignity of men, is equal to protecting the dignity of initiation itself.)

This suggests that manhood carries both responsibilities and privileges. Responsibilities such as self-respect, respecting others, listening to others and resolving life problems. Other responsibilities include taking care of and protecting his family which includes siblings, cousins and other extended family members.

According to Thabang, privileges associated with being initiated include: gaining respect from his family, from his peers and the society as a whole. Over and above that he now

believes that he enjoys a special place and status in the society. Thabang further noted that so far he has indeed enjoyed the special privileges and he also tries his best to live according to what is expected of him by adhering to his responsibilities. He now tries to greet elders and other people on the street and no longer swears at his friends. Further that he tries to avoid conflicts and fighting.

4. 2. 4 The case of Tshepo

Tshepo was born in 1996 in Botshabelo section C and both his parents are diseased. Tshepo went for initiation at the age of 15 and is currently doing grade 11 and is hopeful that in 2017 he will be doing his grade 12 so that he can go to the university. He is under the support and guardianship of this grandmother (mother to his father) and lives with his sister and his brother, with two of his cousins who are also depended on his grandmother. Tshepo's initiation was financed by his grandmother, assisted by one of his uncles from his mother's side. The right time for his initiation was decided upon by both him and his grandmother. One of the fundamental reasons for Tshepo to go for initiation is the fact that his father's clan is one of those that religiously adhere to the initiation practice and strongly emphasizes that all males go for the practice in order to fulfil their traditional and cultural expectations.

According to Tshepo, as much as other boys of his age had the option of whether to go for initiation or not, he had no option but to attend initiation as part of his manhood requirements. For him, going to initiation meant that he no longer behaved like a boy that he respected other people. From this space Tshepo had learned about how as a man, one must show humility and great reverence to everyone regardless of whether they had gone to initiation or not, to understand and respect the law. All these teachings changed Tshepo to become a respectful person. Furthermore, Tshepo had gone for initiation because he wanted to learn how men resolve life problems. All these lessons, Mpho was also taught by *basuwe* and *monga lebollo*.

4. 2. 5 The case of Hlompho

Hlompho was born in 1997 in Botshabelo section C2. He was raised by and currently lives with his father who is a single parent. Mpho's mother passed away when he was still young. He is currently doing grade 12. Like some of the participants, it was his father's wish that he also undergo initiation like him (his father). It was also his father who was responsible for all the expenses of initiation. Subsequently, his father also played an active role as *basuwe*, teaching Hlompho about manhood, as well as the privileges and responsibilities of a man. Amongst other lessons, Hlompho was taught that to be a man he must be a good listener and observe the law. He was also taught to persevere and to be courageous. In other words, initiation played a critical role in socializing him into manhood and meeting the social norms and values expected of an initiated man.

4. 2. 6 The case of Letlafiwa

Letlafiwa was born in 1997 in Botshabelo K Section with his mother and grandmother and his father passed away when he was still young, before he could go for initiation. Letlafiwa is currently doing grade 12 and would love to complete his high school and proceed to the university. Letlafiwa was 15 years at the time of his initiation and the main motivation for his decision for initiation was that his father was also initiated and so he also wanted to follow his late father's tradition. His grandmother was the one responsible for all his initiation expenses.

At the initiation Letlafiwa was taught by various peoples who included: his priest from their local church, elderly men who also hold prestigious positions in their society, as well as *monga lebollo*. Among other lessons, Letlafiwa learned that a man must be someone who takes a good care of himself and who lives in harmony with other people, who also understands and considers initiation as a rebirth with expectations of a new life style. Furthermore he was taught that when God wants to talk to a person, he needs to be at the mountain just like Moses. For instance, he stated that he was taught that:

Ha batho ba ne ba batla ho ithuta ka lentswe la Modimo ba ne ba nyoloha hoya hodima thaba moo dithuto dineng ditla etsahala teng. (When people wanted to learn about the word of God they would ascend up to the mountain where the teaching will take place.) According to Letlafiwa, initiation symbolized the mountain and the time spent alone being taught, was similar to a spiritual relation with God.

4. 3 Main reasons for attending *lebollo*

This study found that Botshabelo is not necessarily an initiation practicing community. This is because not all community members practice initiation. However certain families uphold this practice. As a result some learners attend initiation while some do not, but there is no public discrimination as is found in other areas like the Eastern Cape (Ntombana, 2011). The main reason that *ma-phura-khoatla* give for attending *lebollo* vary, however, most of them attended *lebollo*, because this practice is a tradition in their families. For them it was part of their identity and connected them with their ancestors and their living clan members. For instance, in the case of Tshepo and Mpho, in the clan of Tshepo's father they religiously adhere to the *lebollo* practice and they strongly emphasize that all males go for the practice in order to fulfil their traditional and cultural expectations.

Both Tshepo and Mpho attended the *lebollo* because they wanted to represent their clan and families from a young age. For an example Tshepo, added that:

Ke ile lebollong ke hobane kene ke batla ho pheta moetlo wa lelapa leso ke sale monyane, hobane nkgono waka ona hlola a njwetsa hore ke ntho esa lokang ha oya lebollong ose ole moholo hobane o qetella ose oya hobane dintho tsa hao disa tsamaye hantle. (I went to initiation at early age because I wanted to fulfil both the tradition and culture of my family at a young age, because my grandmother used to tell me that it is not a good thing to undergo the initiation when you are already old, because things will not go well in accordingly when you are old.)

Most participants noted that they did not have a choice of not attending initiation, due to the fact that they come from families that practice initiation, while a few of them said

they did not necessary come from initiation practicing families, but were encouraged by their friends to go for initiation. Tshego said:

Lapeng heso ke nna motho wa pele wa hoya lebollong. Ntatemoholo ha mmoho le bana ba habo ba batona kaofela ba bollotse. Ntate waka one a sena bothata ka hoya lebollong haka mme ebile one a nkgothaletsa hoya. Ka mora hore keye lebollong, batswala baka le bona ba ile lebollong ka hoo ke ikutlwa kele motlotlo hoba mohlala o motle ho bona. (I am the first one in my family to attend initiation, I am aware that my great grandfather was initiated with all of his other male siblings but my father and his generation were not initiated. My father did not have issues with my decision to be initiated in fact he encouraged me. After I went for initiation some of my cousins also went and I am proud to be a good influence among them.)

One can also notice a strong element of peer pressure in both deciding for initiation and in deciding on the right time for initiation. For instance, Thabang indicated that he went for initiation because his friends were going and did not want to be left out. So, he wanted to be counted among them.

Some stated that they went to initiation because they wanted to learn about manhood and live a positive and responsible life style. Others mentioned and conceded with one another that:

Lebollo ke le leng la meetlo eo re tlameyang ho e pheta ho bula ditsela hore dintho tsa rona dikgone ho tsamaya hantle ka nepo, mohlala ha o batla ho bula kgwebo. (Initiation is one of the traditional and cultural practices that we are supposed to fulfil to open our ways, so that things in our lives can go well; such as establishing a business, initiation enhances it.)

