



**THE VIEWS OF *AMAKRWALA* ON THE MEANING OF
UMQOMBOTHI AND COMMERCIAL ALCOHOL USE DURING THE
INITIATION CEREMONIES**

BY

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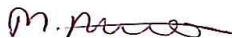
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In accordance with Rule G5.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.



.....

SIGNATURE

DATE: 29 November 2021

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ABSTRACT

Ulwaluko or initiation ceremony is one of the most important ceremonies practiced by the *amaXhosa* ethnic group to mark male adolescents' transition from boyhood to manhood. Every young Xhosa male is anticipated to undergo this ceremony in order to be respected and be viewed as a true man by the society. There is a dearth of literature on *amakrwala*'s views regarding the meaning of traditional beer (*umqombothi*) and commercial alcohol (brandy or beer) use during the initiation ceremony. Thus, this study addresses this gap, as it adds to the existing spectrum of knowledge on the meaning of alcohol use during the *amaXhosa* initiation process.

The socio-cultural theory was selected as the theoretical framework for the study. This study took a qualitative nature which was exploratory-descriptive and contextual in design employing a non-probability purposive-criterion based technique to sample 16 identified *amaXhosa* adult males between the ages of 18 to 24 years who recently went through the initiation ceremony. Sixteen individual semi-structured telephonic interviews were conducted. Data collected was analysed using thematic data analysis. Various data verification strategies were employed to ensure trustworthiness. Research ethics applicable to this study were guided by the principles contained in the Belmont report (1979).

The findings showed that during the *amaXhosa* initiation ceremony both commercial alcohol and *umqombothi* played significant but different roles during each stage of the ceremony. The majority of *amakrwala* viewed *umqombothi* as a significant beer for ancestors to divinely bless *isiko* while brandy and beer were viewed as sweets or beers for fun which accompanied *umqombothi*. Brandy and beer were viewed as beers required by *abafana* teaching *amakrwala* manhood in the lighthouses. Thus, negative behaviours portrayed by *abafana* during *imigidi* after drinking alcohol were viewed as a great concern by *amakrwala*.

Alcohol use in *ulwaluko* was viewed as good by the *amakrwala* but they emphasized that there should be guidelines that monitor responsible drinking.

Key words: Alcohol abuse, *amakrwala*, commercial alcohol, *umqombothi*, cultural ritual, initiation ceremony and young adult males.

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GLOSSARY FOR ISIXHOSA TERMS

Abafana or **abakhuluwa**: Initiated and graduated men from the initiation ceremony.

Amadini: Are the sacrifices such as slaughtering a goat and fermenting *umqombothi* for any cultural ceremony performed by the *amaXhosa* to receive ancestors listening ear.

Amakhankatha: Traditional guardians or caregivers to the initiates.

Amakhwenkwe or **ubukhwenkwe**: Un-initiated boys or boyhood.

Abaphantsi: Is how the *amaXhosa* and *amaZulu* tribes call ancestors.

Amakrwala, ikrwala or **ubukrwala**: is a newly initiated graduate.

AmaXhosa: An ethnic group dominated by Black South African's that practise the initiation ceremony.

Ibhoma/bhuma: Lodge or reed-made hut for the initiates in the bush.

Igoqo: Collected wood sorted or packed together by *umakoti*.

limfundiso: Teachings.

Imbeleko: Is the infant initiation ceremony that is practised after the birth of a child.

Imbizo: Is a traditional meeting conducted by a ward councillor and traditional leaders in the presence of community members.

Imbola: Is red ochre that is anointed onto someone's face during *imbeleko*.

Imicimbi, umcimbi or **emcimbini**: Cultural ceremonies.

Ingcibi: Traditional surgeon to the initiates.

Injoli: Is a leader that serves alcohol during *umgidi*.

Intonjane: Initiation ceremony for girls which is similar to *ulwaluko* for boys.

Isiko: Is a custom or rite practised by African tribes.

Isiphanga or umkhono: A front right leg that must be eaten by the initiate or infant's mother during the ceremony of *imbeleko*.

Izinyanya or iminyanya: Ancestors.

Lebollo: BaSotho initiation ceremony.

Togwa: Is a Tanzanian local brew that is used during the initiation graduation ceremony.

Ubugqirha: Is the training of a traditional herbalist to the calling of *intwaso* or being called by the ancestors.

Ubuhlanti: A kraal.

Ukhukho or elukhukhweni: A grass made mat.

Ukojiswa: Is a ceremony that celebrates the initiate on the eight day of the initiation process.

Ukuqatywa komntwana or ukubingelelwa komntwana: Is a thanksgiving ceremony or child's welcoming ceremony after birth, using *imbola* to anoint him or her.

Ukwazisa umzi: Is to make the new homestead known to the community.

Ulwaluko: Is the initiation ceremony practised by the *amaXhosa* ethnic group.

Umakoti: Newlywed or bride.

Umgidi or umphumo: A graduation day of the initiation ceremony.

Ummiselo osisigxina: Is a permanent covenant.

Umngcamo or ukushwama: Is a celebratory ceremony done for the soon to be initiate using meat and *umqombothi*.

Umqombothi: Is the *amaXhosa* traditional beer that is used to perform their traditional ceremonies.

Umsindleko or **umhlinzeko:** Is a beer drinking or slaughtering of a goat or sheep ceremony by the *amaXhosa* to celebrate the labourer's homecoming from the workplace.

Umtshotsho: Socialization ceremony of the boys who are preparing to undergo *ulwaluko*.

Umzi: A homestead or home.

UQamata or **uMdali:** Is how the *amaXhosa* praise or call God or the creator.

Usaluka or **oosaluka:** Is or are the co-initiates who have undergone the initiation ceremony in the same year with other *ikrwala*. Even if they were not in one *ibhuma*, town or province they are still called *salukas'*.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter One put the study into context by providing a background with the aim of exploring the views of *amakwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. In this chapter the problem statement and motivation for the study, the research question, research goal and objectives, the theoretical framework, and definition of key terms are briefly discussed to lay the foundation for the Chapter Two literature review. The chapter then describes the research methodology applied in the study to lay the foundation for Chapter Three which is the application of the research methodology. Lastly, this chapter highlights the steps followed in ensuring the trustworthiness of the study, ethical considerations, risks, and benefits of the study.

Alcohol can be any beverage in the form of whiskey, beer or wine used to show hospitality to the visiting guests during social gatherings or any important cultural or special ceremony (Getachew, Lewis, Britton, Deressa & Fogarty, 2019:121). In the context of the *amaXhosa*, *umqombothi* is a homemade traditional beer fermented with sorghum, yeast and maize that is used during the traditional ceremonies (Tshongolo, 2013:122). McAllister (1985:1221-1235) states that *umqombothi* plays a significant role when the *amaXhosa* perform their cultural ceremonies such as *ukwazisa umzi* because *umqombothi* is integrated with the purpose of connecting with ancestors to attract or receive the ancestors' listening ear for their divine blessings and continuous protection. Ntombana (2011:97), however in his study conducted in Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape found that, commercial alcohol such as brandy and beer are used by initiates' caregivers during the initiation ceremonies and the meaning of their use is not clear.

Tracing the origins of African culture, (Ntombana, 2011:634) noted that *isiko* or a rite of passage is a sacred and spiritual practice, which connects Africans to

uQamata and the ancestors. Examples of such rites or *amasiko* are *imbeleko*, initiation ceremony for boys and sacrificial givings that are offered to *uMdali* and ancestors (Ntombana, 2011:634). According to Pahl, Pienaar and Ndungane (1989:194 cited in Ntombana, 2011:634) *isiko* is an eternal covenant that does not and cannot change, to avoid the wrath of ancestors and retribution for those who does not obey it which may also affect their homes and families. As highlighted above, one of the cultural ceremonies that are undertaken by the *amaXhosa* male adolescents is the initiation ceremony which is defined as a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood (Meintjies, 1998:5 cited in Ntombana, 2011:631). This ceremony is also commonly practised among Venda and Pedi communities and practised occasionally in other nations such as Zulu, Sotho, Ndebele, and Shangaan communities (Marcus & Peters, 2011:262).

In the culture of the *amaXhosa*, this ceremony has been practised for many years and is viewed as a course during which positive behaviours are taught by *amakhankatha* in the initiates as they graduate to behave ethically in their communities (Ntombana, 2011:631). In terms of the background of the Xhosa initiation ceremony, Mbiti (1975:4 cited in Ntombana, 2011:84-85) mentions that “Xhosa people, like most of the other African people, were illiterate and therefore would not have been able to record the origin of the initiation practice but instead passed on information from one generation to another by word of mouth.” Ntombana (2011:85) further states that the initiation ceremony is one of the ceremonies that involves confidentiality among women and un-initiated men. This secrecy has led to its origins being forgotten over time.

At the beginning and in the middle of the initiation ceremony, initiates learn about the moral behaviour of a man in society. They learn about the secrecy of the initiation ceremony and about the culture of the *amaXhosa*. At the end of the initiation ceremony, initiates undergo the process of *ubukrwala* which is known as an important phase during the initiation ceremony. The Xhosa young boys, as a

passage to manhood, learn about their culture, get respected by the community members, participate in traditional ceremonies and improve ethical morals (Kheswa, Nomngcoyiya, Adonis & Ngeleka, 2014:2789). The literature shows that initiates, during the initiation ceremony learn about the code of conduct or etiquette about drinking commercial alcohol and *umqombothi* (Ntombana, 2011:97). For example, during *umgidi* people from the community contribute brandy, cases of beer, groceries, and money. This is intended to ensure that the *umgidi* hosts are fully aware of who participated during the ceremony for them to return the favour to the contributors (Ntombana, 2011:97).

Based on a similar research that was done by Kheswa et al. (2014:2794-2795), it was found that during the initiation ceremony, initiates learnt about the importance of self-respect and not to drink *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol in public or disrespect parents or anyone in the society. According to Mauricio, Maia and Bhugra (2014:362) “alcohol has been a key part of human existence for millennia. Its consumption has existed across civilizations and social strata, even in the older civilizations.” Mauricio et al. (2014:362) are of the opinion that for a long period, the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies has been considered as one of the important aspects particularly in the West. Similarly, in the African countries like Tanzania and Kenya both traditional beer and commercial alcohol are used to celebrate important occasions such as marriages and successes of harvests (Setlalentoa, Pisa, Thekisho, Ryke, & Loots, 2010:11). However, in Kenya and Tanzania there are guidelines that govern the drinking behaviour in the cultural ceremonies (Setlalentoa et al., 2010:11). Despite the well-known risks of Western alcohol, the habit of drinking Western alcohol has a different meaning which is not the case with traditional beer (Mauricio et al., 2014:362). The medical literature to date indicated that for few cultural groups abstaining from alcohol is linked with spirituality and sobriety (Mauricio et al., 2014:365). In addition to this, culture can play a positive role on alcohol use as it has been found to facilitate relapse prevention among people with alcohol use disorders (Mauricio et al., 2014:365).

Abraído-Lanza, Armbrister, Flórez and Aguirre (2006:1342-1343) highlight that acculturation results to the exposure of different models of health behaviour, behavioural prescriptions, beliefs, or norms about alcohol use.

Abraído-Lanza et al. (2006:1342) highlights that as a result of acculturation individuals adopt the attitudes, values, customs, beliefs, and behaviours of another culture. In the context of this study acculturation occurs when commercial alcohol is used more in urban and semi-urban contexts than when it is used in rural contexts. The way that commercial alcohol is used more than *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies of the *amaXhosa* can be influenced by modernization and urbanisation. Morality, style, and the dress code of 2017 to 2018 have influenced the *amakrwala*'s uniform which is now different to the uniform of 1990 to 2000 which thus confirms that times have changed. On the other side Pahl, Pienaar, and Ndungane (1989:194 cited in Ntombana, 2011:634) in the preceding section alluded that culture or *isiko* is an eternal covenant that cannot be changed by times, but the researcher has different view that culture is not a permanent covenant but a static process which changes with times. In addition to this, some of *amakrwala* in Chapter Four of the current study were of the view that it is good to preserve the dignity of *isiko* regardless of the time changes, because each and every nation is unique by its own culture, language and dress code to other nations.

Manning (2013) and Segrin and Flora (2014) agree that "acculturation can indirectly impact on individuals' self-identity because an individual's self-concept is strengthened by being part of a social group, fostering a sense of belonging, increasing self-esteem or self-worth and satisfaction is achieved when evaluating the affiliation value within the group." In addition, Mauricio et al. (2014:365) emphasize that it is expected that cultures will take a huge role in terms of shaping people's behaviour towards traditional or use of alcohol, misuse, and sobriety. Cultures influence the ways people think, and it is

probable that people will use traditional or commercial alcohol to feel part of the cultural group (Mauricio et al., 2014:365).

Literature has shown that the use of *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies always played a vital role as the way of connecting with ancestors to attract or receive ancestors listening ear for their divine blessings and continuous protection (Ntombana, 2011:94-101). Given the cultural context that highlights the significance of integrating alcohol during the *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies; the current study explored the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during the *amaXhosa* initiation ceremonies from the perspective of *amakrwala*.

1.2. PROBLEM FORMULATION AND MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

According to the Western Cape Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy Green Paper (2016:2) alcohol has been reported as the most commonly abused drug countrywide, and in addition to this, in 2013 alcohol was ranked as the third leading risk factor for death and disability in South Africa (The Western Cape Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy Green Paper (2016:2). It was also found that alcohol harm lives, impair communities and limit socio-economic growth (The Western Cape Alcohol-Related Harms Reduction Policy Green Paper, 2016:2). This is agreed by Corrigan and Motzopoulos (2013:103) and (SAMA, 2019:1) that South African drinkers rank in the top five riskiest drinkers in the world, with approximately 33% to 40% of drinkers consuming alcohol at risky levels such as drink and drive habits, interpersonal violence and patients admitted in trauma units in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban since 1999 to 2001 had injuries with a blood alcohol concentration greater than 0.05 g/100 ml. As a result of these risk factors there were measures put in place to curb alcohol abuse in South Africa such as increasing the legal age drinking to deter minors and youth from accessing alcohol, a ban on alcohol advertising, and enforcement of drinking and driving laws (SAMA, 2019:1).

Based on the literature reviewed, the initiation ceremony potentially serves as a protective factor for teaching young men a code of conduct and this may extend to how they view and use *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during the initiation and in the future (Gwata, 2009:15). The literature showed that among the *amaXhosa* the initiation ceremony plays a significant role in transforming the *amakrwala's* mind-set about commercial alcohol use and understanding their development or maturity to act morally in society. Furthermore, *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremony among the *amaXhosa* is incorporated with the purpose of connecting with ancestors to attract or receive ancestors' listening ear for the divine blessings and continuous protection for the initiate or newly graduated initiate (McAllister, 1985:1221-1235).

However, on the other hand Ntombana (2011:257) in his study conducted in Libode, Mdantsane, Whittlesea and Cala found a trend of abusing commercial alcohol during *ulwaluko* festivals by young people. Ntombana (2011:258) also found that initiates' caregivers brought beer and brandy to mix with *umqombothi* in the initiates' lodge during the initiation ceremony in the bush. This study found that during the initiation ceremonies commercial alcohol usage was more predominant in Mdantsane and townships such as Whittlesea and Cala (Ntombana, 2011:258). Based on what was found by Ntombana (2011) it is clear that practices at initiation schools have lost the initial intended purpose of inculcating positive behaviors to the initiates and *amakrwala*.

The current study promoted the value of initiation ceremonies because the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol by initiates is integral to the initiation process of *amaXhosa*. However, this might expose young Xhosa males to be at risk of alcohol use. There was confirmation of at risk of commercial alcohol abuse and *umqombothi* and its meaning in the initiation ceremonies as cited by McAllister (1985:1221). However recently, the overuse of commercial alcohol during the initiation ceremonies is among the leading problems in South Africa (Ntombana

(2011:257). Therefore, this study followed up on previous studies to better understand the views of the graduated initiates on this issue.

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question of the study was; what are the views of the *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies?

1.4. RESEARCH GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The study aimed to contextually explore and describe the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies from the views of the *amakrwala*. To achieve the goal of the research below were the objectives formulated:

- The *amakrwala's* views on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies were explored and describe.
- To explore and describe their lived experiences on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies.
- The *amakrwala's* views on the *amaXhosa* male behaviours that are associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies were explored.
- To explore and describe the suggestions or recommendations from the *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during the initiation ceremony.

1.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Terre Blanche, Durrhim & Painter (2006) cited in Kheswa et al. (2014:2792) explains that in the theoretical framework the definition of the relationship between all the variables is provided. This relationship between variables assist the researcher to understand the relationship between concepts (Terre Blanche, Durrhim & Painter, 2006 cited in Kheswa et al., 2014:2792). It enables researchers

to make logical sense of the relationships of the variables and factors that have been deemed relevant to the problem (Terre Blanche, Durrhim & Painter, 2006 cited in Kheswa et al., 2014:2792). A theoretical framework encompasses theories or issues in which a study is embedded and also serves as an orientation for gathering facts since it specifies the type of facts to be systematically observed (Kheswa et al., 2014:2792). The socio-cultural theory was used in the study to conceptualize the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies.

Socio-Cultural Theory

The socio-cultural theory coined by Lev Vygotsky in the year 1930 explains that the surrounding culture of a person is more influenced by his or her cognitive development (Lantolf, 2000:27). According to Lantolf (2000:27) Vygotsky proposed that cognitive development could vary among cultures. For instance, the progression of change in a Western culture, can differ to that of an Eastern culture (Lantolf, 2000:27). Kang'ethe and Nomngcoyiya (2014:461) believed that indigenous knowledge systems is rooted in the belief system that people are the experts of their own cultural systems and practices. Segrin and Flora (2014) explain that acculturation can positively or negatively impact on an individual's self-identity because an individual's self-identity is reinforced by being part of a social group. This theory was deemed relevant to the study because the indigenous knowledge from the views of the *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies were generated. The key concepts, processes, underlying assumptions, and principles of this theory such as culture, acculturation, socialization, and indigenous knowledge systems are discussed in depth in Chapter Two.

1.6. DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Alcohol abuse – According to the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (2008:1), “Alcohol misuse describes alcohol consumption that puts individuals at increased risk for adverse health and social consequences.” “It is

defined as excess daily consumption (more than 4 drinks per day for men or more than 3 drinks per day for women), or excess total consumption (more than 14 drinks per week for men or more than 7 drinks per week for women), or both” (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 2008:1). In the context of the *amaXhosa umqombothi* is a homemade drink fermented with sorghum, yeast and maize that is used during the traditional ceremonies (Tshongolo, 2013:122).

Amakrwala – “After the initiates return home, they are guided through a 6-month’s protocol. During this period, they are traditionally called “*amakrwala*” and are expected to act morally and ethically in society. The *amakrwala* are presented with a new status, new clothes, new rights, duties, and responsibilities in the community” (Kheswa et al., 2014:2789).

Cultural ritual – Is any custom or traditional ceremony with a certain belief system by a certain tribe or ethnic group which is passed on by word of mouth or performance of a ceremonial event that relates to the ancestors (Stevenson & Waite, 2011:552).

Initiation ceremony – Initiation ceremony or male circumcision is a transition which a male adolescent must undergo into manhood. During this period, the initiate learns how to take responsibilities at home as a man. Training about traditions and secrets of the particular ethnic group also take place (Mshana, Wambura, Mwanga, Mosha, Mosha & Changelucha, 2011:1113).

Young adult male – Is a person who is adult enough to make wise decisions and is between the age of 18 years to 30 years (Stevenson & Waite, 2011:18).

1.7. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The sub-section below highlights the form of research approach as well as the research design employed by the researcher in the study.

1.7.1. Research approach and research design

Qualitative research form was suggested for the study using exploratory, contextual and describing design. Engel and Schutt (2005:16), explains that the goal of this research method is to explore, evaluate and describe a phenomenon employing methods like interviews, focus groups and observations. The researcher's method to research is based on interpretivism since he is curious in how people understand, experience, observe, and relate to others in their world (Thomas, 2009:75). The researcher adopted an interpretivist research paradigm in the study to discover the views of the *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

The research design of the study was in a form of exploring, describing and putting the study into context as it allowed the researcher to explore and listen to the stories about integrating alcohol during the initiation ceremony from the *amakrwala*'s perspective who had undergone this ceremony in the context of the *amaXhosa* culture. The phenomenon of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during the *amaXhosa* male initiation ceremony was explored and the details were described for interpretation (Babbie, 2015:92). The responses of the participants were understood within the context of their culture and indigenous knowledge system using a contextual research design. This research approach and design allowed in-depth exploration of the participants' views on the topic.

1.7.2. Researcher's position

The researcher is a Xhosa male Social Worker at the South African National Council on Alcohol and Drug Dependence George in George responsible for early intervention, mostly with teenagers and youth between the ages 12 to 30 years who are first time users of alcohol, methamphetamine, cigarettes, and dagga. In June 2006 the researcher went through the initiation ritual in the Eastern Cape and experienced how alcohol was integrated during *umojiso* and *umgidi* by the *amaXhosa*. Based on the researcher's awareness of his biases and views to

minimise researcher bias, the researcher has written a reflective essay to document his own experience and views of the initiation process and the use of alcohol during the process.

This reflective essay was reviewed by the research supervisors to aid them and the researcher in ensuring that he bracketed his subjective views and experiences during the research process. Therefore, the researcher continued to use reflective field notes throughout the study and incorporated these in the analysis. Furthermore, to mitigate issues around objectivity during the study the researcher went to the community and briefed the ward councillors and prospective research participants that, himself undergone initiation ceremony in June 2006 and he will not probe about the initiation process during the interviews. Face to face contact was helpful because more participants were reluctant to participate in the study of this nature. For more information about this please see Chapter five under the limitations of the study.

1.7.3. Research methodology

The following sub-sections describe the population and sampling technique used by the researcher in the study, highlighting entry to the research site, explaining the data collection method used, describing pilot study, data analysis and strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness and compliance with ethical research standards.

1.7.3.1. Population and sampling procedure

Neuman (2011:241) describe a population group as the large group of many cases from which a researcher draws a sample, and to which results from a sample are generated. The population of the proposed study included all *amaXhosa* male initiation graduates from the ages of 18 to 24 years who had recently underwent an initiation ceremony at Themba lethu in George, Western Cape. This study made use of non-probability, purposive criterion-based sampling. "Non-probability purposive sampling involves the selection of willing participants interested in or with knowledge about the research topic" (Silverman, 2005 cited in De Vos et al.,

2005:328). The sample comprised of 16 participants with the view to conducting 16 semi-structured individual telephonic interviews using an interview guide to explore and describe stories or views or experiences of the participants about the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during their initiation ceremonies. Below is the criteria followed for inclusion in the study:

- Xhosa males living in George.
- They must be between the ages of 18 to 24 years.
- They must have gone through the initiation ceremony between June 2017 and December 2018.
- They must be able to speak *isiXhosa* or English fluently, but interviews were conducted in their language of preference.
- Show willingness to participate in the study.
- They must have access to a cell phone with WhatsApp.
- They must dedicate 30 minutes to 50 minutes in a quiet space where they would not be disturbed during the interview and had a choice to propose their preferred interview time.

Unfortunately, if a participant did not meet all the above-mentioned inclusion criteria, he was excluded from the study.

1.7.3.2. Entry to research site and permission to recruit participants

The researcher submitted and presented the proposal to the Nelson Mandela University Department of Social Development Professions' research committee (DRTI) for approval. Following departmental approval, the research proposal was submitted to the Health Sciences Faculty Postgraduate Studies Committee (FPGSC). The research proposal was also submitted to the Research Ethics Committee (REC-H). After the Research Ethics Committee approved the study data collection for the proposed study commenced. The research ethics clearance number is [H20-HEA-SDP-004]. It is important to obtain permission from

gatekeepers before entering a research site in order to conduct a study. Gatekeepers are the stakeholders that give permission for the research participants to be accessed. Entry into the research site can be gained through a direct or indirect route (Weyers, 2001:159). The direct route occurs when the researcher gains entry through an organization or institution existing within the field of study. The indirect route is where researchers identify a community leader or someone that is influential within the community (De Vos et al., 2013:333; Weyers, 2001:159). The research was conducted in the Themba lethu community which is a community situated in George. The community consists mainly of RDP houses, and informal settlements (shacks). The main spoken language in this community is isiXhosa.

In this area there is a strong Xhosa cultural heritage especially the practice of *imicimbi*, *imigidi* and *ukwazisa umzi*. Traditional leaders play a pivotal role in upholding the Xhosa cultural heritage in this community. With the above-mentioned reasons in mind the researcher believed that the study site was suitable for the study's focus which was on the cultural initiation ceremony. In this study there were no mandatory reporting obligations, however, after the study was concluded the researcher provided ward councillors written summary of the study's findings to show accountability. The researcher therefore submitted a written request to the ward councillors of the Themba lethu area for go-ahead to engage with the community to introduce the study. One of the ward councillors in Themba lethu, during preliminary inquiries to verbally negotiate entry, advised the researcher that he would invite him when he had *imbizo* (gathering) with traditional leaders and Themba lethu males so that the researcher could do a short presentation on the study. These *iimbizos*, however, could not take place due to the lockdown, so the ward councillors therefore communicated with the participants via WhatsApp explaining the focus of the study and request permission for the councillors to share their contact details with the researcher who then contacted prospective participants directly to recruit them for inclusion in the

study. As a result of lockdown, traditional leaders did not play a direct role in recruiting participants for the study but only provided the contact details of prospective participants. The ward councillors therefore were not alert of the identity of the individuals who were eventually included in the study.

1.7.3.3. Method of data collection

Initially data collection method was face-to-face semi-structured interviews, however, due to the lockdown REC-H approval was secured to amend the data collection method to individual telephonic interviews. These interviews were conducted with sixteen young adults from the ages 18 to 24 years who had undergone the initiation process between June 2017 and December 2018. It was anticipated that males who had undergone the initiation process would be more comfortable sharing their views on integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during the initiation ceremony in individual telephonic interviews. The research participants were then contacted to schedule interview dates with them.

The researcher explained the aim of the research study to the participants and informed them that there were no right or wrong answers. He informed participants that he was only interested in their views on the meaning of alcohol use during their initiation ceremonies. The individual interviews took approximately 30 to 40 minutes to complete. Data was collected until the point of saturation was reached. The semi-structured interview also allowed the researcher to employ interviewing skills such as paraphrasing, seeking clarity, reflective responses, probing and active listening beyond the set interview guide questions to explore issues that were relevant to the specific participant. This was important because the participants were from different age groups (Howell, 2013:11; Greeff, 2005:293, cited in De Vos et al., 2005:289-290).

The audio-recorder was used by the researcher then the interviews were transcribed. The researcher established beforehand whether the participant was willing for the interview to be audio-recorded (Rubin & Babbie, 2014:471). The

notes were written down by the researcher during the interview for recording purposes of the answers and verbal signs from the participants. Interview questions in the interview guide were in English and isiXhosa and this guided the interview procedure and helped in achieving objectives of the research (see Appendix 5). Interview questions in isiXhosa were translated by the researcher back into English during the findings discussion. After the interviews, the researcher asked participants whether they would prefer verbal or written response on the study's findings. In the case of written feedback preference, a short-written summary was given to each participant after the entire project was completed.

1.7.3.4. Pilot study

“In a qualitative study the purpose of the pilot study is to determine whether the relevant data can be obtained from the participants” (Royse, 1995:172, cited in De Vos et al., 2005:331). The pilot study was done by the researcher by means of interviewing one research participant during a semi-structured telephonic interview. The researcher took note of the relevance of questions and whether the participant understood the interview questions. It was also an opportunity for him to refine his interviewing skills. He made any necessary changes to the research methodology and interview guide before commencing the main research study (Ingham-Broomfield, 2015:38). The pilot study also served as valuable feedback for the supervisor on the researcher's objectivity.

1.7.3.5. Data analysis

“Data analysis can be explained as a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data” (De Vos et al., 2013:397). Thematic data analysis was used in the study to code and generate themes deductively. The data gathered was transliterated then read by the researcher to record his understanding of the data. This was followed by a step-by-step method to analyse each participant's responses to each question then differences and similarities

were identified. Through analysis the researcher searched for meaning, interrelated concepts and relationships.

The coding process categorized notes to create themes, patterns and categories to organize and interpret information gathered (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006:8; Engel & Schutt, 2005:380; Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003:1-6).

The data analysis was done under the supervision of the research supervisors; an independent coder was used to authenticate the data and their interpretation. The research report was also guided by the professional input of the research supervisor and co-supervisors.

1.7.3.6. Ensuring trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasized four criteria to safeguard trustworthiness, namely credibility, neutrality, transferability and dependability (Barusch, Gringeri & George, 2011:11). These criteria were used during the study.

Credibility

Shenton (2004:30) noted that, "one of the key requirements addressed by qualitative researchers is that of internal validity which seeks to ensure that their study tests or measures what it was intended to measure." This was referred by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as credibility. Lincoln and Guba (1985) are of the view that internal validity is founded on the hypothesis that multiple realities exist based on participants' subjective views and unique contexts. Hence, in this study the findings from the views of the *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies were carefully transcribed and stored as written transcriptions representing the interviews. The recording, transcription and storage of the interviews enhanced credibility (Anney, 2014:276).

Neutrality or Confirmability

"Neutrality refers to the degree to which the findings are a function solely of the participants and conditions of the research and not of other biases, motivation, and perspectives" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Krefting (1991) considers that in qualitative

study, for objectivity to occur neutrality is required to achieve proper distance between the researchers and participants to minimize prejudices (see 8.2). In this study the researcher upheld fairness by probing queries which addressed participants' views of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremony. The researcher also wrote a self-reflection essay and kept reflective notes to bracket his own assumptions, feelings and views about the research topic.

Transferability or Applicability

“Transferability is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applicable to other situations” (Shenton, 2004). Creswell (2008) postulates that “transferability is achieved when the findings of the study fit into contexts outside the study situation and when its audience views its findings as meaningful and applicable in terms of their own views.” For this study, findings were reviewed and will be applicable to the studies that will be conducted on a similar topic in future.

Dependability or Consistency

The research supervisors were playing active part in the data collection phase by reading all the transcripts which ensured data verification (Barusch et al., 2011:12). An independent coder coded the data to enhance external dependability. The researcher also discussed the data analysis with the research supervisor's thereby increasing dependability (Anney, 2014:278).

1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

According to King (2010:99) ethics for research give guidance to researchers on how to act in a moral way during the research study. Similarly, Walker (2010) emphasizes that “ethical considerations are concerned with the protection of the rights and interests of research participants who are giving their time to help in the research.” These rights include actions and the competence of the researcher, privacy or anonymity right, confidentiality right, informed consent right and voluntary participation right without being compelled to take part in the research (De Vos et al., 2005).

Actions and competence of the researcher

The researcher audio-recorded and transcribed the interviews to ensure accuracy. Data collected will be kept for five years for data analysis, verification, audit purposes and validation. The researcher fully adhered to the terms and conditions as stipulated by the university pertaining to plagiarism when writing the research report. The researcher also abided to the South African Council for Social Services Profession which restricted him from behaving unethically in accordance with standards of the social work profession. Researcher therefore informed the participants that the research was conducted in his position as the student researcher with the aim of learning from their views and experiences and not as an employee of SANCA George.

Voluntary participation

Participants were made aware before the data collection commenced of their freedom of not being forced or obligated to participate in the study. All participants provided written consent by completing an informed consent form (Creswell, 2013:57). Participants were made aware that there were no bad penalties or sense of disloyalty to the traditional leaders who referred them to the researcher should they decline to partake in the study. Participants' selection criteria required to be an *amaXhosa* male initiation graduates, 18 to 24 years old, who went through the initiation ceremony between June 2017 and December 2018.

Informed consent

The forms of consent containing all the relevant details about the scope of the study, its risks, and benefits was explained to the participants beforehand. The consent was obtained telephonically due to COVID-19 restrictions. These details were also explained verbally and the participants had the right to withdraw without penalties (Moule & Hek, 2011:37; Neuman, 2011:149) (see Appendix 4). In addition, the principles of code of ethics as contained in the Belmont Report (1978:07) guided the researcher in ensuring that participants were respected and

they were given the opportunity to choose what they wished to share during the research interviews.

Confidentiality and anonymity

Transcripts were anonymised to ensure privacy by removing private information and identification, and replacing the names with identification numbers and storing private information in a separate location from the research text (Punch, 2014:48; De Vos et al., 2013:119).

The confidentiality of the information was prioritised due to the personal and experience-based quality of the data (Grinnell & Unrau, 2011:84). During the research interviews, undue influence from external sources such as traditional leaders and initiates' caregivers was avoided by withholding the venue, date of interviews and identifying details of the participants. Evidence gathered from the participants was kept in private. The transcripts of recorded and noted information did not contain identifying information. Transcripts were only seen by the researcher, independent coder, and the research supervisors. Everything discussed during the interviews remained between the researcher and research supervisors for confidentiality purposes.

Avoidance of harm

Participants were protected against any possible risk of harm. For example, traditional leaders did not assist with the recruitment process as explained above, but ward councillors referred a few participants to the researcher who met the inclusion criteria via WhatsApp. However, after the study was concluded the researcher provided ward councillors overview of the study's results to show accountability. During the interviews participants were only referred to by their first names. The researcher reminded participants about the focus of the study. He used his focusing skills during the interviews to ensure that they shared their views openly but that they were aligned to the study's focus. The researcher was assisted

by Professor L. Ntombana (cultural expert and co-supervisor in this study) as a critical reader who ensured that he conducted the study and reported in such a manner that it respected the initiation ceremony of the *amaXhosa*.

Culturally, initiation rites, customs and practices among the *amaXhosa* are secretly and sensitively protected and not easily shared to anyone. However, there were no adverse discomfort or psychological and emotional effects as the result of questions asked to the participants.

1.9. RISKS

King (2010:102), states that “researchers have the responsibility of assessing the risk of harm to participants from their involvement in the research study.” Although participants were 18 years and older, many were projected to be emotionally attached and found cultural significance in the ritual. There was also a potential risk of participants sharing their experiences of the ritual and what happened during a ceremony that is clouded in secrecy and not meant for public consumption (Walliman, 2011:48). However, there were no risks or emotional triggers about the initiation ceremonies that occurred during the telephonic interviews. The researcher made the participants aware before the interviews commenced that their names would remain private, and the main aim of doing interviews was to learn from their views on the meaning of alcohol use during the initiation ceremony. The researcher did debriefing to the participants when concluding each interview to check participants’ experiences of the interview. This gave him an opportunity to assess the need for referral to three counselling sessions at FAMSA Outeniqua, but no participants indicated the need for referral.

1.10. BENEFITS

The findings of this study will guide social workers and traditional leaders in gaining insight into the cultural ceremonies’ integration of traditional and commercial alcohol during initiation and its meaning based on participants’ views. The study’s findings highlighted indigenous knowledge of the initiation ritual and the findings

on initiate's experiences and insights will add to the bulk of existing literature on the topic.

1.11. DISSEMINATION OF FINDINGS

The researcher plans to make photocopies of the final report accessible to the University of Nelson Mandela libraries. Furthermore, the researcher will present the research findings at any Thembalethu community *imbizo*, conference or seminars hosted in George and present a journal article with the aim to publish and convert the manuscript into book format.

1.12. STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The outline of this research report follows below:

Chapter One: Introduction and background to the study

This chapter provides a background and the context of the study, problem statement and motivation for the study, question of the research, research aim and objectives, theoretical framework, definition of key terms, research methodology, trustworthiness for the study, ethical considerations, benefits and risks of the study, dissemination of results, proposed structure of the report, budget and proposed work and time schedule with the aim of laying the foundation for Chapters Two and Three of the research report.

Chapter Two: Theoretical framework and literature review

This chapter discusses the literature and theoretical frameworks that were considered for this study, gave the outline of the existing literature relevant to the research study to present what has previously been addressed and is currently in the field on the topic. The literature review paid attention on the use of alcohol in the international context, during cultural ceremonies in the context of Africa, in cultural ceremonies, in the South African context and during cultural ceremonies among the *amaXhosa*.

Chapter Three: Research methodology application

The design of the research and methodology employed in this study is explained in this chapter. The concrete application for the processes of qualitative study to investigate this study was provided in this chapter.

Chapter Four: The discussion of findings controlled with literature

A summaries of the research results for the study's goal, key themes, sub-themes, and categories that arose from the results were discussed in this chapter. Findings were discussed incorporating the relevant literature and the theoretical framework.

Chapter Five: The summary, conclusions, and recommendations

The conclusion of the research process, challenges or limitations experienced, research results conclusions, and the suggestions for future studies relevant to this topic were presented in this chapter.

1.13. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

A background and the context of the study with the goal of exploring the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of traditional and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies was provided in this chapter. In this chapter the problem was formulated for the study, study was motivated, question of the research was asked, and research aim and steps to achieve aim, the theoretical framework, and the definition of key terms were briefly discussed to set a scene for Chapter Two's literature review. The chapter then briefly highlighted the methodology procedure applied in Chapter Three. Lastly, the steps used in ensuring validity of the study, ethical considerations, risks and benefits of the study, dissemination of results and the structure of the report was outlined in this chapter.

The chapter below discusses literature and theoretical frameworks that were considered for this research project.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW FOR THIS STUDY

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework and literature review that were considered for this research. The chapter provided an outline for the key concepts, processes, underlying assumptions, and principles of a socio-cultural theory such as culture, acculturation, socialization, and indigenous knowledge systems that were used to conceptualize the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies. The existing literature relevant to the research study to present what has been addressed previously and currently in the field on the topic was provided in this chapter. The literature reviewed gave focus to the use of alcohol on international context, during cultural ceremonies in the African context, during cultural ceremonies in the South African context and during cultural ceremonies among the *amaXhosa*.

“A literature review is a review of existing or an available body of knowledge that helps researchers to see how other scholars have investigated the research problem that they are interested in” (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delpont, 2013:302; Glesne, 2006:17). The purpose of this reviewed research was to check if any research was conducted previously on the proposed topic with the purpose of situating the proposed study within the body of available literature. To identify the existing research studies, key words, “meaning of alcohol among *amaXhosa* rituals,” “cultural ceremonies and celebrations,” “*amakrwala* and alcohol use during initiation ceremony” were used to narrow down the search.

There are two forms of alcohol, namely commercial alcohol such as brandy, ciders, beer, whiskey, gin, rum, spirits or wine and the traditional form of alcohol such as *umqombothi*, *Chichi*, *tejj*, *chibuku*, *ogi*, *mabisi*, *munkoyo*, *chibwantu*, *tella*, or *ijuba*,

tlokwe. It is important to briefly define what alcohol is since commercial alcohol use is one of the key concepts for discussion in this chapter. Alcohol can be any beverage in the form of whiskey, beer or wine that can be used as a way of showing hospitality to the visiting guests during social gatherings or any important cultural or special ceremony (Getachew, Lewis, Britton, Deressa & Fogarty, 2019:121). *Umqombothi* as a traditional beer is briefly explained later in the section that discusses the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies among the *amaXhosa*.

2.2. Socio-cultural theory and the meaning of traditional and commercial alcohol use during the cultural ceremonies

The socio-cultural theory pioneered by a Russian Psychologist, Lev Vygotsky around 1924 to 1934 to react on current methods of Psychology, “mostly recognized for identifying the role social interactions and culture play in the development of higher-order thinking skills” (Polly, Allman, Castro & Norwood, 2018:1). This “theory is especially valuable for the insights it provides about the dynamic interdependence between individual and social processes in the construction of knowledge” (Polly et al., 2018:1). According to Polly et al. (2018:1), “Vygotsky’s views are often considered primarily as developmental theories, focusing on qualitative changes in behaviour over time as attempts to explain unseen processes of development of thought, language, and higher-order thinking skills.” The key concepts, processes, underlying assumptions, and principles of a socio-cultural theory such as culture, acculturation, socialization, and indigenous knowledge systems are integrated with the literature review in the sub-sections below to provide a theoretical underpinning for the findings of the literature review.

2.2.1. Culture as a concept of Socio-cultural theory

As stated in Chapter One, one of the important concepts of a socio-cultural theory is the concept of culture (Lantolf, 2000:27) which might differ from one culture to another and from one country to another (Segrin & Flora, 2014). Cole (2020:1) define culture, as a term that refers to a large and diverse set of mostly intangible

aspects of social life. According to sociologists, culture consists of the values, beliefs, systems of language, communication, and practices that people share in common and that can be used to define them as a collective. As observed by Cole (2020:1) culture also consists of knowledge, norms, assumptions and morals that govern society we live in. Baltus (2013:8) adds other concrete aspects of culture that includes but not limited to the beliefs, ideas, institutions, language, customs and symbols. Recent scholars of culture have raised a very pertinent concept that culture should no longer be viewed as static (Varnum & Grossmann, 2019:9; Briley, Wyer Jr, & Li, 2014:559; Spencer-Oatey, 2012:9; Tozer, Gallegos, Henry, Greiner & Price, 2011:416; Valerie & Martin, 1999:667-675). This is also confirmed by Ntombana (2011:111) that culture is not static, but changes yearly as new technology, urbanisation and political changes continue to influence how people view and practise their culture in a certain tribe.

Several scholars (Pauw, 2008; Mbiti, 1975; Mayer, 1971 cited in Ntombana, 2011:112) agree that African cultural traditions are not static because the new lifestyles have a strong influence on the practices of these traditional ceremonies. Viruell-Fuentes (2007:1524 cited in Zambrana & Carter-Pokras, 2010:2) offered strong opinions about the assumptions of acculturation, namely, (1) “culture is located within an individual, and cultural traits are inherent to members of a particular group, and (2) the onus of culture is placed on the individual at the expense of addressing the structural contexts that reproduce social and economic inequities.” Coehoorn (2009:4) agrees with Zambrana and Carter-Pokras (2010) that “the concept of culture has a wide range of definitions and has been conceptualized from a variety of perspectives.” Coehoorn (2009:4) further explains that “a culture influences how a community perceives and how they experience the world around them, by a system of values, beliefs, and ideas in a mutually meaningful way.” In support to the notion of cultural differences put forth by Zambrana and Carter-Pokras (2010) and Coehoorn (2009) the anecdotal evidence

shows that some changes exist in the dress code and language used by the *amakrwala* compared to the dress code or language in the past among the *amaMpondo* regions. Furthermore, even though initiation ceremonies, *umgidi* to be specific, continue to follow the same former principles and norms of the *amaXhosa*, there is a huge difference between rural, semi-urban or townships and urban initiation graduation ceremonies. As explained by the researcher in Chapter One page 34 of the current study this might mean that culture is not a permanent covenant but a static process which changes with times.

2.2.1.1. Influence of culture on alcohol use during cultural ceremonies

Myadze and Rwomire (2014:4) explain that culture has an influence on alcohol use throughout the world. For example, among African cultures the use of alcohol is normalized as part of cultural ceremonies. In line with this view, Ferreira-Borges, Parry and Babor (2017:4) conducted a study on the harmful use of alcohol in Sub-Saharan Africa with the aim of reviewing the existing policies that combat alcohol use. Their findings show that “alcohol is very important to social engagements and traditional rituals such as marriage ceremonies, kingship enthronements, religious rituals and funerals, even though intensive and unregulated alcohol marketing strategies in many countries across Africa are contributing to shaping the social environment in which the positive aspects of drinking are dominant” (Ferreira-Borges et al., 2017:4). Ferreira-Borges et al’s (2017:4) study further reveals that in African cultures “drinking is portrayed as a symbol of success, a symbol of heroism and a symbol of courage and virility.” South Africa as well experience the similar case as found in the study conducted by Nyembezi, Sifunda, Funani, Ruiters, Van Den Borne and Reddy (2010:105) where they found that 54.4% of the research interviewees indicated that they drank alcohol during their initiation ceremonies as their culture required them to do so.