Some participants further noted that their reason for attending initiation was that they wanted to be accepted as men and attain respect in the community. Joel said: "I noticed with my elder brother that once he was initiated he lived a different lifestyle and was more respected by everyone at home. He was seen as a more mature man and he was no longer sent to the local shops. I always had to the shop instead of him." Lerato said he wanted to be taken seriously by both the community and at school. During the group discussion there was a strong consensus that almost all of them had a strong expectation of some respect, both in the community and at school.

4.4 Age and time for initiation

Most of the participants went for initiation between the ages of 12 and 15 and only a few were initiated above the age of 15, none of them went to initiation above the age of 17. When asked about the main reasons for going at such ages, their response was that 12 was mostly the age of most initiated with the exception of a few who went at 9 and 10 years. They could not explain the exact reasons for the choice of age except that at 12 years most of them were just entering high school and it had become the norm for most of them to be initiated on entering high school, while a few chose to be initiated just before they graduate grade 12. Some said one of the major influences for choosing the time for initiation was their peers. While a few, especially those who were above the age of 15 at the time of initiation, said it was financial reasons that delayed them otherwise they would have loved to be initiated at an earlier age.

Thabang said:

Ke ile lebollong ke le dilemo tse leshome le metso e supileng selemong se fetileng; 2015. Ke ne ke ratile hoya lebollong le dithata tsaka empa seo ha sea etsahala lebaka ele hore nkgono waka one a sena tjhelete ka nako eo. Ke ile ka tlameya ho ema nako e kabang dilemo tse pedi hore nkgono abe le tjhelete ho nkisa lebollong. (I was initiated at 17 years in 2015 and would have loved to have been initiated with my peers but that did not happen. My grandmother did not have money and I had to wait for two more years for her to raise the money to support my initiation.)

Kagiso also noted:

Ntate waka ke ena a nkileng geto ya hore ke seke kaya lebollong le dithaka tsaka hane kena le dilemo tse leshome le metso e meraro mme a mang a mabaka a hae ene ele hore ke sale monyane hore nkaya lebollong. Le leng la mabaka a hae ene ele hore one a sena tjhelete ho nkisa lebollong empa leha hole jwalo ke ne ke tseba hore leo hase lebakabaka, ka hoo ke ile ka tlameha ema ho fihlela selemo se latelang hore keye lebollong. (It was my father who decided that I could not be initiated with my peers when I was 13 and his reasons were that I was still young and he did not have money, I know that the issue of being young was not an issue but he did not have money and as result I had to wait for the following year to be initiated.)

For some participants the issues of finances was central in deciding the right time for initiation and as result they had to postpone their initiation until finances were raised. None of them had to work themselves to raise money. It was their parents and other extended family members who supported their initiation financially.

4. 5. What treatment were they expecting on returning to school?

After returning from initiation and incorporated back into the school system, *ma-phura-khoatla* had various and crucial expectations, especially regarding the school environment.

Some noted that they were hoping that they would at least be respected as men both by their families and at school. Thato said:

Ke ne ke bona tlhompho eneng e fuwa bo abuti baka ba baholo ha batswa lebollong. Sekolong le tulong yeo ke dulong ho yona ke ne ke bona tsela eo batho ba bollotseng batshwarang ka teng mme lenna kene ke lebelletse tlhompho e jwalo le keletlhoko. (I have obviously seen the respect given to my older brother who has been initiated and also at school and in the society I have seen how some other initiated males are treated and I was at least expecting some form of respect and recognition.)

All of the *ma-phura-khoatla* expected respect from their families and some community members, especially from the youth. They also mentioned that they knew that such a treatment must be reciprocal.

In other words they expected to be treated the same as any other learner. For example:

Sekolong reka rata haka ba retshwara katsela eo batshwarang ngwana emong le emong wa sekolo hosa kgathallehe hore ketswa lebollong, ba retshware jwalo ka ngwana emong le emong wa sekolo. (At school, we would love to be treated like they treat any other learner; regardless of whether or not he has gone to initiation. They must treat us equally.)

This response was clarified and what they do not expect upon their return from initiation was also specified. Here the majority of them noted that: *“Ka mora lebollo re lebelletse hore kenne re phedisane hantle le batho re tlohele ho nyefolana leho bitsana ka*

mantswe asa thabiseng jwalo ka ho bitsana bashemane le dikwata." (After initiation we expect to continue living with others well and stop humiliating each other as well as calling each other unpleasant names such as calling each other boys and barbarians.)

4. 6. Their experiences of the school environment

It is an obvious fact that the school system in Botshabelo like many other schools systems in the South African societies constitutes both male and female teachers. This is one of the central reasons why this study endeavours to also examine the relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and their teachers and fellow learners. The following is a data presentation of this relationship.

4.6.1 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and male teachers

This study found that the relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and their male teachers is driven by the manner in which they address one another. Here, the majority stated that the manner in which their teachers address them is not convivial. And this makes it very difficult for them to relate to them.

They mentioned some critical issues they encounter when they interact with their teachers. For example, they stated:

Tsela eo matitjhere ntshwereng ka yona enesa nthabise hobane badula ba rekgopotsa hore re seke itibala hore hare bontate sekolong, empa bashemane, re bontate thabeng empa rona resa bua ka ditaba tsa lebollo sekolong. (The manner in which our male teachers treat us is unkind; they always remind us that we must not forget that at school we are not men but boys. And that we are not at the mountain, even though I did not speak about things that involve initiation at school.)

In addition, some of them stated that their teachers seem to be carrying the assumption that initiation teaches people bad behaviour: "*Matitjhere a rona a bontate ha retshware hantle hobane bare lebolong re rutwa dintho tsesa lokang, jwalo kaho rata ho lwana le maitshwaro asa thabiseng.*" (Our male teachers do not treat us kindly because they say initiation teaches us ills, such as getting involved in fights and other bad behaviour.)

Some of them confirmed the fact that their male teachers do not treat them well and this hurt them. For example Lesiba responded like a representative of his peers and noted that: "*Sena se utlwisa bohloko hoo ebang ka dinako tseding ene ekare reka bontsha bontate barona empa ka lebaka la hore re bana ba rutilweng molao rene re itshwara.*" (This hurt us to such extent that sometimes we feel like retaliating and showing our manhood, but because we are children who are taught laws, we halt ourselves.)

Another issue they noted was with regard to some of their male teachers, who according to them, did not go to the initiation and stated that: "*Matijhere a bontate asa bollang hare kgone ho buisana hantle le bona.*" (Male teachers who have not yet undergone initiation, we are unable to interact well with them.)

They had also added that this is mostly caused also by the fact that:

Ha retswa lebollo ha rea tlameya ho bua le batho nako ekabang beke, sena se etsa dikgohlano hobane ka dinako tseding matijhere a bontate ekare ba nale mona hore retswa lebollo bona basaya. Sena se baka kgohlano hobane ba kgahlano le melao eo basa etsebeng eo rona re etsebang ya lebollo. Sena se etsa mathata hobane hare kgone ho sebedisana ka dihlopha le baithute ba bang. (When we graduate from the initiation we are not supposed to speak to anybody we meet for about a period of a week and this causes disputes between us. Sometimes it seems like male teachers are jealous that we are from initiation and they are not. They end-up being against laws they do not know, laws that are about initiation. It also causes problems because we are unable to work together in groups with other learners).

In their justification of how are they able to identify and know the male teachers who had not gone to initiation, the participants stated that: "*Mantswe a Sesotho are kgomo re e tshwara ka dinaka, motho o tshwarwa ka dipuo. Titijhere ha e satswe lebollo e nahana hore otlo motella kapa otlo mokgella fatshe.*" (The Sesotho idioms say we catch a cow by its horns, but human beings are caught by his utterances. A teacher who has not undergone initiation thinks we will disrespect and emasculate him.)

Apart from being called boys, most of *ma-phura-khoatla* also noted that they were continuously being scorned by their male teachers, because they had gone to initiation. This mostly happened during teaching hours in the presence of their fellow learners. For example:

Ha retswa lebollong matitjhere aya re soma ka dintho tsa lebollo, mohlala ka nako engwe titjhere ha e bua dintho tse qabolang eba nna hake tshehe titjhere e njwetsa hore hare tshehe hobane rese re le banna. (When you come back from initiation teachers mock us about things that are related to lebollo. Sometimes a teacher will make jokes and when he notices that we are not laughing at his jokes, he turns to say we are not laughing because we think we are now men.)

4.6.2 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and female teachers

In the case of the relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and their female teachers, this study found that there were few challenges between them with their male teachers. The majority of *ma-phura-khoatla* pointed out that in most cases their female teacher's treated them fairly. And they are able to relate and express themselves in class quite freely. For example, in their explanation, they noted that: "*Matitjhere ba bomme bua le rona ke tsela e bontshang boikokobetso le tlhompho.*" (Female teachers address us in a manner which shows humility and respect.)

During the research process Kagiso, also added that: "*Matitjhere ba bomme ba tshaba ho kenella haholo ditabeng tsa lebollo, empa habana dikgohlano le rona.* (Female teachers do not want to get too involved in anything that had to do with initiation. Thus, they do not have quarrels with us.) This kind of treatment that *ma-phura-khoatla* receive from their female teachers made them realize and conclude that most of female teachers accepted them more than their male teachers. For instance, most of them pointed out that: "*Bomme ba ananela bohlokwa ba lebollo, ebile re utlwisisa hore bomme ba hlompha lebollo.*" (Female teachers understand the importance of lebollo, and we also understand that they accept initiation.)

Furthermore, Thuso noted what seemed to be more about an attitude one carries out towards others that end-up influencing how people treat each other. For example, he stated that:

Matitjhere ba bomme hotswa ho wena hore o itshwara jwang ha otswa lebollong, ha o itshwere hantle ba ofa tlhompho. Lebollo le re rethutile hore ha o batla hore motho a o hlomphe o tlameya ho mohlompha le wena. (When it comes to female teachers, it depends on how you conduct yourself and how you interact with them after coming back from initiation. If you show them respect they respect you. Initiation taught us that if you want people to respect you, you must respect them as well.)

However, one can also notice one common thing about the treatment *ma-phura-khoatla* receive from their female and male teachers. Most of them noted that more often than not, some of their female teachers also mock them and refer to them as boys; “*Ka nako enngwe matitjhere ba bommeba dula ba hatella taba ya hore re bashemane hosa kgathalletsehe hore retswa lebollong*” (Sometimes our female teachers emphasize that we are still boys, regardless of whether or not we have been to initiation.)

4.6.3 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and other learners

In this study the question of how *ma-phura-khoatla* relate with other learners and what treatment they receive from them was very critical to this study. This study found that there was a convivial relationship amongst them. The majority of them stated that: “*Rona le Bana ba bang ba sekolo retshwarane hantle, hahona dikgohlano pakeng tsa rona.*” (We and other learners treat each other very well and there are no quarrels between us.) In the same vein, *ma-phura-khoatla* also noted that: “*Tsela eo re batshwarang ka yona le bona ba ntshwara ka yona, ha re ba hlomphe le bona baya ntlhompha.*” (The manner in which we treat our fellow learners, it is same as they treat us. If we respect them, they respect us as well).

This study also found that not all learners give *ma-phura-khoatla* equal and fair treatment. In fact there also are a few learners who seem to be disrespectful to them by mocking them and referring them as boys. For instance, Thato stated that: “*Baithute*

mmoho lenna le bona ba mpitsa moshemane taba eo ha e ntshware hantle empa kea amohela.” (My fellow learners refer to me as a boy and it does not sit well with me but I accept it.) Furthermore, one of the most scornful and derogatory names *ma-phura-khoatla* referred to, apart from being called boys, is *dikwata*. *Dikwata* in loose English is “barbarians” or “savages”; “*Bana ba sekolo ba re bitsa ka mabitso a somang jwalo ka dikwata*” (Learners mock us and call us names such as barbarians.) In their explanation of why they think they are referred to as “barbarians” most of them stated that: “*Re bitswa dikwata hobane ba nahana ha re sana bokamoso bo hantle, hobane batho banale lehloyo ka lebollo.*” (We are called barbarians because they think we do not have a future and because they dislike initiation.)

4. 7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings and data gathered during the research process, examining the lived experiences of the newly initiated Basotho men (or *ma-phura-khoatla*) when they were incorporated back into the school system in the selected schools in Botshabelo, Free State province. The chapter examined how *ma-phura-khoatla* see themselves as new men in the school, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as the treatment they receive from interacting with other learners. *Ma-phura-khoatla* see themselves as children with moral and ethical conduct. They only regard themselves as men when they are with their peers who went for initiation together, as well as when they are at the mountain. But being called boys even after they had graduated from initiation and being mistreated and mocked, are critical predicaments *ma-phura-khoatla* face in relation to their teachers, as well as a few of their fellow learners. On the one hand, the manner in which the *ma-phura-khoatla* are treated by the majority of their male and a few of their female teachers, makes them feel unwelcomed within the school environment. While, on the other hand, the, majority of female teachers, as well as majority of their fellow learners treat them with tolerance, respect, humility and as equals with other learners. This treatment is reciprocal.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

5. 1 Introduction

This chapter is an interpretation and analysis of the study's findings presented in chapter four. Both the interpretation and the analysis involve a categorization of data into manageable themes, theories, methods and concepts. This particular endeavor mainly focuses on the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* after being incorporated back into the school system. This is centred on the research question guiding the study presented in chapter one.

5. 2 Single parent household and absent fathers

Research has showed that in South Africa many children grow up in riven households, either headed by single mothers or single fathers while some are child-headed families (Raniga and Nqcobo, 2014; Padi, Nduna, Khunou and Kholopane, 2014; Ward, Makusha & Bray 2015). Millions grow up living without one or even both of their parents (Holborn and Eddy, 2011: 7), while a vast number of them grow up with absent fathers (Padi, Nduna, Khunou & Kholopane, 2014).

The findings depicted by this study are not different from the South African realities of single parents and absent fathers. The majority of *ma-phura-khoatla* in this study were found to be coming from single parent households. Only a few of them were found living without both parents, whereas, some were found either living with their fathers or mothers, as single parents and some living with their grandmothers as their guardians (either from their father's side or mother's side). Most of them had absent fathers and as a result were raised by their grandmothers, uncles and aunts. In fact most of them grew

up in families where there was no male figure and this brings into question the role of *usosiko/usosuthu*.