Szapocznik, Prado, Burlew, Williams and Santisteban (2007:79) “describe culture as knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviours that are shared by a group of

people and that may be transmitted from one generation to another.” As showed by Szapocznik et al. (2007:79) there are important elements of a culture that influence one’s behaviour; like cultural ceremonies and communication patterns. In relation to these concrete features of a culture put forth by Szapocznik et al. (2007), the exploratory quantitative study conducted by Nyembezi et al. (2010:99) revealed that male initiation ceremony “is associated with various cultural factors, including religious sacrifice, rites of passage into adulthood, responsible manhood,” proper way to communicate with people as an initiated man and the promotion of hygiene. In addition to these roles, “newly initiated men are prepared for new roles as adults and they are taught the essential duties to their families and community at large” (Nyembezi et al., 2010:99).

2.2.1.2. Three stages of Rites of Passage

One of the earliest Anthropologists, Arnold Van Gennep (1960) devised the concept of rites of passages. According to Arnold Van Gennep’s (1960) Theory of Rites of Passage there are three stages of life that human beings undergo in their development. The rites of passages are meant to explain the various stages of human development that all societies undergo, rites such as traditional marriages, *imbeleko*, and death, which are the separation stages, transition stage and incorporation stage. How alcohol is used has become an important fragment of the Xhosa male initiation. Alcohol is mostly used at the beginning and ending to note ending phase of boyhood and to celebrate the beginning of manhood. Consequently, alcohol is used mainly at the separation stage when the initiates are taken into initiation and at the incorporation stage when the initiates become *amakrwala* and are incorporated back into society as new men. The researcher has dwelt more on the incorporation stage since it is more relevant to the present study’s focus given that study participants are *amakrwala*. Monyela (2017:19) describes the incorporation stage as a stage where initiates are incorporated or prepared to return to their families after completing their initiation ceremonies. It is during the *umgidi* ceremony that the *amakrwala* receive sermons and speeches

on how they should behave as new men in their societies. Monyela (2017:19) adds that during the *umgidi* celebration a new identity is officially ascribed and attached to *amakrwala* that they are, 'oobhuti abatsha or newly graduated men'. Monyela's (2017:20) ethnographic study in South Africa found that when *amakrwala* were integrated into the community, they participated in social and economic activities, and they were given names and clothes to wear as evidence that they entered manhood phase.

2.2.1. Fundamental principles of socio-cultural perspectives on learning

Polly et al. (2018:57) highlight three fundamental principles mostly identified with Vygotsky's ideas of socio-cultural learning which are as follows:

- a) Human development and learning originate in social, historical, and cultural interactions.
- b) Use of psychological tools, particularly language, mediates development of higher mental functions.
- c) Learning occurs within the Zone of Proximal Development.

In this study more focus has been placed on principle number one of this theory since it is more relevant to the research topic.

2.2.1.1. *Human development and learning originate in social, historical and cultural interactions*

Polly et al. (2018:57) state that Vygotsky (1978) opposed that "thinking has social origins and social interactions play a critical role especially in the development of higher order thinking skills." Vygotsky (1978 cited in Polly et al., 2018:57) further argues that "cognitive development cannot be fully understood without considering the social and historical context within which it is embedded." Vygotsky (1978 cited in Polly et al., 2018:57) "argued that every function in the child's cultural development appears twice, firstly, on the social level and secondly on the

individual level.” Children’s cultural development first occurs between people (inter-psychological), (intra-psychological or within the child). “It is through working with others on a variety of tasks that a child adopts socially shared experiences and associated effects that require useful strategies and knowledge” (Scott & Palincsar, 2013:3).

2.2.2.2. Acculturation as a principle of socio-cultural theory

Santelli, Abraido-Lanza and Melnikas (2009:4) define acculturation “as the process by which immigrants adopt the attitudes, values, customs, culturally based beliefs, and behaviours of a new culture, all of which may affect health.” Santelli et al. (2009:4) explain that “the mechanisms and processes by which acculturation affects health have not been addressed yet by the research scholars.” Santelli et al. (2009:4) further explain that even though there are assumptions around norms and belief systems regarding certain behaviours such as sexual practices or drinking habits from immigrants are changed by acculturation.

In the early 1900s numerous social scientists such as Park (1928 cited in Abraído-Lanza, Armbrister, Flórez, & Aguirre, 2006:1342) offered various acculturation theories. Park (1928 cited in Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006:1342) was one of the most influential sociologists who presented the acculturation model in the human ecology. Park (1928 cited in Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006:1342) “proposed a linear and directional process by which loss of the original culture occurs through greater acculturation. Despite the evolution of more elaborate paradigms in the social and behavioural sciences, these linear assimilation models were adopted by much of the public health research on acculturation” (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006:1342). In support of this view research has shown that multi-dimensional “scales may be useful in identifying specific components of acculturation, such as norms concerning smoking or alcohol consumption, that present risk or protective factors for health problems, such as tobacco use or binge drinking” (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006:1343).

According to Abraído-Lanza et al. (2006:1344), “changes in values, belief systems, and worldviews have remained unexplored in public health research on acculturation and health outcomes. Yet expanding literature documents the importance of considering the impact of acculturation on these psycho-social variables and their role in shaping the health of Latinos” (Abraído-Lanza et al., 2006:1344). Zambrana and Carter-Pokras’s (2010:18) study shows that “persistent use of culture-driven acculturation models decentres social determinants of health as key factors in health disparities and reduces the effectiveness of cultural competency practice.”

Another finding showed “social and economic determinants as more important predictors among Latinos than culture in understanding health care inequalities” (Zambrana & Carter-Pokras, 2010:20). Abraído-Lanza et al. (2006:1344) explain that “whether cultural values and other psycho-social mechanisms as well as their associated effects on health decline with greater acculturation remain a question for further research.” Abraído-Lanza et al. (2006:1344) further suggest that further studies should also examine whether behaviours such as tobacco and alcohol use that are attributed to acculturation serve as preventative or risk factors of alcohol use during the cultural ceremonies instead of reflecting on the stages of development or gender norms.

2.2.3. Socialization as a pattern of socio-cultural theory

Lane (2008:1) describes socialization as “the process through which people are taught to be proficient members of a society.” Lane (2008:1) continues to explain that socialization “describes the ways that people come to understand societal norms and expectations, to accept society’s beliefs, and to be aware of societal values.” He further states that socialization is not the same as socializing that focus more on how people interact with one another in the society but it occur sociologically (Lane, 2008:1).

One of the theories that support the notion or share similar concepts such as those of socio-cultural theory is the eco-developmental theory which describes how relationships develop in different social contexts, how it protects the development of the adolescents, and how to avoid problems resulted from drug use (Szapocznik et al., 2007:81). For example, Szapocznik et al. (2007:81) explain that even though “most of the studies to date on racial socialization have been cross-sectional, the findings from the broader literature suggest that parents and other family members are the primary agents of racial socialization among African Americans.” In addition to this, a positive outcomes of adolescent development is related with family interactions (Szapocznik et al., 2007:81). The findings from the study conducted by Szapocznik et al.’s (2007:81) suggested the usefulness of including racial socialization to intervene for African-American adolescents due to the belief that culture is a learned aspect which is also a significant activity in each family to socialize children (Szapocznik et al., 2007:79). An example of a learned culture appeared in a study conducted by Vincent (2008:437) which that found that traditional male circumcision ceremonies play an important part to socialize Xhosa adolescents on how to behave in a responsible manner as a newly graduated men. For example, newly graduated initiates according to the societal norms should play a huge role in the family or community at large, and cooperate with older people in decision-making (Vincent, 2008:438).

The findings of Notole’s (2016) study are in agreement with Vincent’s (2008) literature as they indicate that cultural socialization is a practice that educates children about cultural customs, traditional beliefs and values that shape adolescents to be well behaved in their society. In the process of cultural socialization, the importance of self-respect such as not drinking alcoholic beverages in public areas is emphasized to the adolescents as early as from their adolescent stage (Notole, 2016:76). This cultural socialization plays a significant role during adolescence because Notole (2016:80) and Mohasoa’s (2010:3) findings show alcohol’s influence on adolescents who may not be able to monitor

and control their behaviours towards their parents, teachers, and other learners. Notole (2016:81) has found alcohol use as the key precipitating and predisposing factor to sexual aggressiveness (sexual offence cases) of rural male adolescents.

2.2.4. Indigenous knowledge systems as a concept of socio-cultural theory

Indigenous knowledge systems is rooted on the belief that people of particular group are the experts of their culture (Kang'ethe & Nomngcoyiya, 2014:461). In support of the above statement Jiloha (2009:169) conducted a study and found that indigenous knowledge systems have a protective effect on alcohol and drug use. Some of the participants in the study believed that “moderate alcohol consumption did not have adverse effects” but the nicotine from smoking speeds up the metabolism therefore does not lead to weight gain and also curbs the appetite (Jiloha, 2009:169). Such beliefs encouraged the youth to use drugs without reluctance or worry, and an optimistic outlook towards alcohol and drugs is associated with the drug initiation on the youth (Jiloha, 2009:169). In this study the *amakrwala* act as experts of the *amaXhosa* cultural initiation ceremonies telling their stories and views on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in the ceremonies.

2.2.5. Underlying processes of a Socio-cultural theory

Rogoff (1990 cited in Polly et al., 2018:58) refers to participation as a process of socio-cultural theory, “whereby a child actively acquires new culturally valuable skills and capabilities through a meaningful collaborative activity assisted by a more experienced other.” Rogoff (1990) further explains the importance of noting functions embedded to socio-cultural activities more than self-containment. Matusov (2015:315) emphasizes that “development is a transformation of participation in a socio-cultural activity not a transmission of discrete cultural knowledge or skills.” John-Steiner and Mahn (1996:192 cited in Polly et al., 2018:58) add that “the processes of guided participation reveal the Vygotskian view of cognitive development “as the transformation of socially shared activities

into internalized processes,” or an act of enculturation that rejects the Cartesian dichotomy between the internal and the external locus of control.”

2.2.6. Underlying assumption of a socio-cultural theory

Polly et al. (2018:58) are of the opinion that, the Vygotskian belief of socio-cultural learning is contrary to Piaget’s (1955) more “popular ideas of cognitive development, which assume that development through certain stages is biologically determined, originates in the individual, and precedes cognitive complexity.” Polly et al. (2018:58) further state that “this difference in assumptions has significant implications to the design and development of learning experiences.” This theory assumes that people might have different views and assumptions about cultural belief systems (Polly et al., 2018:58), and this became similar to the current study because *amakrwala* differed on how they viewed the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

Based on the different views posed by *amakrwala* in the current study, the researcher is of the view that acculturation to Western customs by *amaXhosa* influences the significance of initiation ceremonies in a sense that *amakrwala* abandon their Xhosa culture and learn Western culture in terms of how they dress during their *ubukrwala*. This have an impact to Xhosa culture because now that *amakrwala* are no longer walking barefooted with rags/blankets on their shoulders there seem to be more focus on expensive brands such as carvellas and navadas. Same applies to *umqombothi*, the majority of the participants favoured Western alcohol and labelled it as ‘modern *umqombothi*’ and according to their views ‘*umqombothi* is for older people and outdated to be used by youth’.

2.3. The use of alcohol in the international context

To date, studies on the use of alcohol have largely been quantitative (Hill, Foxcroft & Pilling, 2017), with a few qualitative (Schmidt & Room, 1999) and mixed methods

studies (Hill, Foxcroft & Pilling, 2018; Ham & Hope, 2003). The quantitative studies included national longitudinal surveys (Hingson, Heeren, Winter & Wechster, 2005; Alva, 1998), and internet-based surveys (Cunningham, 2017; Borsari & Carey, 2001), literature reviews (Sobell & Sobell, 1978), and questionnaires (Agostinelli, Brown & Miller, 1995). Qualitative studies included ethnographic studies (Detpitukyon, Apidechkul, Sunsern, Anuwatnonthakate, Singhorn, Putsa & Thutsanti, 2017; Savic, Room, Mugavin, Pennay & Livingston, 2016; Wang, Newman & Shell, 2016; Luu, Nguyen & Newman, 2014; Myadze & Rwomire, 2014; Gronkjaer, Curtis, De Crespigny & Delmar, 2011; Roche, Bywood, Freeman, Pidd, Borlagdan & Trifonoff, 2009; Seale, Shellenberger, Rodriguez, Seale & Alvarado, 2002), clinical interview questions (Ewing, 1984) and face-to-face interviews (Matthew & Wright, 2005). Even though the studies mentioned above explained the meaning of traditional alcohol use in various ethnic groups worldwide they have largely focused on protective and risk factors of alcohol use during cultural ceremonies and preventative strategies to combat the use of in the midst of youth, giving no attention on the views of the *amakrwala* or young adults on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. Secondly, some of these studies are out-dated and there are few recent studies on the phenomenon under investigation.

In this sub-section the literature discussion focuses on the meaning and reasons for traditional and commercial alcohol use during the cultural ceremonies and traditional festivals from various countries like Venezuela, China, the U.S.A., Denmark, Australia, North and South America, New Zealand, Northern Thailand, and Vietnam.

United States of America

One of the earliest studies conducted by Sobell and Sobell (1978) on the functional analysis of drinking behaviour in U.S.A. reviewed the literature on alcohol use during cultural ceremonies for eight years. These researchers found that during

the period of their study there had been changes in how male adolescents used and viewed the use of alcohol (Sobell & Sobell, 1978). For example, commercial alcohol is viewed by adolescents as a substance that changed a person's behaviour for the worst. On the other hand, some adolescents viewed commercial alcohol use as a way of coping during stressful situations (Sobell & Sobell, 1978). Similarly, the systematic review by Mauricio et al. (2014:362) on the inter-linkages of alcohol use and misuse, spirituality and culturally found that a function of alcohol use might be to reduce anxiety and it highlighted that, some cultural groups possessed characteristics of alcohol use that were not associated with bad effects. Castro et al. (2014:36-49) found that, the disruptive effects of acculturative change and cultural groups shaped expectations about the effects of commercial alcohol use. Alva (1998) in his study highlights that some adolescents have peer norms, beliefs, attitudes, and perceived benefits of alcohol consumption. Schmidt and Room (1999) done a similar research in the U.S.A. and believed that "dependence should be interpreted in light of what was known about the drinking cultures and norms of the society involved." This is agreed by Borsari and Carey (2001) that "perceived social norms can serve to make excessive traditional or commercial alcohol use appear common and acceptable to the society."

Venezuela

Seale, Shellenberger, Rodriguez, Seale and Alvarado (2002:604) in Venezuela conducted a study focusing on alcohol problems among an indigenous Venezuelan tribe of Carib origin carried out by a Venezuelan community development team using four focus group discussions. Seale et al.'s (2002:604) study was conducted in two villages made up of 40 to 50 families each. Individuals spend part of the year in the village and part of the year on farmland that is a one to two hours walk from the village. It was found in one of the villages that traditional corn liquor was brewed on special occasions (Seale et al., 2002:604). Older participants of all four focus groups indicated their participation in festivals during

the first half of the 20th century during which large amounts of corn liquor were consumed (Seale et al., 2002:604). Several times a year, neighbouring communities would gather to celebrate events such as the corn harvest, weddings, or funerals (Seale et al., 2002:604). In most villages, these special events only occurred three or four times per year (Seale et al., 2002:604). Liquor would be brewed in an open trough using purple corn, sugar cane syrup or sap from palm trees (Seale et al., 2002). Prior to the event, an individual would be chosen to brew the corn liquor for the festival (Seale et al., 2002:605). Only a few individuals in each village were considered worthy to perform this task (Seale et al., 2002:604). Seale et al. (2002:606) found that some of their focus group participants viewed and saw drinking as a way to celebrate or enjoy oneself. Many of the reasons mentioned for drinking were external socio-cultural factors such as funerals, special occasions, and availability of commercial alcohol in taverns and in celebration of someone's birthday (Seale et al., 2002:606). Some described how others pressured them to drink while others blamed the alcohol itself, describing it as 'deceptive' or a betrayer (Seale et al., 2002:606). Focus group participants stated that they had learned their current drinking patterns from the White man (Seale et al., 2002:606). Interestingly, in this study it was found that no focus group participant described the reason for drinking as due to sadness, stress, depression, or despair (Seale et al., 2002:606). In contrast to Seale et al. (2002:606) Myadze and Rwomire (2014:1) agree with the concept of differences in motives in terms of people's reasons and attitudes to drink alcohol and that in most cultural groups' people consume substances for fun or in order to reduce pain, discomfort, anxiety and fatigue.

Similarly, Szapocznik et al. (2007:79) explain that "an appreciation of the unique cultural patterns of racial or ethnic groups such as African Americans and Hispanics can considerably enrich understanding of these groups, the emergence of symptoms, the buffering of stress, and responses to prevention and treatment interventions." In the above paragraphs Szapocznik et al. (2007:79) have

highlighted that culture as a concept of socio-cultural theory can be a learned behaviour by an adolescent of one ethnic group to another. These findings are similar to the findings by Delva et al. (2005 cited in Szapocznik et al., 2007:81) which “compared eighth-grade Cuban Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latin Americans on the use of marijuana and cocaine and on heavy drinking using the Monitoring the Future survey data for the two most recent periods” (1997–1999 and 2000–2002). The results demonstrated that “Cuban American eighth graders had the highest rates of heavy drinking compared with Mexican American, Puerto Rican and other Latin American eighth-grade adolescents living in the United States of America” (Szapocznik et al., 2007:81).

Seale et al. (2002:607) explained that communities, as a way of curbing drinking patterns in Venezuela, “are establishing new norms and are finding solutions. Many of their solutions include local restrictions on alcohol supply, sponsorship of alcohol-free cultural events, and encouraging spiritual solutions for individuals with drinking problems” (Seale et al., 2002). Seale et al. (2002:607) also explain that “some studies demonstrate that restrictions on alcohol supply in isolated indigenous populations are associated with reduction in injury, deaths, alcohol-related hospital visits and out-patient clinic visits. The importance of organizing and promoting alcohol-free social events has been recognized and addressed in both native and non-native prevention programmes in the United States of America” (Seale et al., 2002:607). Similarly, in an attempt to reduce the use of alcohol between youth of United States of America, Hingson et al. (2005) recommend in their study that “greater enforcement of the legal drinking age of 21 years and zero tolerance laws, increases in commercial alcohol taxes and wider implementations of comprehensive community interventions can reduce harm-related drinking behaviours among adolescents and their families.”

New Zealand

Matthew and Wright (2005) in their study conducted in New Zealand among students, emphasized that “increased prices via taxation, better enforcement of liquor laws, restriction on advertising and promotion of commercial alcohol use, and a minimum commercial alcohol purchase age of 20 or 21 years could reduce the use of alcohol in the society.” Hill et al. (2018) suggest in their study that, alcohol consumption must be prohibited to reduce bad effects.

China

In the study conducted by Wang, Newman and Shell (2016:1) with “1305 Chinese university students in Beijing, Kunming and Wuhan it was found that traditionally in China drinking alcohol was both a normal part of the daily diet especially in rural areas and an important part of rituals, business occasions, festivals and special events. Moderate drinking on important occasions is encouraged but excessive drinking is discouraged through various social sanctions. The ability to consume alcohol without visible effects is admired but visible intoxication is considered a personal shortcoming and a disgrace for one’s family and colleagues” (Wang et al., 2016:1).

Denmark

Gronkjaer, Curtis, De Crespigny and Delmar (2011:1) conducted a study with the aim of examining the influence of cultural norms on alcohol use in Denmark among different age groups and the similarities and differences between the groups, including examining how people construct and negotiate the cultural norms for drinking and they had similar findings to Wang et al. (2016:1). Five focus group interviews were conducted for the following age ranges: 16 to 20; 21 to 34; 35 to 44; 45 to 64 and 65 to 82. In this study alcohol was perceived by participants as essential to normalising collective intoxication to boost low self-esteem, strengthen group identity, foster a positive experience and as an expected way to reaffirm and strengthen friendships (Gronkjaer et al., 2011:2). Another result of the study was

that alcohol was viewed by the participants as a contributing factor to having a good time, some drank for relaxation purposes and this was associated with adding something to the social situation (Gronkjaer et al., 2011:5). In Denmark, “drinking socially plays an important role in people’s reflection of their cultural beliefs and belief in their own normal use of alcohol. This suggests that social drinking is perceived to be normal and therefore having a problem in this context is practically unheard of” (Gronkjaer et al., 2011:9).

Australia

Likewise, according to Savic, Room, Mugavin, Pennay and Livingston (2016:272) in Australia drinking is viewed “as a symbol of mate-ship and social solidarity especially in adult male drinking. Drinking is social particularly in home entertaining and cocktail parties and drinking is seen as utilitarian hence it is acceptable to use alcohol to ‘drown one’s sorrows” (Roche, Bywood, Freeman, Pidd, Borlagdan & Trifonoff, 2009:1).

South and North America

Morris (1998:12) has found that in South and North America in terms of their cultures and everyday transitions, “alcohol is only used to mark the transition from work to play. For example, in Peru alcohol is consumed before any work requiring strength or energy, such as roofing, sowing, the *faena* (communal work party) and other tasks which are seen to require particular collaboration and or supernatural intervention and thus involve drinking to stimulate the user” (Morris, 1998:44). The “belief that alcohol endows the user with the power and will to perform his duties is further exemplified in rituals designed to enhance the strength and fertility of domestic animals such as cattle and horses, in which brews are poured over models of these animals” (Morris, 1998:44). Morris (1998:42) in his study of the Peruvian Mestizo community of Virú observed that “the drinking of *chicha* (maize-beer) is an integral part of the ritual celebration of all major life-cycle events, which include: baptism, first hair-cutting ceremony for boys, and ear-piercing ceremony for girls, confirmation, birthdays, marriage, and funerals.” Morris (1998:42) further

mentions that “alcohol in most cultures is a central element of cultural ceremonies such as birth, coming-of-age, important life-changes such as graduation or retirement and even far less momentous shifts such as the daily transition from work to play.” Roche et al. (2009:vii-1) have found in their study conducted in Australia that “alcohol is integral to the Australian way of life; it is an important economic commodity in terms of revenue, employment, tourism, exports and is a major contributor to preventable illness and death. It is used to celebrate and commiserate significant life events such as births, deaths, marriage, graduation, promotions, and sackings” (Roche et al., 2009:1).

Northern Thailand

In the study conducted by Detpitukyon, Apidechkul, Sunsern, Anuwatnonthakate, Singhorn, Putsa and Thutsanti (2017:186) on the “patterns and perception of alcohol drinking among the Lahu people in Northern Thailand” with 21 participants “of different ages and sexes from three separate Lahu villages,” it was found that “the hill tribe people also had their own patterns and perceptions of alcohol use related to their culture. In the past most hill tribe communities produced their own traditional alcohol for drinking and religious or cultural rituals” (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:186). “However, new commercial brands of alcohol have increasingly replaced the traditional brands during religious and cultural rituals including community festivals” (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:186). In Northern Thailand “village leaders have a strong commitment to alcohol control in their village” (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:186). The results of the study show that “males started to drink alcohol earlier than females and preferred to drink whiskey whereas females started drinking beer later” (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:188). “In terms of volume, males drank much more alcohol than females” (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:188). Males and females had “different reasons for drinking alcohol. Males started drinking to gain peer acceptance and as a rite of passage into adulthood, but females started drinking alcohol not just to indicate adulthood, but because they felt that drinking alcohol gave them an increased sense of relaxation, safety, and strength”

(Detpitukyon et al., 2017:188-189). Participants mentioned that alcohol was good to maintain one's health particularly in older people (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:189). Drinking alcohol also gives elderly people an appetite (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:189). "Lahu people believed that alcohol is a beverage that everyone could access and is good for mental health" (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:188-189). Lastly, this study shows that "alcohol is presented as a sign of respect to some people such as the elderly people or the community leaders who join the ceremony. Currently, different brands of alcohol are presented to signify different levels of respect. To respect the community leader, the brands of whiskey were *Lao Dang*, *Sean Some* or *BENMORE*" (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:190). "Most ceremonies provided beer for the women" (Detpitukyon et al., 2017:190).

Vietnam

An ethnographic study focusing on traditional distilled spirit alcohol production in rural areas of three provinces in Vietnam involved interviewing more than 300 individuals (Luu, Nguyen & Newman, 2014:5) where they found that "older people favoured traditional alcohol, while younger people favoured brand-name beer. Typically, people consumed two to four drinks daily, mainly at mealtimes" (Luu et al., 2014:5). People consumed more alcohol at special cultural events and festivals. Luu et al. (2014:5) also found that in China commercial beer "is the alcohol of choice in hot weather when the men are busy in the fields" (Luu et al., 2014:6). Luu et al. (2014:6) have found that the "reasons most often given for drinking traditional alcohol were to improve digestion; alcohol use is part of their cultural heritage, the quality of the traditional alcohol is better, alcohol makes meals more delicious, increases happy feelings and expresses special relationships." The participants of Luu et al.'s (2014:6) study described regularly taking medicinal alcohol that is traditional alcohol mixed with prescribed herbs, insects or animal parts.

“Alcohol is routinely offered to guests as a traditional show of hospitality” (Luu et al., 2014:6). Important finding of the study was that “traditional alcohol was an important part of local seasonal celebrations and rites of passage and was prized because it was a local product and because it satisfied local values and tastes” (Luu et al., 2014:6). Alcohol was also viewed positively as playing an economic role where its manufacturing gave “women in the household and the community” an opportunity for income generation “when there were few other opportunities. Alcohol making is home-based and the work hours are flexible allowing women to continue to attend to child rearing and housekeeping while contributing to the family income” (Luu et al., 2014:7). One of the Bac Ninh Province community leaders during this study mentioned that some drunk men at the cultural festivals spoke louder, and shouted one another. At times men behave badly after drinking alcohol and beat their women (Luu et al., 2014:8). Although several studies mention the use of alcohol and traditional beer during cultural ceremonies only a few or none specifically explored its use during initiation ceremonies, and this indicates a gap in literature.

2.4. The use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies in the African context

To date, only a few qualitative studies on this topic have been conducted as ethnographic studies (Mokoena, 2017; Nugent, 2017; Myadze & Rwomire, 2014; Mshana, Wambura, Mwanga, Mosha, Mosha & Changelucha, 2011; Wilsnack, Wilsnack & Obot, 2005) and in a mixed-methods form Getachew et al. (2019) in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Zambia, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania and Uganda to explore the significance of traditional and commercial alcohol use during cultural ceremonies. Like the findings of alcohol use in an international context these studies focused more on highlighting the meaning of traditional and commercial alcohol use during cultural ceremonies in Africa, with little attention focused on the views of the *amakwala* or young adults on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

“Africans have been making and drinking alcoholic beverages from a wide array of fruits, grains, and other natural substances for as far back as historical records go and continue to do so, ranging from palm-wine in coastal West and East Africa to banana beer in the Great Lakes region to mead (*tejj*) in Ethiopia and maize or sorghum beer across Southern Africa” (Nugent, 2017:1). For example, Zimbabwean traditional sorghum beer called *chibuku*, Nigerian traditional sorghum and “maize beer called *ogi* and a trio of traditional Zambian non-alcoholic beverages called *mabisi*, *munkoyo* and *chibwantu*” are used to celebrate special cultural ceremonies such as an initiation ceremony and celebration of successes of harvests (Mokoena, 2017:3). These drinks are treasured by African people “for nutritional purposes and cultural practices. Thus, African families still provide *umqombothi* during ceremonies like traditional weddings as a treat for their guests” (Mokoena, 2017:3). This is agreed by Ezekiel, Ayeni, Misihairabgwi, Somorin, Chibuzor-Onyema, Oyedele, Abia, Sulyok, Shephard and Kriska (2018:336) that “beyond the cultural and socio-economic usage and benefits of African traditional beverages are the nutritional and therapeutic values they offer.” “These beverages are rich in vitamins, minerals and have easily utilizable carbohydrates (sugars) due to the mixtures of grains used and the fermentation process involved” (Ezekiel et al., 2018:336).

“In Botswana brewing and beer consumption have generally been an integral part of village life while sorghum, a staple food throughout Southern Africa, was a primary ingredient in the production of traditional alcoholic beverages” (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:4). Myadze and Rwomire (2014:1) further state that usually the “consumption of alcoholic beverages was restricted to elders of the community and drinking was social rather than an individual activity. Women were generally excluded but not entirely from drinking parties” (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:4). On the other hand, Ezekiel et al. (2018:335) mention that in Namibia “*oshikundu* (a non-alcoholic beverage from millet and sorghum) is served to visitors as a token of welcome and hospitality and it is produced as part of the traditional initiation of

young girls into womanhood.” Generally, “African traditional beverages are produced by women and children as a home art and when commercialized in the local setting they become a means of economic empowerment to the women” (Ezekiel et al., 2018:335).

The research by Mshana et al. (2011:1114) in the Tarime district of Tanzania found that during the graduation day of male initiates a local brew called *Togwa* and commercial alcohol was drunk by the initiate and all people attended the ceremony. Children were prohibited from using commercial alcohol during this ceremony. Wilsnack et al. (2005:144) conducted a study and found that in Nigeria alcohol use occurred mostly in most cultural groups of the country. “In many parts of Nigeria, the production and consumption of alcoholic beverages is organized around traditional rituals, festivals and other social activities which include arrangements around marriages, childbearing and child-naming, weekly market days, and settling quarrels between families and communities” (Wilsnack et al., 2005:144). “Presenting or offering an alcoholic beverage is also an expression of hospitality to visiting guests in Nigeria” (Wilsnack et al., 2005:144). Wilsnack et al. (2005:190) found that in Uganda alcohol use was a widely accepted social activity, especially during the important celebrations like graduation parties or marriages. In this country alcoholic beverages were widely accepted and “consumed by all people, male and female, young and old only for cultural reasons. Women and children are culturally not allowed to drink alcohol in public” (Wilsnack et al., 2005:190).

Getachew et al. (2019:1) conducted a study and found that one thousand one hundred and sixteen Ethiopian youth had drunk traditional Ethiopian beer called *tella* for reasons such as peer pressure, during culturally significant ceremonies, while some modelled their drinking behaviour from their parents and some treated drinking as an accepted way of socialization after meals in their homes (Getachew et al., 2019:121).

In Chapter One of the current study, it was noted that Segrin and Flora (2014:2) explained that acculturation could positively or negatively impact on “individuals’ self-identity because an individual’s self-concept was strengthened by being part of a social group.” Myadze and Rwomire (2014:2) explain that “socio-cultural factors may be the root cause of alcoholism in Africa.” Myadze and Rwomire (2014:2) further state that “in Africa many people view the consumption of alcoholic beverages as socially useful even though the drinking of traditional alcoholic beverages has lost some of its traditional values” since there was a dominance of Western alcohol in cultural ceremonies or social gatherings of African people. This shift to Western alcohol therefore led to addiction or too much alcohol use (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:2). Another shift of socio-cultural factors is that “social sanctions against alcohol consumption in Africa appear to be weakening, especially for females and adolescents; certain religious taboos about drinking are no longer taken seriously and the government increases investment in breweries throughout Africa with an implied stamp of approval by the gatekeepers of society” (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:2). In addition to this Myadze and Rwomire’s (2014:3) study has found that in Africa alcohol “became the drug of choice among youths. Young people drank too much and at too early an age, thereby creating problems for themselves, for people around them, and for society as a whole and many people tended to view the consumption of alcoholic beverages as socially useful and even necessary” (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:2).

Marcia and Rayna (2010:80) are of the opinion that “cultural factors are also important in considering the views of the African population on alcohol use. Historically, indigenous Africans used fermented maize or corn in social interactions, as a trade product and as a sacred drink” (Marcia & Rayna, 2010:80). Marcia and Rayna (2010:80) conducted a study in Zimbabwe where they found that “alcohol was drunk at sacred events. Traditionally, Zimbabweans drank in groups rather than alone and drinking during the traditional ceremonies is regulated by norms vital for sustaining the society and culture” (Marcia & Rayna,

2010:80). Based on the above reviewed literature in the African context there seemed to be a lack of studies focusing on alcohol use during initiation, in particular the initiates or the *amakrwala* did not voice their views regarding this topic.

2.5. The use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies in the South African context

To date, only limited qualitative studies in the form of case-studies on this topic have been done (Nkunzana, 2017; Taylor, 2017) describing the meaning of *umqombothi* among Nguni tribes and the commercialization of *umqombothi*. A few ethnographic studies (Goitsemodimo, 2020; Mpanza & Govender, 2017; Monyela, 2017; Hobongwana-Duley, 2014; Ntombana, 2011) were conducted in the Free State and the Eastern Cape Provinces discussing some findings on the morals and code of etiquette that are emphasized to the *amakrwala* by the *amaXhosa* during the initiation ceremonies.

This section highlights a few studies on the meaning of traditional and commercial alcohol use during cultural ceremonies in South Africa. This section begins by briefly describing the history of *umqombothi* use among the Nguni people of Southern Africa. This is followed by how *umqombothi* is being made and fermented, and the reasons why people use *umqombothi* during cultural ceremonies. A few ethnographic and case-studies on the commercialization of *umqombothi* are discussed in this section. This section also describes the morals and the code of etiquette that is emphasised to the *amakrwala* by the *amaXhosa* during *umgidi*. Lastly, this section discusses the relationship between a socio-cultural theory and the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies of the *amaXhosa* ethnic group. An ethnographic study by Monyela (2017:3) gave an overview about the meaning of alcohol use during the BaSotho initiation ceremony called *lebollo*. Similarly, Ntombana (2011:631) and Monyela (2017:3) explain that *lebollo* among the BaSotho has been practised as

their traditional and cultural ceremony to celebrate an important role to mould adolescent behaviour and facilitate their maturity.

It was a custom for tribesmen of the Nguni people of Southern Africa to gather in a circle sharing *umqombothi*, a tarty beer made primarily from sorghum with maize and yeast added (Nkunzana, 2017:2). The drinkers swirl and shake the pot before taking a sip to get all the flavours and aromas in every mouthful and *umqombothi* was not meant to be drunk alone (Nkunzana, 2017:2).

The study undertaken by Mpanza and Govender (2017:111) in Kwazulu Natal found that during ancestral worship ceremonies such as unveiling, “which are an accepted and respected cultural practice, it may be viewed as counteracting the preventative programmes aimed at combating the spread of substance abuse within the district.” One of the participants in this study indicated that it was during ceremonies such as unveiling and *ulwaluko* that all the family members must drink traditional beer and most children informed the parents that that was the easiest way to introduce them to start drinking (Mpanza & Govender, 2017:111). Mpanza and Govender (2017:111) also found that during the “Amarula Annual Festival, held in one of the local municipalities of the uMkhanyakude district, everyone was allowed to drink in celebration of the amarula fruit, there seemed to be poor adherence to age restrictions, as the homemade amarula wine was not registered as an alcoholic drink. The non-adherence to the age restriction poses a serious issue as the event is supported by a number of governmental departments including the provincial legislature” (Mpanza & Govender, 2017:111). “In these cultural events, many young people are introduced to alcohol and this continues with consumption of other alcoholic drinks, compounded by the use of illicit substances” (Mpanza & Govender, 2017:111).

Highlighting the commercialization of traditional beer Nkunzana (2017:7) presented the case of Mr X, the owner of Ukhamba Beerworx in Woodstock who in 2013 started to work at a craft beer-centric bar where he developed the

idea of starting to make *umqombothi* for commercial consumption because he believed that *utywala besiNtu* or *umqombothi* was easy to drink and was accessible, perfect for hot summery days when you were looking for cool and crisp refreshment. In support of Nkunzana's (2017:1) case study, Taylor (2017:1) cautioned that traditional South African beer called *umqombothi* which had been "brewed for centuries by the Xhosa, was in danger of disappearing. Slow Food International, which is an organization that is trying to revive local food cultures," reported that growing numbers of South Africans were abandoning *umqombothi* in favour of mass-produced beer (Taylor, 2017:7). Taylor (2017:7) found a case study where one of the African women who had been making *umqombothi* for almost half a century was worried that her days as brewer were numbered as she experienced a decline in the sale of *umqombothi*. Highlighting the impact of commercial alcohol versus traditional beer Taylor (2017:7) presented the case of Khiwa who mentioned that young people were influenced by the Western views on the preference of Western alcohol more than traditional alcohol because some men did not alcoholic beverages of a traditional nature anymore as they wanted expensive modern bottles of beers, so for her there was no longer an income from *umqombothi* brewing (Taylor, 2017:7). In contrast, older men drink *umqombothi* contained by plastic bottles in one of the taverns because they enjoyed the coloured-sour beer (Taylor, 2017:3). "Khiwa, however, plans to sell commercial beer from now on and to stop brewing *umqombothi*" (Taylor, 2017:3). However, based on the case-study conducted by Taylor (2017:3) the commercialization of beer has more problems such as customers fighting regularly in taverns during the weekends. For example, one tavern owner emphasized that "when people were drinking the old-style beer (*umqombothi*) such things did not happen so much" (Taylor, 2017:4-5).

Pathan, Memon, Memon, Khoso and Bux (2018:234) conducted a study to explore Vygotsky's (1924 to 1934) "contribution to the socio-cultural theory in the field of education" with the aim of elaborating "the impact of socio-cultural theory in the

existing body of literature.” Pathan et al. (2018:234) found that socio-cultural theory was formed from “social and cultural interaction between people with the focus on the social, cultural, and historical artefacts which play a pivotal role in moulding children’s cognitive development to learn their cultural norms and values.” Similarly, Scott and Palincsar (2014:1) reviewed socio-cultural theory where they found that “from this perspective, as learners participated in a broad range of joint activities and internalized the effects of working together, they acquired new strategies and knowledge of the world and culture.” However, according to Scott and Palincsar (2014:3) “one of the most frequently criticized facets of Vygotsky’s theory who produced this theory between 1924 and 1934 was a reaction to existing conflicting approaches in psychology to its model of internalization.” For instance, Cobb and Yackel (1996 cited in Scott and Palincsar, 2014:3) “have argued that this aspect of Vygotskian theory constitutes a transmission model in which students inherit the cultural meanings that constitute their intellectual inheritance from previous generations.” Cobb and Yackel (1996 cited in Scott and Palincsar, 2014:3) suggested “an alternative model called the participation model of cultural development, which seems useful to overcoming dualisms, such as society and the individual.”

“The participation model represents development as the transformation of individual participation in socio-cultural activity” (Cobb & Yackel, 1996 cited in Scott & Palincsar, 2014:3). On the other hand, Sibiyi (2014:45) emphasizes that one of the principles of a socio-cultural theory is the concept of social status which explains that social status among many Nguni cultures is attained through undergoing an initiation ceremony. For example, Sibeko (2014:101) is of the view that in the Xhosa culture it is only after circumcision that men are permitted to take part in property ownership, marriage, and participation in community life such as beer-drinking ceremonies (Sibiyi, 2014:45). The socio-cultural theory is supported by Hobongwana-Duley (2014:101) who found that the initiate’s “new status as *amakrwala* is stressed during the initiation ceremony. The duties which they must

assume, and the behaviour expected of them towards” other people are emphasized. Some of the admonitions from the elderly include respect for the elderly, conforming to all customs, fulfilling all the rites and ceremonies of their ancestors, and exercising a spirit of liberality towards their neighbours and friends. They are told to abandon all childish behaviours (Monyela, 2017:3; Hobongwana-Duley, 2014:101; Ntombana, 2011:631). The relationship with the spiritual world is stressed as they are told never to anger their ancestors (Hobongwana-Duley, 2014:101). Hobongwana-Duley’s (2014:101) study showed that the *amakrwala* during the initiation ceremonies learnt that as newly graduated men they were expected by society to behave ‘morally’ and they were expected not to drink alcohol ‘excessively’ at public gatherings.

To briefly explain the meaning of traditional alcohol use in the South African context Goitsemodimo (2020:3) highlights that in the “Zulu culture, after the beer is made it is usually left in a cool dark place known as *umsamo* for the ancestors to taste and it is believed that the ancestors will not recognise any ceremony without traditional beer. Basotho, on the other hand, used to set aside unstrained beer (*mohlaba*) for certain rituals that were performed to keep the ancestors away from their living relatives, if they had interfered negatively in their lives” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:3). Traditional beer was customarily brewed and stored in large clay pots (*iimbiza* in Zulu, *nkho* in Venda and Sotho, *thatholelo* in Tswana, and *umphanda* in Mpondo) that were sometimes built into the floor of the house. Goitsemodimo (2020:4) also explains that “beer was seldom enjoyed in solitude but usually shared with others and the ancestors. It played a significant role in bonding people and could be used in times of conflict as a means of mediation and reconciliation.”

“It was also offered as payment for specialized craftworks such as tanning skins or carving utensils. Work parties (*matsema* plural and *letsema* singular) that assisted with weeding fields, harvesting crops, or building silos, were always rewarded with

beer. It is still used as a reward in most rural and peri-urban areas for various services such as slaughtering animals or digging graves for funerals” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:4). Goitsemodimo (2020:4) has found that “over the years the production of traditional beer has decreased due to the popularization of commercially and mass-produced beer that is made from ingredients such as malted barley. However, traditional breweries are still a key aspect of most rural economies where traditional beer is brewed for the local market and sold to supplement household income” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:4). “Commercial productions of traditional beer under various brands (*chibuku, leopard, ijuba, tlokwe*, and more) can also be found throughout Southern Africa” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:4).

This section highlighted the studies that focused on the cultural use of alcohol in South Africa. Scholars such as Pathan et al. (2018) and Scott and Palincsar (2014) emphasized that a socio-cultural theory has had a great effect on the adolescents learning about their cultural influence to drink traditional and commercial alcohol even though socio-cultural theory was criticized by the scholars such as Cobb and Yackel (1996) who found “one of the most frequently criticized facets of Vygotsky’s theory is its model of internalization.” Cobb and Yackel (1996) “suggested an alternative model called the participation model of cultural development, which seems useful to overcoming dualisms, such as the society and the individual.”

In this section it was revealed from other studies’ findings that both *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol play a significant role during the initiation ceremonies. However, some case studies have shown that in some areas *umqombothi* was being commercialized and sold in taverns for older people due to the negative attitude from most people especially the youth, who undermined *umqombothi* and labelled it as out-dated fashion. In addition to this some studies revealed that during *ubukrwala* period the *amakrwala*’s new status was emphasized. The responsibilities which they must undertake, and the manner required of them

towards other people was emphasized. The *amakrwala*'s opinion on the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during the initiation ceremonies was lacking in the above-cited studies. This paves a way for this study to address this gap.

2.6. The use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies among *amaXhosa*

To date, few qualitative studies on the meaning and significance of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation and other important cultural ceremonies of the *amaXhosa* have been conducted in a form of ethnographic studies (Goitsemodimo, 2020; Holder, 2020; Prusente, Khuzwayo & Sikweyiya, 2019; Silimfe, 2017; Hobongwana-Duley, 2014; Ntombana, 2011; Gwata, 2009; Bongela, 2001; McAllister, 1985) and a case study (Ngidi, 2019) were conducted in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape Provinces among the *amaXhosa* to explore the significance of the use of *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies.

The name "*umqombothi* refers to traditional African beer made from sorghum and other ingredients. It is popular in Southern and other parts of Africa where it has many variations and names (for example, *joala*, *bojalwa*, *utshwala*, *chibuku*, *doro*, *dolo*, *ikigage*, *tchoukoutou*, *merissa*, *pito*, *mtama*, and more)" (Goitsemodimo, 2020:2). In the context of the *amaXhosa* *umqombothi* is a home-made drink fermented with sorghum, yeast and maize that is used during traditional ceremonies (Tshongolo, 2013:122). Goitsemodimo (2020:3) further explains that "the people in these regions made and drank this type of beer long before the arrival of the Europeans." This is agreed by Bongela (2001:125) that the "Nguni group, to which the Xhosa speaking people belong, has presumably inherited the cultural tradition and practice of beer making and drinking from the Negroid races which have occupied Central Africa for many centuries. Nguni people brought it with them when they settled in the Cape, specifically in the Ndlambe and the Gcaleka Regions" (Bongela, 2001:125). According to Bongela (2001:13) the "most popular drink used in traditional societies was the traditional brew commonly known as *umqombothi* which was not only used for entertainment at drinking

parties, but was also associated with ancestors. Whenever it was necessary to invoke the ancestors, the traditional brew assumed prominence and was used as an instrument of invocation. This was regarded as a symbol of *hlonipha* (to show respect)” (Bongela, 2001:13).

To “maintain good relationships between the people and the ancestors, it has become a *hlonipha* practice at public and private drinking sprees to allow the ancestors to have a sip of the brew first before it is given out for general drinking” (Bongela, 2001:13). “In many cultures *umqombothi* was mostly considered as a staple food and not just an intoxicating beverage” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:3). “The main ingredient, sorghum, is indigenous to Africa and maize (mealie), millet, as well as cassava root were and are still used as additions to produce different flavours” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:3). “Traditionally, the beer is made by women and falls within their realm of food production and preparation. It is a significant part of most social, cultural, and religious ceremonies. Together with meat and tobacco, it is regarded as an essential offering for the ancestors and is believed to facilitate contact with them. Thus a few drops are generally poured by *injoli* on the ground as a libation for the ancestors” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:3; Bongela, 2001:13) then *injoli* gives *ibhekile* (beaker) to the first man. More than just being a beer *umqombothi* is used as a way of celebrating the return of younger generations after initiation ceremonies and plays a central role in contacting the *amadlozi* or ancestors (Bizcommunity.com, 2019:1). It also is a vital part of any important community event, including weddings, funerals and *iimbizos* (Bizcommunity.com, 2019:1). Bongela’s study conducted in (2001:126) is out-dated but it still provides six important reasons that highlight the significance about the use of *umqombothi* among the *amaXhosa* namely.

- a) ***Umqombothi is used as utywala bomninimzi*** (Beer for the head of the family)

“It was a common practice in a traditional society for the house mistress, commonly known as *umnikazimzi*, to brew a small quantity of beer for her husband known as *umninimzi* or the head of the family. She would brew just enough to fill a small barrel called *ifatyi* or *uthojana*. Her husband would ask one or two friends or relatives to join him during his drinking time. If he wished he might drink it alone with his family. He regarded what his wife had done for him as a great honour or a sign of respect for him. This beer was transferred from *uthojana* into a traditional drinking can which is known as *ingcaza* or tin can *untshulantshula* or *utshevulane* which was kept under *mninimzi's* bed for easy access. This assumed the name of *uphantsi kwebhedi* (the beer under the bed)” (Bongela, 2001:126).

b) ***Umqombothi as utywala bomzi*** (Beer drink of the home)

“Beer drink of the home is a customary rite in which beer is brewed on a large scale to maintain the pleasant atmosphere of the home and to seek the blessing of the ancestors. Because it pleases the ancestors to see people milling about and spitting in the homestead (a customary habit when men smoke their pipes at a beer drink), they shower blessings on the home. In this rite no blood is spilt. The beer is drunk after an old man has explained the reason for the beer drink. As it is the custom, this beer is brewed by the females born at the homestead” (Bongela, 2001:127).

c) ***Umqombothi as utywala bemicimbi*** (Beer for social ceremonies)

“This kind of beer is brewed for social occasions such as *imigidi*, wedding parties, *intonjane* and many other big occasions. This is a collective effort of all *abendi* (bridesmaids) from the homes of relatives and friends. Because it is prepared for many people, the labour arrangement is very necessary as preparations start with the collection of fuel, pots, barrels and water. If there is no water tank, water is generally fetched from a nearby stream in buckets and dry wood is collected from the wood in bundles which are carried on the heads by women. Beer is made to fill big barrels known as *upitoli*, *umkhoba* or *umphanda*. These different names for the same containers are used in different districts such as Centane, Tsolo, Port St

Johns, Qumbu, and Butterworth in the Eastern Cape. This voluminous quantity of beer is sometimes known as *imithayi*. During drinking sessions, it is served according to wards which are under headmen or sub-headmen. In the beer drinking milieu, people from these wards are known as *izizwe* (sub-nations) by *injoli*" (Bongela, 2001:127).

d) ***Umqombothi as utywala beminyanya*** (Beer meant for appeasement of ancestors)

Umqombothi as utywala beminyanya is *umqombothi* meant to appease ancestors so that they offer blessings or fortunes on someone's life. "For an example, if a member of the family dreamt of meeting his ancestors if he knew them or if they were strange people that were unknown to the dreams would depend on what the ancestors demanded. They usually sent messages reminding the family head to brew some beer for them or to slaughter an animal on their behalf. They might not say this directly but might imply it in the message or their action. Sometimes they appeared to complain, were angry or indifferent because of a family omission pertaining to them. In that case it becomes imperative to take steps to appease them by brewing some beer on their behalf. This beer is normally brewed by *iintombi zekhaya* (women born of the home only) without *abendi* (married woman). However, during the brewing process and the drinking session, all women are required to *hlonipha* the ancestors by wearing all the *hlonipha* attire. The same ruling applies to men who also wear their bead regalia when drinking starts after a series of speeches emulating, revering, and appeasing the ancestors. Such speeches result in many requests for their benevolence. A special quantity of liquor is reserved for *imilowo* (relatives) in a container known as *untshulantshula*. This is known as *umthunzi*. This is intended to be consumed only by close relatives at the end of the occasion. The *iintsipho* (the sediment left over) during the filtering time (*xa kuhluzwa*) is finally thrown over the dry wood or elsewhere in the cattle kraal on the last day after further straining to get *ivanya* (the beer imitation) has been done. Beer for ancestors is also brewed when any member of the family decides

to offer it to them as a gracious act of appreciation to thank them for deeds they have done for him. Many people do this to ask for their favour, to secure their marriages, their jobs, their safety, and their general welfare. The belief is that if this kind of beer is brewed occasionally or on a regular basis, the general welfare of the ancestors is indeed secured” (Bongela, 2001:128).

e) ***Umqombothi as utywala bezibhembe*** (Beer for customary *mbeleko*)

“One of the well-known customs honoured after the birth of a child in an indigenous society was the *mbeleko* ritual. Here a goat (or a sheep) was slaughtered on behalf of the child. This was in essence a form of introducing the child to its ancestors. This was performed a few days or months after the child was born, but some families waited for years before this was done. Besides the meat, Xhosa beer was brewed and it was drunk on the same day the meat was eaten. When the beer was introduced to people it was referred to as *utywala bezibhembe* (beer for *mbeleko*). The word *izibhembe* was used in a different connotation to mean all food eaten by the mother of the small baby or *umdlezana*. In essence this beer was meant to thank ancestors for increasing the progeny of the family” (Bongela, 2001:129).

f) ***Umqombothi as utywala bokubuya kweenkabi emasimini*** (Beer for the return of the oxen from the lands)

“*Umqombothi* was brewed as a token of gratitude to those who helped with the reaping of mealies, sorghum, beans, pumpkins, and any other agricultural yield. Reaping was a big task which needed community assistance. The Xhosa people, being communal in nature, were always ready to help free of charge when asked to do so. They would be thanked with beer and the occasion was informal and private” (Bongela, 2001:130).

McAllister’s (1985:1221-1235) ethnographic study conducted in Willowvale, Transkei, highlights that *umqombothi* among the *amaXhosa* plays a significant role during the ritual called *umsindleko* to celebrate the labourers’ homecoming. The reason for integrating *umqombothi* is to thank ancestors and ask for their mercy and divine protection for the young man (McAllister, 1985:1221-1235). Similarly,

Redding (2007:2) is of the opinion that despite the name, beer drinks have a more complex meaning which also involves orating. “The oratory at beer drinks is principally a form of public performance to enjoy and rejoice as the rural homestead” (Redding, 2007:2). Redding (2007:2) emphasizes that beer drinks among the *amaXhosa* enable “rural people to turn assets (including cattle, grain, and money) into symbolic capital via ritual and communal activities.” Redding (2007:2) further states that “beer drinks had always been a form of hospitality, but in the altered rural context the brewing and consumption of beer became a sign of a respectable household that is part of a larger community.”

According to Holder (2020:1) years ago, before craft beer was introduced to our pubs, restaurants, and bottle stores, South Africans had been drinking a beer called *umqombothi* that has stood the tests of taste and time. “Before being made famous internationally by the South African singer Yvonne Chaka-Chaka and before craft beer became the trendy option for South Africa's beer drinkers, *umqombothi* has been drunk by African people for centuries, passed down for generations and this intoxicating brew is still made using the same recipe as was done in the past” (Holder, 2020:1). Holder (2020:1) for example has found that in Cape Town townships *umqombothi* is prepared the same way as it was years ago, “for traditional purposes such as when someone contacts their ancestors, for weddings, funerals, and traditional meetings.” In addition to this, Hobongwana-Duley (2014:100) emphasizes that the beer making (*umqombothi*) is a communal project involving several families who all provide a share of maize that they have grown themselves. The collective welcoming back of the “new men” or *amakrwala* is to bear witness and to acknowledge that they went through the rite of circumcision and are in a new stage of life as men. It is also a collective celebration (Hobongwana-Duley, 2014:100).

Silimfe (2017:29) in her research with participants recruited from four township areas, found that the ideal man was viewed as someone who did not drink either *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol heavily during the cultural ceremonies, a real man must protect his family, and a real man must lead by example and respect woman and children (Silimfe, 2017:55). On the other hand, Gabavana (2013:70) revealed in his book called *umahluko* (the difference) that, during the *umgidi* held at Mfuleni community in Khayelitsha, Cape Town two twenty litres of *umqombothi*, thirty bottles of brandy and ten cases of beer were integrated by the *ikrwala* parents as a way of bragging and impressing people who attended the ceremony, because if beer and brandy was limited or lacking on this day some people undermined the ceremony and some would even not attend it.

Ntombana (2011:94-101) emphasizes that *umqombothi* among the *amaXhosa* during the initiation ceremony is used purely as a way of communicating with ancestors. However, he found in his study conducted at Libode, Cala, Whittlesea and Mdantsane that during *umtshotsho* or socialization of the un-initiated boys, who were about to undergo the initiation ceremony, they were expected or put under pressure by the un-initiated or younger boys, to drink commercial “alcohol in public, destroy other people’s property, beat innocent people and engage in other anti-social” behaviours as a sign of saying goodbye to the old behaviours of *ubukhwenkwe* (boyhood) (Ntombana, 2011:94). The practice of *umtshotsho* was widely accepted as early as the 1960s’ among the *amaXhosa* (Van der Vliet, 1974:238 cited in Ntombana 2011:94). Ntombana (2011:95-101) further explains that *umqombothi* is used during the celebrations or events of the initiation ceremony such as *umngcamo* or *ukushwama* (a ritual performed for the soon to be initiate), *ukojiswa* (day eight of initiation process); *umgidi* or *umphumo* and *ubukrwala* differs from area to area, from town to town and from province to province how it is used by whom and when. Mtumane (2004:21) states that among the *amaXhosa* a Xhosa boy is not allowed to drink commercial alcohol even though he is allowed to sip *umqombothi* during cultural ceremonies. During the first eight

days “of the initiation ceremony initiates are not allowed to drink alcohol” because that could delay the healing process, but during *umojiso* and *umgidi* they may drink alcohol (Mtumane, 2004:33). In opposition to this, Ntombana (2011:153-154) observed “a high level of commercial alcohol abuse among *amakhwenkwe*, *abafana* (initiated and graduated men) and *amakrwala* in the Mdantsane and Whittlesea areas.” the initiates’ caregiver had a duty of informing the initiates to abstain totally from commercial alcohol use during and after the initiation ceremony, because overuse of commercial alcohol and *umqombothi* is believed to steal the dignity of a man (Mtumane, 2004:70). Contrary to this, Ntombana (2011:211) observed in Mdantsane that *amakhankatha* drank beers and brandy then smoked dagga in front of the initiates, which he emphasized was not the case during initiation in the past.

The study that was conducted by Prusente et al. (2019:09) at Ingquza Hill Local Municipality in Lusikisiki found that the force applied on *abakhwetha* to use commercial alcohol was mainly motivated by *abafana* in and after the initiation ceremony. In this study some of the *amakrwala* revealed that they were introduced to both *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol by *amakhankatha* with a belief that a traditionally initiated *ikrwala* should prove his strength of being a man by doing things such as drinking brandy and beer (Prusente et al., 2019:6-7). Prusente et al. (2019:09) further “argue that traditionally circumcised men use brandy as a way of demonstrating their manhood, to show that they are ‘real men’ compared to medically circumcised men.” To add to Prusente et al.’s findings, according to Ngidi (28 October 2019 of IOL newspaper) on the article titled “*Drunk Nomahелеle*,” and from June to December 2019 there were articles on social networks and newspapers about Nomahелеle from the Eastern Cape who was *injoli* (a leader that serves *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during *umgidi*) who overused both *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, had a blackout and was transported by his mother to their home using a wheelbarrow. This was seen by some people as a ‘cool’ thing while some argued that this was not a good way of drinking alcohol.

In the study conducted in (2014:2792) by Kheswa, Nomngcoyiya, Adonis and Ngeleka in the Eastern Cape Province a socio-cultural theory was used to “draw attention to the significance of culture and then to understand the ways in which specific features of culture affected people’s thoughts, feelings and behaviour.” This theory enabled the researchers to highlight a “few values that are synonymous with being an African such as the importance of the family, importance of the group (clan), respect of elders, fear of *uQamata*, importance of *ubuntu* (which means I am because of you), as well as a deep commitment to sustain meaningful community life through shared problems and sorrows” (Kheswa et al., 2014:2792). This theory was applied successfully in their study because their research findings showed that “all the research participants highlighted the issue of participating in traditional activities as one of the turning points of being circumcised traditionally in the sense that they were now expected as men, to take part in activities such as attending *imigidi*, having the authority to attend funerals and they should always portray self-respect such as not drinking heavily or being seen drunk in public areas as newly graduated initiates” (Kheswa et al., 2014:2793; Gwata, 2009:15). In addition to this *amakrwala* in the future would “also be expected to conduct such activities as part of preserving their culture and tradition” (Kheswa et al., 2014:2793). Similarly, to Kheswa et al.’s (2014) study this theory is projected to assist the research participants of this study to share the similar or different views on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies of the *amaXhosa* ethnic group.

This section highlighted the studies that focused on the cultural use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol among the *amaXhosa*. The studies cited in this section explained that *umqombothi* was “a significant part of most social, cultural, and religious ceremonies” among the *amaXhosa*. The studies have also shown that more than just being a beer *umqombothi* is used as a way of celebrating the return

of younger generations after initiation ceremonies and it plays a central role in contacting the ancestors.

This section has shown similar findings to those of the previous section, namely that the initiation ceremony transformed some *amakrwala*'s mind-set in a positive manner. For example, one initiation graduate, in the literature reviewed, revealed that before he went to the initiation ceremony, he drank both *umqombothi*, brandy and beer but he learnt there that alcohol was not good for a real man, thus he decided to stop drinking alcohol after he returned from the initiation ceremony. Based on the literature reviewed in this section there are no provincially or locally conducted studies on the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, thus this study aims to address this gap.

2.7. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided an overview of the relevant theoretical framework; a socio-cultural theory was used to set the scene to conceptualize the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies. Scholars such as Pathan et al. (2018) and Scott and Palincsar (2014) emphasized that a “socio-cultural theory has had a great effect on the adolescents learning” about their cultural influence to drink traditional and commercial alcohol even though socio-cultural theory was criticized by scholars such as Cobb and Yackel (1996) who stated that “one of the most frequently criticized facets of Vygotsky’s theory was its model of internalization.” Cobb and Yackel (1996) suggested “an alternative model called the participation model of cultural development, which appears to be useful in overcoming dualisms, such as the society and the individual.” The Theory of Rites of Passage, its “three stages namely the Separation stage, the Transition stage and the Incorporation stage, and critiques of the theory” were discussed in this chapter. The key concepts, processes, underlying assumptions, and principles of a socio-cultural theory such as culture, acculturation, socialization, and indigenous knowledge systems were

integrated interchangeably with the literature review in all sub-sections to set the scene supported by the findings of the literature review.

The chapter then discussed the reviewed literature on the use of alcohol in an international context, the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies in an African context, the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies on South African context and on the use of alcohol during cultural ceremonies among the *amaXhosa*. It became clear that several studies cited showed that the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies and other cultural ceremonies differed from country to country, region to region and from area to area. There seemed to be a shift from young men in favouring *umqombothi* to commercial alcohol use because they felt that *umqombothi* was outdated or out of fashion. However, they still drank *umqombothi* during important cultural ceremonies such as the unveiling, *imbeleko*, *intonjane* and initiation ceremonies. A few studies were also cited where the *amakrwala* viewed the use of *umqombothi* and brandy as a significant ingredient during the initiation ceremonies. Most of them showed that *umqombothi* played a significant role during the initiation ceremonies as “a way of communicating with ancestors.” In addition to this some studies revealed that during the *ubukrwala* period the *amakrwala*’s new status was emphasized. The responsibilities which they had to undertake and behaviour expected of them towards other people were emphasized. However, the opinion of the *amakrwala* to view the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies was lacking in the above-cited studies. This facilitated the way for this study to address this gap. The chapter below focuses on the application of research methodology in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter focused on the theoretical framework and literature review to contextualize the study. This chapter highlights the research approach and design that was applied in answering the research question and report the aims and objectives of this study. It further clarifies the participant's recruitment steps undertaken, data collection as well as methods of analysis employed. The strategies used in ensuring trustworthiness; the ethics considered and dissemination of the findings are also discussed later in this chapter. The choice of the chosen approach has been explained and place into context in Chapter One and the manner to which the selected methods assisted to achieve the aim of the study that helped to answer the research question have been delineated.

3.1. Research Methodology

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delport (2011:89) "research methodology involves a number of steps that are important for a researcher to undertake during the research process." De Vos et al. (2011:89) further explains that methodology stresses the significance of ascertaining an exact problem after the researcher has chosen the research topic. In essence, after identifying the research topic it is crucial for a researcher to formulate a research question, goals, and objectives. The researcher further needs to "be clear about how and why a particular design and data collection method will assist in addressing research questions rather than the other methods" (De Vos et al., 2011:89).

3.1.1. Research approach

Berg (2001:3), refers to the qualitative research as the concepts, qualitative research refers to the concepts, interpretations and descriptions of things. Denzin and Lincoln (2008:4) add that "qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world." In other words, it comprises up of a true-to-life approach to the world. In principle, qualitative research studies explore the phenomena and

environment in their natural state and then interpret how people attach senses to their lived experiences. The study employed a qualitative research approach, aiming to generate a thorough knowledge from the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during initiation ceremonies.

In support of the latter, De Vos et al. (2011:64) denote that “qualitative research is used to answer questions about the multi-faceted nature of a phenomenon, with the aim of understanding the phenomenon from the participant’s perspective.” Denzin & Lincoln (2008:11) and Creswell (2003:182), remind us that the domain of qualitative research is the world of lived experiences, where individuals interact with their environment. Employing qualitative research enabled the researcher to achieve the aim of the research in this study. Furthermore, the researcher captured *amakrwala’s* views of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during initiation ceremonies in their community context; interviews were conducted telephonically due to COVID-19 pandemic regulations which did not allow social contact.

Literature suggests that researchers in qualitative research “seek to answer questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning” (De Vos et al., 2011:64; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:4). The question of the research addressed in the study was, “What are the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during initiation ceremonies?” Moreover, the focus of the study was impeded by the shortage of literature exploring the phenomenon under study as the topic is relatively new and of a sensitive nature and needed thorough care and vigilance when research was conducted. Therefore, “qualitative research was deemed suitable as it allowed the researcher to explore new, complex topics to gain an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon within its context” (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011:10). The characteristics of qualitative research informed the selection of this approach.

According to Fortune and Reid (1999:94 cited in De Vos et al., 2011:74), characteristics of qualitative study include:

- The first-hand holistic understanding of the phenomenon gained by the researcher.
- Using semi-structured and unstructured interviews and observations as methods of gathering detailed data of how people live and conceptualize their social world.
- Adjustment of data gathered is based on the research.
- Qualitative methodology relies on the hypothesis that a concrete understanding may be obtained via the gathered knowledge acquired first-hand by a single researcher.

The interpretivist research paradigm was applicable in this study as it is based on “how people perceive, understand, experience, and relate to others in their world” (Thomas, 2009:75). This paradigm enabled the achievement of the study’s goal as is evident in the findings chapter.

3.1.2. Research design

De Vos et al. (2011:142) explains that research design refers to the steps involved in planning a research project. Babbie (2007:112 cited in De Vos et al., 2011:142) extends this definition and postulates that “a research design involves a set of decisions regarding what topic is to be studied, among which population and what research methods are going to be used to collect and analyse data, and lastly how all of this is going to answer the research question.”

The exploratory-describing and contextual research design was used in the study to allow the researcher to explore and listen to the stories and views of integrating alcohol during the initiation ceremony from *amakwala* who had undergone this ceremony in the context of the *amaXhosa* culture. Consistent with the research aim and question De Vos et al. (2011:95) attest that “explorative research seeks to gain an in-depth understanding of a situation, phenomenon or individual.” This

type of research only arises due to a lack of information on the phenomenon researched.

When considering the statement of the problem and importance of the study due to the lack of literature on the research focus, an explorative study was deemed as suitable design in answering the research question and objectives. Rubin and Babbie (1997:108) concur with Creswell (2009:18) that explorative research includes the investigation of unstudied topic, as well as refining techniques used. The current study was centred on explorative research since less research exists on the topic of the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and use of commercial alcohol during initiation ceremonies. Therefore, with limited literature available investigating the question of the research which was on what are the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, explorative design served as a foundation and a steppingstone into understanding the phenomenon of the meaning of alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

All interview questions were explorative in nature and were phrased in such a manner that allowed the exploration of participants' understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Probing and follow-up set of questions was organized in a manner that, they were explorative in nature. Simultaneously, describing design was employed describing the topic under exploration, in accord with the following research objectives of the study;

- To explore and describe the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies.
- To explore and describe the *amakrwala's* views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies.

- Exploring and describing the views of *amakrwala* on *amaXhosa* male behaviours that are associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.
- To explore and describe the suggestions or recommendations from *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during the initiation ceremony.

Descriptive research focuses on addressing 'how' queries (De Vos et al., 2011:96). The use of descriptive design in the study has allowed a wide examination and detailed description of the problem, which has led to thick descriptions during the data analysis phase. Contextual studies are aimed to understand of a topic within the how participants' view particular topic within their context. Formerly stated, qualitative researchers, study people in their own natural settings, in an effort to make sense and interpret gist that individuals associate to their lived experiences. Contextual design echoes with the theoretical framework of the study, which emphasizes "that a person's cognitive development is largely influenced by their surrounding culture" (Lantolf, 2000:27). Kang'ethe and Nomngcoyiya (2014:461) in Chapter One expounded that this theoretical framework is also deeply rooted in the principle that, in terms of the indigenous knowledge systems, people are the organic intellectuals or experts of their culture. In this study, *amakrwala* served as the experts of *amaXhosa* culture.

The study was contextual in a sense that it studied the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies in a context of *amaXhosa* culture in a semi-urban setting. *Amakrwala* reflected on their experiences of *imigidi* which occur as part of initiation ceremonies. This in turn revealed their views on how *abakhuluwa* behave in the light-house – *endlini yesibane* in the context of a semi-urban setting. Putting emphasis on the significance of contextual studies Heninnk et al. (2011:9) "maintain that qualitative researchers study people in their environment to identify how their experiences

and behaviours are influenced by the context of their lives, such as social, economic, cultural and physical contexts in which they live.” Similarly, Creswell (1994:62) noted that contextual design encompasses situating the study within its immediate environment. The theoretical framework and contextual design complemented each other and contributed towards achieving the aim of the research.

3.2. Participant recruitment, population, and sampling

The participant recruitment process comprises of two strategies: firstly defining a suitable study population and secondly involves identifying the plan to recruit participants from the study population, hereafter referred to as a sample (Hennink et al., 2011:84). While “research population refers to a total set from which the individuals or units of the study are being chosen, it sets boundaries on the study units and it refers to individuals in a group who possess specific characteristics that a researcher is interested to study” (De Vos et al., 2011:223; Matthews & Ross, 2010:154).

The population for the study were all *amaXhosa* male initiation graduates - *amakwala* who had recently undergone the initiation ceremony at Thembaletu in George, Western Cape Province, South Africa. Ritchie and Lewis, (2003:78) explains that “qualitative research uses non-probability samples for selecting the population to be studied.” Ritchie and Lewis (2003:78) further elaborate that, “in a non-probability sample, units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of or groups within the sampled population.” Research participants who met the criteria were intentionally selected for their experience with the phenomenon under study described in the criteria for inclusion. They were chosen for a specific purpose, namely having an opinion of *umqombothi* and using commercial alcohol during *ulwaluko*.

It was not possible to work with all the inhabitants of the whole George’s population, therefore sampling was selected from the larger group, in accordance with participant recruitment method. Sample as a term means, “a group of subjects

selected from a larger group” (Phoofolo, 2008:42). In an effort to answer the research question and achieve the objectives, a purposive sample was selected as the most suitable technique for the research. De Vos et al. (2005:330) explains that “purposive criterion-based sampling is mostly used in qualitative research for in-depth studies,” “with the focus on exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions” (Matthews & Ross, 2010:154). The current study’s participants were selected for their understanding and knowledge of the topic under study. Thus, participants were *amakrwala* who underwent the initiation ceremonies as indicated briefly above. The researcher used his judgement in selecting research participants, keeping in mind the criteria for inclusion and selected participants “based on their age and knowledge about the phenomenon in question” (Parahoo, 1997:232 cited in De Langen, 2005:59). The sample included:

- Xhosa males living in George.
- From the ages of 18 to 24 years.
- Underwent the initiation ceremony between June 2017 and December 2018.
- Able to speak isiXhosa or English fluently, but interviews were conducted in their language of preference, and English was not essential.
- Show willingness to take part in the research study.
- Had access to a cell phone with *WhatsApp*.
- Dedicated 30 minutes to 50 minutes at a time of their choice, in a quiet space of their choosing where there were no disturbances during the interview.
- Participants who unmeet all the above-mentioned criteria for inclusion were excepted from the study.

The research aimed to generate a thorough knowledge from the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, as well as to generate participant-centred recommendations on sustainable ways to address the research problem, that is why the researcher

sampled the participants purposefully. This sample assisted in achieving the aim of the study. Creswell (2003:185) states a notion of qualitative research as intentionally to choose suitable research participants who will assist the researcher answer the research question. Hence the choice of purposive sampling, which does not diverge from the ideas brought forward by Creswell (2003). Due to a lack of empirical research on the phenomenon under study, by recruiting sixteen participants, it was hoped that the researcher would reach data saturation, a “point where all themes and categories have been saturated and no new data could be generated” (Maree, 2016:83). According to Maree (2016:83), data saturation in qualitative research is crucial as it is a key to excellence. This research reached data saturation during the process of data collection as participants shared similar views during interviews and hence themes were grouped in accordance with similarities and reappearance.

3.3. Entry to research site

Locating a site is one of the activities suggested by Creswell (1998:118), as a significant step in the process of gathering data. For this study, the research site was the Thembalethu community, George, Western Cape. In locating a site and research participants, Creswell (1998:118) emphasises the most important part is that the research participants on-site must have experienced the phenomenon being explored, in line with the choice of the sampling method. To secure permission to approach the gatekeepers to the site of the research the researcher submitted the research proposal for approval to the Nelson Mandela University committees namely, the Department of Social Development Professions’ research committee (DRTI), the Faculty’s Post Graduate Studies Committee (FPGSC) and the Research Ethics Committee (REC-H). According to De Vos et al. (2011:113) “research should be based on mutual trust, acceptance, cooperation, and well-accepted agreements and expectations between all parties involved in the research project.” In assuring the success of the research project, upon authorization of the proposal by the abovementioned committees, the researcher

through the gatekeepers' assistance identified potential research participants and forms of giving consent were sent to them for perusal before the study commenced.

3.4. Preparation of the participants for data collection

After receiving ethical clearance from the NMU REC-H ethics committee, with ethics clearance reference number H20-HEA-SDP-004 and permission to conduct research on the site in August 2020, early in 2019 before the COVID-19 pandemic started, the researcher visited two ward councillors in their homes and briefed them about the study. They gave him their contact details and agreed to assist in participants' recruitment once the study was approved. In the last paragraph of this section, it is explained how the ward councillors assisted in the participants' recruitment. Initially, it was suggested by two ward councillors of Thembaletu that they would invite the researcher to briefly present his study overview to the prospective participants when they had *iimbizo* or community meetings with young males. However, since social or public gatherings were prohibited, it was impossible to attend *iimbizo* and it was not known when the COVID-19 pandemic would be over.

This situation compelled the researcher to try alternative ways of recruiting research participants. One of those recruitment strategies was telephonic audio-recorded interviews which took place after the following steps were adhered to by the researcher. The researcher firstly informed two Thembaletu ward councillors via *WhatsApp* or telephonic calls and emails that since everything had ceased during lockdown, meaning that no public or social gatherings could take place; he would have to use a telephone to recruit and interview research participants. This meant that the strategy that was now going to be used was a snowball referral sampling. The researcher emailed the letter to ward councillors, the gatekeepers, to show them respect to them and for their record-keeping purposes. The ward councillors' role was to identify any Xhosa male who qualified for the sampling criteria and brief the prospective participant about the researcher's study.

If that participant was willing to participate, the ward councillor would then ask permission to give his, the prospective participant's, phone number to the researcher. The researcher provided the ward councillors with an airtime or data voucher to cover the costs of their calls to the prospective participants and the researcher. The researcher then phoned the prospective participants and again explained the study's purpose, the risks and benefits, ethical considerations, consent forms for audio-recording and that a telephonic interview would be conducted once the prospective interviewee agreed to participate in the study.

Before the interviews commenced, a *WhatsApp* or SMS message in *isiXhosa* was sent to each participant by the researcher, summarizing the focus of the study; the message also contained the form that would grant the researcher permission to record and transcribe the interviews, the consent form and the telephonic interview schedule containing data collection questions. For the content of these forms please see Appendix 2, Appendix 3, Appendix 4 and Appendix 5 as attached in this research report.

The *WhatsApp* messages emphasized that the study's objective was not to explore participants' views, thoughts and experiences about the initiation process itself, but that the researcher was purely interested to learn their views on the use of alcohol during initiation ceremonies. The message also explained that after the interview was completed the researcher would ask the participant to refer him to other young men that they knew who also met the inclusion criteria and gave them his *WhatsApp* number or gave the researcher their phone numbers after the participant had briefed them about this study.

Ward councillors were able to recruit eight participants in July – August 2020 but out of the eight only two participants fulfilled their promise to keep telephonic appointments. This resulted in the researcher having to request further assistance from ward councillors to recruit other interested participants for the study; this took three weeks in September – October 2020 to reach participants via snowball

referral. Out of sixteen interviews, eleven participants who fulfilled their promise were briefed by their *saluka's* – similar graduates so that they then felt comfortable to take part in the study. The researcher made aware these *saluka's* that they only need to brief potential participants about the study but they should not force, persuade or coerce them to take part in the study. Research interviews mostly took place over weekends and evenings as these times suited participants.

3.5. Data collection methods

Due to the nature of the research design and the purpose of the study, interviews were deemed beneficial in answering the research question and achieving the overall goal of the research. Therefore, telephonic interviews were utilised as a data collection method. An interview can be “defined as a social relationship designed to exchange interaction between the participant and the researcher” (De Vos et al., 2011:334). The process of data collection in qualitative research suggests that the researcher must first establish a solid rapport with research participants before interviews can commence. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic regulations the researcher was not able to build rapport on a face-to-face basis with participants but tried to establish rapport with them via the initial briefing telephonic calls and later at the beginning of the interviews.

Participants who were referred via the snowball form seemed to trust the researcher because their co-initiates briefed them about the content of the questions asked during the interviews. They also felt comfortable to share during the interviews because the researcher mentioned during the briefing telephonic calls that he had gone through the initiation process himself as a Xhosa male. The participants knew the researcher indirectly through literature and reading clubs that he always encouraged in the community. The exposure of the researcher on SABC 1 TV news on the 30th September 2020 where he mentioned in the interview that he was currently busy doing research on the preservation of the isiXhosa cultural heritage through the book of *amasiko* – rituals that he published in 2021, also motivated participants to trust him; therefore they participated in the study willingly.

De Vos et al. (2011:113) noted that “research should be based on mutual trust, acceptance, cooperation, and well-accepted conventions and expectations between all parties involved in the research project.” As explained above it was easy to build trust with the interviewees as the focus of the study had been explained during the participants’ briefing telephonic calls.

As mentioned previously the researcher sent the interview guide in advance with a sample of the questions that participants could expect during the interviews via *WhatsApp*. Even those who were hesitant to participate in the study felt at ease after they saw the guide that was applied by the researcher during the interviews. After the non-threatening questions, “open-ended questions were asked, followed by probing questions and eventually key questions which provided a guide to the nature and direction of the conversation” (Maree, 2016:93). A reflective essay written by the researcher on his thoughts, experiences, feelings, and belief systems about the topic before commencement of the data collection process also helped to avoid researcher bias, subjectivity, and interjection to impose his views during the interviews. A dry run interview with a friend and a pilot study followed by pre- and post-supervision reports helped to minimise the level of researcher bias. On ending of each participant interview, the researcher closed the interview by summarizing and reflecting all content discussed in the interview, clarified any concerns and questions arising from the interview, then thanked the participant and adjourned the interview.

Interviews were conducted in the form of one-on-one, semi-structured telephonic interviews because the researcher's aim was to gain in-depth understanding from the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. Literature reminds us that, semi-structured interviews are a type of interview that a researcher uses to draw in-depth information in order to achieve an understanding of the participant's point of view or situation. By using semi-structured telephonic interviews, the researcher had the opportunity to elicit in-depth raw data and was also able to ask probing

questions during interviews as a form of seeking clarity. This process helped in producing rich data and thoughtful informative research themes, sub-themes, and categories. In addition, participants were able to share their own experiences and the meaning they attached to those experiences.

Advantages of doing telephonic interviews to generate data in this instance were that this method helped in avoiding any COVID-19 related risks that could have occurred in the case of face-to-face interviews. Participants felt comfortable to share their views or stories via cell phones since they were alone in their rooms, and no one knew that they were participating in the study. Telephonic interviews also saved time for the research participants as instead of walking to the interview venue which was going to be the case during face-to-face interviews. The limitations of telephonic interviews were the high cost of purchasing airtime, and poor and interrupted connection with some participants even though the researcher heard all the content of the interview. Another limitation was the soft voices of some participants which were difficult to transcribe. The researcher managed these limitations by staying calm and giving participants enough time to reflect on their views and experiences of alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies. The researcher also addressed the challenge of long calls that used a lot of airtime by buying all-network MTN voice bundles at a cheaper price and that lasted longer.

To ensure the viability and effectiveness of data collected via telephone the researcher downloaded the *Automatic Call Recorder App* from Google Play store to use simultaneously with a laptop audio-recorder as a back-up to store data. This App was secured in a manner that the recording after being transcribed was not stored on the app or not being accessed by anyone to maintain confidentiality or limit access to data. After the *App* had recorded the calls, the interviews together with transcripts and reflection reports on each interview were sent only to the research supervisors via email for verification and storage purposes. Recorded interviews were then deleted from the researcher's cell phone to ensure that no

one else could access them. The researcher through one-on-one semi-structured telephonic interviews was able to gain rich data (De Vos et al., 2011:360). Notable is that fifty percent of research participants did not dwell more or in depth when probed on question two, “*let us now focus on the initiation ceremony, are there any celebrations, stages, phases or occasions that occur to prepare you for this ceremony that you can mention to me? If yes which are they?*” On question one, “*if you can remember during the time of your upbringing up to your age now, in which cultural ceremonies or amaXhosa traditional celebrations you still remember where umqombothi and commercial or Western alcohol is used?*” Most participants, especially those who were between the ages eighteen to twenty years old, struggled to remember or did not know other amaXhosa cultural ceremonies where umqombothi and commercial alcohol was used, except the common ceremony – *umgidi* and *imbeleko* that they all knew. Firstly, this might be caused by the mere fact that in semi-urban settings *imicimbi* is not a common occurrence. Secondly, most families in the researcher’s opinion and observation preferred to do *imicimbi* in the Eastern Cape where their roots and their forefathers’ graves were. Some participants felt strongly after they reflected on their initiation journeys especially during *umgidi* that *abakhuluwa* – initiation graduates sometimes punished or threatened them with *iimfundiso* – teachings that did not agree with ‘a real man’ – *indoda yoqobo*; which would not be the case if *ukuyalwa* – giving words of inspiration was done by *amaxhego* – elders. All interviews were audio recorded, research participants were made aware of audio recordings during the agreement and consent process and were further reminded before the interview commenced. Before the interviews commenced, a *WhatsApp* or SMS message in *isiXhosa* that explained the consent forms was sent to the participants and the participants verbally accepted the content contained in a consent forms and stated, “*I know the rules and I agree to participate in the study.*”

3.5.1. Research tool

Matthews and Ross (2010:181) define a research tool as something used to collect data, for example a guiding set of questions for the interview. Therefore, in the context of the research an interview guide was used, as suggested by Matthews and Ross (2010:181) elaborated above. "Semi-structured telephonic interviews that follow an interview guide, with predetermined questions allow flexibility for participants, and foster an environment conducive for one to be able to talk about research in their own way" (Matthews & Ross, 2010:183). The predetermined questions assisted as a guide for the interview process, and the researcher had predetermined questions which stirred an open chat between the researcher and participant. An interview protocol was used in this instance as a research tool, which contained flexible key questions to provide direction of the interview. All interviews were conversational in a form of storytelling as shown in the transcript of participant number two attached in this report as Appendix 8. This phase of data collection was thus taken as more of a conversation with a purpose, in which follow-up questions were asked after the key questions. This allowed a free flow of the conversation and was not intimidating to the participants. In fact, it actually put them at ease. Hennink et al. (2011:117) articulated clearly that formulating research questions enclosed in the interview guide should reflect the concepts embedded in the conceptual theoretical framework and research questions as well as the research aim. Moreover, there must be consistency between the interview questions and research goal and objectives, as research questions are informed by the goal and objectives. Therefore, all questions contained in the interview guide were formulated to achieve the overall goal and objectives of the study. Motivational probes were used in the process as well to encourage the research participants and to show that the researcher was listening attentively, such as "hmm" "okay" and "yha". Participants were all comfortable in expressing themselves in their home language – isiXhosa - even though sometimes they mixed it with English.

The researcher's interviewing skills helped during the data collection process as he attended various workshops that prepared post-graduate students for conducting successful interviews. The researcher's interview skills gave him an advantage in eliciting rich data from participants.

In summary, research interviews were more of a chat with a meaning, where the researcher and participants extensively explored and engaged on the topic. Employing the semi-structured telephonic interview guide, the researcher was able to afford participants an opportunity to tell and reflect about their own experiences as they experienced the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, and the meaning they attached to those experiences.

3.6. Pilot study

A pilot study is undertaken before the commencement of any research study. As articulated in Chapter One, the pilot study was conducted to ensure that the proposed research methods on the research proposal were adequate, appropriate, and feasible before beginning the larger study (De Vos et al., 2011:237). A pilot study is used to identify likely problems with the chosen research design. It further warns the researcher of the value of research questions in achieving the goal of the research and in addressing the overall research question. After a dry run telephonic interview with a male friend using the same questions as would be used for the research, reflections were made and during the supervision to prepare for the pilot study the researcher rewrote the interview questions based on the supervisors' recommendations. One participant was then interviewed using the developed semi-structured telephonic interview guide. The interview was audio recorded, transcribed and the transcript was shared with the research supervisors, who then reflected on the relevance of the interview questions and the process followed. Feedback provided the researcher with recommendations on what could be improved. Important points were identified that could enhance the interviews, such as to ask more probing questions and phrase questions in a more straightforward neutral and non-leading way; as well as reflecting and summarizing

at the end of the interview to ask the research participant to add any comments that he might have. This helped because the participant advised that the part that probes about *umojiso* might be a threat to other participants; possibly some of them would not feel comfortable to talk about *umojiso* as one of the phases they passed through during their initiation process.

The researcher then had to rephrase the way this question was asked to, "*Can you please remember the phases, stages or celebrations that occurred during your initiation ceremonies, where and how alcohol was used?*" After receiving approval from supervisors, the researcher continued with the data collection with amendments to the telephonic interview schedule keeping in mind the suggestions. Data collected in the pilot study showed that research questions were clearly understood by the participant and the researcher was able to elicit in-depth information which answered the research question.

3.7. Data analysis

According to Creswell (2009:184), "qualitative data analysis refers to an on-going process which involves a continual reflection about the data, asking analytic questions, and writing memos throughout the study." Furthermore, "qualitative data analysis is conducted simultaneously with gathering and interpreting data and writing reports" (Creswell, 2009:184). For example, while interviews were being conducted, the researcher did not wait to complete all sixteen participants' interviews but started transcribing, analysing, and writing reflection reports from the interviews collected earlier. The researcher began to write memos that might "ultimately be included as a narrative in the final report, and then organized the structure of the final report. Data analysis involves collecting open-ended data, based on asking general questions and developing an analysis from the information supplied by participants" (Creswell, 2009:184).

Elucidated under the data collection section, the audiorecorded interviews were transliterated in preparation for data analysis. These transcripts contained everything that was said in the interview and captured participants' observable

emotions relating to the issue under discussion (Hennink et al., 2011:211), and all transcripts were written in isiXhosa with the English translation written in italics. Identifiers were removed from the transcripts to ensure anonymity. Data was then arranged and labelled with terms according to the actual language of the participants and in relation to the research objectives and questions. The data was further clustered in groups identifying similar topics and merged to identify major themes - most frequent and less frequent themes as well as sub-themes.

3.7.1. Data analysis report

There was a parallel process of data analysis by the researcher and the independent coder as discussed in the sub-sections below. In the sub-section below is the researcher's data analysis report or steps followed to arrive at final themes, sub-themes, and categories.