According to Ntombana (2011: 89), in Xhosa culture, *usosiko* is traditionally the father of the initiate or the clan representative. In essence, the *usosiko* is accountable for the financial, traditional and social responsibilities of the initiation (Lamla, 2005: 6). In cases where the father is absent, working in the urban areas, or is deceased, the grandfather would take over this role. In cases where there was not an immediate male representative, the mother would ask any respectable man who comes from the same clan as the initiate to take over this role (Ntombana, 2011: 9). In most cases the clan representative did not necessarily provide financial resources, but he had to oversee the traditional and social roles which the mother as a woman was not permitted to do.

In his recent study, Ntombana (2011: 90) observes that the role of *usosiko* is still prominent in most parts of the Eastern Cape in so much so that the initiation ceremonies could not take place unless there was the *usosiko* present and also during graduation ceremonies it is the *usosiko* who speaks first, welcomes everyone, gives direction, offers words of wisdom to the initiated and then invites others to do the same.

The case in Boshabelo seems to differ from the Eastern Cape and elsewhere, in the sense that, there is no emphasis on the role of the father or the clan representative. It is true that, in cases where there is a father, he plays his role, but given the reality of absent fathers the *basuwe* who are appointed by *monga lebollo* play the traditional and social role in the process of initiation. The *Basuwe* did not necessarily have to be clan related, but he has to be a respectable man in the society and must also be above 30 years of age. Even though it is families who provide financial resources, the *Basuwe* plays the father.

It seems that in Botshabelo, in the absence of the biological fathers, the *Basuwe* and other men become what Ratele, Shefer & Clowes (2012: 7) call “social fathers”. A key part of this discourse however was the evidence that it is not only biological fathers who

can 'be there' for their sons but also social fathers, other significant male role models and father figures who step in at different times in participants' lives when biological fathers are unavailable for whatever reason (Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012: 7). This suggests that even in the absence of fathers, there are father figures available. From findings of this study, there is no need for the presence of a clan related representative. In some cases it is a relative of the father, while in some it is a neighbor, or any appointed responsible initiated man from the community or the initiate's pastor, as well as *monga lebollo*.

It appears that most of these parents and guardians played a very important role in both influencing them (*ma-phura-khoatla*) in going to the initiation and supporting them financially on all initiation costs and, other necessary social and emotional supports they needed. For instance, some of the participants had to delay their initiation time due to the fact that their extended families were still organizing finances. Such supports include those played by their fathers such as teachers of manhood, caretakers and disciplinarians at the initiation, whereas, their mothers and grandmother in most cases provided emotional nurturing.

5. 3 Meanings of manhood

As the literature has already indicated, manhood formulated through initiation, appears to be one of the most critically debated phenomena (see Nqxamnqxa, 1971; Munthali and Zulu, 2007; Rankhotha, 2004; Ngwane, 2004; Vincent, 2008; Phohlo, 2011 and Seema, 2012) and the question of what it means to be a man is central to this debate. Although in this study the answer appears to be obscured, findings and data presented, depict manhood as a socially constructed identity, formulated through initiation which shifts through different times and spaces. In this instance manhood appeared to be a state of being man, a state into which one formally enters after having undergone initiation. It is an identity attained, embodied and expressed in fulfillment of specific expectations, aspirations and responsibilities of individuals, as well as their society. Such ideals, values and aspirations include: being understanding, being a good listener,

show respect, be tolerant of other people, respect the law (obedient), be humble towards others, be committed to one's goal and vision for the future, have self-respect and self-discipline, as well as be a good compatriot. These expectations and responsibilities encapsulate the importance of the outcomes and role of initiation among the Basotho and provides them with a sense of being and belonging (see Molapo, 1976; Tsiu, 2008; Ngwane, 2004; Phohlo, 2011 & Seema, 2012). Furthermore, manhood appeared to be a state in which someone who had gone for initiation has taken responsibility in ensuring that his family has food and is protected and everyone is safely home by nightfall. Lastly, it also appeared that manhood means that one must avoid fights and not get involved in conflicts. He is also to ensure that most, if not all of decisions he makes have a positive impact on his life and the lives of others. This seeks to create a platform for a rightful relationship with other people to maintain human dignity and love for one another, embedded in the practice of *botho* (Ubuntu or humanity – I am because we are). Thus, in this instance *ma-phura-khoatla* refers to initiation as a university of life.

In this study there is no emphasis on the privileges of manhood like in other studies noted in the literature (Molapo, 1976; Delius, 1989; Ngwane, 2004; Phohlo, 2011; Ntombana, 2011 & Seema, 2012). Such privileges include participating in *Kgotla* (public discussions summoned by the Chief to discuss and resolve issues facing the society), becoming soldiers of the chieftaincy, protecting the chief and the society, inheriting their father's possessions, dating their women publicly, getting married and establishing their own families, going out to look for a job and work to support the family (Molapo, 1976; Delius, 1989; Ngwane, 2004; Phohlo, 2011; Ntombana, 2011 & Seema, 2012). These particular traditional notions of manhood or what it means to be man seem to have changed in the particular area where this research was conducted. Rather, the emphasis is much on the above mentioned expectations, aspirations, as well as responsibilities. For example: respect, obedience, tolerance, self-discipline, et cetera.

In the case of this study, *ma-phura-khoatla* appeared to be fully aware of these notions of manhood. Thus, going for initiation to them and their *basuwe* means an attainment

and embodiment of such notions. Through this account, the formation of a character of becoming better and moral people, is of a paramount importance for *ma-phura-khoatla* as they begin to have a sense of being and belonging. This particular formation of identity and character encapsulates a particular stage of identity formation, observed by Erickson's (1957 and 1977) psychosocial theory, positing that this is a stage in which boys endeavor to search and examine their identity in terms of who they are, as well as what they want to be-(come). For (Van Gennep, 1960; Munthali and Zulu, 2007; Dyck and Dyck, cited in Mahdi *et al.*, 1987 and Ntombana, 2011) this is a stage in which the novices learn the appropriated behaviour for the new stage they will be entering and are given instructions and advice in preparation for their expected new roles in the society.

Related to meaning of manhood, in this study one also finds a strong notion of being identified with their fathers and fore-fathers. A couple of participants said they wanted to be initiated just like their fathers were. As already mentioned this area is not wholly an initiation practising area and as result, unlike in other areas, there is no discrimination against those who are not initiated. The boys here are not forced to undergo initiation, but seem to claim their traditional identity through attending initiation and it is through this practice that they are baptised into manhood and joined with their forefathers in manhood.

5. 4 Age and right time for initiation

All of the *ma-phura-khoatla* went for initiation earlier than the age of 17 years. Some of them were initiated between the ages of 12 year to 14 years, while a few had gone for initiation at the age of 17. This seem to be different from the provinces like Eastern and Western Cape whereby most of the boys go for initiation from 18 years and older, and sometimes from age of 17 years (Nqxamnxqa, 1971; Vincent, 2008, Mfecane, 2008; Peltzer and Kanta, 2009 and Ntombana, 2011). It seems that among the Basotho most boys prefer to go for initiation at the age of 12 years, as some noted financial reasons that delayed them until they were older than 12 years. Contrary to other provinces such as the Eastern and Western Cape where there is strong relationship between initiation

and tertiary institutions, boys attend initiation while in grade 11 and 12, which is the time when they are about to enter tertiary institutions (Ntombana, 2011; Mahloka, Jacobs & de Wet, 2016: 714). In this study there is a strong relationship between initiation and high schools. In the East and Western Cape young males try to ensure that they are initiated before going to tertiary institutions, whereas here, they do their best not to go to high school without being initiated. As already mentioned, their manhood identity is formulated earlier than in some other areas.