3.7.1.1. The researcher's data analysis report

In the process of coding and analysing data, the researcher compiled a list of emergent topics and key concepts relevant to the research; the themes, and data which belonged to the same category were grouped together to get an overall picture of what results the data would yield. The developed themes, sub-themes, and categories were then recorded in a table format and further interpreted through discussion in writing, with reference to relevant literature. In the current study, the researcher analysed data using the descriptive analysis method guided by the eight steps suggested by Tesch (1990:142-145 cited in Creswell, 2009:186), discussed in the details below. Descriptive analysis allowed a wide examination and thorough depiction of the findings, which led to thick descriptions during the data analysis phase. The researcher also attended workshops on the cycles of coding and data analysis which guided the application of the following steps:

- **Step one** - the researcher repeatedly read all the transcripts in order to understand what transpired during data collection.

- **Step two** - an interview with the richest information was then chosen in an attempt to conclude the core of the interview. This interview served as a baseline during the whole process of data analysis.
- **Step three** - emerging themes were listed, in accordance with their prevalence, as well as the sub-themes and categories. Furthermore, themes and sub-themes were grouped according to their similarity and arranged in a table, then categorised as themes, sub-themes, and categories.
- **Step four** - the researcher then coded all transcripts by making notes in the page margins, and colour coding was used to control and determine whether new themes and categories would emerge.
- **Step five** - due to the high volume of categories and codes arosed in the process of data collection, codes and categories were merged to create a broad theme, which would reflect all identified categories.
- **Step six** - the researcher decided on the abbreviations used in the categories identified and arranged them in alphabetical manner as codes.
- **Step seven** - data fitting to each category was then gathered together, thereafter primary analysis took place.
- **Step eight** - qualitative data analysis is not linear, therefore the researcher had to make amendments where necessary, and then recode certain parts of the emergent themes to ensure that everything was captured accurately.

In the sub-section below is the independent coder's data analysis report or steps followed to arrive at final themes, sub-themes, and categories.

3.7.1.2. Independent coder's data analysis report

Below are the steps taken by the independent coder to generate the final themes, sub-themes, and categories, which were merged with the researchers' analysed data and coding during a consensus discussion on the final list of themes. The final table for tabulated merged themes is shown in Chapter Four's Table 2: Presentation of themes, sub-themes, and categories.

a) Data analysis methodology

In determining the themes, the independent coder performed the data analysis exercise by means of three successive cycles as described below.

b) First cycle of coding

In the first cycle, the coder read through the data and selected a sample of interviews that appeared more informative than the rest. The data set was then reduced by breaking it down into smaller manageable units, to which assigned labels, known as codes, were applied (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011; Thomas, 2006).

c) Second cycle of coding

The second coding cycle involved searching for patterns that emerged from codes identified in the first cycle. Here, the coder observed all types of contradictions and tensions that emanated from the data.

d) Third cycle of coding

On completion of the second cycle, the coder identified the narrative arising from main overarching topics, which are known as themes. From these the coder performed axial coding which refers to creating clusters of similarly coded data relating to categories and sub-categories.

3.7.1.3. Coding results

Results for themes, sub-themes, and categories are tabulated and discussed in detail in Chapter Four. In summary, the researcher engaged with the data from the data collection phase throughout to storing and sorting the data; it was then further cleaned in preparation for rigorous analysis. Hennink et al. (2011:205), suggest that data analysis refers to “a process in which the researcher thoroughly engages with the gathered research data and interprets the experiences of participants.” Collated data was interpreted in accordance with the meanings participants attached to it, and available literature relating to it. Lessons and recommendations were drawn from the data, as captured in the conclusions and recommendations in Chapter Five of this report.

3.8. Data verification to ensure trustworthiness

Data verification is used to ensure trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry. Morse, Barnett, Mayan, Olson, and Spiers (2002:9), agreeably explain that, “verification is the method of checking, confirming, making sure, and being certain.” Furthermore, “in qualitative research, verification refers to the instruments used during the process of research to incrementally contribute to ensuring reliability and validity and, thus, the rigor of a study” (Morse et al., 2002:9). These writers further suggest that data is intentional, analytically checked, the focus is emphasised and sustained, and the “accuracy of data and the conceptual work of analysis and interpretation are vigorously monitored and confirmed continuously” (Morse et al., 2002:9). Pertinent to ensuring trustworthiness, as suggested by Morse et al. (2002:9) above and Matthews and Ross (2010:75), “social researchers must apply certain standards and criteria to the data itself; the way it is collected, analysed, and presented.” The methodology applied in this study, with special reference to the method of data analysis, meets Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) criteria. Therefore, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) model was utilized, in which four standards to be considered such as credibility, transferability; dependability; and conformability were proposed as standards for verifying the credibility and trustworthiness within qualitative research (De Vos et al., 2011:120; Maree, 2007:80; Shenton, 2004:30). Related to “ensuring trustworthiness, credible researchers find relevance in commending Guba's model” (Shenton, 2004:30). It is for this reason that Lincoln and Guba's (1985) ideas are central to the data verification of this study. For social research to be considered trustworthy there needs to be evidence of credibility, dependability, and conformability in the research procedures.

3.8.1. Credibility

Krefting (1991:214) indicates that “credibility seeks to check how confident the researcher is with the truth of the findings based on the research design, participants, and the context within which the study is conducted.” The researcher employed various strategies to ensure that the findings were a true image of the

participants' experiences. These strategies included member checking by reflecting on content, paraphrasing, checking with participants in the process of data collection and summarizing at the end of the interview; as well as ensuring that the researcher had understood the participants correctly ensuring that everything was captured accurately, as suggested by Creswell and Miller (2000:127). Another strategy was a peer-review which involved the research supervisors checking and reading through transcriptions and the researcher's analysis as well as enquiring the analyses and theories drawn by the researcher. This was done during supervision and consultation times to ensure that the researcher had bracketed all biases that might exist. This also occurred during the reflective essay writing stage on the researchers' journey and thoughts about the initiation ceremonies.

3.8.2. Confirmability

Specific plans that were employed to ensure confirmability included the use of an independent coder, reflexivity as well as triangulation of information, to check and establish reliability in the study. This was done through peer-review as well as analysing the research question and data generated from research participants, ensuring that findings were a true reflection of the participants' views (Shenton, 2004:30).

3.8.3. Transferability

The research processes that were conducted and methods followed have been clearly described in detail in this chapter. The criteria for inclusion and geographic boundaries of the sample as well as the sampling method were clearly elucidated. This strengthened transferability of the research. The thick descriptions provided during data analysis and compiling the report have further strengthened the transferability of the research study, and findings to other similar contexts. A thick depiction of the results with supporting direct quotations from the participants has been provided as a measure to increase transferability as suggested by Myburgh and Poggenpoel (2007:65). However, it must be understood that findings cannot

be generalised from one context to another even though it can only be understood within the context that the research was conducted.

3.8.4. Dependability

In ensuring dependability independent coder was used to independently code the data, and thereafter comparisons and cross referencing were undertaken to check for any similarities and the extent to which external analysis and coding were consistent with that of the researcher. This process showed that there was consensus and agreement between the researcher and the independent coder (Shenton, 2004:30).

3.9. Ethical considerations

“The term ethics implies preferences that influence behaviour in human relations, conforming to a code of principles, the rules of conduct, the responsibility of the researcher and the standards of conduct of a given profession” (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:140 cited in De Vos et al., 2011:114; Babbie, 2007:62). De Vos et al. (2011:114) explain “ethics is a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group, is widely accepted, and which offers rules and behavioural expectations about the correct conduct towards participants.” Miller and Brewer (2003:95), however, state that “ethics in social research are about creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are willing to respond honestly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive.” Therefore, in ensuring mutual agreement between all parties involved in the study and that the research was based on integrity, the researcher was guided by some principles stipulated in the Belmont Report (1979:4-13) and by some stated in De Vos et al. (2011:114-130), as well as Matthews and Ross (2010:71-85). These include but are not limited to the following ethics.

3.9.1. Respect for persons

The researcher has shown respect towards participants by acknowledging and protecting their autonomy during the interviews. “Respect for persons requires that

subjects, to the degree that they are capable, be given the opportunity to choose what shall or shall not happen to them. This opportunity is provided when adequate standards for informed consent are satisfied” (Grinnell & Unrau, 2008:37 cited in De Vos et al. 2011:117; Belmont Report, 1979:7). In accordance with the Nelson Mandela University's Research Ethics Committee – REC-H, an ethics clearance form was submitted to the research committee after the research proposal had been accepted by the Department as well as the Faculty. Ethics clearance was granted to the researcher and thereafter the researcher gained permission from the ward councillors to conduct the study. As respect for persons entails that the research participants are given an opportunity to choose what should and should not happen to them, the researcher has shown great respect towards participants and has acknowledged their autonomy and freedom of withdrawing at any time during the interviews. No participants withdrew during this study.

3.9.2. Violation of privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality

Researchers are “obliged to protect the participants’ rights to privacy and assure them of confidentiality” (De Vos et al., 2011:118). To uphold this principle, the researcher deleted all identifying details which might reveal the names of those participating in the study therefore they remained unknown. Interviews were conducted telephonically in a private and conducive environment, which participants agreed to. The value was further clearly explained to the participants before they could proceed with the interviews with the researcher. The researcher will store one copy of data in a password protected computer file for five years to adhere to standard research protocol should data verification be needed. Pseudonyms have been used when reporting data or research findings. Interview recordings were assigned code names to ensure anonymity, such as P1 or P16 when writing Chapter Four of the current study.

3.9.3. Avoidance of harm

Research participants can possibly be harmed in a study. They can be physically or emotionally harmed, because researchers have duty of weighing the risks

against the benefits of the specific research before the study commences (De Vos et al., 2011:118). The researcher warranted full protection of all participants within reasonable limits of physical and emotional harm by removing potential environmental factors that might have put participants at risk of being harmed; both emotionally and physically. However, as the research was investigating human experiences, there was a potential for emotional harm anticipated from the research and measures were put in place. Firstly, to avoid any potential emotional triggers and secondly to intervene should this happen, participants could be sent to FAMSA Outeniqua if emotional harm occurred. Participants were informed of available debriefing sessions arranged by the researcher in case the interview triggered their emotions and they experienced distress. This information was communicated during the initial contact with the research participants. No harm was caused or experienced by the participants during the research and no participants required referral to debriefing or counselling sessions.

3.9.4. Informed consent and voluntary participation

The principle of giving consent involves the researcher disclosing to the participants, the goal and objectives of the study, explaining how long they will be involved and techniques to be adhered to, as well as possible advantages and disadvantages, and more importantly the credibility of the researcher (Royse, 2004:52-54 cited in De Vos et al., 2011:117). Consent forms were read on *WhatsApp* and verbally agreed to then sign by parties, the researcher and participant. This signalled a binding mutual agreement for participating in the study (De Vos et al., 2011:117). The researcher requested signed informed consent forms from participants beforehand and emphasised to participants that participating in the study was voluntary; no one was compelled or coerced to participate and they could withdraw at any time. This was done by sending the consent forms via *WhatsApp* texts to prospective research participants who showed curiosity to participate in the study. Prior to signing, the forms were explained to each participant in detail telephonically before the interviews could

start so that they were aware of what to expect by taking part in the study and how the process would unfold, as the researcher was obliged to give the participants a detailed explanation before they participated in the study (De Vos et al., 2011:118).

3.9.5. Debriefing

The purpose of debriefing is to reduce any possibility of unforeseen psychological, and emotional harm, as well as any discomfort that could emanate during interviews. This was a reflective session for participants to deal with any problems that arose during their participation in the study. Debriefing is a platform where interviewees are offered a chance to discuss how they felt about the study, and it often occurs in a supportive and therapeutic environment (De Vos et al., 2011:122). Just before the end of each interview the researcher asked debriefing questions on *how they felt during the interviews? And is there anything that they did not like during the interview?* In addition to this debriefing, sessions were arranged by the researcher at FAMSA Outeniqua and all participants were informed of the availability of this service. However, none of them requested and or showed signs for the need of debriefing during and after research interviews were completed.

3.9.6. Dissemination of results

As indicated in Chapter One, the researcher will make photocopies of the final research report accessible to the University of Nelson Mandela libraries. Furthermore, the researcher will present the research findings at any Thembaletu community *imbizo*, conference or seminar hosted in George to participants and will also write a journal article aiming to publish the research and converting the manuscript into book format. The results will also be shown at local and global research seminars.

3.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter gave a full explanation of the research processes that were adhered to, including the choice of the research approach, design and all methods of data generation and analysis.

It further explained what steps and methods were taken in trying to answer the research question and objectives. The ethics considered which safeguarded the study were also discussed, as well as the steps undertaken in ensuring trustworthiness. In Chapter Four, research results are analysed, interpreted, and discussed with relevant literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The application of the research methodology and research processes undertaken to respond to the research question, goals and objectives were discussed in the preceding chapter. This chapter presents the research findings discussed with relevant literature integration in thematic form. The aim of the research study was to generate a detailed knowledge of the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. In achieving the aim of the study, objectives as explained in the previous chapters were set.

This chapter comprise of the findings based on a thematic analysis of data collected through semi-structured telephonic interviews. Upon completion of the interviews, information was transcribed, coded into seven major themes with sub-themes and categories as articulated in Chapters One and Three. The overall themes, sub-themes, and categories are presented in table form before the discussion of each theme, and then followed by extracts from research participants and relevant literature for each theme. The theoretical framework, namely the socio-cultural theory (Lantolf, 2000:27) has been applied in the discussion of the results.

The following section captures the demographic information of the research participants, the presentation and discussion of themes, sub-themes, and categories.

4.2. Demographic information of participants

Table 4.1: Demographic information of the research participants

Participant coding number	Race and ethnicity	Language preferred for the interview	Age	Year of the initiation ceremony
P1	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	24 years	2017
P2	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	24 years	2017
P3	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa mixed with English	20 years	2018
P4	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	22 years	2018
P5	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	22 years	2017
P6	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	21 years	2017
P7	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa mixed with English	23 years	2017
P8	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa mixed with English	20 years	2018
P9	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	24 years	2017
P10	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	19 years	2018
P11	Black - Xhosa	85 % English and 15 % of isiXhosa	21 years	2017
P12	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	20 years	2018
P13	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	24 years	2017
P14	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa mixed with English	20 years	2017
P15	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa mixed with English	22 years	2017
P16	Black - Xhosa	IsiXhosa	24 years	2017

Outlined in the table above are the participants' demographic details. All sixteen participants identified themselves as Black Xhosa males from Thembaletu Township. The majority of the participants underwent the initiation ceremonies in 2017 with a few of them in 2018. Out of the sixteen participants fifteen participants were between the ages 20 to 24 years old, and only one participant was 19 years

old. The majority of the participants preferred to be interviewed in the isiXhosa language; a few of them mixed isiXhosa with English, while some spoke more English and less isiXhosa during the interview.

Conclusions can be deduced from Table 1 that most participants were comfortable to express themselves during the interviews using isiXhosa. Most of them underwent the initiation ceremonies in 2017. Most participants were between the ages of 20 to 24 years old. Participants between the ages 20-24 years old expressed themselves openly with no need for probing questions, while the participants between the ages 18-20 years were reserved and needed a lot of probing skills to generate data for the study. Excerpts on how participants viewed the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies are discoursed in detail in the themes, sub-themes, and categories below.

4.3. Data analysis report

As discussed in Chapter Three of this report there was a parallel process of data analysis by the researcher and the independent coder to arrive at final themes, sub-themes, and categories. These themes, sub-themes, and categories are discussed in the following sections.

4.4. Presentation of themes

The following tabulated themes, sub-themes and categories emerged from the researcher and the independent coder's data analysis as discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

Table 4.2: Presentation of themes, sub-themes, and categories

THEMES	SUB-THEMES	CATEGORIES
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4.4.1. Ceremonies or events where <i>umqombothi</i> and commercial alcohol is used	4.4.1.1. Childhood-related rites	<p>a) <i>Imbeleko</i></p> <p>b) <i>Ukuqatywa komntwana</i></p>
	4.4.1.2. Wedding and marital functions	<p>a) <i>Utsiki</i></p> <p>b) <i>Ukwendlaliswa</i></p>
	4.4.1.3. Burial or funerals	a) <i>Ukukhulula izila</i>
	4.4.1.4. Ancestral rituals	<p>a) <i>Ukukhapha utata</i></p> <p>b) <i>Icuba, brandy and umqombothi as tools of worshipping for ancestor's divine protection</i></p> <p>c) <i>Ukubotshwa kwezinyanya or ukubulela abaphantsi</i></p> <p>d) <i>Intlamba-peki</i></p> <p>e) <i>Umqombothi wokuhlala (intselo)</i></p> <p>f) <i>Umqombothi and commercial alcohol for thanksgiving and gifts (umsindleko)</i></p>

	4.4.1.5. Initiation and training for <i>ubugqirha</i>	<p>a) <i>Ukwamkela intwaso</i></p> <p>b) <i>Graduating ekuthwaseni</i></p> <p>c) <i>Intlombe yamagqirha</i></p> <p>d) <i>Ukuhlamba iintsimbi</i></p>
	4.4.1.6. Initiation of girls (<i>intonjane</i>)	
	4.4.1.7. Initiation of boys (<i>ulwaluko</i>)	<p>a) <i>Preparation phase (umngeno or umguyo or umtshotsho or umgubho)</i></p> <p>b) <i>Separation and Transition phases (umojiso or ukosisa)</i></p> <p>c) <i>Construction of masculinity or socialisation into manhood among amaXhosa</i></p> <p>d) <i>Incorporation phase (umgidi or umphumo, indlu yesibane)</i></p> <p>e) <i>Manhood test (ukutshakwa)</i></p> <p>f) <i>Persuasive influence to consume alcohol</i></p>
4.4.2. Significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies	4.4.2.1. <i>Umqombothi</i>	a) <i>Umqombothi is highly significant</i>
	4.4.2.2 <i>Umqombothi</i> is brewed purposefully and for a specific reason (<i>uyathetha</i>)	a) <i>Spiritual connection with ancestors</i>

		<i>b) To foster a sense of unity and good relations among families and community at large</i>
	4.4.2.3 Use of <i>umqombothi</i> is not compulsory	
	4.4.2.4. Assumptions and beliefs attached to <i>umqombothi</i> and <i>ulwaluko</i>	<i>a) Belief that ancestor's sees how initiation ceremonies are carried out.</i> <i>b) Assumption that everyone must undergo imbeleko before ulwaluko</i> <i>c) Belief of secrecy of certain stages of ulwaluko</i>
	4.4.2.5 Commercial alcohol	<i>a) Commercial alcohol originates from migrant and domestic labour</i> <i>b) Commercial alcohol serves to complement umqombothi (perceived as sweets)</i>
	4.4.2.6. Commercial alcohol is used for celebrations and to have fun	<i>a) Different roles played by commercial alcohol (brandies and beers) during the stages of ulwaluko</i>
	4.4.2.7. Assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and <i>ulwaluko</i>	<i>a) Belief that commercial alcohol has less significance with umkhwetha cleansing and ukuyalwa</i> <i>b) Perception that initiate's naming is insignificant in townships</i>

		<p><i>c) Strong belief about three-by-three rule (isithathu esithathwini) in the lighthouse</i></p> <p><i>d) Assumption that crime is rooted in commercial alcohol use in ulwaluko</i></p> <p><i>e) Perception that a ceremony is incomplete and disrespected without brandy and beer</i></p> <p><i>f) Perception that the success of umgidi is measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used</i></p> <p><i>g) Perception that drinking reveals eloquence (ubuciko) to teach ikrwala manhood</i></p>
	<p>4.4.2.8. Commercial alcohol has gained significance</p>	
	<p>4.4.2.9. Commercial alcohol is insignificant and not compulsory</p>	<p><i>a) Men celebrate ikrwala's homecoming with or without alcohol's presence</i></p> <p><i>b) Singing does not depend on alcohol consumption</i></p>

4.4.3. Comparison between <i>umqombothi</i> and commercial alcohol	4.4.3.1. More popularity of commercial alcohol	<p><i>a) Western alcohol's high value and dominance during ulwaluko in both townships and rural areas</i></p> <p><i>b) Less value placed on or attached to umqombothi in township initiation ceremonies</i></p> <p><i>c) Umqombothi is irrelevant and rare in imicimbi</i></p>
	4.4.3.2. Commercial alcohol is highly intoxicating	
4.4.4. Cultural shift and modernisation	4.4.4.1. Loss of significance and traditional meaning of <i>umqombothi</i>	<p><i>a) Loss of value currently in imigidi</i></p> <p><i>b) Men claim brandies as their belongings (iimfanelo) in umgidi</i></p> <p><i>c) Non-adherence to manhood codes or rules leads to punishment (buy brandy to compensate)</i></p>
	4.4.4.2. Usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions	
	4.4.4.3. Abuse of alcohol	<p><i>a) Heavy use or overuse</i></p> <p><i>b) Use for personal gain</i></p>

4.4.5. Mens' behaviour as a result of alcohol use in <i>imigidi</i>	4.4.5.1. Positive behaviours of men during <i>umgidi</i>	<i>a) Well behaved men during umgidi</i> <i>b) Mens' good intentions to teach ikrwala manhood</i>
	4.4.5.2. Negative behaviours of men during <i>umgidi</i>	<i>a) Alcohol controls men behaviour in umgidi</i> <i>b) Low value and disrespect for the lighthouse</i> <i>c) Lighthouses as traumatic places to amakrwala</i> <i>d) Negative teachings from drunken abafana to ikrwala</i>
4.4.6. Consequences of alcohol use or abuse	4.4.6.1. Societal pressure	
	4.4.6.2. Competition	
	4.4.6.3. Financial burden	
	4.4.6.4. Discrimination and exclusion of those with different values	<i>a) Feelings of alienation</i> <i>b) Mistreatment and exclusion of ikrwala who have undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by abafana in the lighthouse</i>
	4.4.6.5. Health-related problems	

	4.4.6.6. Bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death	
	4.4.6.7. Underage drinking	
	4.4.6.8. Loss of respect for the Xhosa nation	
	4.4.6.9. No adverse behaviour	
4.4.7. Recommendations for <i>umqombothi</i> and commercial alcohol use in <i>ulwaluko</i>	4.4.7.1. Responsible use of alcohol to curb abuse	
	4.4.7.2. Elevation of the status of <i>umqombothi</i> , reduce use of commercial alcohol	<i>a) Need for clear explanation by elders why alcohol is integrated in ulwaluko</i>
	4.4.7.3. Monitoring of drinking and behaviour	
	4.4.7.4. Reclaiming isiXhosa traditions	<i>a) Recommendation to stop commercialization of umqombothi to preserve its dignity</i>
	4.4.7.5. Introduction of guidelines and recommendations	<i>a) Rules of ulwaluko to be recorded down and followed by all men</i>

	on the use of alcohol during initiation	
	4.4.7.6. Awareness creation or educational programmes	<p><i>a) On-going public conversations and debates to ask pertinent issues and discuss general traditional issues</i></p> <p><i>b) Need for community leaders to educate people about isiko via iimbizo</i></p>
	4.4.7.7. Proposed research areas	<p><i>a) Views of older men on this study on the meaning of umqombothi and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies</i></p> <p><i>b) Are masculinity values instilled in initiation graduates effective and appropriate?</i></p> <p><i>c) How proud are men of their manhood?</i></p> <p><i>d) What steps are taken on implementation of knowledge and responsibilities acquired from the initiation school?</i></p> <p><i>e) Marginalisation and exclusion of women on initiation</i></p> <p><i>f) Effects of alcohol on young men</i></p>

		<p><i>g) Views and perceptions on revitalising culture or traditions</i></p> <p><i>h) Views and perceptions on contemporary initiation graduation ceremonies</i></p> <p><i>i) Should alcohol continue to be used to penalize those who fail the manhood test?</i></p>
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Tabulated above are themes that arose from the coding process which are conversed in detail below. As per agreement with participants, and compliant with research ethics, participants have been assigned participant numbers labelled as P1 to P16. Excerpts from participant interviews are quoted using the participant numbers.

4.4. Discussion of themes

Theme one focuses on the ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used, with the aim of achieving research objective one that sought to explore and describe the views of *amakwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies.

Theme two discusses the significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies, with the aim of achieving research objective two that sought to explore and describe *amakwala*'s views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies. **Theme three** presents the findings on the comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, with the aim of achieving the research objective two as explained above. **Theme four** presents the findings on cultural shift and modernisation, as aligned with research objective two explained above. **Theme five** describes men's behaviours as a result of alcohol use in *imigidi*, with the aim of achieving research objective three that

sought to explore and describe the views of *amakrwala* on *amaXhosa* male behaviours that are associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. **Theme six** discusses the consequences of alcohol use or abuse as shared by *amakrwala*, with the aim of achieving research objective three as explained above. **Theme seven** presents' recommendations on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, in alignment with research objective four which sought to explore and describe the suggestions or recommendations from *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during the initiation ceremony.

4.4.1. Theme one: Ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is used

Globally, nearly every event of any significance is marked with some sort of ceremony or celebration, and many of these rituals involve alcohol. The choice of a particular alcoholic beverage with which to mark an occasion is often used to define the nature of that event (Trapido, 2020:1). All societies have drinks that they associate with festivities (Trapido, 2020:1). "In many Western cultures, champagne, for example, is synonymous with celebration" (Trapido, 2020:1). So much so that "if champagne is ordered or served at an otherwise 'ordinary' occasion, someone will always ask, 'What are we celebrating?'" (Trapido, 2020:1). Internationally, the use of alcohol is particularly common within transitional (rite of passage) rituals. These "major life-cycle events (birth, coming-of-age, marriage, death etc.) mark a move from one status or stage in the life cycle to another." Whether it be 'wetting the baby's head' in a London pub or an *imbeleko* ritual in rural Eastern Cape, alcohol is with us all from cradle to grave (Trapido, 2020:1).

Forms of commercial alcohol (Getachew et al., 2019:121) and *umqombothi* use (Nkunzana, 2017:1) were explained in Chapter Two of the current study. These two types of alcohol are discussed concurrently in the sub-sections below citing different views from *amakrwalas'* perspectives on this research topic. According to

the Western Cape Province Initiation Framework and Protocol (2014:1) “cultural practices are a means for members of society to communicate values and ways of living, through psychological, social, and symbolic interactions and teaching.” “Anthropologists put rituals into three specific categories such as rituals which are calendric, rituals which address misfortune, and rites of passage” (Western Cape Province Initiation Framework and Protocol, 2014:1). *AmaXhosa* as a way of preserving their culture throughout the phases of growth or human development practise important ceremonies that mark such growth or transitions. In doing so they incorporate *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol for different reasons or roles as discussed in the sub-themes and categories below.

The results of the current study showed that the incorporation of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol were found in ceremonies such as child-related rites, wedding and marital functions, burial or funeral functions, ancestral rituals, initiation and training into *ubugqirha*, initiation of girls and initiation of boys. This practice of preserving one’s culture can be viewed in a framework of acculturation as explained by Zambrana and Carter-Pokras (2010:20). In line with the views of Zambrana and Carter-Pokras (2010) about culture, the theoretical framework that was used to contextualize these research findings is socio-cultural theory pioneered by Lev Vygotsky (1930 cited in Lantolf, 2000:27) clarified in Chapter One and Chapter Two of the current study. The following sub-sections describe how and for what purposes *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is integrated in different cultural ceremonies of *amaXhosa*.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.1. Childhood-related rites

In this study most of the participants were strongly favouring the sacredness and holiness of *umqombothi*, and they described *umqombothi* as a cultural beer used during *imicimbi* starting from child-related rites to aged-related rites as described in the categories discussed below. All research participants were able to give

examples of such rites, more especially the ceremonies of *imbeleko*, *intonjane*, *ulwaluko*, weddings, and *ukukhutshwa kwegqirha*. Below are the excerpts from participants about these rites of passages:

P1 “*Imisebenzi yamagqirha, iintonjane, imigidi yolwaluko buyasetyenziswa utywala kuyo.*” [Ceremonies of traditional herbalists, initiation ceremonies for girls and boys graduation ceremonies use alcohol.]

P4 “*Eeh lulwaluko naxa beqab’ inkwenkwe, naxa kuchithw’ iintsimbi zegqirha.*” [Is the initiation ceremony, boy’s anointing ceremony and throwing away of traditional herbalist’s beads.]

As shown in the study’s findings the *amaXhosa*, as a way of preserving their culture throughout the phases of growth or human development, practise important ceremonies that mark such growth or transitions. In doing so, they incorporate *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol for different reasons or roles. For example, the majority of participants explained that *imbeleko* is carried out from infancy to five years old, while *ulwaluko* and *intonjane* can occur from the ages of sixteen to thirty years, depending on region. These rites have been explained by the participants to be vital and necessary celebrations as a way of reminiscing and preserving the culture of the *amaXhosa*.

As explained by Kheswa et al. (2014) in Chapter One the socio-cultural theory “focuses on how people view and practise their culture.” In this study *amakrwala* were familiar with the different rites and rituals that took place throughout someone’s lifetime, from birth to death and that are practised by the *amaXhosa*, in both rural and urban settings. This is in line with the notion put forward by Kang’ethe and Nomngcoyiya (2014) that “socio-cultural perspective taps into indigenous knowledge systems acknowledging that people from within a cultural group are experts on their own cultural systems and practices.”

In terms of the literature there were no studies that explored the meaning of *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol use in the above ceremonies in depth, but most of the studies as discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, focused more on the masculinity and initiation ceremonies (Gogela, 2017), medical male circumcision and the stigma attached to those taking this route (Monyela, 2017; Gwata, 2009). Other studies focused more on the revitalization and moral regeneration of *ulwaluko* in the present century (Ntombana, 2011). The categories below describe the findings of the present study on *imbeleko* and *ukuqatywa komntwana*.

a) Imbeleko

The findings indicate that five of the sixteen participants understood *imbeleko* as one of the childhood-related rites that integrated *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. A few participants described that a beaker of *umqombothi* and a bottle of brandy were integrated during *imbeleko* to accompany the goat slaughtered for this ceremony. The aim of *umqombothi* and brandy use during *imbeleko* is that, as the mother sits *elukhukhweni* for three days a bucket of *umqombothi* together with a brandy must be drunk only by her. The mother does not drink this with the aim of getting drunk, but she sips it bit by bit until she has finished the meat and *umqombothi*. The meaning behind this is that, before the mother drinks this beer and brandy, she waits until a certain time has passed when it is estimated that her ancestors have arrived and sipped on this beer before she drank it. P8, for example described the above ceremony and alcohol use as follows:

“In the ceremony of imbeleko a goat is slaughtered and accompanied by umqombothi beaker. While a child’s mother is sitting elukhukhweni a beaker of umqombothi and a shot of brandy must sit in front of them. Therefore a baby’s mother must sip this alcohol after ancestors came to drink it.”

Some participants described *imbeleko* as a prerequisite to *ulwaluko* as shown in the quote below:

P13 “*Awuhambi uyokoluka ungayenzelwanga imbeleko.*” [You don’t go to the initiation ceremony if you have not yet done imbeleko.]

Similarly, the description of the *imbeleko* ceremony and the integration of alcohol appear in other scholars’ studies (Mavimbela, 2021:8; Ntombana, 2011:634; Bongela, 2001:129). For example, Bongela (2001:129) explains that *umqombothi* integration during *imbeleko* “is meant to thank ancestors for increasing the progeny of the family.”

b) Ukuqatywa komntwana

The study showed that three of the sixteen participants knew *ukuqatywa komntwana* (see glossary for all isiXhosa terminology used in this study) as one of the childhood-related rites that integrates *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. Participants described that alcohol was used to prevent the child from bedwetting called *ukuchama elele* before reaching the age of 5 years. This ceremony is carried out before a boy can go to the initiation ceremony. As shown in the quotes below *umqombothi*, brandy and beer are a prerequisite as tools to conduct this ceremony:

P10 “*If a young boy child from the age of 5 years still bedwet, ukuqatywa ceremony is done to prepare him for entering ulwaluko. Umqombothi and brandies are needed in this cermeony. The brandy that is used in this ceremony is commando to accompany umqombothi. Umqombothi unites us with our ancestors.*”

The researcher searched PubMed, Google Scholar, libraries, and Nexus journal sites to find the relevant literature on *isiko lokuqatywa komntwana* but no literature could be found. The sub-theme below discusses or describes wedding and marital ceremonies that integrate *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.2. Wedding and marital functions

Utsiki and *ukwendlaliswa* were described by three of the sixteen participants as pre-marital ceremonies for weddings where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used as part of celebrating and welcoming *umakoti*. The participants listed these ceremonies but gave no details of what the purpose or meaning of alcohol use in them was, because the core focus of the study was on the initiation ceremonies. The extracts of *utsiki* and *ukwendlaliswa* are discussed in the categories below.

In a study conducted by Trapido (2020) it was found that before *utsiki* and *ukwendlaliswa* ceremonies occurred, *lobola* negotiations were the prerequisite. Trapido (2020:5) explains the significant role of brandy during these *lobola* negotiations, which include brandy for ‘*isazi-mzi*’, ‘*imvula-mlomo*’, ‘*uswazi lweenkomo*’, ‘*isazi-nkomo*’ and ‘*uxolo*’ to ask for forgiveness if the prospective in-laws are not satisfied with the cattle offered. In the past *amasi* (sour milk) was used in South Africa before brandy was available. “Once the *lobola* has been accepted, the bride’s family presents the groom’s negotiating team with a sixth bottle of brandy to signify acceptance or ‘*siyanamkela*’. The final stage involves an exchange of bottles of brandy between the families to symbolise their union called *umdlan-dlela* or *ihambi-dlan*” (Trapido, 2020:5).

a) *Utsiki*

The findings showed that one participant agreed with Trapido (2020) that during *ukutyisa utsiki umakoti*, *umqombothi* was used for the purpose of *iimfundiso*, and this *umqombothi* served as a connection that ancestors accepted the *makoti* at her new *umzi*. A participant shared that *umqombothi* also played a significant role of *ukuhlanganisa umndeni* – merging a family with extended family members – other *iziduko* which are the clans of a same lineage during the *utsiki* ceremony, and this led to peace, a bond and unity among different clans of the *amaXhosa* nation. Below is the extract of the participant’s view on the *utsiki* ceremony:

P16 “During *utsiki* ceremony *umqombothi* is used to welcome *makoti* to ancestors of his new home - *emzini*. *Umqombothi* also unites families and creates harmony among *amaXhosa*.”

Similar conclusions were drawn from the study conducted by Simelane-Kalumba (2014:109) that during the custom of *ukutya utsiki*, *umqombothi* is integrated to introduce *umakoti* to the ancestors and used for the purposes of teaching *umakoti* the rules and laws of her new home and status in a process called *ukuyalwa* (Simelane-Kalumba, 2014:109).

b) Ukwendlaliswa

A few participants described *ukwendlaliswa* as the ceremony that was similar to the *ukutyiswa utsiki* ceremony, where *umqombothi* and Western alcohol was used as a way of celebrating *umakoti*. This means the same as in the case of *imbeleko* and *ukuqatywa komntwana* dialects or *iziyelelane zamagama* in the above sections, *ukutyisa utsiki ukoti* and *ukondlaliswa* is the same ceremony but differs from area to area on how it is pronounced and conducted. In a conversation on 15th November 2014, N. Saule (language expert and historian) and T. Tyatyeka (cultural expert), confirmed that this was a result of the *amaXhosas*' historical background that consists of sub-nations or clans with different Kings (Mavimbela, 2021:3-4). Below is the extract that attests to this finding:

P13 “*Umqombothi notywala baseNtshona buyasetyenziswa xa kusendlaliswa.*” [*Umqombothi and Western alcohol is used during ukondlaliswa ceremony.*]

There were no studies were found in contrast or compare with this study's findings. The following theme describes burial or funeral-related ceremonies that use *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.3. Burial or funerals

A few research participants mentioned *ukukhulula izila* as a burial or funeral-related ceremony that used *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. The key finding of why alcohol was used in this ceremony was for celebration purpose or to communicate with ancestors. This was the case in other ceremonies such as *ulwaluko* and *intonjane*; most of *amakrwala* struggled or could not explain in detail why *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol was part of *amaXhosa* ceremonies.

Hlangwani, Adebisi, Doorsamy and Adebo (2020:1-2) are of the view that “the consumption of *umqombothi* is common in religious ceremonies; African festivals; and rituals such as circumcision and initiation school graduation celebrations, communication with ancestors or *amadlozi*, praying for rain, weddings, and the handing over of a dowry as well as births and funerals. Thus, like other African traditional beers, *umqombothi* forms an important aspect of the cultural, spiritual and socio-economic activities on the continent” (Hlangwani et al., 2020:2).

In recent years, both in rural and urban settings, it became a trend to use alcohol as a way of dampening sorrows or *ukucima iintsizi* after someone passed away. L.L. Ngewu in his book titled ‘*Kuphek’ amadoda kupheth’ abafazi whena!*’ in a short story titled ‘*Butywala bantoni kakade kubhujawe?*’ posed a question of what is alcohol for in the ceremonies such as burial and funerals? This critical question also appeared in the books by Prof. P.T. Mtuzze such as ‘*Amathol’ eendaba*’ and ‘*Udingezweni*’ that, “*Why do people use alcohol as a way of celebrations during the rituals such as funerals?*” This is relevant to the researcher’s proposition that the purpose of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in funerals should be reviewed. In the sub-category below are a few excerpts from the participants who discussed the burial rite called *ukukhulula izila* which integrates *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

a) Ukukhulula izila

In the study four of the sixteen participants reported *ukukhulula izila* as one of the ceremonies that integrated *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. As shown in the extract below participants perceived commercial alcohol as sweets to dampen sorrows:

P2 “*Xa kukhululwa izila umqombothi neebhranti ziyasetyenziswa ukucima iintsizi.*” [During the ceremony of *ukukhulula izila umqombothi* and brandies is used to dampen the sorrows.]

Trapido (2020:4) explains that a year after the death of her husband a widow is entitled to take off her black mourning clothes. The widow’s family gives gifts of brandy to the dead man’s biological family (Trapido, 2020:4). Relatives may visit the grave and pour brandy on the grave as a sign of affection for the deceased or a request for ancestral intervention in the lives of the living (Trapido, 2020:4). The following sub-theme discusses ancestral rituals that use *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.4. Ancestral rituals

The findings of the study indicated that *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was also used in the ancestral ceremonies such as *ukukhapha utata, icuba*; brandy and *umqombothi* were used as tools of worship for an ancestor’s divine protection, *ukubotshwa kwezinyanya* or *ukubulela abaphantsi, intlamba-peki, umqombothi wokuhlala* called *intselo*, and *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol for thanksgiving and gifts called *umsindleko*. The common finding from all participants was that alcohol was used in connection with thanksgiving or pleading with ancestors to pour blessings and protection on someone. Trapido (2020:3) agrees with the participants that brandy is synonymous with communication with ancestral forebears by an offering of brandy and *umqombothi* to *ukunqula* or for worshipping, not for the purposes of getting drunk (Trapido, 2020:3). The above-mentioned different ancestral rituals are discussed in the categories below.

a) Ukukhapha utata

The participants in the current study reported that in some homes *umqombothi* together with a slaughtered cow were used to accompany a father of the homestead to his grave. The excerpt below attests to that:

P15 “Xa kukhatshwa utata kuye kuselwe umqombothi kokwabo.” [During the ceremony of ukukhapha utata umqombothi is drunk by the family.]

The current study’s findings are similar to the study conducted by Adekeye et al. (2020:1) which showed that “in some parts of Nigeria, drinking constitutes an important process of rites of passage that young people undergo. Also, alcoholic drinks are used by traditional priests using them for celebration purposes such as the naming ceremony for babies, birthday celebrations, marriages, and deaths” (Adekeye et al., 2020:1). The category below describes the participant’s findings on *icuba*, brandy and *umqombothi* as tools of worshipping for ancestors’ divine protection.

b) Icuba, brandy and umqombothi as tools of worshipping for ancestor’s divine protection

In the study all participants had a strong belief that *umqombothi* was a sacred drink that must be valued and respected by the *amaXhosa*, as it sought divine protection from ancestors. They regarded commercial alcohol as ‘sweets’ with less or insignificant value, apart from celebration and entertaining purposes in *umgidi*. However, two participants perceived commercial alcohol as ‘modern *umqombothi*’, and emphasized that *umqombothi* was out-dated and old-fashioned, and labelled it as a beer for elders.

According to Reilly (2017:1) “religion and alcohol have a complicated relationship. While some religions strictly forbid the consumption of alcohol, most notably Islam, Christians use red wine as a spiritual symbol for the blood of Christ during Holy

Communion” (Reilly, 2017:1). The category below describes participants’ findings on *ukubotshwa kwezinyanya* or *ukubulela abaphantsi* and alcohol use.

c) *Ukubotshwa kwezinyanya or ukubulela abaphantsi*

Some participants in the study described *ukubotshwa kwezinyanya* or *ukubulela abaphantsi* as significant ceremonies that integrated *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. Participants reported that *umqombothi* was used to introduce the new homestead to the wider community in a ceremony called *ukwazisa umzi*. The excerpt below attests to this:

P2 “Umqombothi uyasetyenziswa xa kusaziswa umzi kwizinyanya ukuba ngoku kukwabani apha ngumz’ othile wasemathileni.” [Umqombothi is used during the ceremony of making known of the new homestead, where ancestors are made aware that this is a new home for particular clan.]

P12 “KwaXhosa umqombothi usetyenziswa xa kubotshwa izinyanya, mhlawumbi kubotshwa umntu omdala wakwelo khaya.” [Among Xhosa umqombothi is used during the ceremony of ukubotshwa kwezinyanya for an elder of that particular home.]

Trapido (2020:3) shares the same view that during the ceremony of ancestral thanksgiving a little brandy is poured onto each of the tyres of a new car. There is a belief that ancestors can bless a car and even bless a new house in a ceremony called *ukuvula indlu* or housewarming (Trapido, 2020:3). The category below describes findings from the participants on *intlamba-peki* and alcohol use.

d) *Intlamba-peki*

It has been shown in the study that some participants acknowledged the integration of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during the ceremony of *ukuhlamba iipeki* which is a cleansing ceremony for the spades used to dig the

deceased – *umfi*'s grave. This alcohol is not meant to entertain or for intoxication, but meant to thank grave diggers for their hard work during the digging process. Below two participants reflected on this practice:

P15 “*Neentlamba-peki ndikhe ndizihambe ngoba bazenza kakhulu endlini.*” [In my home we do the ceremony of cleansing the spades.]

P5 “*Umqombothi notywala besilungu bubakhona xa kuhlanjwa iipeki emzini ekuswelekwe kuwo.*” [Umqombothi and commercial alcohol is present to wash spades used to dig a grave in a home that have funeral.]

There were no studies found that speak about *intlamba-peki* and alcohol use. The category below describes findings from the participants on *umqombothi wokuhlala* called *intselo*.

e) *Umqombothi wokuhlala (intselo)*

The findings generated in this study indicated that some participants witnessed *umqombothi* brewed freely as *intselo yokuhlala* or a beer for the community's consumption. However, they did not dwell on what the significance was or meaning of brewing *umqombothi wokuhlala* called *intselo*. Below are the excerpts of their views:

P12 “*Naxa kusenziw' uphantsi kwebhedi, umqombothi wokuhlala.*” [Umqombothi is brewed in a form of a beer under the bed, a beer for community's consumption.]

P14 “*Buyasetyenziswa utywala naxa kwenziwa intselo emzini othile.*” [Alcohol is used in the event of *intselo* in a particular home.]

Similarly, Deumert (2010:253) in her study explained that, “traditionally maize beer (*utywala* or *umqombothi*) is brewed among the *amaXhosa* and consumed communally at festive, ceremonial, and religious occasions; the routine of dispensing traditional beer at a beer drink is called *iintselo* or *iindywala*” (Deumert, 2010:253). Londani, Morojele, Nel and Parry (2019:45) noted in their study that more up to date studies by Manganyi, 2015; Onya, Tessera, Myers and Flisher, 2012; and WHO, 2010 have focused on using homemade alcohol in rural areas of South Africa, while such practices in townships and peri-urban and urban areas have received less attention. Less research on non-commercial alcohol remains a concern that needs special attention because a large number of the population are believed to consume such alcohol, and the harms associated with the use of such products that surface periodically (Londani et al., 2019:45).

In the study that was conducted by Simatende, Gadaga, Nkambule and Siwela (2015:120) in Swaziland, into 14 local administrations called *tinkhundla*, five *tinkhundla* were selected for the study to explore methods of preparation of Swazi traditional fermented foods, showed similar findings to the current study. The findings of the study showed that *umcombotsi* (a *Swati* name for *umqombothi*) is fermented even if there is no important ceremony, but it is brewed for *abantfu bomphakatsi* or community people to drink freely, or sometimes it is brewed for commercial purposes to generate income (Simatande et al., 2015:120).

The results of the study conducted by Londani et al. (2019:50) shares similar sentiments with Simatende et al’s (2015) study because the study showed that there were many reasons for brewing alcohol in black South African communities such as the lack of jobs, money and poverty which are the key elements affecting the whole country (Londani et al., 2019:50). The results of this study confirmed that unemployed main income earners were more likely to brew alcohol than employed main income earners in the household. In other words, this study shows us a shift of brewing *umqombothi* freely for ordinary people to commercialize it

because of poverty in most Gauteng Townships (Londani et al., 2019:50). The category below describes the findings of the participants on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol for thanksgiving and gifts (*umsindleko*).

f) *Umqombothi and commercial alcohol for thanksgiving and gifts (umsindleko)*

The study revealed that commercial alcohol and *umqombothi* were used in a form of *uphantsi kwebhedi* (beer under the bed) for thanksgiving to the ancestors when someone purchased something. There were no further explanations from the participants why this ceremony was performed except for the purpose of thanking ancestors. Below is the quote that attests to this finding:

P12 “*Xa kusenziw’ uphantsi kwebhedi, umqombothi wokuhlala.*” [*Umqombothi is brewed in a form of a beer under the bed, a beer for community’s consumption.*]

The findings of a renowned anthropologist, McAllister (1985:1221), are in accord with the study’s findings as he defined *umsindleko* as a ceremony performed by *amaXhosa* to celebrate and welcome the labourers’ homecoming. As shown in Chapter Two, Bongela’s (2001:126) study is in agreement with P12’s view that, a wife brew beer called a beer for the household in a small quantity for her husband. In addition to Bongela’s assertion of this ceremony’s, *umsindleko*’s, importance among *amaXhosa* it has been discussed by the Xhosa novelist Ntwalana (2021:23-24) in his novel titled ‘*Intlungu Yezandlebe*’ and Mba (2021:30) in his drama titled ‘*Ukuziba Nokutenxa Kwesiko*’. Both authors are in accord that *umsindleko* is important among *amaXhosa*. The sub-theme below describes the findings of the participants on the initiation and training for *ubugqirha* ceremonies that use *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.5. Initiation and training into *ubugqirha*

The findings indicated that few participants knew that *umqombothi* and brandy played a significant role during the ceremonies of *amagqirha* such as *ukwamkela intwaso*, graduating *ekuthwaseni*, *intlombe yamagqirha* and the ceremony of *ukuhlamba iintsimbi*. The meaning or reason behind integrating beer and brandy is explained in detail in the categories below supported by excerpts from the participants. Booie and Edwards's (2014:1) study showed portrayed similar findings that during the ceremony of *intlombe* or the dancing ceremony *umqombothi* and white brandy (Smirnoff) was used to ask ancestors for their divine protection to *umkhwetha* or *igqirha* throughout the process of *ubugqirha* training. The categories below discuss findings from *amakrwala* about their understanding of using *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol in *amagqirha* ceremonies such as *ukwamkela intwaso*, graduating *ekuthwaseni*, *intlombe yamagqirha* and the ceremony of *ukuhlamba iintsimbi*.

a) Ukwamkela intwaso

One of the research participants, P16 explained that he saw the use of *umqombothi* during the process of *intwaso* by *igqirha*, as cited below:

"I saw alcohol use when someone starts initiation to ubugqirha, and during the graduation of ukuthwasa."

Other than this participant there were no findings from other participants about *ukwamkela intwaso* and alcohol use. P16 did not elaborate on the meaning of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol because the main focus was to check his understanding of other ceremonies that use alcohol. Booie and Edwards (2014:2) add that *umqombothi* and brandy was always a part of the *intwaso* ceremony. The following category describes the ceremony of graduating from *ekuthwaseni* and of alcohol use from the *amakrwala*'s perspective.

b) Graduating ekuthwaseni

Of the sixteen participants interviewed it emerged that two or three participants knew about graduating from the *ekuthwaseni* ceremony and the use of alcohol in the ceremony. The participant in the extract below agreed that *umqombothi* was the only beer to be used in *ekuthwaseni* graduation. However, as times change brandy or Western alcohol was integrated. He blamed the integration of Western alcohol in the ceremonies of *amagqirha* as something that is not right according to cultural values:

P1 “*Ukusukela mandulo imisebenzi efana naxa kukhutshwa igqirha bekusetyenziswa utywala besiNtu kodwa kuthe ngokuhamba kwexesha kwafumaniseka ukuba kungena notywala baseNtshona obufana neebhranti.*” [Tracing back from the old days in the ceremony of *igqirha*'s graduation *umqombothi* was used, but as the times went on Western alcohol like brandy was used with *umqombothi*.]

A similar study conducted by Booie and Edwards (2014:7) showed that during the graduation of *ukuthwasa* a goat or a cow was slaughtered accompanied by *umqombothi* and white brandy and the initiate was rewarded with *iintsimbi ezimhlophe*, or white beads or *iintsimbi ezibomvu*, red beads. The following category describes the ceremony of *intlombe yamagqirha* and alcohol use.

c) Intlombe yamagqirha

The findings of the study show that *intlombe yamagqirha* was understood by *amakrwala* as one of the ceremonies that integrated *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, even though there was a lack of description from them on what the meaning behind using alcohol was. For example, P12 explained that during *intlombe yamagqirha* *umqombothi* was used with *impepho* to connect with ancestors:

P12 “*Xa kuhlanjwa iintsimbi zegqirha kuye kusilwe umqombothi.*” [In the ceremony of cleansing *igqirha* *umqombothi* is brewed.]

Intlombe yamagqirha can be compared to the graduation of *abakhwetha* because basically it is the big day like *umgidi* where senior traditional herbalists, *amagqirha* come together to qualify initiated *igqirha* as formal graduates. In this ceremony *umqombothi* and *isilawu*, *umqombothi* mixed with particular *muthi* or herb was used to speak with ancestors' (Booi & Edwards, 2014:9). The following category describes the ceremony of *ukuhlamba iintsimbi* and alcohol use.

d) Ukuhlamba iintsimbi

The participants in the study considered that during *umgidi wegqirha umqombothi* and brandy were used as symbolic beers for cleansing purposes which could be compared to baptism. This has been attested by P3 and P12 as shown below:

P3 “*Umqombothi neebhranti zisetyenziswa xa kuhlanjwa igqirha ngomgidi walo.*”
[*Umqombothi or brandies are used to cleanse igqirha during his or her graduation.*]

In the story of Nomvo's training into *ubugqirha* it was shown that during the process of *ukuhlamba iintsimbi* which is a cleansing of *igqirha* during his or her graduation day, *umqombothi* and white brandy is used to mark that important transition to senior *ubugqirha* that now he or she can heal people who present different illnesses, ranging from witch-craft, bad luck or physical injuries (Booi & Edwards, 2014:9). The following sub-theme describes the initiation ceremony of girls called *intonjane* and the use of alcohol.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.6. Initiation of girls (*intonjane*)

In the study *intonjane* was reported as one of the cultural ceremonies witnessed by a participant where *umqombothi* and Western alcohol was used. P1, the only participant that mentioned *intonjane*, explained that he witnessed *umqombothi* and Western alcohol used in *intonjane* as cited below:

“Imisebenzi yentonjane yiyona misebenzi ebekusetyenziswa utywala besiNtu kodwa kuthe ngokuhamba kwexesha kwafumaniseka ukuba kungena notywala baseNtshona obufana nebhranti.” [In the ceremony of intonjane traditional beer was used but as time went on Western alcohol such as brandy was also used.]

The reason for the lack of information about *intonjane* from other participants could be assumed that, since they all grew up in townships there was a scarcity of *iintonjane* ceremonies, as it is dominant in rural settings, and this led them to be unaware how and why this ceremony must be done by *amaXhosa* girls. In the ethnographic research-based book by Mavimbela (2021:38) *intonjane* or *ukuthomba* is described as a ceremony that marks that a young girl has fully matured, and is ready to enter young adulthood which permits her to *umendo* or marry. On the graduation day the slaughtered cow is accompanied with the *umqombothi*, beer, brandy, and drinks as a way of celebrating this important transition to adulthood (Mavimbela, 2021:38). The following sub-theme describes the initiation ceremony of boys called *ulwaluko* and alcohol use.

Sub-theme 4.4.1.7. Initiation of boys (*ulwaluko*)

All participants in the study described *umguyo*, *umojiso* and *umgidi* as the major ceremonies of *ulwaluko* where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used to mark or celebrate these important milestone phases from boyhood to manhood. The significance and purpose of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol in this ceremony is explained in detail in theme two and theme three. In this sub-theme the categories discussed focus on the preparation phase (*umngeno* or *umguyo* or *umtshotsho* or *umgubho*), separation and transition phases (*umojiso* or *ukosisa*), construction of masculinity or socialisation into manhood among *amaXhosa*, incorporation phase (*umgidi* or *umphumo*, *indlu yesibane*), manhood test (*ukutshakwa*) and persuasive influence to consume alcohol.



Figure 4.1: AmaXhosa phases for boys’ initiation (*ulwaluko*) (from Ncaca, 2014:73).

Boys need to travel on this journey for them to be accepted as mature men in their communities (Ncaca, 2014:73). Initiation is defined by the Republic of South African Customary Initiation Act No.2 (2021:9) as “any customary or cultural practice, ritual or ceremony taking place at an initiation school in accordance with the customs and traditions of the community concerned, and may include teachings relating to ideals, values, aspirations, and respect.” This is the case in the study conducted by Chen, Connolly, Quiroga and Stewart (2010:2) in Cape Town which showed that, “initiation was a ceremony that symbolized the transition from boyhood to manhood for the males of the *amaXhosa*, *amaHlubi*, and *abeSuthu* ethnic groups known collectively as *abantu*.” “This sacred ritual is an important part of traditional culture that has been practised for hundreds of years in rural areas of South Africa” (Chen et al., 2010:2). This study further showed that “during the summer and winter breaks each year, thousands of males in South Africa typically between the ages of 17 to 23 undergo the traditional ritual of initiation” (Chen et al., 2010:2).

It has been stipulated in the Republic of South African Customary Initiation Act No.2 (2021:48) that “in terms of section 10(1) of the Liquor Act, read with the

definitions of “minor” and “liquor” in section 1 of that Act, no liquor, including traditional beer, may be sold or supplied to any person under the age of 18 and therefore a principal and care-giver must ensure that no alcohol is sold or supplied to initiates under the age of 18 except if a moderate quantity of alcohol is supplied for the purposes of administering a religious sacrament as contemplated in section 10(2) of the Liquor Act.” The Republic of South African Customary Initiation Act No.2 (2021:48) further explains that “in any instance where liquor is supplied for purposes of a religious sacrament which forms part of an initiation practice, it may only be provided to initiates to whom such sacrament applies and only in the presence and under the supervision of any of the persons referred to in section 10(2) of the Liquor Act.”

Gogela (2017:48) is of the view that anthropologists such as Jean La Fontaine (1985), Victor Turner (1966; 1969) and Arnold van Gennep (1960) are known for their major contribution to the development of theories on rites of passage, more especially in *ulwaluko* transition phases. One of the initiation phases that is discussed in the sub-categories below is the preparation phase, the separation and transition phases, and the incorporation phase. The following category describes the preparation phase for the initiation ceremony of boys called *umngeno* or *umguyo* or *umtshotsho* or *umgubho* and alcohol use.

a) Preparation phase (*umngeno* or *umguyo* or *umtshotsho* or *umgubho*)

One of the important ceremonies during *ulwaluko*, more especially for the boys, is the preparatory phase called, *umngeno*, *umguyo*, *umtshotsho* or *umgubho*, varying from region to region. All research participants agreed that *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, brandy to be exact, was used as a celebration of saying farewell to the soon-to-be- initiate among the *amaXhosa*, as shown in the extracts below:

P16 “*Ukukhula kwam ndikhule ndibubona busetyenziswa xa kusoluswa. Ndaze ndabubona xa amakhwenkw’ ezongena.*” [I grew up seeing alcohol use in the ceremony of ulwaluko, and also saw umqombothi use during umngeno ceremony]

P11 “*In most of the ceremonies, umzekelo ngesiko lokwaluka uyasetyenziswa xa kungenwa.*” [In most of the ceremonies, for instance during the boys’ preparatory celebration to initiation, umqombothi is used.]

The study’s findings indicated that this phase was significant to the boys because they received free *umqombothi* as their *iimfanelo* to bid farewell to the soon-to-be-initiate, where they rejoiced by singing traditional songs and dancing. Mayekiso (2014:91) agrees that the first stage of manhood, *ubukhwetha* is preceded by a boy doing *ukuguya*. *Ukuguya* is a stage where the boys who will be going through the initiation process celebrate with their friends, giving and receiving goodbye wishes from them. *Amakhwenkwe* wear their *imibhaco* or traditional attire; they dance, drink *umqombothi* (traditional beer), bring wood from the bushes as part of the preparations, and play *iintonga* or stick fight games (Mayekiso, 2014:91).

Gogela (2017:51) explains that one of the activities involved in the preparation phase is the slaughtering of an animal, usually a goat, which is accompanied by the brewing of traditional beer as a form of sacrifice to the ancestral spirits from whom spiritual protection is sought, and is regarded as a direct link between man and *uQamata* (Gogela, 2017:51). Zulu (2016:30), a researcher, during his observation when conducting an ethnographic study witnessed similar experience when he noticed “the traditional surgeon providing *umqombothi* to all who came to witness the ritual.” *Umqombothi* was accompanied with beer which included Black Label and Castle Lager (Zulu, 2016:30). Zulu (2016:31) further found that “men drank beer and sang the whole night while novices sat in the *khutla* before going to the initiation ceremonies.” The following category describes the separation and transition phases called *umojiso* or *ukosisa* and alcohol use.

b) Separation and Transition phases (umojiso or ukosisa)

All participants in the study had undergone *umojiso*; the various reasons why *umqombothi* was used in this stage are explained in detail in theme two. The findings of the study indicated that it was in this phase where on the 8th day in *ibhuma*, *umqombothi* accompanied with the goat slaughtered that was used to mark initiates' healing phase. This has been emphasized by the research participant as cited below:

P16 “*Ndabubona xa kuzokosiswa.*” [*I saw umqombothi use during umojiso.*]

Van Genneep (1960 cited in Gogela, 2017:52) defines this phase as the act of separating the initiate from the previous environment, the world of women and children, where the boy is removed from his physical environment through a ceremony called *umngeno* or *ukungena*, to symbolize transformation where the initiate is neither a student nor a graduate, neither a child nor an adult, not married nor unmarried. This stage seeks to inculcate principles of adulthood into initiates so that they can behave responsibly and, in a manner expected of an adult (Gogela, 2017:54). The following category describes the construction of masculinity or socialisation into manhood among the *amaXhosa* and alcohol use.

c) Construction of masculinity or socialisation into manhood among amaXhosa

The findings indicated that during the initiation process initiates learnt how a man should behave and treat women in society. *Umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use played a significant role in accompanying these teachings of manhood as shown in the extracts below:

P13 “*Umqombothi is used to show the dignity that you will possess now that you enter manhood phase from boyhood. This beer is meant to teach you to leave the*

old bad boyhood habits. We have a belief as amaXhosa that once umqombothi is placed in front of you, automatically you know that things are changing now.”

P3 *“Esuthwini xa ufika kakade babakhona abakhuluwa baze ngeendlel’ ezithile eziny’ izintw’ abakubuzi bayakuxelel’ uba uzenze. Eyona nto ibalulekileyo aph’ esiXhoseni kukukwazi ukuzithethela.” [In the bush sometimes there are certain initiation graduates who come with certain intentions and tell you to do them. What is important in manhood is to know how to express yourself.]*

Ncaca (2014:35) conducted an ethnographic study in Cape Town townships and found that “in current research on masculinities, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has dominated.” For example, Ncaca (2014:35) found that “hegemonic masculinity is understood as a “Pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men’s dominance over women to continue.” Further arguing that hegemonic masculinity, “Embodied the currently most honoured ways of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men” (Ncaca, 2014:35).

Magodyo, Andipatin and Jackson (2017:343) conducted a study recruiting seven participants aged from 19 to 32, from the University of Cape Town, using purposive sampling with the aim of exploring the role of Xhosa traditional circumcision in constructing masculinity. The study was positioned within a social constructionist framework. Social constructionism as a lens contends that our experience of reality is framed within a particular historic-cultural milieu which is bound to culture, time, and social processes that we are exposed to (Magodyo et al., 2017:346).

The results of the study (Magodyo et al., 2017:343) “reflect the fluidity of masculinity as reported in literature. First, in some of the participants, *ulwaluko* created an idealised masculine identity that was chiefly characterised by upholding

ritual teachings and yet the same men were burdened by a prescriptive set of masculine role expectations. Second, through self-reflection and critical engagement, some men contested *ulwaluko* resulting in the creation of rival masculinities and thus the study created spaces to rethink masculine identities” (Magodyo et al., 2017:343).

The study conducted by Gogela (2017:45-46) cited Mfecane (2016) as one of the scholars who proposed a different approach on the manner in which *ulwaluko* and its norms shaped masculinity. The study showed that although Mfecane’s proposition masculinities as depicted in the African context, he did not dispute the hegemonic underpinnings of *ulwaluko*. Thus Gogela (2017:46) found a glaring gap in Mfecane’s theorisation of the construction of masculinity through *ulwaluko* as vague on the significance of socio-cultural dynamics, and the manner in which men stamp their authority over women in *isiXhosa* culture. The following category describes the incorporation phase called *umgidi* or *umphumo*, *indlu yesibane* and alcohol use.

d) Incorporation phase (umgidi or umphumo, indlu yesibane)

In the study all participants reported that during *umgidi* everyone celebrated *ikrwala*’s homecoming with maximum euphoria and high consumption of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. Below are few excerpts to support this finding:

P7 “What I have observed around my area is that *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, affectionately known as ‘sweets’ are used to celebrate *ikrwala*’s homecoming.”

P11 “*Naxa kuza wuphuma umfana buye busetyenziswe.*” [When the initiate will graduate alcohol is used.]

Most participants expressed a sad feeling about how *umqombothi* was undermined while commercial alcohol was highly praised in the initiation ceremonies. Negative behavioural conduct of *abafana*'s in the lighthouses sounded as though it hurt or traumatized some of the participants. Non-drinking men were reported as stigmatized, judged, or excluded in the lighthouses. The participants thought that alcohol was abused in the township lighthouses with no intention of improving or teaching *ikrwala* by *abafana*. Some participants felt that alcohol must not be a priority of *ulwaluko*, but the purpose of the ceremony must be at the forefront.

This is agreed by Gogela (2017:57) that during the incorporation phase, the ritual is seen as complete, and the person is reintegrated back into society where he assimilates the newly acquired status into the self. Gogela (2017:57) further explains that, *umgidi* or *umphumo* is characterised by singing, dancing, *ukuyalwa*, gifts offered to *ikrwala*, ululating and a great deal of food and drinking. The following category describes the manhood test called *ukutshakwa* and alcohol use.

e) Manhood test (*ukutshakwa*)

A few participants in the study described *ukutshakwa* as one of the significant routines that must be done to check if someone is a real man or not. One of the research participants, P16 during the preparatory or briefing telephonic call for the recorded interview, was somewhat cautious to openly share his experiences of the initiation ceremony and alcohol use because he was not sure if the researcher had undergone *ulwaluko*. After cross-examining the researcher with some manhood testing questions, the participant was satisfied by the researcher's answers and said he was ready to be recorded by him. This is an incredibly significant prerequisite in studies of this nature because if this participant with such rich data was interviewed by a non-initiated male or female researcher, his valuable views on this topic would have been missed because he was resistant to being interviewed by non-initiated researchers.

P16 was of the view that a real man is cross-examined or tested by other *amakrwala* or *abakhuluwa* with sophisticated questions such as what is the meaning of the word *commando*, what is the meaning of the three by three rule called *isithathu esithathwini*, and do you have all *iibhekile zomqombothi* that are a prerequisite in your initiation ceremony? He said this as follows:

“In the fashion of manhood there is a question of, “Why you drink alcohol? Why there is alcohol in this ceremony?” What is important is to be able to defend yourself, meaning that as a complete graduated man you must drink alcohol in the phase of entrance, middle phase and graduation phase to comply to three by three rule. Otherwise if you skipped one step then you are perceived as two by three.”

In the qualitative ethnographic study conducted by Gogela (2017:43-44) focusing “on the perceptions of *ulwaluko* in a liberal democratic state” it has been shown that if a person’s claim of being initiated is suspected to be untrue, such person is subjected to undergo a test known as *ukutshakwa* where one is asked a set of specific questions to validate his claims whether he has been through the initiation or not. Gogela (2017:44) further reveals that “men who have been through initiation are distinguishable by their social behaviour and a particular vocabulary they learn during their time in the bush.” This was similar in the current study as shown in the above finding from P16. The following category describes the persuasive influence to consume alcohol by *abafana* to *abakhwetha* in the initiation ceremonies.

f) Persuasive influence to consume alcohol

The findings of the study indicated that during the initiation ceremony in South Africa there was a tendency of the initiate being forced by *abakhuluwa* to drink alcohol, which in some areas is forced and claimed as a norm or a must do act. Some participants blamed this pressure exerted on the initiates and labelled it as

a 'bad teaching or act' as it leads to negative consequences such as heavy alcohol use by *amakrwala* after graduating at the initiation ceremonies. One participant revealed that he did not drink alcohol before he went through *ulwaluko* but during *ulwaluko* was forced to drink alcohol, which later, after graduation, led to him becoming an alcohol abuser. He also mentioned that if the *ikrwala* was a non-alcohol user he was mistreated or labelled as an incomplete man or *indoda engaphelelanga ncam* in the lighthouses. He stated as cited below:

P16 *“Yes Sir there is a new introduced lifestyle by men to ikrwala that he is forced to drink alcohol. There are men who can't live without drinking alcohol as they treat alcohol drinking as a norm, isithethe. If you sit arm-folded with no alcohol contribution to other men you get stigma or undermined that you are half-complete man. You don't qualify to enter the lighthouse. I for instance do not feel comfortable in the lighthouse as I know that I do not drink alcohol. In my opinion this is not a good way to treat each other as men. Drinking alcohol must not be a force or must do.”*

P7 also shared the same views with P16 as quoted below:

“One of the disadvantages is that at the end of the day this negative behaviour bring out a bad influence to these guys that are growing up, because you'll find out that some amakrwala were not drinking but after initiation they would drink because it's like they have been given authority to do these things, and most of these guys does not feel valuable as men enough if they are not drinking. So they should drink and value alcohol. In each and everything they do alcohol is included in their budget. So it's negative in a way because we do not produce the men we aimed to produce. They do not turn out to be those men, because from the onset they get manhood teachings from drunken men.”

Similarly, Morris, Larsen, Catterall, Moss and Dombrowski (2020:1) conducted a study in the United Kingdom and the findings of this study have shown that

“pressure to drink alcohol affected individuals during their life span and could be experienced as overt and aggressive, or subtle and friendly.” For example, peers who are pressured or persuaded to drink alcohol in a form of coercion or being bullied “can result in feelings of social isolation, or giving in by consuming alcohol against ones wishes” (Morris et al., 2020:1). The study further showed that during the initiation ceremony of 2nd year university students known as fresher’s, there was a tendency of gangs “of boys dressed in black bin liners, surrounding fresher’s and shouting at them to down their drinks, which left fresher’s feeling uncomfortable at the university” (Morris et al., 2020:13).

This was the case in Nigeria as showed Adekeye et al.’s (2020:1) study that the socio-cultural factors such as “community reactions to students’ alcohol use and abuse (which may be accepting, discouraging or neutral), parental use, age at consumption of first alcoholic drink, peer influence; current class and gender exerted tremendous influence on students’ alcohol use and subsequent abuse.”

“As in the United States of America, underage drinking poses a threat to its victims and those around her or him” (Adekeye et al., 2020:1). “In Nigeria, some young boys and girls in this study are reported to initiate drinking before or while in high school and the consumption rate increases after graduation” (Adekeye et al., 2020:1). In this study “it was reported that young people who were not in school consumed less alcohol when compared to those that attended college” (Adekeye et al., 2020:1).

In summary, theme one discussed the ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used; ceremonies such as childhood-related rites, wedding and marital functions, burials or funerals, ancestral rituals, initiation and training into *ubugqirha*, girls initiation and boys initiation. The following sub-section discusses theme two, sub-themes and categories on the significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies. It is noteworthy to inform the reader from the onset that due to the scarcity of the readings and studies that are similar or

contrary to the following themes, to synthesize the research findings the researcher in some of the sections cross-references from Chapter One and the Chapter Two literature review.

4.4.2. Theme two: Significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies

More attention in this section is given to *umqombothi* as a highly favoured beer used purposefully for spiritual connection with ancestors. This theme unpacks how some *amakrwala* view *umqombothi* as compulsory in initiation ceremonies while other *amakrwala* highlight its insignificance. Assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*, as well as assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and *ulwaluko* are also being discussed in this section. The section also unpacks the different significant roles played by brandy during *ulwaluko*.

The major finding from the participants is that *umqombothi* is 'a significant beer to conduct *isiko*' while commercial alcohol is perceived as 'sweets' with less or no meaning during *isiko*. The majority of participants perceived *ulwaluko* without alcohol use as a 'joke' or an 'incomplete ceremony'. Below are the few excerpts to substantiate why *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is important during *ulwaluko*:

P1 *"Inkwenkwe phambi kokuba ihambe iyokoluka ikhaya liye liqale lilungise izinto ezingenzekanga enkwenkweni, iinto ezifana neembeleko, ngoba iminyanya kufuneka yazisiwe. Eeh umqombothi ke ingakumbi uyinto edibanisa inkwenkwe nezinyanya ngokomoya ukuyicelela inkuselo ehlathini."* [A boy before undergoing initiation ceremony his home does that have not done yet to the boy, things such as *iimbeleko* because ancestors must be informed. Therefore, *umqombothi* is a beer that connects spiritually a boy with his ancestors, to urge their divine protection in the bush.]

P2 “In order for isiko to be 100 percent completed there should be a spilt of animals blood, whether of a goat or a cow depending on a particular homestead. Umqombothi remains or iintsipho are used as a drinking source to the ancestors. Traditionally, in ulwaluko we don't have Western alcohol such as commando brandy, but modernisation and transformation led to Western alcohol use in ulwaluko.”

As shown in the above excerpts there were opposing views on the significance and purpose of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during *ulwaluko*. Of sixteen participants, thirteen participants were in favour of the significance of alcohol while three participants, P11, P14 and P16 were against alcohol use, both *umqombothi* and Western alcohol during *ulwaluko*. There were no studies found to compare with or in contrast to these findings. The following sub-theme discusses *umqombothi* as a beer used during *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.1. *Umqombothi*

In the study all participants described *umqombothi* as a significant beer used during the initiation ceremony. Participants perceived *umqombothi* as a prerequisite of any *umcimbi*, because it dignified and signified the culture of the *amaXhosa*. From the interviews conducted, P16, P1, P2, P11 and P13 explained everything in detail on what the meaning of *umqombothi* use was during the initiation ceremonies.

For example, P11 was of the view that *umqombothi* is a traditional beer that must be treated with respect but nowadays it was used for pleasure. Due to the way that *umqombothi* was used nowadays he thought that the purpose and actual reason for its use had been lost. On the other hand, P13 perceived *umqombothi* as a good thing to use because a beaker of *umqombothi* accompanied *iimfundiso* or teachings. For example during *ulwaluko*, *abakhuluwa* brings a beaker of *umqombothi* which is put in front of *amakrwala* or *abakhwetha*. They then explain that the first beaker is meant for washing away your boyhood sins in the river, the

second beaker is for teaching you how to dress in *ubukrwala* clothes and their meaning, and the third is for welcoming or introducing you as a new man to the family and community at large. P13 thought that fermenting and brewing *umqombothi* for your ceremony granted dignity. With the presence of *umqombothi*, the *ikrwala* therefore felt proud about his culture more especially when he saw his homestead full of people, and he knew that people would advise him and affirm the manhood teachings. The participant shared that he then realized that he would now have to change his behaviour and attitude to life, and act like an adult. The extracts below concur with the above-mentioned findings:

P11 *“Umqombothi is for celebration for joy purposes, but seeing the way that is being used nowadays I think now people lost the reason or the actual purpose of brewing umqombothi, and when people get drunk you can’t control their behaviour, you know? And so my view on these things is that basically it’s wrong the use of alcohol.”*

P13 *“I see the use of umqombothi in the initiation ceremony as a good thing my brother because it accompanies teachings to ikrwala. For instance, abakhuluwa presents different beakers of umqombothi for different reasons such as washing umkhwetha in the river, dressing ikrwala, introducing ikrwala to his family, and offering to the community that they can celebrate ikrwala’s home-coming.”*

There were no studies found in contrast to or to compare with or these findings. The following category discusses *umqombothi* as a highly significant beer used during *ulwaluko*.

a) *Umqombothi is highly significant*

Most participants reported that *umqombothi* was significant during the preparation phase, *umguyo* and the returning phase to accompany words of appeasing ancestors for their divine protection to the initiate in the bush. This is done with the

integration of *impepho* or incense. However, some participants in the study felt that *umqombothi* in Thembalethu during the initiation ceremonies had less meaning because there was no impact of cultural beliefs such as in the case of rural areas. This has been attested by the extracts from the participants below:

P9 “*Umqombothi ndikhule ibutywala besiNtu obusetyenziswayo for isiNtu. Umqombothi ubalulekile kwaye kunyanzelekile ubekhona xa kwenziw’ umsebenzi.*” [I grew up knowing that *umqombothi* is a traditional beer to do cultural ceremonies. *Umqombothi* is significant and a must beer to use when doing a cultural ceremony.]

P3 “*Xa uthe wayindoda eqiqileyo umqombothi uye uwujonge njengento esacred, ngoku ke kufuneke uyihloniphile nakanjani kub’ inamandla.*” [As a wise man you have to perceive *umqombothi* as a sacred beer, therefore you must respect it because it’s powerful.]

It was reported in Chapter Two that more than simply being a beer *umqombothi* was used as a way of celebrating the return of the younger generation after initiation ceremonies, and *umqombothi* played a central role in contacting the *amadlozi* or ancestors (Bizcommunity.com, 2019:1). The following category discusses *umqombothi* as purposefully brewed for a specific reason (*uyathetha*).

Sub-theme 4.4.2.2. *Umqombothi* is purposefully brewed for a specific reason (*uyathetha*)

The results of the study showed that in the culture of the *amaXhosa* *umqombothi* is purposefully brewed for a specific reason. Most participants were of the view that if someone had *umcimbi*, he knew that people could not drink his *umqombothi* without being made aware of what that *umcimbi* was for. When most people saw *umqombothi* being fermented in a particular home they automatically knew that

there was going to be a cultural ceremony and became curious as to what that ceremony might be. The following extracts attest to this:

P16 *“Umqombothi is not just a beer to drink for fun but someone brews it as a result of something forcing him or her. For an example, before people drink umqombothi in umcimbi, uSokhaya explains what this beer is for.”*

P15 *“Indod’ ayivel’ isel’ umqombothi, kufunek’ iqal’ icaciselwe ub’ isela ntoni. Ngoku umqombothi uze ngantoni apha, kutheni kukh’ umqombothi apha.” [A man don’t just drink umqombothi, it must be explained beforehand what is he drinking umqombothi for.]*

The study conducted by Jacobs and Steyn (2013:115) agrees with the participants that people do not simply brew and drink *umqombothi* “alone or just for the sake of drinking, instead drinking serves a communal purpose or is consumed at ceremonial” functions for a significant reason. The following category discusses *umqombothi* and the spiritual connection with ancestors.

a) Spiritual connection with ancestors

As highlighted in the preceding sub-themes and categories the participants felt strongly that *umqombothi* was served as a spiritual connection with the ancestors. As explained in theme one most participants were not aware why ancestors needed *umqombothi* in the ceremonies, but they mentioned that in the manhood code there was a phrase that stated, *“Indoda ayibuzi iyenza qha,”* which means that *“A man doesn’t ask but do,”* and also a phrase, *“limfundiso zabakhuluwa bam”* or *“Teachings from my older brothers or caregivers.”* This shows a lack of education on the part of the elders who know the history or the secrets of why *umqombothi* is a beer to communicate with ancestors. This poses the question: *what about those who do not believe in ancestors? Do they get punished by ancestors if they did not integrate umqombothi in ulwaluko?* This indicated a need for a clear explanation by the elders as to why *umqombothi* must be included in the ceremony, because a research participant, P16 indicated that he knew of a few

successful men in the township who had undergone initiation ceremonies without integrating *umqombothi* and brandy or beer. Below are the extracts that support the view that *umqombothi* is meant for spiritual connection with the ancestors:

P11 *“In my culture isiXhosa it is believed that umqombothi like our ancestors they lived with alcohol, it was part of their livelihood. So umqombothi is used as a sign to connect with ancestors.”*

P10 *“Xa uyalwa uye ube nalaa nkolelo yokuba ngoku iintsikilelo zikhona nakum ngoku ngoba kusiliwe kunomqombothi lapha, nabaphantsi bandijongile.” [During the process of ukuyalwa you develop a strong belief that blessings are showering you since there is umqombothi here, even my ancestors are looking at me now.]*

Lotusdrifter (2013:1) explains that *umqombothi*, a bottle of gin and boxer tobacco when integrated with *impepho* is beneficial for someone’s ancestors. By using these tools ancestors can offer blessings such as being promoted at work (Lotusdrifter, 2013:1). It was also discussed in Chapter Two that in Zimbabwe traditional alcohol was used “in social interactions as a trade product and as a sacred drink” (Marcia & Rayna, 2010:80). The following category discusses *umqombothi* as a way of fostering a sense of unity and good relationships among families and the community at large.

b) To foster a sense of unity and good relations among families and the community at large

One participant showed that *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremony was meant to foster a sense of unity and good relationships among families and the community at large. Participant two agreed that when there was an *umcimbi*, people felt unity and oneness, and showed this by providing gifts such as cases of beer or brandy to the *umcimbi*. By doing this, the *amaXhosa* preserved their sense of *ubuntu* which emphasized that, ‘A person is a person through other people’.

P16 “*Butywal’ obuthi buzise ubunye buhlanganis’ iintlanga zihlale ngobunye ngamxhelo-mnye.*” [It is alcohol that brings oneness, peace and unity among different races.]

P2 “*Xa kuphuma inkwenkwe kuye kusilwe umqombothi kubhiyozwe kube yiloo nto. Xa ndithi kubhiyozwe akubhiyozwa ngokuba kubhiyozwa kuza kukhal’ iigumbagumba kwiintoni, hayi! Kuyombelwa ngamaculw’ akwaNtu.*” [When the initiate is graduating in the bush umqombothi is brewed for celebration purposes. When I say ‘celebration’ I don’t mean celebration by the use of DVD’s or hi-fi’s, no! I mean celebrating by traditional or cultural songs.]

There were no studies in contrast to or to compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses the use of *umqombothi* as a non-compulsory beer in *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.3. Use of *umqombothi* is not compulsory

There were opposing views in the study that *umqombothi* was a compulsory beer to be used in *ulwaluko*; P16, P14, P6, P7 and P11 felt that there was no need to integrate *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremony. These five participants thought that *umqombothi* brewing was a waste of money; money that could be used to invest in *ikrwala*’s future and education. In contrast the rest of the participants thought that ‘*a ceremony is incomplete without the use of umqombothi. Isiko is isiko by brewing umqombothi*’. P11 felt that the purpose of the initiation ceremony was to mark a boy’s milestone that he was now reaching a phase of manhood. This argument was also put forward by Monyela (2017) and Gwata (2009) in Chapter One as ‘*a phase of taking responsibility as a man or role changing*’. These opposing views should be acknowledged to accommodate both views if possible, because this might be a signal that times have changed, rituals need to be revitalized using new eyes. Below are the few quotes that showed that *umqombothi* was not compulsory in *ulwaluko*:

P11 “My view on these things is that basically it’s wrong the use of alcohol. Because I mean like the mere fact that we are here is for the celebration right? For instance, I will make an example about the initiation ceremony which is a transition from boyhood to manhood right? So, you have to understand this is something big for this guy and the family. So, during umngeno for this young man I don’t see the reason why we should use alcohol because I mean like we are grooming this man, like he is crossing over to manhood. I don’t see the use of alcohol because we should be celebrating right? Which is a great thing I mean like we know the use of alcohol and its consequences, so now why we will be doing alcohol if you know that this is a celebration? There should be just joy all over, all around. And so my view is that aam alcohol is, I don’t see the need for use of alcohol in these celebrations.”

P7 “I would say that it’s really unnecessary to use umqombothi or any sort of alcohol during umgidi. I think in my side they over do things because they try to impress the neighbourhood; because if this ceremony is for celebrating ikrwala’s home-coming the foundation and centre of attention must be on teaching him manhood not alcohol use. For instance, in these days most initiation graduates end up with no enough resources since all the money was invested in umgidi’s preparation.”

There were no studies to contrast or compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses the assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.4. Assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*

The findings showed that there were different assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*. These assumptions ranged from the belief that ancestors saw how initiation ceremonies were carried out, assumptions that

everyone must undergo *imbeleko* before *ulwaluko*, and a strong belief of secrecy for certain stages of *ulwaluko*. As explained by P13's extract in the previous sections, there is a belief that ancestors know and see when initiation ceremonies are carried out incorrectly and could mysteriously punish the participants for such acts. This has been quoted as follows:

P13 *"Kunenkolelo yokuba xa ngaba kusiliwe nezinyanya zibakhona."* [There is a belief that if *umqombothi* is fermented, ancestors becomes present.]

These beliefs and assumptions are briefly discussed in the categories below. There were no studies in contrast to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the belief that ancestors see how initiation ceremonies are carried out.

a) Belief that ancestor's sees how initiation ceremonies are carried out

The findings revealed that a few participants believed that ancestors saw how initiation ceremonies were conducted. Participants emphasised that for people who did not conduct *isiko* in a respectful manner, ancestors would be furious and punish such people with vengeance. There is also a belief that *umqombothi* is divinely claimed by ancestors so that they could protect the soon-to-be-initiate. This has been shown in the extract below:

P2 *"Umqombothi during the initiation ceremonies for boys is used as a way of connecting with ancestors and inform them that Mr so and so will need their divine protection during his ulwaluko. In order for the ancestors to be satisfied and bless umcimbi to successfulness there must be umqombothi for them to sip first, even though symbolically people sip on their behalf."*

Similarly, other studies highlighted that *amakrwala* during their graduation ceremonies were told to abandon all childish behaviours because the relationship with the spiritual world was stressed as they were told never to anger their ancestors because there was a belief that ancestors were aware of how people

behaved (Hobongwana-Duley, 2014:101; Bongela, 2001:127). The same sentiments were made by Goitsemodimo (2020:3) that “in Zulu culture, after the beer was made it was usually left in a cool dark place known as *umsamo* for the ancestors to taste and it was believed that the ancestors would not recognise any ceremony without traditional beer.” Category below discusses the assumption that everyone must undergo *imbeleko* before *ulwaluko*.

b) Assumption that everyone must undergo imbeleko before ulwaluko

It was found that eleven of the sixteen participants knew that among the *amaXhosa* there was the assumption that everyone must undergo *imbeleko* before entering *ulwaluko*. If this phase was missed it is believed that the healing process could be delayed in the initiation ceremony, or that other graduated men would discriminate, stigmatize and label *ikrwala* who did not do *imbeleko* as ‘an incomplete man’. P8 in the extract below attested that a boy must undergo *imbeleko* before entering *ulwaluko*:

P8 “*Uqale uqiniswe wenziswe isiko lembeleko. Then emva koko ugujwelwe ngamany’ amakhwenkwe ugqithel’ ebudodeni.*” [You firstly undergo *ukuqiniswa* by the ceremony of *imbeleko*. Thereafter, *umgubho* follows to celebrate by other boys then you pass to manhood phase.]

P1 “*Phambi kokuba ihambe inkwenkwe iyokwaluka ikhaya liye liqale liyenzele imbeleko ngoba iminyanya kufuneka yazisiwe. Eeh umqombothi ke uyinto edibanisa izinyanya nabantu ngokomoya.*” [Before a boy undergo initiation, his home performs *imbeleko* because ancestors must be informed. Therefore, *umqombothi* is a beer that connects people with their ancestors spiritually.]

As discussed in Chapter One of this study Ntombana (2011:634) and Bongela (2001:129) are in accord with the participants that *imbeleko* is one of the *amaXhosa*’s important ceremonies that must be carried out before a boy undergoes the initiation ceremony, where *umqombothi* is used to introduce an

infant to his or her ancestors. The following category discusses the belief on secrecy of certain stages of *ulwaluko*.

c) *Belief on secrecy of certain stages of ulwaluko*

As explained in the introductory section 4.4.2.4 in the current study some of the *amakrwala* believed strongly that the secrecy of certain stages of *ulwaluko* must be maintained. In the pilot study interview the participant, after being asked which question he would like to change in the research questions, firmly believed that some *amakrwala* would be uncomfortable when dwelling on the significance of alcohol or its meaning during *umojiso*. This was the case with P13 who was hesitant to reveal the certain stages or secrets of *ulwaluko* because he said, “*By doing this I protect the privacy and dignity of isiko from public consumption. So for now I won’t dwell more on stages of ulwaluko, more especially umojiso and alcohol use.*” Below is the extract from the pilot study participant where he stated that some *amakrwala* might protect the secrets of using alcohol during *umojiso*:

“Ho-hayi, mhlawumbi apha kule nto xa uphaya entabeni umojiso mhlawumbi abanofila comfortable but uzova kubo ke andiyazi.” [I think maybe they will not feel comfortable if you ask about umojiso, but I don’t know you will hear from them.]