Furthermore, some *ma-phura-khoatla* had gone for initiation only just after they entered high school. This is caused by financial constraints which render families unable to cover all initiation costs. Otherwise, they would have loved to go for initiation at the same time and age as their peers, that is, before entering high school. Some important reasons for this particular transition is on the one hand a fulfillment of a tradition, whilst on the other hand the desire to be on the same level as their peers. They do not want to feel left out. This reason resonates very well with Erickson's (1956 and 1977) psychosocial theory positing that this is a time in which boys endeavor to search and examine their identity in terms of who they are and what they want to be-(come). Furthermore, such questions are also important because *ma-phura-khoatla* become more concerned about their appearance and how they relate to other people. Thus, initiation seem to be a mechanism for achieving this state.

Although this age and time for initiation resonate well with the findings of the studies done by Mahloka, Jacobs & de Wet (2016). These authors found that this particular age group is problematic in their behaviour towards teachers as they (*ma-phura-khoatla*) are unable to handle their new status (Mahloka, Jacobs & de Wet 2016: 714-5). As already noted, the study was based on interviews with teachers and not *ma-phura-khoatla*. It is teachers who expressed serious issues about *ma-phura-khoatla*'s age when they go for initiation, while for *ma-phura-khoatla* it was the right age and it worked for them.

5. 5 *Ma-phura-khoatla* in the school environment

As it has been mentioned that manhood identity or being a man is situational, the researcher noted that findings and data presented in this study show that one is a man in the mountain, but a child at home and within the school environment. This carries an element of duality, whereby, both the child and man identities formulated through initiation do not coexist at the same time and space. For instance, through initiation a child's identity was constructed to replace the boy identity in the society and within the school environment, whereas, manhood or a man identity is constructed replacing a boy identity and acted out only in the mountain, but is expected to be acknowledged in any social space. In other words, the fact is that some male learners who have gone to initiation must be recognized and respected. But in order for them to uphold and abide by school rules and regulations, *ma-phura-khoatla* are expected, despite initiation, to be regarded as children. Being a child from this perspective means that one has a respect, humility, tolerance, order, equality, unity, cooperation, self-discipline, et cetera.

The duality of a child and man identities amongst *ma-phura-khoatla* show an element of identity change and behavioral expectations, especially, after initiation. This depicts how manhood identity changes through different moments. As far as the literature in this study has noted, this particular change resonates and is seen from a vantage point in which identity change and behavioral expectations are historicized. The historicization showed a consistent change of identity, particularly of *ma-phura-khoatla* in the particular area in which study this research was conducted. The researcher suggests that this particular examination of duality lays a foundation for the examination and understanding of the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* after being incorporated back into the school system and subsequently, their relationships with their male and female teachers, as well as their fellow learners.

5. 5. 1 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and male teachers

The manner in which *ma-phura-khoatla* relate with their male teachers seems to be accompanied by some persisting difficulties. Teachers seem to be breaking the law set for *ma-phura-khoatla* at initiation, which tells them that when they are in the school environment they must not mention anything to do with initiation. Furthermore that they must not regard themselves as men over those that did not go to initiation or call them boys. What they must know is that they are no longer boys, but they are still children, particularly in the eyes of their teachers and other elders in their society, so they must respect everyone.

Male teachers appeared to not be treating *ma-phura-khoatla* the same way as other learners. They mock them, by telling them that they are not at the mountain (initiation), but at school, so they are the same as other boys. In other words they are also boys, whether, they have been to initiation or not. The researcher noticed that such comments appear to be more troubling for *ma-phura-khoatla*. They tend to feel unwelcomed and isolated from their negotiated beingness. This suggests that teachers have no regard for culture and tradition or even the constitutional rights of *ma-phura-khoatla*. This lack of knowledge and experience of culture and the tradition of initiation by male teachers who have not been to initiation, seem to be contributing factors to problems *ma-phura-khoatla* face within the system.

A special treatment appeared to be one of the most critical treatments argued against by *ma-phura-khoatla*. It appeared in this study that *ma-phura-khoatla* do not want a special treatment, but all they want is recognition of the fact that they are no longer boys; they are now men and should not be addressed as boys. In this case, the findings show that this recognition is crucial, because it is same recognition they receive from their society and their families.

5. 5. 2 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and female teachers

Most of *ma-phura-khoatla* appear to have fewer persisting difficulties with their female teachers. There are still a few female teachers who consistently refer to them as boys and tell them they are men in the mountain, but not in the school environment. This continues to cause difficulties and conflicts between them and their teachers. However, it appears that the majority of female teachers seem to have great reverence towards *ma-phura-khoatla*. In this instance, female teachers treat *ma-phura-khoatla* with tolerance, respect and fairness, just like they treat other learners. This seems to create a reciprocal and convivial relationship between female teachers and *ma-phura-khoatla* and they are able to feel welcomed after been to initiation.

This kind of treatment depends on how they themselves (*ma-phura-khoatla*) treat and conduct themselves around other people as well. Essentially, the manner in which female teachers treat *ma-phura-khoatla* is the same manner in which they are treated as well. One can conclude that female teachers do not obviously just give out such treatment. In fact, it is a treatment that challenges *ma-phura-khoatla* to think carefully about their conduct as people who have gone for initiation and have been taught respect, humility, tolerance, as well as discipline.

Furthermore, this treatment that *ma-phura-khoatla* receive from the majority of their female teachers reminds them and motivate them to also show to other people the crucial qualities of what it means to be a man. Thus, the findings and data presented in this study, note that the majority of female teachers accept and even appreciate initiation. This particular acceptance and appreciation enhance the above duality of being a man and of being a child, since the two identities are situational.

5. 5. 3 Relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and their fellow learners

As people who seem to be spending a lot of time with their fellow learners inside and outside classrooms, *ma-phura-khoatla* seem to receive more or less the same treatment

as they receive from their teachers in general. As with the majority of male and a few of female teachers, there are also a few of their fellow learners who consistently mock them, calling them derogatory names such as barbarians (*dikwata*). Even though in this instance they do not refer to them as boys like their teachers do, this has a potential of harming them psychologically as well as socially. This might result in their feeling unwanted, as such learners would not want to mingle with the “uncivilized”. Furthermore, this on its own carries an element of intolerance. It has the potential to discourage *ma-phura-khoatla* from freely participating in some, if not all school activities, such as group discussions, sports, et cetera.