The report on public hearings on male initiation schools in South Africa (2010:9) though it does not state specifically what has been highlighted by *amakrwala* in the current study, showed that “given the principles of sacredness and secrecy of the practice of initiation, open and public debates and the apparent problems faced by the institution present a problematic reality; particularly the problems that relate to the violation of the rights of initiates, botched surgery and the death of initiates during the rite.” This report (2010:9) highlights that “these debates are taking place in the context of a country that is trying to heal the divisions of the past to promote respect and tolerance of its diverse cultures, and in particular to protect those cultural practices that were marginalized and are still threatened in the new era.”

This means that the belief held by some *amakwala* of not sharing more about the significance of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during *umojiso* need to be revitalized, to encourage learning about the significance of alcohol especially *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol purely being used for the purposes of respecting and preserving *isiko*. The following sub-theme discusses commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.5 Commercial alcohol

The study aimed to compare and contrast findings from *amakwala* on the significance or meaning of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies. It was found that mostly during the interviews participants were confused about the term 'commercial alcohol' or '*utywala bentengo*' but it was clear and easy to understand when the researcher used the term 'Western alcohol' or '*utywala baseNtshona okanye obomlungu*'. However, some participants had different views that commercial alcohol originated from migrant and domestic labour; commercial alcohol serves to complement *umqombothi*, and is used for celebrations and to have fun. Some *amakwala* were of the view that commercial alcohol has gained significance but is not compulsory in *ulwaluko*. These categories supported with quotations from the participants are discussed in the sub-sections below. Other participants lacked information on how commercial alcohol became part of the *amaXhosa* initiation ceremonies. The researcher found that participants lacked knowledge about the history or the origins of commercial alcohol among *amasiko amaXhosa* but, the majority of them perceived commercial alcohol as '*a modern umqombothi*' because '*umqombothi is out-dated, dirty in colour and old-fashioned*'. Below is a quote from one participant in support of this view:

P16 "*From what I've heard from elders, the origins or genealogy of brandies among amaXhosa originates from our forefathers who were working in the farms under Boers. When they come back home during holidays they were rewarded with*

brandies which were drunk together with umqombothi. These brandies are known as 'sweets from White people or bosses'. Umqombothi beaker is therefore brewed with the purposes of thanksgiving for labourers' home-coming, together with cigar (boxer or sniff) and says that, 'these are the sweets from employers'. That's how it arrived in amaXhosa ceremonies."

These findings agree with what was highlighted in 4.4.1.4.6 by McAllister (1985:1221) that *umsindleko*, shared similar views that commercial alcohol originated from migrant and domestic labour. The following category discusses commercial alcohol as originating from migrant and domestic labour.

a) Commercial alcohol originates from migrant and domestic labour

In the study four of the sixteen participants, indicated that commercial alcohol originated from migrant and domestic labour when the grandmothers who worked on wine farms or grandfathers who worked in the mines were rewarded with brandy as '*pad kos*' or '*umphako*' or 'a gift' by their employers during the December holidays.

In connection with the history as stated by P16, P11 when asked about the meaning of commercial or Western alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, P16 stated that his view or understanding was that there was an overuse or unnecessary use of *utywala*. P11 explained his view as follows:

"That's funny enough now because I've got a joke around that, aam someone else asked o' right uuh if your granny was not in good terms with White people right. Because okay not that I'm raising the issue of apartheid or anything but someone wanted to mention that if your grandfather did not like White man how did or can he allow Duke Viceroy in his kraal? How can he bring Richelieu in his kraal? So okay for me that has been interesting. So aam to answer this question my friend said that was in the past, now things have changed."

P3 is in accord with P11's view that most people praised and preferred brandy nowadays because times had changed, and people expected brandy not *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremonies. *Umqombothi* was perceived as an out-dated beer for elders but not for young people:

P3 "This bottle of brandy is preferred by most people in these times of changes, because people watch TV and listen to the radios the adverts of Viceroy brandy, which then they automatically expect to be served in the ceremony. Umqombothi is scarce or a rare beer nowadays. People lose interest in umqombothi drink, therefore as a host you must buy more commercial alcohol which is liked by more people."

Similarly, Michael, Matthews and Nelson (2011:1) in their study also confirmed that 7723 youth interviewed using a "Youth Risk Behaviour Survey or YRBS among public school students in eight states, reported consuming at least one drink of alcohol in the past 30 days." The findings of this study further indicated that "liquor was the strongly preferred alcoholic beverage of choice (43.8%), followed by beer (19.2%) and malt beverages (17.4%), with a very low preference for wine (3.7%) or wine coolers (3.4%) and sorghum-made beer (2.1%) by youth" (Michael et al., 2011:1). This therefore shows that youth prefer commercial alcohol in general and also during *imicimbi* or social gatherings as opposed to traditional beers.

Jacobs and Steyn (2013:114) explain that in South Africa commercial alcohol in traditional ceremonies originates from domestic labour. According to the findings of this study "employers at vineyards and other farms in the Western Cape and in the emerging diamond and gold mines to the Northern Cape used alcohol to attract and retain workers from rural areas where workers received alcohol as partial compensation in exchange of money" (Jacobs & Steyn, 2013:114). The following category discusses commercial alcohol as a way of serving or complementing *umqombothi* (perceived as sweets) by *amakrwala*.

b) Commercial alcohol serves to complement umqombothi (perceived as sweets)

As previously discussed in the sub-sections above the participants felt strongly that commercial alcohol was treated or taken as ‘sweets’ in *ulwaluko*, with no significant cultural meaning attached to it. Ten participants in the study commented that commercial alcohol was good and relevant to use in the initiation ceremonies because of its significance in the naming of *umkhwetha*, *ukuyala ikrwala*, teaching *ikrwala* the three-by-three rule, the cleansing of *umkhwetha*, brandy as a symbolic beer to the first initiated Xhosa man *uSomagwaza*, thanksgiving to the initiates’ care-givers and brandy ‘*is the modern beers for celebrating in umcimbi*’. However, the other six participants felt that commercial alcohol had no value or significance in *ulwaluko* or any other *amaXhosa* ceremony; they are just ‘sweets for fun and entertainment purposes’. In addition to this, they believed that if they were given the chance to have initiation ceremonies for their future sons they would not use any alcohol in *ulwaluko*. Below is the extract that supports that commercial alcohol is perceived as sweets that accompany *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremonies:

P6 “*Utywala besilungu esiXhoseni ndingathi yimboleko kuyafakelelwa kulaa mqombothi njee uchatha.*” [*I can say that Western alcohol is a borrowed beer to spice up umqombothi of amaXhosa.*]

P16 “*Umqombothi beaker needs company, those sweets. There is a bottle of brandy to build initiates’ lodge. This is where Western alcohol starts to work. When abafana accompany initiate to the river cleansing a bottle of brandy is needed to accompany them.*”

These six participants’ views are shared by S. Sesanti, an Anthropologist, in a radio interview on 07th November 2020 with N. Mndende at Umhlobo Wenene FM who confirmed that, a traditional ceremony is a ceremony by a belief in word not by the presence of meat and alcohol. Sesanti (2020) further explained that he had

been practising *amasiko* using *amasi* and water only, and his ancestors connected and communicated with him very well with no complaints or pleading for *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol via *amaphupha* or dreams. This initiated a strong debate on whether the *amaXhosa* must continue to brew *umqombothi* and use brandy in *amasiko* if this was the case as argued by Sesanti.

As a way of preserving and respecting the culture and heritage of our forefathers it is a good practice to use alcohol in the ceremonies. However, there should be exceptions of not putting pressure, stigma, or judgement on those with different beliefs on alcohol use and *amasiko akwaXhosa*. The following sub-theme discusses commercial alcohol as a way of celebrating and having fun in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.6. Commercial alcohol is used for celebrations and having fun

Another finding from the study on the significance of commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies was that commercial alcohol was used for celebrations and for enjoyment. This was one of the main findings reported by all participants. The participants strongly felt that '*people attend imicimbi to get free alcohol*'; the less alcohol the fewer the attendants of *imicimbi*. It has also been found that people drink commercial alcohol to get slightly drunk and take away inhibitions so that they can sing freely; people drink commercial alcohol to show that, '*we are happy for you newly initiation graduate*'. This was agreed by the following participants:

P10 "*Obu utywala buthengiswayo besilungu bobokuba benze kube mnandi benze abantu abadala babeshushu, konwabe wonk' umntu ngoba lusuku lokonwaba eli.*" [This commercial alcohol is meant for fun, so that older people become warm and everyone enjoys the ceremony because this is a celebration day.]

P7 "*I said earlier on people call commercial alcohol 'sweets' because of they are here to celebrate this umgidi. Now when they celebrate umqombothi mustn't go*

alone because it's traditional beer ne? So they use 'sweets', this commercial alcohol to celebrate, maybe is to entice them to be more tipsy or something. Yah I think commercial alcohol is used for people to be energetic, have fun and become drunk very quick because this day is for joy and celebration purposes."

In common with these findings Ndandani (2015:122) found that liquor in rural areas was used for entertainment purposes and people were eager to attend *umgidi* since they knew that they would get free alcohol. Similar to what was reported by the participants in the current study in Chapter One, Ntombana (2011:97) highlighted the importance of contributing brandy and cases of beer during *ikrwala's umgidi*. The following category discusses the different roles played by commercial alcohol (brandy and beer) during the stages of *ulwaluko*.

a) Different roles played by commercial alcohol (brandy and beer) during the stages of ulwaluko

One of the major findings from the study was that, brandy and beer played significant roles during the initiation ceremonies; roles such as *ukuyala ikrwala*, cleansing the initiate in the river using brandy, teaching *ikrwala* manhood using brandy, using brandy as a symbolic beer to honour the first initiated Xhosa man, *uSomagwaza*, beer and brandy to thank initiates' caregivers, brandy to mark the healing phases of the initiate, and brandy to abide by the rule of three by three (*isithathu esithathwini*). Brandy, played a significant role, namely for *ikrwala* to apologise to *abakhuluwa* and other *amakrwala* if 'he fell down' or '*uwile esidodeni*', meaning that he was not able to defend himself when tested by other *amakrwala* on what he had learnt in the bush. This links with what was discussed in 4.4.1.7.5 on *ukutshakwa* or manhood testing. Below are the participants' views that support these findings:

P13 *"Commercial alcohol is firstly used for celebrating in umgidi. Secondly, it is used by abafana in the lighthouse to teach ikrwala manhood. The more brandies*

present the more teachings are poured on ikrwala by abakhuluwa. These brandies plays a significant role of teaching ikrwala how to open a bottle of brandy in a man's code, and how to talk or behave properly as a graduated man."

P15 *"Ngexesha lokwaluka utywala bomgidi busetyenziselwa ukufuzisela ngoba okokuqala indoda kufuneka ifuzisele. Mandenz' umzekelo ngeViceroy, iViceroy ifuzisele into ethile umkhwetha adlule kuyo entabeni nemhlophe ifuzisele enye into." [During the initiation ceremony alcohol for umgidi is used for symbolic purposes because a man must symbolize. For an example, Viceroy brandy is a symbolic beer for certain stage passed by the initiate in the bush, and the white brandy is also a symbolic beer for something.]*

Mlisa (2009:136) also found that some of the teachings offered to *ithwasa* were the importance of burning "*impepho*, drinking a 'tot' from a bottle of gin, pouring a little bit of gin on the ground as well as sprinkling snuff on the ground just before entering the forest." The reason for doing this is to pave the way in case evil people placed their traps in the forest. The study further found that on the day of *ukubaleka*, *umkhwetha* accompanied by her *amakhankatha* took "a billycan of *umqombothi*, snuff and a box of matches with them, so that at the entrance of the *ingethe* she could make a fire and burn *impepho*" to summon her ancestral guides for support (Mlisa, 2009:152). The following sub-theme discusses assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.7. Assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and *ulwaluko*

In the study it was found that *amakrwala* had different perceptions, assumptions, and belief systems on the meaning of commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. The participants shared the following similar assumptions, perceptions and beliefs namely, that commercial alcohol had less significance with *umkhwetha* cleansing and *ukuyalwa*, the perception that initiates' naming was

insignificant in townships, a strong belief about the three-by-three rule (*isithathu esithathwini*) in the lighthouse, an assumption that crime was rooted in commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, a perception that a ceremony was incomplete and disrespected without brandy and beer, a perception that the success of *umgidi* was measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used and the perception that drinking revealed eloquence (*ubuciko*) to teach *ikrwala* manhood. These perceptions and beliefs are briefly highlighted with relevant quotes in the sub-sections below.

In addition to these perceptions Prusente et al. (2019:6) in their study found that *abafana* and *amakhankatha* were found in Lusikisiki and “were reported to actively exert pressure on initiates to use alcohol and drugs, and this seemed to be perpetuated by a dominant notion that drinking and smoking were essential markers of a transition from boyhood to manhood.” The following category discusses the belief that commercial alcohol has less significance with *umkhwetha* cleansing and *ukuyalwa*.

a) Belief that commercial alcohol has less significance with *umkhwetha* cleansing and *ukuyalwa*

Fifteen *amakrwala* believed strongly that commercial alcohol had less significance with *umkhwetha* cleansing and *ukuyalwa*, except P3 who felt that *umqombothi* was dirty in colour and not clean. Therefore, he preferred brandy to be used during the cleansing of the initiate in the river. P2 and P13 also agreed that commercial alcohol had less significance in teaching *ikrwala* manhood, and in his (P13) understanding the cleansing of *umkhwetha* was done by twenty-five litres of *umqombothi*. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P3 “*Xa uwujonga umqombothi mandith’ umdaka, ubrown ke ngolu hlobo ndiyibeka ngalo. Xa uyithatha le nto uyisa kule nto xa ucinga nzulu ngayo ujonga neebhotile ke ngoku ezithe zathi. Ibhotile yinto yokuhlamba, umqombothi yinto yokucela*

okanye yinto yokubiza.” [If you look at umqombothi you will see that umqombothi is dirty and brown in colour. If you think deeply about this, it means that a bottle of brandy is for cleansing while umqombothi is a beer to plea or call ancestors attention.]

P2 *“Commercial alcohol is highly praised and preferred by people compared to umqombothi, of which umqombothi is a beer to conduct a ceremony. If it was according to my power I wish commercial alcohol can be excluded in the ceremony. If someone needs commercial alcohol he or she must go and buy it after the ceremony. It’s supposed to be umqombothi remains - iintsipho only that we smell in my home grounds.”*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the perception that initiates’ naming is insignificant in townships.

b) Perception that the initiate’s naming is insignificant in townships

Of the sixteen participants interviewed the perception that initiates’ naming was insignificant in townships was opposed by P4 who considered that brandy was valued in townships for the process of naming and *ukuyala ikrwala*. P6 also felt strongly that in the townships *ikrwala*’s teachings by *abafana* were taught only when there were beer and brandy in the lighthouse. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P4 *“Eeh naxa eyothiywa igama umkhwetha utywala buyafumaneka khona.”*
[During the initiate’s naming alcohol is found.]

P6 *“Usually my brother I see commercial alcohol use as a must in every umgidi I attend. So, if someone did not use it he or she is perceived as someone who skipped a step in the ceremony. Therefore, this pushes or forces every initiated boy to follow this path, get teachings with alcohol use of which that is wrong.”*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the strong belief about the rule of three by three (*isithathu esithathwini*) in the lighthouse.

c) Strong belief about the three-by-three rule (isithathu esithathwini) in the lighthouse

In the study there was a strong belief about the three-by-three rule (*isithathu esithathwini*) which is usually emphasized in the lighthouses. For example, P2 believed that Viceroy or Commando brandy is valued to perform the three-by-three rule. On the other hand, P4 thought that the three-by-three rule must be followed by all men in townships, otherwise if a man did not abide by this rule he would be excluded in men's gatherings. The three-by-three rule was also highlighted by P16 who shared that this rule went with forcing *ikrwala* to buy three bottles of brandy for *umngeno*, *umojiso* and *umgidi* as a symbol that paid tribute to Somagwaza, the first initiated man among *amaXhosa*.

In addition to this, P9 concluded that beer and brandy granted *ikrwala* permission to enter the lighthouse, otherwise no if no brandy was produced in his *umgidi* it meant he was not permitted to enter in the lighthouses. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P2 *"Ibhotile ebomvu yeCommando iViceroy loo ntw' iyiyoyeyokufundis' ikrwala. Kuphume neebhekile ezintathu. Zonk' ezaa ndlela azihambileyo, three three three yeebhekile."* [A red bottle of brandy, Commando or Viceroy is for teaching *ikrwala*. It is accompanied by three beakers of *umqombothi* to symbolise all phase he walked, three three three of beakers.]

P9 *"Ibhotile yile ke ngoku ichazayo ebantwini ukuba uyindoda. Once ingabikho ibhotile endlini yakho kuthiwa awuyiyo mos awugqibanga ebudodeni ude ukhuphe yona."* [A bottle of brandy is the beer that tells people that you are a man, once it is absent people perceive you as incomplete man until you give them a brandy.]

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the assumption that crime is rooted in commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*.

d) Assumption that crime is rooted in commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*

Only one participant (P2) in the study believed that changes in morals or negative behaviour which led to crime being committed by men in society were primarily caused by Western alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand, P16 similarly believed that violence in society was caused by alcohol use which was introduced in the initiation ceremonies. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P2 *“The reason why this country is so violent it is rooted from commercial alcohol. In the older days of umqombothi use people used to drink, get drunk and go look after the livestock, or someone will blackout and sleep; but bottled alcohol shows someone flames, and ends up committing crimes such as assaulting people in the streets.”*

P16 *“Teachings of manhood by abafana are done using alcohol which makes them so violent. If you drank commercial alcohol your level of intoxication is very fast and then you end up fighting with other people. For an example, nowadays it is common to see someone entering lighthouse and get stabbed to death there by other abafana as a result of commercial alcohol use.”*

Douglas (2013:150) in Libode found similar results as he found that the key informants in the study were concerned about the “infiltration of the criminal element into traditional circumcision.” For example, “the boys were taught the language criminals spoke in jail and were taught how to commit all kinds of crime” (Madosi, 2018:42; Ntozini, 2015:136; Douglas, 2013:150). The key informant

observed an intrusion of criminal culture into traditional circumcision (Douglas, 2013:150). The following category discusses the perception that a ceremony is incomplete and disrespected without brandy and beer.

e) Perception that a ceremony is incomplete and disrespected without brandy and beer

The bulk of the participants in the study believed that a ceremony was regarded as incomplete and disrespected without the integration of brandy and beer. For example, P2 thought that *isiko* was incomplete or non-existent without commercial alcohol. This was agreed by P3 that a ceremony without commercial alcohol was judged as incomplete. P4 also shared the same sentiment that the absence of commercial alcohol in *ulwaluko* was associated with disrespecting *isiko*. Similar to these views P16 felt that boys during *umgubho* perceived and labelled you as an incomplete man if you did not give them 'their belongings' which was beer, and they would not respect you after you graduated from the bush. Interestingly, P5 had a different opinion that at his initiation ceremony there was no explanation about the meaning or purpose of integrating brandy and beer, and he therefore felt that a ceremony could be completed without integrating beer or brandy. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P10 *“Obu besilungu hayi andiqond’ uba ikhon’ into engonakala kodw’ abantu bangaqaba emcimbini kuba into ebangel’ uba abant’ abaninzi baye emcimbini kuba beyaz’ uba buzobe bukhona utywala obafree.” [I don’t think something can go wrong if commercial alcohol is not part of the ceremony but people can be scarce because people attend imicimbi for the purposes of getting free alcohol.]*

P9 *“Once ingabikho ibhotile endilini yakho kuthiwa awuyiyo mos awugqibanga ebudodeni because ibhotile le ayikho kufuneka ude ukhuphe yona.” [Once a bottle of brandy is absent in your ceremony men takes you as incomplete man until you give them a brandy.]*

Ntozini (2015:136) agrees with the participants that during *ulwaluko*, “portrayals of bravery usually shown by an initiate withstanding the pressures inherent in the ritual are tested during this period.” It is believed that “men who ‘fail’ this test of bravery are not treated with respect and do not receive the same status as other men in the community” (Ntozini, 2015:136). Ntozini (2015:136) further highlights that “non-compliance to the demands of this practice were a source of many psychological problems among Xhosa men because some initiates preferred to endure the pain and face death rather than face the risk of being perceived as a failure and be treated like adolescents for the remainder of their lives.” The following category discusses the perception that the success of *umgidi* is measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used.

f) Perception that the success of *umgidi* is measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used

In the study there was the perception that the success of *umgidi* was measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used. This was agreed to by P3 who shared that if someone went through the initiation ceremony without the integration of commercial alcohol he or she was perceived as not taking the ceremony seriously because no one would attend that ceremony, except for the church members or close family friends. P4 also agreed that commercial alcohol took priority in *ulwaluko*. In highlighting the significance of commercial alcohol P5 felt that commercial alcohol during *umgidi* was very significant because some people did not drink *umqombothi* because *uyaboma* or *umqombothi* dried their throats. Below are the participants’ interview extracts that attest to this:

P3 “*Mixing traditional beer and commercial alcohol can be traced way back, and all imicimbi must have alcohol, so that people drink, enjoy and feel as part of this ceremony. It can be a bad or selfish thing for someone not to use alcohol in his umcimbi while he knows that alcohol must be part of the ceremony. People in the community can even see his ceremony as a joke or a play.*”

P5 “Utywala besilungu busetyenziswa kuba abantu abaninzi basela wona, ngoba abany’ abantu abayisel’ imiqombothi.” [Western alcohol is mostly used because most people drink it, because some people don’t drink imiqombothi.]

The participants described that *umgidi* was characterised by heavy alcohol use and celebration of the *ikrwala*’s homecoming. Douglas (2013:125) found that the *umgidi* ceremony was characterised by an abundance of alcohol such as *umqombothi*, bottles of brandy and beer, and the families who could afford to usually slaughtered an ox for all the people to celebrate and eat meat (Douglas, 2013:125). In opposition to what was reported by the participants, McBrien (2016:3) attended a Xhosa *umbuyiso* ritual, in one of the villages outside of King William’s Town, Eastern Cape, South Africa, where a recently deceased family member becomes a protective ancestor and he found out from his friend who invited him that the *amaXhosa* believed that if *umqombothi* bubbled the party was a success. The following category discusses the perception that drinking reveals eloquence (*ubuciko*) to teach *ikrwala* manhood.

g) Perception that drinking reveals eloquence (*ubuciko*) to teach *ikrwala* manhood

The perception that drinking promoted eloquence (*ubuciko*) to teach *ikrwala* manhood was only found from P3 and P15 who felt that integrating commercial alcohol was necessary in the initiation ceremonies to teach *ikrwala* manhood etiquette. Below is the extract that attests to this:

P3 “Abanye bathi bakusela bazidle ngesiXhosa bafundise lo mntu ulapha. Lo uselileyo uyayazi uba wasela uza wuthi kubekhw’ indlel’ ethile aziva ngayo emenz’ uba akwaz’ ukuthetha le nto ayaziyo ngale nto yenzekayo apha.” [Some people after drinking alcohol they feel proud of Xhosa culture and pour more teachings to *ikrwala* about manhood. Eloquence is more when someone drank alcohol.]

P15 *“Bakhona abathi xa besober basilibale isidoda kodwa xa benxilile bayasikhumbula. Qha benzela ntoni uba bakhumbule babenokukwazi ukudoda.”*
[Some men says that when they are sober-minded they forget manhood but when they drank alcohol they remember manhood. They drink alcohol so that they can be able to remember manhood.]

As *amakrwala* indicated in the study that *abafana* believed that alcohol use improved eloquence and fluency of speaking manhood phrases and codes, it is argued by Keller and Vaillant (2021:5) that experiments on alcohol use indicated that what you say or do under the influence of alcohol does not mean that alcohol made you to be eloquent on speaking. This shows that some people speak more eloquently when intoxicated but other people struggle to speak eloquently under the influence of alcohol. The following sub-theme highlights the significance of commercial alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.8. Commercial alcohol has gained significance

The study found that brandy such as Commando and Viceroy are the beers used to communicate with ancestors. There is a belief highlighted by some participants that before a ceremony starts, a tot of brandy must be poured on the ground as a symbol of worshipping ancestors. As highlighted in the above perceptions and beliefs about commercial alcohol use it is clear that without commercial alcohol integration people would not attend *imicimbi* and also people would not feel part of that ceremony. Below are the excerpts that support this view:

P7 *“Bayazisebenzis’ iibhranti bazibiza ngamagama bathi zifunwa ngabaphantsi.”*
[They use brandies and say that these brandies are requested by the ancestors.]

P6 *“Ezi zibomvu zezi zisetyenziswa xa kusolukwa. Ezi bhranti ke ziyatheth’ apha kwaXhosa. Ezibomvu zezi sigalelela izinyanya kuzo kuqala sizingcamlise sizinqule.”* [Red brandies are used during *ulwaluko*. These brandies speaks among

Xhosa people. We use red ones to pour tot down for ancestors to taste first then we worship them.]

In addition to the significance of commercial alcohol in *ulwaluko* as raised by *amakrwala* the other studies found that in China “people always drank alcohol when holding a memorial ceremony, offering sacrifices to gods or their ancestors, pledging resolution before going into battle, celebrating victory, for taking an oath of allegiance, while attending the ceremonies of birth, marriage, reunions, departures, death, and festival banquets” (Hanson, 2021:2; Wang, Newman & Shell, 2016:1; Seale et al., 2002:606). When studying these functions of commercial alcohol it was clear that *amakrwala* were correct when saying that people in *imicimbi yakwaXhosa* drank alcohol for pleasure and to enjoy life. The following sub-theme highlights the insignificance of commercial alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies which is perceived as not compulsory in the *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.2.9. Commercial alcohol is insignificant and not compulsory

In the current study there was a finding that commercial alcohol was insignificant and not compulsory in the initiation ceremony because men celebrated *ikrwala*'s homecoming with or without the presence of alcohol. Most participants were frustrated by commercial alcohol use during *umgidi* and felt that there was no need for its incorporation in the ceremony because they perceived it as a waste of money and a substance that invited unnecessary fights that occurred after use. However, participants considered that nowadays you were aware that men claimed alcohol use as compulsory in the initiation ceremony. Below are the extracts that support these views:

P9 *“If ukhon’ umqombothi kwanele, eeh umsebenz’ ugqityiwe. Ezinye iibhranti nezinye iibhiya akukho need yokuba zibekhona qha sekuyinto nje yokubana ziyafakelwa, sistyle nje.” [If umqombothi is present in the ceremony that’s enough,*

a ceremony is completed. Other brandies and beers are not needed but they are included as beers of style.]

P13 *“Andibuboni bubalulekile bona obu besilungu, but siyabusebenzisa ngoba sebukhona. Naxa kuthethwa kutshiwo kuthiwe ziiswiti ezi.” [I don’t see the significance of commercial alcohol use but we use it either way. Even when people speak they label commercial alcohol as sweets.]*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category highlights men who celebrate *ikrwala*’s homecoming with or without alcohol’s presence.

a) Men celebrate *ikrwala*’s homecoming with or without alcohol’s presence

Some participants in the study reported that men celebrated *ikrwala*’s homecoming with or without alcohol being present as a way of supporting *isiko*. However, what happened after the graduation ceremonies was that *ikrwala* who did not use alcohol were excluded by other *amakrwala* who used alcohol in their ceremonies. The *ikrwala* were stigmatised and mistreated as incomplete men if alcohol was not integrated in their ceremony. This therefore appeared to encourage everyone from the Xhosa fraternity to use alcohol so that his or her son could ‘fit in’ with other men. Below is the view that was expressed by one of the participants about this:

P8 *“Bangafane baze ngoba xa kwenziw’ amasiko yintw’ enkul’ isiko mos emntwin’ omnyama so bangaza kuba bezobonakalis’ inkxaso yabo kuba asibotywala obubangel’ uba badibane.” [They can attend to show support to your ceremony because isiko is a big thing among Black people. It is not alcohol that invites or makes people to attend the ceremony.]*

Similarly, as discussed in Chapter Two of this study Nyembezi et al. (2010:105) found that 54.4% of the research participants indicated that they drank alcohol during their initiation ceremonies as their culture required them to do so, and the

remaining participants did not use alcohol. The following category highlights that singing during the initiation ceremonies does not depend on alcohol consumption.

b) Singing does not depend on alcohol consumption

In the study it was found that singing did not depend on alcohol consumption because *amaXhosa* were the people of songs who sang when sober and were not dependent on alcohol as an enhancer to sing more. However, one of the participants, P13 felt that he sang more if he saw that a ceremony had more brandy and beers, otherwise if the ceremony had no beers and brandy it would be judged as a birthday party for children. Below are the extracts that support these views:

P14 *“Xa kusojiswa utywala abubiyofokhas’ enkulu. Njee to ukuthi cuntsu, and abantu bacula kakhulu nokuba akukho tywala, kukho inyama kuphela.” [During umojiso phase alcohol is not a focus only meat is present and a small beaker of umqombothi. People sings more with or without alcohol in the ceremony.]*

P13 *“Hayi mkhuluwa wam aph’ eThembalethu singabafana sithand’ utywala besilungu kakhulu. Sitsho sicule kakhulu ke ngoku xa bukhutshwa utywala sidlale neentonga sonwabile.” [I won’t lie to you brother, in Thembalethu area we like a lot to drink Western alcohol. If we see a lot of alcohol dished to us we sing a lot and play stick-fighting games in a happy moods.]*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings.

In summary, theme two discussed the significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies, with special reference to *umqombothi* as a highly favoured brew used purposefully for spiritual connection with ancestors. Different views from *amakrwala* felt that *umqombothi* was compulsory in initiation ceremonies while others mentioned its insignificance as discussed in this theme. Assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*, as well as assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and *ulwaluko* were also discussed in this section. The section also discussed different significant roles played by brandies during

ulwaluko. The following sub-section discusses theme three focusing on the comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

4.4.3. Theme three: Comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol

It was found in the study that commercial alcohol mostly dominated or overtook *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies because *umqombothi* was perceived as a 'dirty' beer while brandy and beer were perceived as 'cool' beer for intoxicating someone. The majority of the participants believed that *umqombothi* was a beer to perform *isiko* while commercial alcohol was perceived as sweets that helped people feel happy during *umcimbi*. This theme has not been discussed in detail because *amakrwala's* excerpts in the previous section discussed the themes and sub-themes that tended to balance their views on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. The following sub-theme discusses the popularity of commercial alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.3.1. The popularity of commercial alcohol

In the study all participants were in agreement that commercial alcohol such as brandy and beer were more popular and relevant in *ulwaluko*, as *umqombothi* was viewed as a beer that was no longer relevant to bring joy and euphoria to the ceremony. Brandy was perceived as a beer of 'style' and 'modern *mqombothi*' by the participants. Below is the participant's quote that attests to this view:

P5 *"I think Western alcohol is used more than umqombothi in ulwaluko, because umqombothi is used occassionally for specific reason such as bringing healing to the sick. There are people who still brew umqombothi, but the most preferred type of beer in ulwaluko is commercial alcohol."*

Similar findings can be deduced from the literature review on traditional male circumcision and initiation in South Africa from 1800 to 2000 conducted by Deacon

and Thomson (2012:80) who found that “consumption of alcohol by those performing the circumcision has been linked to increased complications such as the *iingcibi* and *amakhankhatha* who had been found drunk on beer and who smoked dagga in preparation for the circumcision process.” Luu, Nguyen and Newman (2014:5) and Deacon and Thomson (2012:80) also found that the trend of drinking brandy rather than *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremonies resulted in a higher level of drunkenness. The following category discusses Western alcohol’s high value and dominance during *ulwaluko* in both townships and rural areas.

a) Western alcohol's high value and dominance during ulwaluko in both townships and rural areas

All the participants in the study considered that Western alcohol was highly valued and was dominant during *ulwaluko* in both townships and rural areas. P2, stated that ‘*ingqobhoko*’ or ‘*amaXhosa* are transformed into a Western culture’ as is discussed in theme four under the sub-theme shift to modernisation.

Some participants criticized the high value put on brandy by *abakhuluwa* and recommended that this habit must end while some participants viewed this as a good practice because ‘times have changed we can’t be trapped in the past’. Below are the quote that are in accord with this view:

P9 “*Western alcohol is highly praised and dominates umqombothi during ulwaluko. Even in rural or township imicimbi, commercial alcohol overtakes umqombothi. If commercial alcohol is absent in umcimbi that mcimbi is regarded as nothing by the community. I can say people value commercial alcohol more than umqombothi.*”

P2 “*Asinayo ibhotile, asinayo icommando asinayo intoni, bonke obu tywala asinabo apha kwaXhosa kodwa ke ngenxa yempucuko nokwenguquko nokugqobhoka sithi sizisebenzise.*” [We don’t have commando brandies or any type of commercial alcohol in Xhosa culture, but due to modernisation, transformation and belief in Christian religion we end up using Western alcohol.]

Other scholars agreed with the participants that Westernization, modernisation and globalization of Africa and its venomous effects on people and their cultures resulted in African culture becoming an object of gross manipulation where people were forced to change the older ways of performing their ceremonies (Manona & Hurst, 2018:3; Lombo, 2017:1). The following category discusses that less value is placed on or attached to *umqombothi* in township initiation ceremonies.

b) Less value is placed on or attached to umqombothi in township initiation ceremonies

This category emphasizes the point highlighted by the participants in the category above that *umqombothi* was less valued in township initiation ceremonies. This was interesting to discover because the researcher could attest that this was not the case in his rural homeland, where *umqombothi* was perceived by the community as ‘a beer that brings dignity to *isiko*’. Possibly as less value was placed on *umqombothi* in townships it confirmed what was highlighted by P2 that ‘times have changed’. Below are the excerpts that highlight *umqombothi* as being valued less in *ulwaluko*:

P12 “*Umqombothi awusafane usetyenziswe kakhulu ngabantu abenz’ imicimbi. Emgidini into eye ibe ninzi bobu buthengwayo kunomqombothi.*” [*Umqombothi is no longer used by people during the ceremonies. During umgidi commercial alcohol is more compared to umqombothi.*]

P3 “*Ivolyum yazo ezi zinto azifani and ivolyum enkulu ith’ iphazamise indlela umntu athi enze ngayo izinto.*” [*Intoxicating volume for these things is different; more volume affects how a person behaves.*]

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses *umqombothi* as being irrelevant and rare in *imicimbi*.

c) *Umqombothi is irrelevant and rare in imicimbi*

Some participants explained that *umqombothi* was irrelevant and rare in *imicimbi*. Their main motivation why this was the case, was because *umqombothi* was perceived as a beer for older people. However, participants who still attended *imicimbi* in rural areas during June or December holidays argued that *umqombothi* could not be discarded in *ulwaluko* because it was a relevant African beer to symbolise a cultural ceremony. Below is the excerpt that attests to this view:

P13 “*Umqombothi uza kade kunobu besilungu kwaye awusaxatyiswanga apha elokishini kuba uthathwa njengotywala bamaxhego lulutsha.*” [*Umqombothi delays intoxication as compared with commercial alcohol and umqombothi is no longer valued in townships since it’s perceived by yourth as a beer for elders.*]

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses commercial alcohol as a highly intoxicating substance in *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.3.2. Commercial alcohol is highly intoxicating

All the participants acknowledged that commercial alcohol was highly intoxicating. Commercial alcohol was described as a beer with high levels of intoxication which later brought adverse effects on people’s behaviour. All participants considered that this was not the case with *umqombothi* intoxication levels.

P3 “*Obu besilungu bubo obumosh’ ibehaviour umntu enze isigezo axabanise abantu. Utywala endibuvumelayo mna emasikweni is umqombothi more than utywala besilungu ngob’ umqombothi awubagezisi abantu.*” [*Commercial alcohol controls someone’s behaviour to do negative things such as fights. I prefer umqombothi more than commercial alcohol in the ceremonies because umqombothi does not mess someone’s behaviour.*]

P10 “Umqombothi unelevel yawo onxilisa ngayo soz’ unxile unxile bhum, because ezi bhranti zesilungu nezi bhiya sizithengayo zezi zibangel’ abantu banxile banxile nyhani emigidini.” [Umqombothi have certain level of intoxicating but you don’t become completely drunk, shutdown, because these brandies and commercial beers results to heavy intoxication among people in umgidi.]

It was indicated in the study on alcohol consumption by Keller and Vaillant (2021:2) that alcoholic beverages include wine, beer, and spirits. Beer was found to have a low level of intoxication, wine with a medium percentage of intoxication, while spirits have higher percentages of intoxication. This was the case in the study where *amakrwala* indicated that beer and brandy had high levels of intoxication compared to the levels of *umqombothi*.

In summary, theme three discussed the comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol with the focus on the popularity of commercial alcohol in *ulwaluko*, Western alcohol’s high value and dominance during *ulwaluko* in both townships and rural areas, with less value placed on or attached to *umqombothi* in township initiation ceremonies, *umqombothi* as being irrelevant and less likely used beer in *imicimbi*, and commercial alcohol as a highly intoxicating substance. The following theme discusses the cultural shift and modernisation in the initiation ceremonies.

4.4.4. Theme four: Cultural shift and modernisation

In the study it was highlighted by the participants that *ulwaluko* and the meaning of alcohol use had been largely influenced by a cultural shift and modernisation. As discussed in the sub-themes and categories below the findings indicated that there was less significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi* in present day *imigidi*. Other factors that portray the dominance of Western culture in the modern *imigidi* are discussed in the sub-themes and categories in the sections below.

In concurring with the view given by the participants that present day *ulwaluko* was influenced by a cultural shift and modernization, in the report on public hearings on male initiation schools in South Africa (2010:14) it was argued that “it was commonly recognized that acculturation was a cornerstone of the colonial strategies for ruling African people, where Africans were forced to abandon their indigenous practices and structures and adopt the more, so-called ‘enlightened’ modern Western colonial belief systems and practices.” This report (2010:14) further argues that “different terminologies were used by the colonialists in their attempts to reduce African cultural practices to inferior status while at the same time affirming the cultural superiority of the colonial masters.” For example, the report (2010:14) showed that “practices like initiation were referred to as ‘barbaric’ and missionaries referred to initiation as a ‘pagan belief’” with the intention to eventually eliminate the practice. Thus, the results of the current study revealed that, ‘*umqombothi* was a beer for elders’ while *amakrwala* perceived ‘brandy as a modern *umqombothi* and an exciting beer for youth’. This also proved that Western colonization forced Africans to abandon their *amasiko* because some people in the modern era perceived *isiko* as ‘something for rural people, which was not meant to be practised in townships and urban settings’. The following sub-theme discusses the loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*.

Sub-theme 4.4.4.1. Loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*

The findings showed that nowadays there has been a loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*. Participants perceived that some people, more especially during the COVID-19 lockdown period, were selling *umqombothi* to make money and buy food. There was a similar finding on the commercialization of *umqombothi* by Nkuzana (2017:7) in Chapter Two. The act of selling *umqombothi* was criticized and labelled by participants as ‘something that undermined or tainted the power and dignity of *umqombothi*’. In addition to commercialization of *umqombothi*, participants highlighted that *umqombothi* was

perceived as an old fashion and ancient beer that was out-dated. Below are the extracts that attest with these views:

P16 *“I can say a significance and meaning of umqombothi use in the initiation ceremonies has been heavily shifted. Umqombothi is no longer valued nowadays as compared to the past days. In the past umqombothi was a sacred and significant beer among amaXhosa. A beer to be brewed only for important cultural ceremonies, but nowadays everyone brew umqombothi without cultural purposes.”*

P9 *“Umqombothi recently is no longer used for initiation ceremonies and other cultural ceremonies but it is brewed for commercialization purposes. I can make an example, during the lockdown people were selling umqombothi so that people become drunk on weekends. So, I’m saying our cultural beer is not valued.”*

Andrea Felsted (2020:1) had contrary views with P9 stating that in U.S.A. brandy and gin were the perfect drinks during the lockdown pandemic. Findings of this report further showed that “as bars, pubs and restaurants shut down, Americans and Brits wanting a beer had little choice but to drink in their living rooms, gardens, and balconies” (Felsted, 2020:1). Instead of pouring a quick beer after work many would try their hand at crafting a Negroni or an Aperol spritz (Felsted, 2020:1). Therefore, based on Felsted’s findings, as *amaXhosa* feel proud when brewing their *umqombothi* it is also evident that to mix a drink at home has become a special event, a minute of sympathy and a way of socializing among people worldwide. The following category discusses the loss of value in nowadays *imigidi*.

a) Loss of value in nowadays imigidi

In the study blame was assigned to *abakhuluwa* by *amakrwala* that *abakhuluwa*’s teachings to them were not educating or moulding them to be good examples in their communities, because there was a trend or fashion of forcing non-drinking initiates to finish *ibhekile yomqombothi* during *umojiso*, and to drink brandy.

Participants emphasized this act as a wrong teaching which led to the delay in healing of *umkhwetha*. Extracts below attest on this view:

P16 *“There are many disadvantages of Western alcohol Sir. A lot of them, for instance look, if a boy or soon-to-be-initiate during umgubho drank alcohol it is emphasized by abakhuluwa that he will be affected down there. Indeed those who drank alcohol in the initiation becomes affected in health or healing-wise because an initiate according to my understanding does not have to taste alcohol.”*

P13 *“Isithozela asisekho kakhulu ngoku kwibhekile, umgidi ngumgidi ngotywala obuninzi besilungu kwaye neemfundiso zaphaya azakhi kwikrwala.” [There is no longer a dignity in a beaker, umgidi is umgidi by more commercial alcohol present, and the teachings from abafana does not build ikrwala.]*

Similar to what was highlighted in the study, Kepe (2010:733) and Nomngcoyiya (2010:1) also agree that modernisation and cultural shift influence youth behaviours during *ulwaluko* and *intonjane* ceremonies. Nomngcoyiya (2010:1) explored “the impact of cultural attrition on youth behaviour using a case of *ulwaluko* and *intonjane* cultural practices in the Mthatha and Mount Frere areas, Eastern Cape, South Africa.” The study revealed the following results: a state of cultural crossroad for both *intonjane* and *ulwaluko* rites had changed; culture was incapable of holding their goal posts towards cultural attrition (Nomngcoyiya, 2020). Based on these findings Nomngcoyiya (2020:2) concluded that cultural practices such as *ulwaluko* and *intonjane* played a pivotal role which shapes the behaviour of young people and moral conduct.

Nevertheless, modern forces and various omissions by stakeholders of these cultural practices have contributed to their attrition (Nomngcoyiya, 2020:2). Therefore, the researcher can state that despite the cultural shift and modernisation in *ulwaluko*, there was still a need to preserve the dignity of *isiko* by

all *amaXhosa* practising this ceremony. The following category discusses men who claim brandy as their belongings (*iimfanelo*) in *umgidi*.

b) Men claim brandy as their belongings (iimfanelo) in umgidi

It was found that nowadays *imigidi* were no longer the same as they were in the past because currently *abafana* claim brandy as their belongings during *umgidi*. *Amakrwala* described that most caregivers or *abafana* nowadays took care of the initiates in the hope that at the end of the initiation ceremony they would be rewarded with brandy and beer as a token of appreciation. Below is the excerpt that agrees with this finding:

P15 “*Utywala besilungu bath’ abantw’ abaninzi emigidin’ eRamaphosa, ezone 9 naseBhangalo makuselwe ibhotile, bayayithanda ibhotile more than umqombothi ngob’ umqombothi bath’ abanye uyabagabhisa, abanye uyabahluthisa so bafun’ ukunxila.*” [Most people in Ramaphosa at zone 9 and Bhangalo zone will tell you that brandies must be drunk because it is a preference more than umqombothi. Umqombothi makes them vomit and they want to be drunk.]