One can conclude that this is not a straight-jacket type of analysis of the relationship between *ma-phura-khoatla* and their fellow learners. There is a majority of learners who acknowledge the *ma-phura-khoatla* as their peers and who have respect towards them. Findings of this study also noted that learners in their majority treat *ma-phura-khoatla* with respect, humility, fairness and tolerate them. This is informed by the manner in which *ma-phura-khoatla* also treat other learners. For example, by not regarding and treating those who have not gone to initiation as boys, as well as being disrespectful toward them? *Ma-phura-khoatla* also seem to have a full understanding of how it feels to be regarded as boys and what it means thereafter. Thus, they receive the acknowledgement and respect from the majority of their fellow learners.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has fore-grounded an interpretation and analysis of study findings presented in chapter four. Both the interpretation and the analysis involved a categorization of data into manageable themes, theories and concepts. The researcher has analyzed the biographies of the research participants and noted that the majority of them are from single parent households. The researcher also analyzed the cultural and traditional logic of manhood in Botshabelo, Free State province and noted that the logic of manhood as an identity, formulated through initiation, has changed and there is an element of duality where the meaning of manhood is situational. In this case, there is

not much emphasis on the privileges that come with this identity, but a lot of emphasis on the responsibilities.

The age and time for initiation was also examined and it was noted that, unlike in many other provinces, in Botshabelo a lot of boys go for initiation under the age of 17. Furthermore, this chapter also examined how *ma-phura-khoatla* see themselves as new men in the school environment, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as the treatment received from other students. The researcher noted that on the one hand, *ma-phura-khoatla* have mutually convivial relationship with the majority of the female teachers and the majority of their fellow learners, whilst on the other hand they experience mockery, intolerance and stigmatization from the majority of their male teachers and a few of their fellow learners. Therefore, this has depicted the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men when incorporated back into the high school environment and fostered a debate on the cultural and traditional logic of manhood in a more nuanced way.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6. 1 Introduction

This chapter provides the conclusion and recommendations by putting into perspective the findings and data of the research. This is done by revisiting the theories that guided the research, as well as the methods employed to achieve the main objectives of the study and answer the main research question.

6. 2 Summary of findings

The aim of this study was to examine critically the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho when they are incorporated back into the high school environment. This was guided by two theories: Rites of Passage by Van Gennep (1960) and the Psychosocial Theory by Erik Erikson (1956 and 1977). These theories played an important role in examining, understanding and explaining such experiences, as well as answering the main research question. The question is in the descriptive phenomenological approach, seeking to examine and understand how *ma-phura-khoatla* (or newly initiated Basotho men) see themselves as new men in the school, how they are received and treated by both male and female teachers, as well as by other learners. The aim was also to further examine the meaning of social interactions and depict the cultural knowledge and recognition of African indigenous practices and education in high school environments. The research has answered the main research question and also addressed the research problem of study and as a result a conclusion is reached. The reached conclusion is based on the study's findings. The main conclusions as justified by the findings and data of the study are that:

- There is a duality in the Basotho's cultural and traditional logic of what it means to be a man. In other words, manhood is situational. The meaning of manhood identity shifts and is negotiated through different times and spaces. These would seem to be juxtaposed, proposing a dichotomy in the Basotho's cultural and traditional logic of what manhood means; a dual conception.
- Recent studies done by (Mahloka, Jacobs & de Wet 2016) in Townships in Bloemfontein found that there is a high level of deviant behaviour such as a disrespect for teachers, especially female teachers by newly initiated Basotho men when they are incorporated back into school environment and that teachers in general find it difficult to address them because they now see themselves as men. This research study found that *ma-phura-khoatla* have a mutually convivial relationship with the majority of their female teachers and fellow learners, as opposed to their male teachers. This has been influenced by a consistent mutual respect, obedience, self-discipline, self-respect and tolerance that *ma-phura-khoatla* have towards learners, which are specific teachings they received from initiation. This suggests that there is a strong relationship between age and age of initiation, high school and initiation, as well as the type of education that *ma-phura-khoatla* receive from initiation.
- In fact newly initiated Basotho men (or *ma-phura-khoatla*) experience difficulties and do not have a good relationship with the majority of their male and a few of their female teachers, as well as a few of their fellow learners in the high school environment. The treatment they receive and the manner in which they are received carry an element of humiliation, intolerance and stigmatization.
- Up to the present, *lebollo* is practiced as the Basotho's cultural and traditional ritual that has a great potential to play in the inculcation of morality and the enhancement of *Botho* (humanity). In this instance, it is practiced as a tool to construct a *Mosotho* identity, and in constructing this identity, *lebollo* appeared have a lot of great influences which have caused a change in the Basotho logic of what it means to be a man. Here this study resonates well with the literature that since time immemorial, *lebollo* has carried a

strong moral and ethical command that has resulted in identity formation and behavioural change and expectations of *ma-phura-khoatla*.

- Lastly, there is a partial and very limited acknowledgement of the cultural knowledge and recognition of initiation as one of the endogenous African practices and its education in selected high schools in Botshabelo, Free State.

This study was able to examine, and understand and depict the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men when they are incorporated back into the high school environment. After being incorporated back into the high school environment, *ma-phura-khoatla* experience difficulties that never existed before they went for initiation. In this instance, one can notice that the contention of this study is that such difficulties are caused by the fact the legislature and regulation within the school system do not necessarily cater for cultural and traditional practices such as initiation.

6. 3 Recommendations

6. 3. 1 Recommendations for the school environment

Whilst some crucial insights on the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* when they are incorporated back into high school environment are gained in this study, the researcher makes the following recommendations for the school environment.

- Fathers of initiation and *basuwe* should be part of the School Governing Bodies in high schools in order to cultivate an understanding of the meanings of manhood that will contribute into an inclusive intercultural and intergeneration dialogue so that there can be a harmonious co-existence.
- The Department of Basic Education in the Free State province should establish workshops within school environments for *ma-phura-khoatla*, teachers, as well as their

fellow learners to have a continuous dialogue about their everyday lived experiences in order to create inclusivity and conviviality in the schools.

6. 3 2 Recommendation for further research

- As already mentioned, one of weaknesses of this study is that it considers only the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla* and excluded teachers and other learners.
- This is also the weakness of the study by Mohlaloka, Jacobs & De Wet (2016) for they only interviewed teachers and excluded *ma-phura-khoatla* and, as a result, their studies show a negative picture of the *ma-phura-khoatla*.
- As much as other studies and this study do provide critical insights on the lived experiences of *ma-phura-khoatla*, there must be further research studies, including both male and female teachers, as well as both female and male learners.
- In order to attain a broader examination, understanding, as well as vivid explanations of the lived experiences of newly initiated Basotho men (or *ma-phura-khoatla*) and how they negotiated their new identity attained from initiation within the high school environment, must be pursued.

6. 4 Conclusion

Whilst some crucial insights were attained from this research study, the findings and data presented should be read, examined and understood against the following limitations of the study: First and foremost, as in many other cultures, initiation practice is a very sensitive and secretive practice, so that there is a possibility that participants will provide partial truths. Secondly, as mentioned in the introductory and methodology chapters this study focuses only on the lived experiences of those who have gone for initiation and then incorporated back into the high school environment (*ma-phura-*

khoatla). The reality therefore might be that there are different emerging discussions and experiences from this study.

As mentioned above, one of the critical limitations of this research study is that it focuses only on the male learners who have gone for initiation. However, it has produced findings that are valuable in enhancing the formation of a mutual social interaction that has great potential in building a more inclusive, intercultural and intergenerational dialogue within high school environments. Furthermore, it bridges the disciplinary boundaries by producing factual uncertainties and thereby cultivating debates both in the academia and public spaces, in relation to youth identity formation and cultural change, as well as the cultural logic of manhood in a democratic country, like South Africa.

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Appendix A: Interview schedule

Sesotho and English interviews for the newly initiated Basotho men

Biographical Information

1. O dula sebakeng sefe?
In which location/township do you live?
2. Dilemo tsa hao dikae?
How old are you?
3. Ba leloko lapeng le bakae?
How many are you in the family?
4. O dula le batswadi ka bobedi?
Do you live with both your parents?
5. O etsa sehlopha sa bokae sekolong?
What grade are you in?

Ka lebollo

1. O ile lebollong selemong sefe?
When did you go through the initiation school?
2. Hobaneng o kgethile hoya lebollong?
Why did you go to the initiation school?
3. One oena le dilemo tse kae haoya lebollong?
How old were you when you went to the initiation school?
4. Ke mang ao jwetsitseng hore oye lebollong? Hobaneng?
Who told you to go to the initiation school and why?
1. Ke dintho dife oneng o dilebelletse ka lebollo?
What were your expectations from the initiation school?
2. Hoya lebollong ho bolelang ho wena?
What does going to the initiation school mean to you?
3. Ke mang aneng ao hlokomela?

Who took care of you?

4. Ana lebollong o rutiwe hohong ka tsa bonna?

Were you taught anything regarding being a man during the initiation?

5. Ke mang ao rutileng?

Who taught you?

6. Ke dintho dife tseo ba leloko le sebaka seo o dulang ho sona ba di lebelletseng ho wena ka mora lebollo?

What is expected of you by your family and the community you live in?

7. Ka kopa hlalose diphetoho tseo o di boneng ka mora lebollo

Please describe the change?

Sekolong

1. Hlalosa ba o tshwere jwang sekolong esale ka mora otswa lebollong?

What are your experiences at the school environment since you came back from initiation?

2. Ana honale phapang eo o e bonang bophelong ba hao esale ka mora lebollo?

Is there any change in your life after you came back from initiation?

3. Hlalosa diphetoho?

Please describe it?

4. O ikutlwa jwang ka mora lebollo?

Who do you see yourself as since you came back from the initiation?

5. Hlalosa?

Please explain?

6. O rata ha batho baka o tshwara jwang ka mora lebollo?

How do you wish to be treated?

7. Hlalosa?

Please explain why?

Appendix B: Interview schedule for focus group discussion for the Basotho newly initiated men.

1. Hlalosa tsela eo o itshwereng ka yona ka mora lebollo?
What type of treatment do you receive at school since you came back from initiation?
2. Sekolong seo o kenang ho sona, hlalosa tsela ka kakaretse eo matitjhere a bontate bao bitsang ka yona, tsela eo ba otshwereng ka yona, tsela eo ba buang le wena ka yona?
How do male teachers address and how do you conduct yourselves?
3. Sekolong seo o kenang ho sona, hlalosa tsela ka kakaretse eo matitjhere a bomme ao bitsang ka yona, tsela eo a otshwereng ka yona, tsela eo ba buang le wena ka yona?
How do female teachers address you and how do you conduct yourselves?
4. Bana ba sekolo bona bao bitsa ka tsela ya mofuta ofe, ba otshwere ka tsela ya mofuta ofe, ba bua jwang le wena?
How do other learners treat you?
5. Hlalosa tsela eo o arabelang ka yona tsela eo baotshwereng ka yona?
How do you respond to their treatment?
6. Hlalosa mabaka hobaneng o arabela ka tsela eo?
Please explain why?

APPENDIX C

Participant's information sheet

Introduction of the researcher:

My name is Ntsofa Clasper Monyela, registered as a student at the University of the Free State (UFS) in the Centre for Africa Studies under Faculty of Humanities. I would like to invite you to voluntarily take part in my research project, which intends to explore experiences of newly initiated Basotho men after being incorporated back into the high school environment.

Procedures:

If you agree to participate in this research, you will form part of focus group discussion and one-on-one interview during the research process. I will conduct an interview with you at a time and location of your choice. The discussion and interviews will involve questions about your experiences after being incorporated back into the high school environment. Such experiences include how you see yourself as a newly initiated Sotho man in the school environment, how you are received and treated by both male and female teachers and as well the treatment you receive from interacting with other learners.

The focus group discussion and interviews should last 45minutes to 1hour. With your permission, I will audiotape and take notes during the focus group discussion and interviews. Our discussion and interviews will be audiotaped to help me accurately capture your insights in your own words. The tapes will only be heard by me for the purpose of this study. If you feel uncomfortable with the recorder, you may ask that it be turned off at any time; instead, I will take notes. If you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

Confidentiality: Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. If results of this study are published or presented, your names and other personally identifiable

information will not be used. To minimize the risks to confidentiality, the security measures will be considered by keeping the data in my personal email to which I am the only one who has access.

Rights: Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate in the research and whether or not you choose to answer a question or continue participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Language used during the research process:

The interview will be conducted in your home language (Sesotho) but English can be used as an alternative mode of communication, and the interview can be conducted at any place comfortable for you.

Yours truly

Ntsofa Clasper Monyela

Signature.....

Date.....

Participant information sheet

Boitsibiso:

Lebitso laka ke Ntsofa Clasper Monyela, ke moithuti Yubesithing ya Freistata lekaleng la dithuto tsa Africa, Faculty ya tsa Botho. Ke kopa ho o memela ho ithaopa honka karalo dipatlisising tsa prorojeke eo sepheo sa yona eleng ho fuputsa hore na banna ba Basotho hojwang kapa ba ikutlwa jwang ho kgutlela sekolong haba qeta ho bolla.

Lenaneo

Ha o dumela ho nka karolo porojekeng ena otloba karalo ya sehlopha sa dipuisano tse tsepameng ho porojeke, mme hape otlaba le ditlhahlobo ole mong nakong ya porojeke. Ke tloba le thlahlobo le wena ole mong sebakeng se kgethilweng ke wena. Dithlahlobo le dipuisano di nale dipotso ka hare ka boiphihlelo ba hao lebolong ka mora hore o kgutlele sekolong. Boiphehlelo boo bo kentse ka hare hore na wena jwalo ka lekolwane oile wa amohelwa mme wa tshwarwa jwang ke matitjhere a bomme le bontate, le hore na baithute ba bang baile bao tshwara jwang sekolong.

Sehlopheng sa rona sa dipuisano tse tsepameng le ditlhahlobo ditlo nka metsetso a mashome a mane a metso e mehlano hoya horeng, mme ka tumello ya hao ketla sebedisa motjhine onkang mantswe, kebe ke ngole fatshe tsohle tseo re buisang ka tsona sehlopheng le dithlahlobong. Dipuisano tsa rona le ditlhahlobo ketla dihatiselletsa motjheneng onkang mantswe ho nthusana hapa mantswe ka maikutlo a hao. Motjhene oo o hatisiseng lentswe la hao otlala mamelwa ke nna feela sephehong ka thuto ena. Haeba osa photholoha ke tshebediso ya motjhene o hatising mantswe o dumellwetswe hore okare motjhene o tinngwe mme nna ketla ngola tsohle o mpoellang tsona fatshe. Haosa ikutlwe ho tswelapele retla emisa dipuisano nako enngwe le enngwe.