Similarly, other studies also found that traditional and commercial alcohol was offered as payment to initiates’ caregivers, and alcohol “was used as a reward in most rural and peri-urban areas for various services such as slaughtering animals or digging graves at funerals” (Goitsemodimo, 2020:4; Ntombana, 2011:97). This therefore showed that *abakhuluwa* were entitled to be compensated by alcohol after caregiving but they should possibly also consider the poor who could not afford to buy brandy, and then accept any compensation they received from him or her instead of beer. The following category discusses non-adherence to manhood codes or rules which leads to punishment (buy brandy to compensate).

c) Non-adherence to manhood codes or rules leads to punishment (buy brandy to compensate)

In the study there was a trend reported by *amakrwala* which went beyond the *ubukrwala* phase, where *ikrwala* after falling down – *ewile* was forced to buy a bottle of brandy as a sign of showing apology. This sounded as something that did not sit well with some of *amakrwala* during the interviews as they expressed their anger and frustrations for this punishment or reimbursement. Below is the excerpt that shows their frustration:

P16 “*Xa ubuy’ entabeni uwiswe ngabafana okanye uwise abafana ulindel’ ukukhutshelw’ ibhotile, okanye ulindel’ ukukhupha ibhotile.*” [After you came back from the bush and fell down or made other *amakrwala* to fall down, you are expected to compensate with brandy.]

Molobela (2021:3), noted in her study that induced pressure on *amakrwala* to conform to ideals such as buying alcohol and abiding by the three-by-three rule as set out by *abafana* disrupted *ulwaluko*. In addition to what was found by Molobela (2020), Mlisa (2009:210) similarly found that during *intlombe yamagqirha* the general practice was that, once rules were broken, sanctions applied. One of the sanctions is that a diviner “is expected to buy a bottle of brandy or soft drink. The payments are requested to plead with *iminyanya* by first dripping a little of the brandy or cool drink either on *eziko* - fireplace or at the doorsteps” (Mlisa, 2009:210). The researcher concluded that these rules were approximately the same as those set down by *abafana* to *amakrwala* during the graduation ceremonies. The following sub-theme discusses the usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions.

Sub-theme 4.4.4.2. Usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions

In the study there was blame and criticism by *amakrwala* for the usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions. Their main argument was that, although

times had changed as a result of watching TV and listening to the radio where they saw new advertisements about alcohol on a daily basis, their question was: how does this affect widows and the poor who cannot afford to buy beer for *umgidi*?

What was the meaning or purpose of integrating alcohol in these ceremonies? Another view from the participants was the blame assigned to some people who conducted *imicimbi* that forced commercial alcohol to be mixed with *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies. Below are the extracts that prove this finding:

P3 *“We live in times of changes now and things have changed, we watch TV and radio most of the time and then see particular type of alcohol which will be expected by people in umgidi.”*

P16 *“Sinyanzelisa isilungu esiXhoseni kanti ukoluka yinto yesiXhosa. Sisixubile isiXhosa sisinyanzele futh’ ekusixubeni kwethu.” [We are fusing forcefully Western culture into Xhosa culture. In that process of fusing it we forced it.]*

Similarly, Magwaxaza, Tyhala and Mfanta (2020:63) explain that commercial alcohol arrived like a visiting guest among *amaXhosa*; appealing as it is it destroys and damages youth and everyone who drinks it. The authors’ further state that compared to *umqombothi* in the traditional ceremonies, commercial alcohol such as brandy or beer use led to acts of stabbing, aggressiveness and death (Magwaxaza et al., 2020:63). P2 and P16 reported similar thoughts in the previous themes as these authors further remind us that in the days of *umqombothi* use there were less or no acts of killing or aggressive behaviour among men during *imicimbi*. *Umqombothi* was used for the purpose of harvesting crops in the fields - *emasimini*, and where there was *umqombothi* there was joy and singing of traditional songs in harmony and peace (Magwaxaza et al., 2020:63). The following sub-theme discusses the abuse of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.4.3. Abuse of alcohol

One of the reported views by the participants was the abuse of alcohol which seemed to be worsening year by year in the township initiation ceremonies. For example, when P6 was asked the question of how much *umqombothi* was used during his initiation ceremonies and for which reasons? He said that *umqombothi* was used during the entrance phase, where *igongqo* – one bucket of *umqombothi* was given to boys, and the other one was given to elders. During *umphumo* a bucket of *umqombothi* was given to men in the lighthouse. There was another bucket used during the middle of *umgidi*. In terms of commercial or Western alcohol, a case of beer and wine was given to sisters or girls. One brandy was used for everyone to taste.

P6 noticed that *umqombothi* was not used by people. People rushed to drink the beer and brandy. The main purpose of using *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was to communicate and thank ancestors for protecting an initiate in the bush. Another reason for integrating alcohol was to celebrate his homecoming as *ikrwala*, which is shown through exaggerated jubilation. During his *umgidi* people offered more beer to show *ububele* – generosity. The participant shared that as he reflected on this he saw this as a wrong deed that taught children to use alcohol at younger age. This is in accord with the theory of social learning as explained by Lantolf (2000:27) and Kheswa et al. (2014:2792) who described the elements of socio-cultural theory in Chapter One. Below are the extracts that express the views raised by other participants on alcohol abuse:

P16 “*Ndibona kukho uxhaphazo kakhulu kwicala lotywala.*” [*I see the abuse of alcohol.*]

P13 “*Babusetyenziswe kakhulu mkhuluwa wam ngexesha lam babubuninzi babuthengiwe futhi babukhutshwa utywala besilungu nomqombothi.*” [*More commercial alcohol and umqombothi mkhuluwa was used during my time and more commercial alcohol was purchased.*]

The abuse of alcohol was also indicated as a concern in the report on public hearings on male initiation schools in South Africa (Mabuza, 2010:30) which found that “in Gauteng initiation schools there have been numerous complaints from parents that they sent their children to initiation schools but to their disappointment the boys left the schools as abusers of alcohol, drugs and cigarettes. In the report” (Mabuza, 2010:30) noted that “it was not the initiates themselves who used these substances but rather the recent graduates, who were there to assist.” Mabuza (2010:30) concluded that such behaviours were “criticized as undermining the integrity of the institution of initiation, its educational value and its objectives, which is training boys to become responsible men of integrity in their communities.” The following category discusses the heavy use or overuse of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies.

a) Heavy use or overuse

More participants in the study described that in the initiation ceremonies there was a tendency for the heavy use or overuse of alcohol by men. Men’s behaviour because of the overuse of alcohol in the lighthouses is briefly highlighted in theme five that follows in the category below. *Amakrwala* in this study emphasised that people missed the purpose of drinking in *ulwaluko*, which was educating *ikrwala* about behaving like an adult, however, the focus seemed to be more on abusing alcohol, which therefore tainted *imbatshise* the image and dignity of *isiko lokwaluka lamaXhosa*. Below is the quote that supports this view:

P16 “When you attend *umgidi* you notice large quantities of beer cases in the room. *Umqombothi* is less brewed compared to brandies and beers, which proves that *umqombothi* is no longer valued, and this therefore undermines the norms of *isiko lokwaluka*. I’m of the view that commercial alcohol is really abused heavily and this taints the image of our initiation ceremonies.”

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the use of alcohol for personal gain in the initiation ceremonies.

b) Use for personal gain

Some participants in the study indicated that *umqombothi* was used for commercial or personal gain because people did not drink *umqombothi* in *imigidi*. This therefore encouraged *uSokhaya* after *umgidi* to sell *umqombothi* and make money to avoid wasteful expenditure. Commercialization of *umqombothi* is not explained in detail in this category because it has already been explained under sub-theme 4.4.4.1 which focused on loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*. Below is the excerpt which shows that *umqombothi* is used for personal gain:

P16 “*Bakhon’ abant’ abenz’ utywala bakwaNtu bangakwenzi ngoba kukhw’ izizathu kodwa bakwenzele ukuthengisa kubany’ abantu ngeenjongo zokuzuza.*”
[There are people who brew traditional beer purely for the purposes of gaining income.]

Related results were reported by Hlangwani et al. (2020:3) who found that “*umqombothi* is an affordable beverage in low-income households, especially rural areas where poverty and malnutrition are a constant concern.” Hlangwani et al. (2020:3) further highlight that “low-income populations in semi-urban areas also benefit from consuming this low-cost beer, and as a result, daily consumption increases as brewers in rural and semi-urban areas prepare and sell *umqombothi* to make a living.” Jacobs and Steyn (2013:114) concur with the participants that “many people turned to illegal alcohol-related activities, both brewing sorghum beer and setting up illegal shebeens where alcohol was sold for on or off-premises consumption to make a meagre living.”

In summary, theme four discussed the cultural shift and modernisation that occurs in *ulwaluko* of *amaXhosa*. This theme discussed the findings on the loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*, the loss of content in present day *imigidi*, men who claimed brandy as their belongings (*iimfanelo*) in *umgidi*,

non-adherence to manhood codes or rules which led to punishment (buy brandy to compensate), usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions, abuse of alcohol, heavy use or over use of alcohol, and the use of *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol for personal gain. The following theme discusses men's behaviour due to alcohol use in *imigidi*.

4.4.5. Theme five: Men's behaviour as a result of alcohol use in *imigidi*

In the study the personal experiences shared by P16 because of men's behaviour during *imigidi* is a great concern that something is wrong in how the alcohol is used in these ceremonies. P16 emphasised that steps must be taken to revitalize and restore the dignity of this ceremony. The study showed that there was positive behaviour as well as negative behaviour portrayed by initiated men due to alcohol use in *imigidi*. The results of this behaviour are shared in the sub-themes and categories below. The following sub-theme discusses the positive behaviour of men during *umgidi*.

Sub-theme 4.4.5.1. Positive behaviour of men during *umgidi*

In the study of sixteen participants interviewed, four participants; P3, P8, P12 and P13 mentioned that they were happy about the way men behaved in their *imigidi*. Participants reported that there were no fights or quarrels as a result of alcohol use in their *imigidi*. They further shared that men drank alcohol responsibly, and those who misbehaved were asked in a polite manner to leave *amakrwala's* homes.

The main reason why men behaved well was simply because they respected the dignity of *isiko*, and they were afraid of angering the ancestors. Secondly, they were afraid to be reprimanded by *ooSokhaya* who are the respected men in the townships. For example, in the interview with P13 it was found that even though the participant protected the secrecy for the meaning of brandy during the initiation ceremonies, he revealed why it was important to integrate it in the lighthouse – *endlini yesibane*. Secondly, the data gained from this participant highlighted

important cultural features such as songs and singing by *abafana* during *umgidi* with or without alcohol use. Below are the quotes that support this finding:

P12 *“There are homes that have dignity where the father of the house is well respected by other men. Such homes don’t get party-spoilers or ill-manners from drunk men during umgidi.”*

P8 *“Eh bhuti wam imigidi yamany’ amakrwala andikade ndiyihambe, ndibon’ uba kuqhutywa njani, kodwa ezilalini bayaziphatha kakuhle qha ingxaki yile yokumane besilwa bebethana kodwa ixesh’ elininzi kuba kuhle kuba mrandi.” [Eh my brother I am not the person who attends imigidi in townships, so I haven’t seen how men behave, but in rural areas where I used to go, men behave very well.]*

Mlisa (2009:150) shares similar teachings stating that initiated *igqirha*, during *umtshotsho umkhwetha*, are taught not to have sex, whether married or not, to keep her body pure, to respect young and old people and never drink alcohol during *intwaso* so that she receives blessings and clear visions from ancestors. The following category discusses the good behaviour of men during *umgidi*.

a) The good behaviour of men during umgidi

Findings indicated that despite the negative experiences felt by *amakrwala* during their *imigidi* there were well behaved men who treated their ceremonies with respect and dignity. This was commended by all participants and they felt that men should behave well such as these men; by doing so the dignity of *isiko lokwaluka* could be restored and protected. Below are the quotes of those views:

P14 *“I didn’t mind their behaviour because the whole process went well. During my umgidi men behaved very well.”*

P9 *“Andifuni kukuxokisela baziphatha kakuhle pha kum wade wagqityw’ umsebenzi, kodwa ke zazikhona iingxabanwana ezincinci kodwa zange kude kuliwe.” [I won’t lie to you, men behaved very well until my graduation ended, but there were minor disagreements even though that did not lead to fights.]*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the good intentions of men to teach *ikrwala* manhood.

b) Good intentions of men to teach *ikrwala* manhood

In the study some of the participants shared good memories about good things they learned from men during their *imigidi*. This proves that even if there are badly behaving men during *imigidi*, there are still well-behaved men, so we cannot criticise everyone in the same way. The study further found that men behaved well in *umgidi* because they knew that this day reminded them of their *imigidi*. Therefore, they at least must honour this *ikrwala*’s special day with respect and dignity. Below are the excerpts that support this finding:

P3 *“Men were full of joy and happiness during my umgidi and said this day reminds them of their imigidi. They shared good and negative things that ikrwala can relate to and avoid. When they are drunk they spoke a lot but offered me good teachings.”*

P15 *“The minute amaxhego entered with beakers of umqombothi and bottles of commercial alcohol in the room men started to be happy. They couldn’t control their cravings for drinking alcohol. Men taught me why am I sitting on ukhukho, why I undergone initiation successfully, and how a man should behave and speak with other men. I did not have a problem with their behaviour, they were good. There were no fights in my umgidi.”*

Studies have shown that *ulwaluko* educate men to be honest, play an active role in cultural affairs, be good role models for boys, act responsibly and “men in

amaXhosa culture are supposed to take women as equals and treat them with respect and dignity” (Daweti, 2020:1; Rathebe, 2018:1; Madosi, 2018:44). The following sub-theme discusses the negative behaviour of men during *umgidi*.

Sub-theme 4.4.5.2. Negative behaviour of men during *umgidi*

The results revealed that more participants were in consensus that men did not portray good behaviour or set a good example for young boy’s watching, who would also be initiates one day. There was even a question raised by the participants that, *do men feel proud about their negative behaviour during imigidi?* Below are their quotes attesting with this view:

P12 *“I can say there were men who behaved negatively and caused chaos in my umgidi after drinking alcohol. Some of them took sticks and started fights in the lighthouse or outside the yard. Some were chasing each other on the streets using knives for past grudges they had before coming to umgidi. Now that I’m thinking about the behaviour they portrayed I don’t feel good because if there were dead people as a result of their wrong-doing, people would have labelled my home with critics and gossip such as ‘this home is evil and practicing witchcraft.’”*

P1 *“Zazikhona iintw’ ezifana nokubethana e-e ukukhwazelana uyabona zonk’ ezaa nto uba ud’ ubon’ uba kukhona iingxabano njee ezenziwa ziimpembelelo zotywala.” [There were negative behaving men who shouted one another and started fights as a result of drunkenness during my umgidi.]*

Similar behaviours reported by *amakrwala* in this study were drawn from the study conducted by Douglas (2013:125) who found that “a concern was raised by participants that sometimes the expectations of the young men were not fulfilled because their fathers or uncles were so drunk that they failed to welcome them home and guide them as expected.” “This behaviour was viewed as a new trend as elderly men became drunk before the arrival of the young men, because in the

past they would wait for the arrival of the young men before liquor was served” (Douglas, 2013:125). The following category discusses alcohol that controls men’s behaviour in *umgidi*.

a) *Alcohol controls men’s behaviour in umgidi*

There was a view from some participants in the study that alcohol controlled men’s behaviour during *umgidi*. It was indicated by participants that the moment men drank commercial alcohol their behaviour started to change, and some of them lost respect and were ill-mannered during *umcimbi*. As mentioned in the previous themes, participants emphasised that behaviours such as this occurred less frequently with *umqombothi* use. Below are the quotes that support their views on this theme:

P13 *“Beers and brandies are the ones that changes and controls men behaviours. I saw in my umgidi that after they drank beers they changed even the way they speak or reason. I noticed that some drunk man will disrespect other men and answer fouls, or sit in a manner that is not appropriate to be done by initiated men in the lighthouse.”*

P9 *“You see behaviour of men depends on the number of men attended umcimbi. The lesser the attendants the lesser the problems arises. More attendants lead to quarrels and people start to be stout.”*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the low value placed on and disrespect for the lighthouse.

b) *Low value and disrespect for the lighthouse*

Some participants expressed their frustration that the lighthouses were insignificant and disrespected. For example, it was reported that men become very violent and abused alcohol in the lighthouses, and they did not drink for the

purposes of improving *ikrwala*'s manhood but to disrespect *umgidi*. Below is the quote that attests to this category:

P16 *"They become very very violent and abuse alcohol. They don't drink with the purposes of improving manhood of ikrwala but drink with disrespect of isiko. Even when they speak with you as ikrwala they will tell you straight that there is nothing you can do about their behaviours. I can say the violence we see in our society is spread by alcohol abuse. For instance, I found that in the lighthouses a man under the influence of alcohol will start petty fight just to trigger your anger. Other men will then force or send you to fight back to avoid a stigma that will be put to you as 'a coward'."*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the lighthouses as traumatic places to *amakrwala*.

c) *Lighthouses as traumatic places to amakrwala*

The study has shown that to some *amakrwala* lighthouses were traumatic places which brought flashbacks of the painful experiences they witnessed therein. For example, P2, P11 and P16 shared painful stories that they lost their beloved brothers on the day of *umgidi*. Some men stabbed and killed their brothers. This therefore encouraged them to decide that they would no longer attend *imigidi*. Below is the quote that attests to this category:

P2 *"There is no purpose of drinking commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies except being forward or speeding (ukuphapha) by men. Men drinks with the intentions of getting quick intoxicant because they don't like delaying alcohol such as umqomboti. I noticed that their behaviour recently is drastically changing to worse because now they started a fashion of killing each other in the lighthouses."*

P11 *“I remember there was this other guy aam my friend we were boys the time, there was a big fight that ended up with a knife stucked in the head and then we forgot that, fine. And then at the end of umgidi there was this other guy, a big fight. There was also a shed blood in this fight, and they were stabbing each other then it was just a mess a big fight. Eem again I will say have there were not been so much use of alcohol I still believe these incidents couldn't have happened.”*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the negative teachings from drunken *abafana* to *ikrwala*.

d) *Negative teachings from drunken abafana to ikrwala*

In the study it was reported by some *amakrwala* that they experienced negative teachings from drunken *abafana* in their initiation ceremonies. One of the participants, P3 indicated that *abakhuluwa* put pressure on *ikrwala* during *umgidi* to sleep with a girl without wearing a condom. The act is believed as *‘ukukhupha ibhuma* or *ifutha*’ or *‘taking away ibhuma’s remains from ikrwala’s body’*. P3 blamed this act because he considered that some *amakrwala* ended up contracting STI’s such as HIV/AIDS on the day of *umgidi* as a result of the pressure from *abakhuluwa*. P11 felt strongly that *amakrwala* and *abakhuluwa* must revive the way they conducted themselves during the initiation ceremonies, as he noticed the negative behaviour such as gangsterism and negative teachings emphasized by them in the manhood code. Below is the quote that shows this view:

P3 *“You are still new in manhood and fresh from the bush. There is a wrong behaviour that I noticed from abakhuluwa when they push some amakrwala to get a girl and sleep without using a condom. This is when you contract STI’s such as HIV/AIDS. Do you see how painful that is?”*

Douglas (2013:149) in relation to negative teachings experienced by *abakhwetha* in *ibhuma* further added that his study in Libode showed that “the key informant

indicated that circumcised boys drank alcohol and took drugs abusively, and that the young men returned from the initiation school abusing alcohol and smoking dagga, something they did not do before circumcision initiation.” “Initiates do not know what they are doing, and at the centre of being *ikhankatha* there is a myth that says you must be strong, you must be a man who can stand all hardship, so that *abafana* abuse them” (Prusente et al., 2019:6; Douglas, 2013:149). “The key informant confirmed to have seen the abuse of initiates, some with broken legs, others burnt with fire, all types of abuse, singing next to *ibhoma* even on rainy days, for the whole day” (Douglas, 2013:150).

In summary, theme five discussed men’s behaviours as a result of alcohol use in *imigidi*, highlighting the positive behaviour of men during *umgidi* such as well behaved men during *umgidi* and the good intentions of men to teach *ikrwala* manhood. This theme also discussed the negative behaviour of men during *umgidi* such as alcohol that controlled men’s behaviour in *umgidi*, low value and disrespect for the lighthouse, lighthouses as traumatic places to *amakrwala* and the negative teachings from drunken *abafana* to *ikrwala*. The following theme discusses the consequences of alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies.

4.4.6. Theme six: Consequences of alcohol use or abuse

The major results of the study show that alcohol use and abuse in the initiation ceremonies led to negative consequences such as health-related problems, family burden, societal pressure to conform to using alcohol as part of the ceremonies, gangsterism that appeared in the lighthouses which therefore led to killings and death. These findings are further discussed with supporting quotes in the sub-themes and categories below. The following sub-theme discusses societal pressure due to alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.1. Societal pressure

The study showed that one of the reasons for alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies was to avoid societal pressure, because if you did not integrate alcohol

you would not fit in when other men spoke in their gatherings, or they would not recognize you as a man. Below is the excerpt that agrees with this view:

P16 *“Ub’ ufuna ukwamkeleka kwamany’ amadoda amaninzi athe angena ngotywala kuye kunyanzeleke uyenzile, coz if awuzenz’ ezo nto abakwamkeli bayakunciphisa bakubone njengomnt’ ongeyondoda.” [If you want to be accepted or fit in men gatherings it’s a must to use alcohol in your initiation ceremony. Otherwise if you don’t use alcohol men will not recognize you as a man.]*

It is the researchers’ curiosity to note that the societal pressure to use alcohol that was observed by *amakrwala* in their *imigidi* is also a similar pressure experienced by the learners at some schools, where learners are forced to succumb to peer influences of drinking alcohol. In the research conducted by Chauke, van der Heever and Hoque (2015:1) on alcohol use amongst learners in rural high schools in South Africa it was found that “age, gender, parental alcohol use and peer pressure were the major contributing factors to alcohol use amongst learners.” The findings of this study indicated that “27.6% of the respondents agreed that friends made them conform by drinking, and tenth and eleventh grade learners reported that 15.2% of male and 13.9% of female respondents were aware that alcohol could be addictive” (Chauke et al., 2015:1). The following sub-theme discusses the competition found due to alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.2. Competition

Out of the sixteen participants interviewed four participants, P11, P13, P1 and P7 indicated that alcohol in the initiation ceremonies was used for competition purposes. Participants labelled this as ‘attention-seeking, showing off or bragging’ that someone could afford to buy expensive alcohol for his or her *umcimbi*. Participants further indicated that the purpose of alcohol use was to impress the neighbourhood. Thus, P13 proposed that parents must stop buying too much

alcohol to show off, because this led to the loss of focus and attention to 'uSingaye' or *ikwala*. Participants explained this point of view as shown below:

P11 "Imicimbi seyaba yinto yecompetition ngoku sekwenzelw' into yokubana nabany' abantu babone uba nathi we can do this." [Traditional ceremonies have changed to competition purposes. They are done to show people that I too can do this.]

P1 "Busetyenziselwa ulonwabo lokufun' ukuthelakisa ukuba umcimbi wam ubungakanani kunokabani, uba bebehuthi kangakanani na abantu." [Is used for entertainment purposes and to compare that my ceremony was better than yours, and how much people were satisfied with my alcohol.]

Similar findings were observed by Gabavana (2013:70) and Bullock (2015:2) that during *umgidi* "there was a great deal of alcohol consumed by those who attended, especially the old men." For example, Bullock (2015:2) attended *umgidi* and felt that the way parents handed out a large number of cases of beer to attendants seemed as though they were showing off or bragging that he or she could afford to buy expensive liquor. The following sub-theme discusses the financial burden resulting from alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.3. Financial burden

The participants in the study expressed an opinion that an initiation ceremony accompanies unnecessary expenditure; some parents depended on the SASSA pension grant for a living, but to make this ceremony a success they occasionally had no choice but to take out a loan of +- R20 000. This therefore became a financial burden as in January after the ceremony it was noticed that families of initiates struggled financially as explained by the following participant.

P7 "When it comes to initiation ceremonies you will find people spending about R20 000. R20 something thousand unnecessarily. We are putting pressure on our parents or our grannies because the only salary that is coming is SASSA pension

grant. So we force them to open a loan just to satisfy umgidi. After that month or December it's January or February and it's hectic at home, we do not have anything because of too much spending on this big event."

P1 *"Kweli xesha langoku sekusetyenziswa kuxutywe neebhranti, bhranti ezo ezenziwe kweli xesha langoku. Kufumaniseke uba iye ibe nomthwalo ongaphaya ngaphezulu kwikhaya." [Nowadays brandies are used in the initiation ceremonies and this end up putting too much financial burden to the home.]*

Similar findings were showed by Bullock (2015:1) who found that "alcohol has found its way into every stage of the initiation ceremony." The study showed that while "*umqombothi* might have once served a role, brandy and beer have been added." Bullock (2015) found himself "included in this custom, and a bottle of brandy was requested from him as the researcher. All those present contributed in one way or another" (Bullock, 2015). "The greatest contribution came from the parents of the initiate. According to his calculations it cost somewhere in the region of R10000 to put a boy through the initiation" (Bullock, 2015). "There were cows and at least two goats that had to be slaughtered, traditional blankets, a month's worth of food, traditional surgeon's fees, caregiver's fees and food and drinks for parties that had to be provided" (Bullock, 2015). He therefore noticed that there was a significant financial burden that stretched families financially during *ulwaluko* (Bullock, 2015). The following sub-theme discusses the discrimination and exclusion of those with different values in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.4. Discrimination and exclusion of those with different values

There was a belief expressed by the participants in the study that men perceived you to be a disgrace and excluded you if you did not drink alcohol. There was also an opinion that should a parent initiate a boy without the integration of *umqombothi* and fail to invite people to attend *umcimbi*, people would no longer respect his homestead. So if an initiate did not use *umqombothi* during *umngeno* even if he

used *umqombothi* during *umojiso* and *umgidi* he was judged and criticized as an incomplete man by other men. Men believe that a man is a man by abiding by the three-by-three rule. Below is what was said by the participants in the study:

P16 “*Baye bakujonge njengohlazo bakuchwethele ecaleni xa ungaseli tywala.*”
[Men perceive you as a disgrace and exclude you if you don't drink alcohol.]

P13 “*Should you initiate your boy without umqombothi integration and invite people to attend umcimbi, people will no longer respect your homestead. So if an initiate skipped umqombothi use during umngeno even if he used umqombothi during umojiso and umgidi he is judged and criticized as incomplete man by other men. Men believe that a man is a man by abiding to three by three rule.*”

Contrary to these findings Douglas (2013:124) found that “according to the key informants, circumcision at Libode was an acceptable practice, but not compulsory; at the same time to be uncircumcised was also an acceptable practice.” The study found that participants indicated that they knew of old fathers with families who had never been circumcised, and those men become prejudiced and stigmatized by initiated men (Douglas, 2013:124). This therefore shows that discrimination and exclusion of those with different values is not only experienced by non-alcoholic integraters in their *ulwaluko*, but it is also experienced even by non-initiated men in some places of South Africa. The following category discusses the feelings of alienation in the initiation ceremonies.

a) Feelings of alienation

As a build-up to the above category there was a finding from the participants that those with different values such as preference not to drink alcohol after initiation were alienated by other men and therefore they felt ostracised. As it is discussed in the category below *amakrwala* who have undergone initiation ceremonies using Christianity, felt alienated and excluded in *imicimbi*. *Amakrwala* expressed this as follows:

P16 “Ndithi sendiphaya ndizive ngathi ngendingazanga ngenxa yempatho endithi ndiyifumane kumany’ amadoda afana nam ke ngelo xesha.” [I feel alienated in umgidi and develop a guilty consciousness that it was gonna be better if I didn’t come there due to the mistreatment I receive from other men who are like me.]

P6 “Singoontanga bakhe siye sibe nezinto esizithethayo xa sihlangene simkhuphele bucala kunathi. Yena uzohlalela pha kuthi thina sizihlalele pha kuba senze kanje yena enze kanje.” [As his co-initiates there are things that we do in one atmosphere. So if other *ikrwala* did not have alcohol in his *ulwaluko* we exclude him in our gatherings because he don’t belong to us.]

In other studies (Prusente et al., 2019:6; Manona & Hurst, 2018:6; Froneman & Kapp, 2017:4; Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016:1310; Douglas, 2013:155; Erlank, 2010:15) it was also found that feelings of alienation were experienced not only by initiated men but they were also experienced by old uninitiated men. Froneman and Kapp (2017:4) conducted a study and found that “men who had not completed the traditional initiation were not allowed to socialize or stay with the successful initiates when they returned and were excluded from traditional ceremonies.” Froneman and Kapp (2017:4) further found that uninitiated men “were excluded from the bonds formed during the initiation process and were often ridiculed.” The following category discusses the mistreatment and exclusion of *ikrwala* who have undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by *abafana* in the lighthouse.

b) Mistreatment and exclusion of *ikrwala* who have undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by *abafana* in the lighthouse

It was reported by some participants in the study that there was a tendency to exclude *ikrwala* who had undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by other *abafana* in the lighthouse. The attitude expressed by the participants when speaking about Christianity sounded as if they too were not in favour of Christian

initiation ceremonies which excluded the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

The researcher considered that this might be caused by the stigma of *amaXhosa* cultural believers who criticized '*ingqobhoko*' or Christianity as 'something that steals cultural significancy'. This might show that it was time to revise that stigma and raises several questions such as who came with the belief that Christianity stole our cultural belief systems? Which one is better between Christian initiation and cultural initiation? Below is the quote that shows *ikrwala*'s view on this category:

P10 *"There is a conflict that arises between amakrwala undergone Christianity initiation and those that went through cultural initiation, because Christian ones are not taken as complete trained men. They are perceived by other amakrwala as 'a men that walked near manhood phase'."*

In addition to the mistreatment experienced in the lighthouses by initiates who have undergone a Christian initiation ceremony, several scholars raised the issue of masculinity, stereotypes and discrimination attached to those with different values or beliefs in the initiation ceremonies (Prusente et al., 2019:6; Manona & Hurst, 2018:6; Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016:1310; Douglas, 2013:155; Erlank, 2010:15). Douglas (2013:155) highlights the mistreatment of boys who preferred male medical initiation as a challenge that occurred in Libode. This study showed that "initiates would like to be circumcised in the hospital, but they did not want to face the consequences of being maltreated during discussions pertaining to circumcision" (Prusente et al., 2019:7; Douglas, 2013:155). "Maltreatment was manifested in various forms such as being called by many names like, *amalulwane* or bats, weaklings, women or mums, and boys who were from religious families that did not brew alcohol suffered rejection as well" (Douglas, 2013:155).

In addition to what was observed by Douglas (2013), Manona and Hurst (2018:6) highlight another stigma that “during a traditional feast uncircumcised men were not allowed around the area of festivities where food was being prepared or cooked. When they were being given a piece of meat it would be thrown at them and they would be referred to as dogs or *amakhwenkwe*” (Manona & Hurst, 2018:6).

Ntozini and Ngqangweni (2016:1310) highlight another stigma that gay men who decided “to participate in *ulwaluko* but who did not conform to cultural expectations of masculinity risked being ridiculed or marginalised. It is sad to note that as a result of their non-conformity to hetero-patriarchal notions of masculinity, gay initiates might therefore face added challenges at initiation school in order for them to gain acceptance, as their sexual orientation might be viewed as compromising the sacredness of the practice” (Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016:1310). It seems that those who had male medical circumcision were regarded as partially qualified men or uncircumcised boys by those who had undergone traditional initiation ceremonies. The following sub-theme discusses health-related problems as a result of alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.5. Health-related problems

The study showed that there were health-related problems which resulted from alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies. Firstly, the findings indicated that if a boy or soon-to-be-initiate during *umgubho* drank alcohol it was emphasized by *abakhuluwa* that he would be affected ‘down there’ (referring to his private parts). *Abakhuluwa* were reported that they always said it was not good for an initiate to taste alcohol. Secondly, another disadvantage of *umqombothi* use reported by *amakrwala* was that traditionally, *umqombothi* was meant or was a must to be drunk by everyone using one beaker, because it was unusual to drink *umqombothi* using a cup or glass. Therefore, now that everyone drank using one *ibhekile* there was the chance of spreading the COVID-19 virus:

P10 “*Siwugalel’ ebhekileni, so wonke umntu okhoyo endlini kunyanzelekile esele kulaa bhekile. Akazukwazi ukuyithatha ayigalele ekopini for yena. So siselisana sonke kule bhekile kule mihla yeCovid. Nantso idisadvantage yawo lo mqombothi.*”
[*We pour umqombothi in one beaker so that everyone must drink there. You can’t use a cup to drink umqombothi and by doing that we can contract covid-19.*]

P16 “*There are many disadvantages of Western alcohol Sir. A lot of them, for instance, if a boy or soon-to-be-initiate during umgubho drank alcohol it is emphasized by abakhuluwa that he will be affected down there. Indeed those who drank alcohol in the initiation becomes affected health or healing-wise because an initiate according to my understanding does not have to taste alcohol.*”

Other studies showed similar views that traditional initiations were a cause for concern because of botched initiation procedures that caused negative life changing and health implications as a result of alcohol use (Molobela, 2021:3; Jacobs & Steyn, 2013:114). Contrary to these studies Jacobs and Steyn (2013:118) reported that “a study conducted in the Limpopo province of South Africa concluded that, traditional beer consumption seemed to prevent iron deficiency in those at risk of developing such a deficiency, but appeared to precipitate iron overload in those at risk of developing iron overload.” The researcher therefore concluded that, despite the reported negative health-related problems as a result of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko* there were also benefits of using alcohol. The following sub-theme discusses bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death as a result of alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.6. Bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death

In the study there was a complaint expressed by *amakrwala* that alcohol use and abuse in the initiation ceremonies resulted in bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death of men. One of the participants, P11 indicated that he witnessed fights on two occasions; in *umgubho* and *umgidi* where men were stabbing each other.

The participant felt that, had there not been so much use of alcohol those incidents might not have occurred in these graduation ceremonies. Another participant, P16 further added that men offered teachings to *ikrwala* only when there was alcohol, and therefore they became violent or harsh to *ikrwala*. He concluded that it was usual these days to enter the lighthouses alive and exit as a dead person. Below is how they expressed this opinion:

P16 *“As men teach you manhood as ikrwala they become violent because teachings go with alcohol use. Alcohol use leads to drunkenness and fights. Men become very very violent and stab each other to death. For an example, it is a usual thing to enter the lighthouse alive and exit it dead due to being stabbed by abafana.”*

P11 *“They were stabbing each other then it was just a mess, a big fight. A big group fight, and eem again I will say have there were not been so much use of alcohol I still believe those incidents couldn’t have happened in these graduation ceremonies.”*

In agreement with the research participants, several studies (Feltmann, Elgán & Gripenberg, 2019:1; Prusente et al., 2019:6; Rathebe, 2018:1; Madosi, 2018:57) have raised a similar issue that alcohol use and abuse in the initiation ceremonies results in bad behaviour such as gangsterism, violence and even death. To give an example, in the research conducted by Feltmann et al. (2019:1) to assess alcohol drunkenness levels at a music festival with 50, 000 attendees at Sweden in 2017 it was “found that alcohol intoxication is associated with problems such as violence, injuries, drunk driving and sexual risk-taking; music festivals are considered a high-risk setting for high levels of alcohol consumption.” This was also the case in the U.S.A. in 2009 as highlighted by Mosher, Hauck, Carmona, Treffers, Reitz, Curtis, Ramirez, Moore and Saetta (2009:7) that “one in four victims of violent crime reported that the perpetrator had been drinking prior to committing violence.” The study also showed that “it is also estimated that 32 % to

50 % of homicides are preceded by alcohol consumption by the perpetrator” (Mosher et al., 2009:7). And lastly, the study showed that “approximately 39 % of accidental deaths and 29 % of suicides in the United States are linked to the consumption of alcohol” (Mosher et al., 2009:7). The following sub-theme discusses underage drinking as a result of alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.7. Underage drinking

A few participants in the study criticized the sisters who tended to give younger boys and girls alcohol to drink during *umgidi*. Below is the excerpt that attests to this criticism put forth by *amakrwala*:

P13 “*Oosisi babukhuphela nasebantwaneni kuseliswe yonk’ intw’ elapha eselayo. Amantombazan’ amancinci namakhwenkw’ amancinci ayasela.*” [*Sisters give alcohol to children to drink so that everyone in umcimbi drink alcohol. Younger boys and girls drink as well during umgidi.*]

Osaki, Mshana, Mbata, Kapiga and Chagalucha (2018:1) found in two Tanzanian communities that “the social space (social environment and interactions) played an important role in influencing youth’s initial consumption of alcohol.” “Alcohol consumption was reported to start mainly during adolescence, although in some cases it started as early as 10 years of age” (Osaki et al., 2018). Young women reported drinking less, and initiated drinking later compared to males.

The results of this study further showed that “youth reported starting to consume alcohol at home, social events and in stressful environments with key influencers being parents, relatives, peers, and intimate partners” (Osaki et al., 2018:1). Environmental influences on the individual are well explained by Ettekal and Mahoney (2017:1) who state that “the ecological systems theory explains how human development is influenced by different types of environmental systems.” Ettekal and Mahoney (2017:1) further emphasize that a great deal of “research on out-of-school activities has utilized the ecological systems theory to understand

how activities foster positive and healthy development of youth from different backgrounds.”

Masten, Faden, Zucker and Spear (2009:6) viewed “underage alcohol use as a developmental phenomenon” which needs a developmental approach or framework since numerous types of developmental changes and anticipations appear to influence this behaviour and because it has consequences for development. These scholars further argued that “although people change and develop throughout their lives, some of the most rapid changes take place during childhood and adolescence, and then many of these changes have the potential to affect a young person’s interactions and involvement with alcohol” (Masten et al., 2009:6).

Masten et al. (2009:6) conclude their argument about developmental theory by saying that “in societies where alcohol use is pervasive and a widely accepted behaviour for adults, it could be argued that developing an appropriate relationship with alcohol (whether abstinence or socially appropriate use) itself is an important developmental task.” “Thus, parents have a key role in helping their children develop the skills to achieve responsible adult use or abstinence” (Masten et al., 2009:6).

In concluding this section, the researcher considers that if the above arguments about underage drinking could be used to the context of this study this shows that older sisters and brothers as well as parents must pay attention to the alcohol they offer to the younger children during *imicimbi yakwaXhosa*. The following sub-theme discusses the loss of respect for the Xhosa nation as a result of alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.8. Loss of respect for the Xhosa nation

In the study some participants considered that alcohol use and abuse during the initiation ceremonies led to the loss of respect for the Xhosa nation, culture, and

its dignity. Participants perceived that in the past, many nations and other cultures around the world used to respect the *amaXhosa* because of their strong principles of upholding their *amasiko*; but these days that respect has been lost. It was also perceived that the way men behaved in the initiation ceremonies undermined the *amaXhosa* culture and nation. Below are the extracts that attest to this view:

P14 *“Eziny’ iintlanga sizirispekthile njengokuba nazo sizirispekthile, kodwa ngoku namhlanje andisayibon’ isenzeka loo nto ngenxa yokuxabisa kwethu utywala.” [Other races and nations respects us as we respect them as well, but nowadays I don’t see that respect due to our too much drinking habits.]*

P16 *“Isiko lakwaXhosa yintw’ entle kakhulu kodw’ indlel’ esithe saziphatha ngayo nobundlobongela bethu nokungakhathali kwethu siye sayitsicela sayolatha ngomnwe sayenza bonke ubuvuvu.” [A Xhosa ritual is a sacred and a very important thing but the way we aggressively behave after drinking alcohol in imicimbi shows that we no longer value isiko, we take it as nonsense.]*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses that was no adverse behaviour after the use of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.6.9. No adverse behaviour

Despite the negative consequences showed in the above sections, it should be noted that some *amakrwala* observed well behaved men in their *imigidi* after drinking alcohol. As indicated under theme five which focused on the behaviour of men after drinking alcohol in *imigidi*, it was shown that not everyone could be viewed in the same way. We need to acknowledge that there are well behaved men during *ulwaluko*. Below are the quotes that concur with this view:

P10 *“Ibehaviour yabo yayisesimeni esiright bakwazi ukunxila bashushu ngendlela efanelekileyo.” [Their behaviour was in good manner. Yes, they were drunk but responsibly.]*

P9 *“Andifuni kukuxokisela baziphatha kakuhle pha kum wade wagqitywa umsebenzi. Zazikhona iingxabanwana ezincinci kodwa zange kude kuliwe.” [I won’t lie to you, men after drinking alcohol behaved very well until my graduation ceremony was completed. Yes, there were minor arguments but that did not lead to fights.]*

One of the patterns of socio-cultural theory is socialization. As highlighted in Chapter Two of this study, cultural socialization plays a significant role during adolescence as shown by Notole (2016:80) and Mohasoa’s (2010:3) findings that adolescents who were under the influence of alcohol might not be able to monitor and control their behaviour towards their parents, teachers and other learners.

In Chapter One of the current study, it was found that one of the underlying concepts of a socio-cultural theory is that “socio-cultural perspective taps into indigenous knowledge systems acknowledging that people from within a cultural group are experts on their own cultural systems and practices” (Kang’ethe & Nomngcoyiya, 2014:461). In line with this concept in Chapter One of the current study it was reported that smoking does not lead to weight gain as it speeds up metabolism. Once someone stops smoking it is inclined to gain weight (Jiloha, 2009:169). Thus, the researcher in concluding this section can conclude that good cultural socialization can lead to the good behaviour of people during the initiation ceremonies.

In summary, theme six discussed the consequences of alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies focusing on the societal pressure, competition purposes, financial burden, discrimination and exclusion of those with different values, feelings of alienation, mistreatment and exclusion of *ikrwala* who had undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by *abafana* in the lighthouse, health-related problems, bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death, underage drinking, loss of respect for the Xhosa nation and alcohol use that does not result in adverse

behaviour. The following theme discusses the recommendations from *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*

4.4.7. Theme seven: Recommendations of *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*

Judging and evaluating the tone and frustrations expressed by *amakrwala* during the interviews the following recommendations as appeared to be very urgent and of great concern. The following sub-theme discusses the responsible use of alcohol to curb abuse in *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.1. Responsible use of alcohol to curb abuse

One of the major recommendations by the participants in the study was the notion of responsible drinking and the reduction on the overuse of alcohol. There was also a recommendation that if someone during *umcimbi* felt satisfied after drinking alcohol he or she must leave the ceremony and go to sleep at his or her home. Below are the quotes that attest to this recommendation:

P16 “Ndithi masihlisen’ ukuxhaphaza. Noba siyabuthanda ke masibuthande ngendlela eyiyo, indlel’ eyamkelekayo.” [I’m saying let’s reduce the abuse of alcohol and drink in a responsible and accepted manner.]