Sepiri

Ditaba tsa puisano tsetla ngolwa fatshe nakong ya puisano ditla serelwetswa hose balwe ke mang kapa mang. Haeba ditaba tsa puisano diphatlalatswa mabitso a banka karolo porojekeng ka botlalo akeke a phatlalatswa hoba sireletsa. Ho sireletsa banka karolo porojekeng tlasa tsohle ditaba tsa puisano ditla bolokwa ho email aterese eo eleng moetelli pele wa porojeke feela a nang le seabo ho e sebedisa.

Ditokelo

Ho nka karolo porojekeng ka hohle ke boithaopo. Otlala dumellwa ho emisa honka karolo porojekeng. Otlala dumellwa hose arabe tseding tsa dipotso, kapa ho emisa ho honka karolo porojekeng ka nako enggwe le enngwe. Hosa kgathalletsehe hore o dumetse honka karolo porojekeng kapa tjhee, ha osa batle ho araba tseding tsa dipotso kapa o batla ho emisa honka karolo porojekeng, o keke wa ahlowa leha ele katsela ya mofuta ofe.

Yours truly

Ntsofa Clasper Monyela

Signature.....

Date.....

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT

I.....hereby voluntary consent to participate in a research project conducted by Mr. Ntsofa Clasper Monyela from the University of the Free State. I understand that the research is designed to explore the lived experiences of the Basotho newly initiated men after being incorporated back into the high school environment. I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed and who will participate in a focus group discussion for this research.

1. My participation in this research is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I may withdraw and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If I decline to participate or to withdraw from the study, no one in my school environment will be told.

2. I understand that most interviewees in this research will find the discussion interesting and thought-provoking. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the focus group discussion and interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

3. Participation involves being interviewed by the researcher who is from the University of the Free State. The interview will last approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. Notes will be written during the interview. An audio tape of the interview and subsequent dialogue will take place. If I do not want to be taped, I will only allow notes to be taken in order to capture the information I will be providing.

4. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by my real name in any reports using information obtained from the focus group discussion and interview session, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain protected. Subsequent uses of the records and data will be subject to the standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

5. My teachers and the other learners who were not selected to participate in this research will neither be present at the focus group discussion and interview nor have access to raw notes or transcripts. This precaution will prevent my individual comments from having any negative consequences.

6. I will not disclose any information regarding my participation in this research project.

7. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Free State involving Human Subjects.

8. I have read and understood the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

9. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

My Signature

Date

My Printed Name

Signature of the Investigator

For further information, please contact me Ntsofa Clasper Monyela on 072 6040 636 or my supervisor, Dr. Luvuyo Ntombana on: 079 3575 560.

CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT IN SESOTHO

Nna.....ke itlamela ho ithaopa ho nka karolo diphuputsong tsa porojeke etla etellwa pele ke Ntsofa Clasper Monyela hotswa Yunibesithing ya Freistata. Kea utlwisisa hore porojeke e etseditswe ho leka ho fuputsa ditsela tseo banna ba Basotho batswang lebollong ba tshwarwang ka yona haba kgutlela sekolong.Ke tlabo emong wa batho ba leshome batlang honka karolo dithlahlobong le dipuisano tsa sehlopha porojekeng.

1. Honka karolo haka porojekeng ena ke boithaopo. Kea utlwisisa hore hakeno lefuwa bakeng sa honka karolo. Nka emisa honka karolo nako enngwe le enngwe kante ho dikahlolo. Hake emisa honka karolo baithute mmoho lena bakeke batsibiswa ka sena.

2. Kea utlwisisa hore tseding tsa dipatlisiso porojekeng ena ditla nketsa kebe le thahasello, ha tseding tsona ditla sisimolla maikutlo le menahano yaka.Haeba kesa photholloha ho tseding tsa dipuisano tsa sehlopha ke nale tokelo ya hose arabe dipotso kapa hona hose tswele pele ka dipuisano.

3. Honka karolo porojekeng ho kenyeletse hoba le dipuisano le moetelli pele wa porojeke hotswa Yunibesithing ya Freistata. Dipuisano ditla nka metsotso e mashome a mane a metso e mehlano hoisa horeng. Ha dipuisano ditswelapele hotla nkuwa dinoto ka puisano. Motjhine onkang mantswe otlaba teng ho hatisa mantswe nakong ya dipuisano. Haeba kesa thabele ho hatiswa ha mantswe kenale tokelo ya hore nka dumella feela hore ditaba tsa puisano dingolwe fatshe.

4. Ke utlwisisa hore mofuputsi porojekeng ha ano sebedisa mabitso aka a nnete ka botlalo ho ntshetsa mosebetsi pele nakong ya dipuisano tsa sehlopha le dipuisano tsa bonngweng. Mabitso aka ka botlalo akeke a sejediswa porojekeng ena ho nsireletsa.

5. Matitjhere aka le baithute mmoho lena ba sankeng karolo porojekeng ena bakeke ba eba teng nakong ya dipuisano tsa dihlopha kapa dipuisano moo keleng mong, mme

bakeke ba eba le seabo dinotong tsetla nkuwa nakong ya diphupotso kapa dipuisano. Sena setla nsireletsa dipuong dife kapa dife tse nyefolang.

6. Ke nale tokelo ya hose buisane leha ekaba ke mang ka ditaba tse mabapi le honka karolo haka diphuputsong tsa porojeke ena.

7. Ke utlwisisa hore porojereke ena e lekotswe le ho dumellwa ho tswelapele ke Ethics Committee ya Faculty ya tsa Botho hotswa Yunibesithing ya Freistata.

8. Ke badile mme ka utlwisisa tlhaloso e entsweng bakeng saka ka porojeke. Dipotso tseo keneng ke ena le tsona ka porojeke ena di arabetswe ka tsela e nkgotsofatsang, ka hoo ke dumela honka karolo hoba emong wa baithaopi batla nka karolo porojekeng.

9. Ke fuwe *copy* ya foromo e mabapi le ditumellano tsaka tsa ho nka karolo porojekeng.

My Signature

Date

My Printed Name

Signature of the Investigator

For further information, please contact me Ntsofa Clasper Monyela on 072 6040 636 or my supervisor, Dr. Luvuyo Ntombana on: 079 3575 560.

Department of English

University of Fort hare

P/Bag X1314

Alice, 5700

06 March 2017

CONFIRMATION OF EDITING

This is to confirm that I, Cynthia Formson, have edited for language use, the main text of the thesis entitled *The experiences of newly initiated Basotho men in selected Botshabelo high schools, Free State* submitted by Ntsofa Clasper Monyela. This editing involved issues such as spelling, punctuation, sentence and paragraph structure and language use.

I am a professional editor with a certificate in editing issued jointly by the University of Cape Town and Get Smarter. I also hold a masters degree in Linguistics as well as another in Teaching English as a second Language. I work as a lecturer in English Linguistics and Academic Literacy. I have vast experience in editing and have edited about 70 Honours, Masters and PhD theses and dissertations as well as several academic papers for publication. I have also done rapporteuring and written workshop reports on several Water Research Commission Workshops.



C.K. Formson (Mrs)