P5 “Abantu noko mabazame banciphise etywaleni besilungu, kugxilwe kakuhle kutywal’ obu baziwayo, umqombothi.” [People must try to reduce drinking too much commercial alcohol and drink more the known alcohol for isiko, umqombothi.]

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses elevating the status of *umqombothi* and reducing the use of commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.2. Elevation of the status of *umqombothi*, reduce the use of commercial alcohol

In the study *amakrwala* recommended that there must be more *umqombothi* used to *ulwaluko* and there must be a limit on commercial alcohol use. By suggesting this recommendation *amakrwala* felt that by reducing commercial alcohol use there would be a reduction of bloodshed in these ceremonies. Below are the quotes that show this recommendation:

P3 *“There must be more umqombothi in ulwaluko because in umqombothi there are less disadvantages; umqombothi is a way that should be followed. And then there should be a limit on commercial alcohol use.”*

P11 *“Reducing down the use of alcohol and yeah man I believe we will have beautiful celebrations and less bloodshed in these celebrations.”*

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the need for a clear explanation by elders as to why alcohol is integrated in *ulwaluko*.

a) Need for clear explanation by elders as to why alcohol is integrated in *ulwaluko*

The study showed that there was no clear explanation by elders as to why alcohol is integrated in *ulwaluko*. Few participants mentioned that during their initiation ceremonies there was no explanation given as to why *umqombothi* or brandy must be used during *umojiso*. Some participants emphasized that *umqombothi* must not just be brewed for *ulwaluko* without knowing the purpose why it is brewed. Below are the quotes that show *amakrwala*'s views on this recommendation:

P10 *“It is a must to do Xhosa cultural ceremonies following the norms and standards known by our forefathers. We mustn't change how isiko is done. There is also a need for elders to educate us about the purpose of integrating alcohol in ulwaluko.”*

P2 “You see Sir our parents owe us an explanation of how they were living in the past? Who we are as amaXhosa? Where are we coming from? What is umntu? My main point is that in your ceremony do isiko don’t do isithethe, because isithethe won’t help you anywhere. Isiko heals someone; forget about isithethe because isithethe is something that is commonly practiced by more people as a fashion on a daily basis.”

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses the need to monitoring drinking and behaviour in *ulwaluko*.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.3. Monitoring of drinking and behaviour

As shown in the previously discussed sections it became clear that the findings of the study showed a need for monitoring drinking and behaviour. *Amakrwala* sounded frustrated by the men who drank alcohol and spoilt the happy mood in *ulwaluko*. Thus, they recommend that if someone felt satisfied after drinking alcohol, he must leave without disrupting the whole *umcimbi*. Another advice they put forward was that there must be one person to monitor the behaviour of drunken people during the ceremony. Below is the quote that agrees with this recommendation:

P12 “Kuyanyanzeleka kubekhona umntu oyi-1 welo khaya ozogad’ apha ukuba xa umntu enxilile ndicel’ uhambe ngoku kuba uhluthi ungasimoshel’ umcimbi wethu.”
[It’s a must that there should be one person who will monitor drunken people, and ask that person to leave umcimbi before he mess the whole ceremony.]

In the study conducted by Feltmann et al. (2019:1) to assess alcohol drinking levels at a music festival with 50, 000 attendees in Sweden in 2017 conclusions were made by the authors that “the results indicated that participants at music festivals in Sweden had high levels of alcohol intoxication and largely supported restrictive alcohol policies.” “Thus, there is both a need and support for the implementation of alcohol prevention strategies at festivals” (Feltmann et al., 2019:1).

The conclusions of Feltmann et al's (2019) study seconds what was raised by *amakrwala* in the current study that there should be preventative measures in *imigidi* where one family member monitored drinking behaviour. The following category discusses the recommendation to stop commercialization of *umqombothi* to preserve its dignity.

a) Recommendation to stop commercialization of umqombothi to preserve its dignity

In the study it was found from the participants that some people sold *umqombothi* to generate an income. Therefore, one of the recommendations by participants was to stop the commercialization of *umqombothi* to preserve its dignity. Below is the quotation that attests to this:

P15 *“My advices on this is that, Xhosa people mustn't play about their isiko. There are people who brew and sell alcohol. Umqombothi is not a beer to be sold. They must stop selling umqombothi and know that umqombothi is a significant beer for isiko.”*

In Chapter Two of the current study it was mentioned that generally African traditional beverages were produced by women and children as a home art and when commercialized in a local setting they became a means of economic empowerment to the women (Ezekiel et al., 2018:335). The researcher can conclude that the notion put forth by P15 could either benefit or not benefit the poor as is the case in African countries that traditional beers were sold to generate income. The following sub-theme discusses reclaiming isiXhosa traditions.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.4. Reclaiming isiXhosa traditions

It was recommended by *amakrwala* in the study that *amaXhosa* people must return to their roots and never lose the purpose of using *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies. The youth of today must follow the law, principles and footsteps

sanctioned by our forefathers when conducting *isiko*. Below are the views that attest to this recommendation from *amakrwala*:

P16 *“Masibuyelen’ emva apho siya wuthi siphinde sihloniphe isiko lethu siliphethe ngendlela eyiyo. Izinto zalapha kwaXhosa kunyanzelekile sizenze.” [Let’s go back to our roots of respecting and handling our ritual in a good manner. It is a must to do Xhosa cultural ceremonies.]*

P10 *“Ngokwasemthethweni ngendlela abadala abenza ngayo nathi siqhubeleke siyenze ngayo singatshintsh’ indlela yokwenz’ into.” [Lawfully, and in a way that elders conducted ceremonies let us continue on that formula without changing rules.]*

There were no studies to contrast or compare with these findings. The following category discusses the rules of *ulwaluko* to be written down and followed by all men.

a) Rules of *ulwaluko* to be written down and followed by all men

In the study some of *amakrwala* recommended that heroes of *amaXhosa* who acknowledged good teachings about manhood must write down all those teachings and laws that make a good man, so that the younger generation can see the correct way of doing *isiko*. Below is the quote that shows this recommendation:

P16 *“I would love to see the Xhosa heroes we have to take all good teachings of manhood to be engraved down and put to where everyone can see them as a rule to follow.”*

There were no studies to contrast or compare with these findings. The following sub-theme discusses the introduction of guidelines and recommendations on the use of alcohol during initiation.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.5. Introduction of guidelines and recommendations on the use of alcohol during initiation

There was also a recommendation put forth by *amakrwala* that there should be guidelines or a constitution that must be followed by all men who undergo initiation ceremonies. It is hoped that by doing this, alcohol use can be curbed and controlled in *ulwaluko*. Below is the quotation that shows this recommendation:

P16 *“Ndingavuya xa sinokubuyela kwaMbo apho zonk’ izinto zizothi zihambe ngokoMgaqo-Siseko othe wabekwa.” [I can be glad if we can go back to our roots where everything will be done following the set constitution or guidelines.]*

The study conducted by Jacobs and Steyn (2013:114) stated a similar notion that clear guideline which emphasized responsible drinking can monitor the behaviour of alcohol use. Daweti (2020:3) reports that negative practices that occur in *ulwaluko* have encouraged the Eastern Cape Province to develop and implement a law called the Eastern Cape Customary Male Initiation Practice Act no. 5 of 2016. This Act no. 5 of 2016 stipulates that “in these legitimate traditional schools initiates are taught their role and responsibilities by elders and traditional surgeons in society like protecting and respecting women, providing for their families and upholding the ideals of traditional Xhosa manhood” (Daweti, 2020:3). “This law is aimed at restoring the sacred tradition’s dignity and respect by pursuing the wrong doers, arresting and prosecuting them to protect our practice” (Daweti, 2020:3; Kepe, 2010:731).

Similarly, in Kwazulu Natal Province there was a Bill gazetted called KwaZulu-Natal Liquor Bill which promoted the rule of granting liquor license applications, and offers R9 million for education by the KwaZulu-Natal Alcohol Act (Jacobs & Steyn, 2013:118). Jacobs and Steyn (2013:118) further report that “the following socio-economic consequences have been attributed to the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal Liquor Acts: reduced illegal liquor sales in townships across the provinces, limited Sunday trading in respect of new licenses, a general shortening of trading hours for liquor licensed establishments, and a social and educational

fund that places strong focus on alcohol-related social problems and the need for responsible trading.”

In the United States of America, Hingson et al. (2005) also recommended in their study that “greater enforcement of the legal drinking age of 21 years and zero tolerance laws, increases in commercial alcohol taxes and wider implementations of comprehensive community interventions can reduce harm-related drinking behaviours among adolescents and their families.” Based on the recommendation by P16, it seems that Act’s like these can preserve the dignity of *isiko lokwaluka* if they can be implemented in George, Western Cape Province as well. The following sub-theme discusses the awareness creation or educational programmes that speak about alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.6. Awareness creation or educational programmes

Amakrwala recommended that there should be awareness should be made or educational programmes developed about initiation ceremonies, their purpose and how to drink responsibly during the ceremonies. The following quote concurs with this recommendation:

P13 *“Bakhona abantu endibon’ uba bekufanele bayifumane imfundiso ngolwaluko.” [There are people that I feel they need to receive teachings about initiation.]*

The study conducted by Chauke et al. (2015:1) on alcohol use amongst learners in rural high schools in South Africa shares the same sentiments that “prevention campaigns such as introducing the harmful effects of alcohol use amongst learners are of utmost importance in reducing alcohol use amongst learners in South Africa.” The following category discusses the on-going public conversations and debates on pertinent issues and discusses general traditional issues.

a) *On-going public conversations and debates on pertinent issues and discussions on general traditional issues*

There was a recommendation proposed by the participants that there must be on-going public conversations and debates to raise pertinent issues and discuss general traditional issues in Thembaletu Township. For example, P7 and P11 blamed *amakrwala* who withdrew from the study due to the fear or lack of trust that the study might touch on sensitive issues about the initiation process. These two participants expressed that they did not understand why their *salukas*' feared the interviews because during the telephonic briefing session about the interviews the researcher explained that he would not probe anything about the initiation process. Below are the extracts that attest to this:

P14 *“Everyone have a responsibility of chatting about things such as these. Like if they can come in group form to community halls and have sessions about traditional issues that can be good for me.”*

P7 *“You know why they refused to participate in the study it's just that their mentality is toxic. I was trying to gather one chap that I was chatting with. Then I turned back to him because he sent me an audio. In this audio he says to me no he can't do such interview because it sound as sensitive and all that. Now the guys at the back are laughing that no he must not do the interview. Now I'm saying to him no maybe you guys too trying to protect this thing of manhood and all that, maybe you also ran with change there. So there's no need of these things they do because it's unnecessary.”*

Similar to what was recommended by participants as 'on-going public conversations and debates to ask pertinent issues and discuss general traditional issues' Kabelo Mabalane, who is a singer and a public South African figure (2019:1) started the *Aware.org Underage Drinking Campaign* which “is built on the insight that people's first exposure to alcohol is usually at a young age and is enabled by parents and other caregivers.”

Kabelo's campaign "hinges on a hard-hitting television commercial supported by digital media and public relations efforts, with the tagline '*Underage drinking starts long before it begins. You can stop it.*' Using a dedicated hashtag #myfirstdrinkstory, the public is also encouraged to share their own stories of being introduced to alcohol on social media" (Mabalane, 2019:1). The researcher concludes this section by mentioning that even though Kabelo's campaign does not speak specifically about *ulwaluko* and alcohol use, the country could possibly start campaigns such as this where all *amakrwala*, *abafana* and *amadoda* would not be afraid to speak out about the 'do's and don'ts' in the initiation ceremonies for the soon-to-be-initiates. The following category discusses the need for community leaders to educate people about *isiko* via *iimbizo*.

b) The need for community leaders to educate people about isiko via iimbizo

In the study P11 raised various pertinent points that he felt still needed more research and review for this topic going forward. One of his recommendations was that interviews or discussions like these needed roundtable discussions or *iimbizo* where men gathered together to review how things were done during the initiation ceremonies. Below is the quote of what he said about this recommendation:

P11 *"I believe the conversation is necessary. I mean like it mustn't be something that ends here. If we do find time we can have maybe even more men. Sit in the table and then we will delve into these conversations because this conversation is necessary and it's very important."*

Nomngcoyiya (2020:5) in his study conducted in Mthatha and Mount Frere areas proposed the recommendations below: "there is a need for purposive use of mass media to promote indigenous cultures; community awareness in promoting and maintaining cultures; formulating cultural policies that embed stakeholder's self-determination, and youth ownership and participation in cultural preservation."

Similarly, Prusente et al. (2019:7) in their study conducted in Lusikisiki, Eastern Cape Province found that “in the context of male circumcision, some initiates described the role and impact of community forums on male circumcision outcomes as critical in curbing the abuse of initiates and alcohol use therein.”

These recommendations are similar to those suggested by the participants in the current study that, everyone from the *amaXhosa* fraternity must play their part to preserve the dignity of *ulwaluko*. This recommendation was described by Potgieter (1998) as a ‘synergy’ which means that ‘what happens in one system affects other systems’. Thus, there is a need for ‘oneness’ to create ‘cohesiveness’. The following sub-theme discusses the proposed research areas suggested by the participants.

Sub-theme 4.4.7.7. Proposed research areas

In the study the participants proposed different areas for further research as shown in the categories under this sub-theme. It is noted that their major proposed area of focus was the revitalization of men’s moral behaviour in *imigidi*. Another area of concern raised by the participants was the marginalization of the role that should be played by women in the initiation ceremonies. Lastly, another major proposed area of research by *amakrwala* is a study that focuses on how *amaXhosa* can restore the dignity of the initiation ceremony. These proposed research areas are briefly highlighted in the categories below. The following category discusses the views of older men on this study about the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.

a) Views of older men on this study about the meaning of umqombothi and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies

In the current study there was a proposed research area to ask *abafana* not to demand or have a tendency to force *amakrwala* during *ukuyalwa* but they must

respect the elders and leave this role to the elders. Participants felt that you would never go wrong by following the elders' teachings while the teachings of *abafana* who were of your same age group would influence you negatively. The researcher mentioned that as a way forward in his other studies or Ph.D. he could focus more on the different views on this topic of the elders, surgeons, *amakhankatha*, *abafana*, women and family members of *amakrwala* to investigate their opinions. Below is the quote that attests to this proposed area of focus:

P3 *"I advise that abakhuluwa must not have a say or offer teachings to ikrwala because they are of my same age. Some of them do to us what they saw during their ulwaluko. For instance, he will teach me to buy cigarette or dagga with the money I have as ikrwala. You will never go wrong from elders' teachings."*

There were no studies to contrast or compare with these findings. The following category will discuss about the question of; are masculinity values instilled in initiation graduates effective and appropriate?

b) Are masculinity values instilled in initiation graduates effective and appropriate?

In the study there was a proposed area of focus from participants to explore whether the way that men taught *amakrwala* was adequate? Were the men teaching *amakrwala* the correct lessons they needed to know to be the real men in society? The reason why this question was raised by *amakrwala* was that they felt that the lessons that *amakrwala* were taught by *abafana* were not the actual or the right lessons that were needed to mould *amakrwala* to be the moral men in the society. Below is the excerpt that supports this question:

P11 *"Aam if I would add a question, it would be the question of how do we, aam is the way that we teach amakrwala enough? Are we teaching them the actual things they need to be the real men in society? Because aam from my experience I would say aam the way the lessons that amakrwala are taught are not the actual, the*

right lessons that are for to be men out there in the society. So my question is that; are we doing enough as all the men for teaching amakrwala?”

One of the pioneers of gender inequalities and masculinity values in South Africa is Doctor Linda Mshweshwe who explores the intersections of gender with culture, race, and class and how it shapes attitudes towards women, in one of her articles published in (2020:1) she emphasized that, “The challenge of domestic violence in South Africa is deeply rooted in exaggerated hegemonic masculinity that exists within the patriarchal tradition and cultural context which contributes to the widespread violence against women.” She further highlights in this report that, “In response to this prevalence of violence the feminist strategies to engage men and boys in preventing violence against women has grown over the past few decades.” She highlights NGO’s like Sonke Gender Justice as strategies to engage men and boys in challenging patriarchal beliefs and promote gender equality.

In the recent years, the question of masculinity raised by participants in the study has been an area of interest for various scholars (Kiguwa & Siswana, 2018:9; Madosi, 2018:19; Mfecane, 2016 cited in Madosi, 2018:19; Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016:1311; Kepe, 2010:129). For example, the study conducted by Madosi (2018:19) showed that Sakhumzi Mfecane (2016) argues that traditional theorizing and understanding of masculinity has emerged out of a Western dialogue between feminists, queer theorists and masculinity scholars in academia and often resulting in non-Western theories of masculinity being overshadowed. Madosi (2018:19) explains that Mfecane asks that in finding alternative understandings of masculinity, ‘what makes a man within a culture’? Looking at how various authors view masculinity and patriarchal systems the researcher concluded that the implementation of interventions such as these could change the attitudes of men’s norms towards the role that must be played by women in *ulwaluko* through community interventions that promote healthy masculinity. The following category discusses the question of how proud men are of their manhood.

c) How proud are men of their manhood?

One of the research participants in the study proposed a question to be asked from his *saluka's* and his *abakhuluwa* that did they love manhood? Did they love being men? Because he felt that there were men who just went through the initiation process for the sake of doing it with no purpose or motive behind it. Below is the quote that attests to this:

P15 "The question that I want you to ask my co-initiates is the question of; do they love manhood? Are they proud of their manhood? Because there are men who just went through the initiation ceremonies for the sake of doing it with no purpose or motive behind."

Mshweshwe (2020:3) explains that, "research demonstrates that culture and tradition are an important aspect of African human relations, based on co-dependency between individuals and the belief that a person is a person because of others." Mshweshwe (2020:3) explains that "researchers in masculinity highlight that culture plays a role in perpetuating gender inequality through influencing the way manhood is perceived and performed." Mshweshwe (2020:5) agrees with P15 that "not all men who went through the practice of traditional circumcision construct and perform masculinity according to traditional expectations and norms." Mshweshwe is of the view that "some men develop their concept to redefine what it means to be a man, for example, based on the influence of their family background or formal education which has been found to play a role in influencing positive masculinity behaviour" (Mshweshwe, 2020:5).

In accord with the participants' propositions on masculinity and alcohol use Sudhinaraset, Wigglesworth and Takeuchi (2016:40) found that "Latino men attempted to appear strong and masculine because of cultural values, and drinking greater amounts of alcohol further exemplified their masculinity, but more recently, scholars have commented that concepts like machismo cannot account for the complexity of Latino drinking behaviour." Sudhinaraset et al. (2016:40) further

found that “Asians on the other hand, generally are thought to have higher abstention rates compared with other racial and ethnic groups, especially when they are integrated within their ethnic cultures.” As discussed in Chapter Two about culture and acculturation, these findings show that the context of drinking behaviour can be understood better by those who reside within a particular culture. For example, drinking habits for *amaXhosa* can be understood better by *amaXhosa*, and drinking habits of Asians or Latinos can be understood better by Asians and Latinos. The following category discusses the question of what steps are taken on the implementation of knowledge and responsibilities acquired from the initiation school.

d) What steps are taken on the implementation of knowledge and responsibilities acquired from the initiation school?

In the study one of the research participants said that he would like a researcher to ask *abafana* why they behaved the way they did during *imigidi*?

As *abafana* went through *ulwaluko* what change or impact they gave back to the community after *ukuyalwa*? The reason why he wanted this question to be asked was simply because this question revived and triggered a guilty consciousness to *abafana*'s negative behaviours. After your family had spent all their money during *umgidi* to buy alcohol, a goat to *ukukuyala*, new expensive clothes, inviting people all the way from zone 8 and zone 9 to honour your ceremony hoping that you will change and portray good behaviour, only to find out three years later you still behaved in the same way as *inkwenkwe*. He concluded that this was an important question that would 'revive their guilty consciousness' or '*uvuselele izazela zabo*'. He explained this view as follows:

P13 “You can add a question of *abafana* after they went through initiation what impact they ploughed in their communities. Now that you call yourself ‘a new man’ what change have you done? Other men who you see that they struggle to change during their phases of *ubukrwala* what did you do to change them?”

Molobela (2021:2) is in accord with P13 that undergoing *ulwaluko* means that initiates are put in a social setting that promotes unanimity and instills the attitude of reciprocity and mutual care among men. As the elderly teach them valuable life lessons at initiation school, their fostered unification of communal accomplishment of manhood forges long-lasting relationships that are unified by loyalty. Molobela (2021:2) further highlights that these teachings of faithfulness and dependability are observed in the manifestations of loyalty both during initiation school and after leaving the initiation school camps. Positives associated with *ulwaluko* are noticeable in the stressed lessons concerning good moral values, self-respect, and responsibility (Molobela, 2021:2). Manhood's symbolism is also found in the encouragement of each initiate to be altruistic towards each other, essentially benefiting the culture and society as a whole (Molobela, 2021:2). Therefore, Molobela's insights show that initiated men need to plant the seed germinated during their initiation ceremonies to newly graduated initiates. The following category discusses the marginalisation and exclusion of women during initiation.

e) Marginalisation and exclusion of women during initiation

In the study one of the research participants, P2 proposed that he would like the researcher to ask other *amakrwala* where alcohol of *amazibazana* or mothers of initiates was during the initiation ceremonies because he felt that they were being left out of the whole process and fathers were always favoured. Below is his quote to support this research question:

P2 *“Please ask abafana a question of when a boy is initiated where is the compensation of the initiated boy’s mother? I’m asking this question because women are always left behind by men in traditional ceremonies due to the beliefs that ‘a man is the head, a woman is a tail’. Now I ask this question because I feel that there is a need to hear women views on how they feel about this patriarchal system and gender inequalities.”*

In Chapter Two of the current study, it was reported that in Botswana women were generally but not entirely excluded from drinking parties as they were used during the process of brewing traditional beer (Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:4). The researcher considered that this was unfair, because women were being used to fulfil the duties of men during *imicimbi*. This therefore supports the notion stated by P2 that women must also get their portion of beer during *imicimbi*. Daweti (2020:2) in his report found that the large number of illegal schools that have mushroomed in the Eastern Cape Province “were often run by criminals who had no traditional medical skills and who twisted the message of what it was to be a ‘real man’.” “These criminals taught a toxic message of what it meant to be a man, where women were seen as inferior and violence against them was acceptable” (Daweti, 2020:2).

In accord with what was highlighted by Daweti (2020) another study showed that societal level or macro-systems consist “of broad factors such as cultural values, customs, beliefs, traditions and laws and social and gender inequality and masculinity and are also linked to dominance and social and cultural norms that have a cascading influence throughout the interactions of all other levels” (Prusente, Khuzwayo & Sikweyiya, 2019:2). This aligns with the socio-cultural perspective applied in the current study which emphasizes the culture influence of how people perceive and perform their ceremonies. Based on what has been said by Daweti it is clear that the proposal to include women in *ulwaluko* is a good idea, as this will change the way *amakrwala* see women. The following category discusses the effects of alcohol on young men.

f) Effects of alcohol on young men

There was a research question proposed by one of the participants in the study that he would like a researcher, as a way forward, to ask *abafana* what happened in these ceremonies after they drank alcohol. The reason why he raised this question was simply because according to him when men were together they

always caused chaos and were argumentative which then led to fights and stabbing. The participant raised this question as follows:

P12 *“I urge you to ask a question of; when men sit together chatting or drinking alcohol what happens afterwards? The reason why I’m raising this question is simply because when men are together they always cause chaos, and arguments which then lead to fights and stabbing each other.”*

Similarly, to what was proposed by P12, Lumb (2019:1) reported that in December 2016 they were notified of the terrible news that, a first year Newcastle student had sadly died during what they now know to be a society initiation event due to excessive consumption of alcohol and peer pressure.

Lumb (2019:1) further reports that since that incident they have seen a number of positive steps taken to prevent initiation ceremonies at U.K. universities; initiatives such as Lancaster University Students’ Union (LUSU) which runs ‘Duty of Care’ training and Church Students’ Union which require all welcome events to be submitted by a Welcome Event Submission form 10 days in advance. A union officer would then visit each society or sports group before this took place.

The researcher felt that preventative measures such as these were needed in South African initiation ceremonies to avoid negative effects that could be caused by alcohol consumption by young men. The following category discusses the views and perceptions on revitalising culture or traditions.

g) Views and perceptions on revitalising culture or traditions

One of the proposed areas of focus by a participant was that he would like a researcher going forward to add a question of; how do *amaXhosa* people feel about the spiritual side during *ulwaluko*? Do they think it is present or void? By asking this question he felt that spiritual connectedness with *isiko* was a priority of

everything which would control the behaviour of people during *isiko*. Below is the excerpt of his view:

P14 *“One of the questions that I would like to ask is that; how do men feel about spiritual side of initiation ceremony? Is it present in everything we do and priority or not? I believe spirituality in isiko is a priority that will correspond with how to do isiko. Then everything in the initiation ceremony will be right.”*

In accordance with the notion proposed by *amakrwala* in the study that there was a need to revitalize traditions and culture of the *amaXhosa*, Ntozini (2015:1) shares the similar notion that participants of the study he conducted in East London, it was reported in South Africa that the ritual of *ulwaluko* “was still very relevant but there was a need for the restoration of the cultural dignity of male circumcision among the *amaXhosa*.” The following category discusses the views and perceptions on contemporary initiation graduation ceremonies.

h) Views and perceptions on contemporary initiation graduation ceremonies

In the study there was a question asked by some participants that the researcher, in future studies should ask the *salukas* if they liked the way they behaved during initiation ceremonies nowadays. The reason for this question was that some participants noticed that as from 2017 till the present there were no longer older *abakhuluwa* to take care of *abakhwetha* due to them being employed in other towns such as Cape Town and Johannesburg. This therefore forced new graduates with no experience of caregiving to take on this role. Below is the excerpt concurring with this view:

P1 *“Eeh I wish you can add a question of; do men love the way they behave in contemporary imigidi? Because the way imigidi is conducted is no longer a ceremony forefronted by experienced men. You find out that the group of men initiated in 2017 in zone 5 mostly are employed somewhere out of George Town. Ceremonies like ulwaluko therefore are conducted by newly graduated men.”*

P4 “Ingase ubuz’ uba ngoku wen’ ubuhleli pha ekhukhweni endlini yakho yesibane indlela le abakhuluwa bakho bebephathana ngayo ingab’ ubuyithanda okanye eziny’ izinto ebebezenza kwaye bezithetha bezingakuvisi kakuhle?” [I wish you can ask a question of; now that ikrwala was sitting on reed-made-mat in the lighthouse did he like or did not like the way men talked and behaved?]

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings. The following category discusses the question of whether alcohol should continue to be used to penalize those who failed the manhood test.

i) Should alcohol continue to be used to penalize those who failed the manhood test?

In the study there concern was raised by the participants that they would like to know why the *abakhuluwa* and other *salukas’* enforced the purchase of a bottle of brandy if someone *uwile* or did not know men’s sophisticated phrases and twisting codes of talking manhood, or was there any alternative way that could be used to punish someone who fell or *owileyo* except to buy a bottle of brandy? Below is the quote that support this question:

P6 “I would like you to ask them if during the talks of manhood, since there is a rule that if someone did not know the questions he must compensate with a bottle of brandy. My question is; is it compulsory or obligation to buy brandy? Isn’t there any other way that can be used to compensate instead of buying brandy? Because what I observed is that the reasons for these twisting, perplexed and sophisticated talks is to trap you so that you buy alcohol if you didn’t know the answers.”

There were no studies contrary to or to compare with these findings.

In summary, theme seven discussed the recommendations by *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko* highlighting recommendations such as responsible use of alcohol to curb abuse, elevation of

the status of *umqombothi*, reduction of commercial alcohol use, need for clear explanation by elders why alcohol is integrated in *ulwaluko*, monitoring of drinking and behaviour, recommendation to stop commercialization of *umqombothi* to preserve its dignity, reclaiming isiXhosa traditions, rules of *ulwaluko* to be written down and followed by all men, introduction of guidelines and recommendations on the use of alcohol during initiation, awareness creation or educational programmes, on-going public conversations and debates to ask pertinent issues and discuss general traditional issues, and the need for community leaders to educate people about *isiko* via *iimbizo*. The proposed areas for further research proposed by participants such as the research on the views of older men in this study on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, are masculinity values instilled in initiation graduates effective and appropriate? How proud are men of their manhood? What steps taken on implementation of knowledge and responsibilities acquired from the initiation school? Marginalisation and exclusion of women at initiation, effects of alcohol on young men, views and perceptions on revitalising culture or traditions, views and perceptions on contemporary initiation graduation ceremonies, and the question of; should alcohol continue to be used to penalize those who fail the manhood test? All the questions stated above were highlighted under this theme. The following section briefly discusses and summarises the overall findings of the current study.

4.5. Discussion of overall findings

In achieving the goal and objectives of the present study, the findings as shown in Table 2 revealed seven emerging themes and related sub-themes with categories that described the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in the initiation and other cultural ceremonies. The findings showed that *umqombothi* served as a spiritual connection with ancestors, a beer to conduct *imicimbi*, a ceremony with no *umqombothi* was perceived as incomplete

(Ndandani, 2015:122; Michael et al., 2011:1; Ntombana, 2011:97), and *umqombothi* dignified and served as the only beer that distinguished *amaXhosa* from other cultures or races that did not have initiation ceremonies (Bizcommunity.com, 2019:1; Simatende et al., 2015:120; Jacobs & Steyn, 2013:115; Marcia & Rayna, 2010:80; Deumert, 2010:253; Bongela, 2001:126).

Another finding in the study was that most participants were not aware why ancestors needed *umqombothi* in the ceremonies, but they mentioned that in the manhood code there was a phrase that said, "*Indoda ayibuzi iyenza qha*," which meant, "A man doesn't ask but do," and also a phrase of, "*limfundiso zabakhuluwa bam*" "*Teachings from my older brothers or caregivers*" (Ndandani, 2015:122). This showed a lack of education of the elders who knew the history or secrets why *umqombothi* is a beer to communicate with ancestors. This apposed the question; *what about those who don't believe in ancestors? Do they get punished by ancestors if they did not integrate umqombothi in ulwaluko?* The researcher felt that in the initiation ceremonies there should be a clear explanation by elders as to why *umqombothi* must be included, because one of the research participants, P16 indicated that he knew a few successful men in the Township who had undergone initiation ceremonies without integrating *umqombothi*, brandy or beer.

On the other hand ten participants in the study expressed the view that commercial alcohol was good and relevant to use in the initiation ceremonies because of its significance to the naming of *umkhwetha*, *ukuyala ikrwala*, teaching *ikrwala* three-by-three rule (Daweti, 2020:1), cleansing of *umkhwetha*, brandy as a beer that honour the first initiated Xhosa man *uSomagwaza*, thanksgiving to the initiates' care-givers and brandy '*is the modern beer for celebrating umcimbi*' (Prusente et al., 2019:6; Mlisa, 2009:136). However, the other six participants considered that commercial alcohol had no value or significance in *ulwaluko* or any other *amaXhosa* ceremonies; they were just 'sweets for fun and entertainment purposes' (Hlangwani et al., 2020:3). In addition to this, these participants were of the notion

that if they were given the chance to have initiation ceremonies for their future sons they would not use any alcohol in *ulwaluko* (Douglas, 2013:125).

The participants' thoughts were similar to those by S. Sesanti, an Anthropologist in a radio interview on 07th November 2020 with N. Mndende at Umhlobo Wenene FM who confirmed that, a traditional ceremony is a ceremony by a belief in word not by the presence of meat and alcohol. Sesanti (2020) further explained that he had been practising *amasiko* using only *amasi* and water, and his ancestors connected and communicated with him very well without complaining or asking *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol via *amaphupha* or dreams. A debate arose on whether the *amaXhosa* must continue to brew *umqombothi* and use brandy in *amasiko* if this was the case with Sesanti? In answering this question, the researcher considers that, as a way of preserving and respecting the culture and heritage of our forefathers it is good to use alcohol in the *amasiko*. However, there should be exceptions of not putting pressure, stigma, or judgement on those with different beliefs on alcohol use in the *amasiko akwaXhosa*. In the study all the research participants knew the phases of manhood transitions expressed by Van Gennep (1960) in Chapter Two such as *imbeleko*, *umngeno*, *umojiso* and *umgidi*.

One of the research findings was a shift to modernisation or Westernization in the manner that *ulwaluko* was being conducted (Magwaxaza et al., 2020:63; Kepe, 2010:733; Nomngcoyiya, 2010:1). For example, P14 complained that in *imigidi* of Thembaletu area there was no longer stick-fighting; but gangsterism in the lighthouses (Madosi, 2018:42; Ntozini, 2014:136; Douglas, 2013:150), there was no longer singing of traditional songs; but the use of Western songs and DVD's in the lighthouses, women and girls' role in *ulwaluko* was dominated by the patriarchal system (Prusente et al., 2019:2; Kiguwa & Siswana, 2018:9; Madosi, 2018:19; Mfecane, 2016 cited in Madosi, 2018:19; Ntozini & Ngqangweni, 2016:1311; Myadze & Rwomire, 2014:4; Kepe, 2010:129), *imigidi* nowadays is meant for bragging (Gabavana, 2013:70), competition (Bullock, 2015:2) and more

alcohol use with no attention given to *ikrwala*, and lastly *abakhuluwa* offered incorrect teachings to the initiate or *ikrwala*.

In conclusion, similarly to the findings stated in Chapter One by Pahl, Pienaar and Ndungane (1989:194 cited in Ntombana, 2011:634) who expressed that *isiko ngummiselo osisigxina* or a custom “is a permanent covenant that does not and cannot change,” it appeared from the findings that initiation ceremony was one of the oldest ceremonies that cannot die out among *amaXhosa*, as it has been practiced from generation to generation. Most participants expressed the opinion that if someone could do *ulwaluko* without integrating *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol, no one would attend that ‘boring’ ceremony (McBrien, 2016:3; Douglas, 2013:125; Nyembezi et al., 2010:105). There the participants felt strongly that times had changed, *umqombothi* was no longer the centre of attention in *ulwaluko* but an alcoholic drink for older people, while commercial alcohol was perceived as a modern *umqombothi* which was relevant and which the youth thought fashionable (Feltmann et al., 2019:1).

Based on the above findings the researcher would like to close by saying, “*Ulwaluko and alcohol is and will always be part of amaXhosa legacy, but what is deemed as a need is to revitalize how men or anyone drink and behave during the initiation celebrations.*” Below is the summary of this chapter.

4.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discussed research findings from theme one which focused on the ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used, with the aim of achieving research objective one that sought to explore and describe the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies. Theme two discussed the significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies, with the aim to achieve research objective two that sought to explore and describe *amakrwala*’s views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation

ceremonies. Theme three presented the findings on the comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, with the aim of achieving research objective two as explained above. Theme four presented the findings on the cultural shift and modernisation, as aligned with the research objective two explained above. Theme five described men's behaviour as a result of alcohol use in *imigidi*, with the aim of achieving research objective three that sought to explore and describe the views of *amakrwala* on *amaXhosa* male behaviour that were associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. Theme six discussed the consequences of alcohol use or abuse as shared by *amakrwala*, with the aim of achieving research objective three as explained above. Theme seven presented recommendations on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, in alignment of the research objective four which sought to explore and describe the suggestions or recommendations from *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during initiation ceremony. This section was followed by the discussion of the overall findings. In Chapter Five the implications of the research results are presented. Furthermore, the focus is to summarise the study and draw conclusions and recommendations based on the findings reported in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters presented the motivation, the background, and the theoretical framework for the study. They also provided an overview of the research methodology, the research design, and its application, as well as an in-depth discussion of the findings with the integration of a literature control. The question of the research was, “What are the views of *amakwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies?” Guided by the question, and the research aim, objectives were developed to address the research question. The aim of the research study was to generate a thorough understanding from the views of the *amakwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. As explained in the preceding chapter objectives of the study were successfully achieved.

This chapter presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study linked to themes and sub-themes. This is followed by a summary of the research methodology and research design employed in the study, the significance, and limitations of the study. Lastly, the chapter provides recommendations for future research, followed by the overall summary of the research findings and concluding remarks.

5.2. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY LINKED TO THE THEMES

In the section below are the summary, conclusions and recommendations drawn on each emerging theme and sub-theme of Chapter Four of this study.

5.2.1. Theme one: Ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is used

Theme one focused on the ceremonies or events where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used, with the aim of achieving research objective one that sought to explore and describe the views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies.

The findings of the current study revealed that the incorporation of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol occurred in ceremonies such as child-related rites, wedding and marital functions, burial or funeral functions, ancestral rituals, initiation, and training into *ubugqirha*, initiation of girls and initiation of boys. Based on this finding the researcher concludes that even though most of the *amakrwala* knew these ceremonies some of them lacked an understanding of why *umqombothi* and brandy was integrated. Therefore, the recommendation is that the elder's views on the topic of this study need to be shared with initiates so that they understand the meaning of using *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol.

5.2.1.1. Sub-theme: Childhood-related rites

In this study most of the participants were strongly in favour of the sacredness and holiness of *umqombothi*, and they described *umqombothi* as a cultural beer used during *imicimbi* starting from child-related rites to age-related rites such as *imbeleko*, *intonjane*, *ulwaluko*, weddings, and *ukukhutshwa kwegqirha*. These rites were explained by the participants to be vital and deemed to be celebrated as a way of reminiscing and preserving the culture of the *amaXhosa*. Based on this finding a conclusion was that the *amakrwala* knew *umqombothi* as a sacred beer for child-hood related rites. It is recommended that future studies explore in depth what knowledge the *amakrwala* have about alcohol integration in these ceremonies.

5.2.1.2. Sub-theme: Wedding and marital functions

Utsiki and *ukwendlaliswa* were described by three of the sixteen participants as pre-marital ceremonies for weddings where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used as part of celebrating and welcoming *umakoti*. The participants listed these ceremonies but gave no details of what the purpose or meaning of alcohol use therein was, because the focus of the study was on the initiation ceremonies. Based on this finding a conclusion could be made that, the *amakrwala* in township settings lacked knowledge of how *utsiki* and *ukwendlalisa* was being carried out, since these ceremonies occurred mostly in rural areas. The researcher recommends that more research is needed to explore the significance of *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol use during marital functions, more especially focusing on the *amakrwala* of rural areas.

5.2.1.3. Sub-theme: Burial or funerals

Only a few research participants mentioned *ukukhulula izila* as a burial or funeral-related ceremony that used *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol. The key finding why alcohol was used in this ceremony was for celebratory purposes or to communicate with ancestors. This was the case in other ceremonies such as *ulwaluko* and *intonjane*; most of the *amakrwala* struggled or could not explain in detail why *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol was part of *amaXhosa* ceremonies. It is therefore concluded that more teachings from older people are necessary to equip younger generations about other significant values or meanings of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol in *amasiko*, except for the major purpose of communicating with ancestors. It is recommended that future researchers should explore the understanding of the participants between the ages 30 to 80 years why *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is part of the *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies.

5.2.1.4. Sub-theme: Ancestral rituals

The results of the study showed that *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was also used in the ancestral ceremonies such as *ukukhapha utata*, *icuba*, brandy and *umqombothi* as tools of worshipping for ancestor's divine protection, *ukubotshwa kwezinyanya* or *ukubulela abaphantsi*, *intlamba-peki*, *umqombothi wokuhlala* called *intselo*, and *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol for thanksgiving and gifts called *umsindleko*. The common finding from all participants was that alcohol was used for thanksgiving or pleading with ancestors to pour blessings and protection on someone. Based on this finding it is concluded that *amakrwala* knew the ancestral rituals that used *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, even though there is still a need to explore more in depth other significant meanings of using alcohol other than for the purpose of communicating with the ancestors. The researcher recommends that additional research is needed to explore other reasons, excluding thanksgiving to the ancestors, of integrating alcohol in these ceremonies.

5.2.1.5. Sub-theme: Initiation and training into *ubugqirha*

The findings indicated that few participants knew that *umqombothi* and brandies played a significant role during the ceremonies of *amagqirha* such as *ukwamkela intwaso*, graduating *ekuthwaseni*, *intlombe yamagqirha* and the ceremony of *ukuhlamba iintsimbi*, even though participants struggled to explain the meaning of alcohol use in these ceremonies. Similar to the above theme it is concluded that *amakrwala* knew the initiation and training into *ubugqirha*, even though there is still a need to explore more in depth other significant meanings of using alcohol other than for the purpose of communicating with the ancestors. Therefore, future studies must explore the views of *amagqirha* on *umqombothi* and brandies used in *ubugqirha* ceremonies.

5.2.1.6. Sub-theme: Initiation of girls (*intonjane*)

In the study *intonjane* was reported as one of the cultural ceremonies witnessed by one participant where *umqombothi* and Western alcohol was used. P1, the only participant that mentioned *intonjane*, explained that he witnessed *umqombothi* and Western alcohol used in *intonjane*. Based on this finding the researcher concluded that the reason for the lack of information about *intonjane* from other participants could be assumed that, since they all grew up in a township there was a scarcity of *iintonjane* ceremonies, as it is dominant in rural settings, and this meant that they were unaware how and why this ceremony must be done by *amaXhosa* girls. Therefore, it is recommended that more education about this ceremony is needed from township elders.

5.2.1.7. Sub-theme: Initiation of boys (*ulwaluko*)

All the participants in the study described *umguyo*, *umojiso* and *umgidi* as the major ceremonies of *ulwaluko* where *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol is used to mark or celebrate these important milestone phases from boyhood to manhood. Findings indicated that during *umgubho* and *umgidi* more brandies, *umqombothi* and beers were requested by boys and *abafana* as their *iimfanelo* to say farewell to the soon-to-be-initiate, because if *umkhwetha* did not provide them with these beers they would not recognise him as a complete man. During *umojiso* all participants mentioned that *umqombothi* was the only beer used to mark *umkhwetha*'s healing phase in the bush. Based on this finding the conclusion was that it was clear that *amakrwala* knew that *umqombothi* and brandies were the prerequisite beers to qualify them as complete men. However, it is recommended that a policy review of *ulwaluko* and alcohol use is needed so that alcohol integration is not perceived as a prerequisite, more especially if some *amakrwala* cannot afford to buy alcohol for their initiation ceremonies.

5.2.2. Theme two: Significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies

Theme two discussed the significance and purpose of alcohol in the initiation ceremonies, with the aim of achieving research objective number two that sought to explore and describe the *amakrwala's* views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies.

Findings of the study indicated that *umqombothi* was the highly favoured beer used purposefully for spiritual connection with ancestors. Some of the *amakrwala* viewed *umqombothi* as compulsory beer in initiation ceremonies while some *amakrwala* highlighted its insignificance. The major finding from these participants was that *umqombothi* was 'a significant beer to conduct *isiko*' while commercial alcohol was perceived as 'sweets' with less or no meaning during *isiko*. Most participants perceived *ulwaluko* without alcohol use as a 'joke' or 'incomplete ceremony'. Based on this finding it can be concluded that the *amakrwala* knew the significant and insignificant purpose of alcohol use in *ulwaluko*. It is recommended that more talks or debates by initiated men in a form of *iimbizo's* about alcohol and *ulwaluko* are needed to redress the significance of *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremonies.

5.2.2.1. Sub-theme: *Umqombothi*

In the study all participants described *umqombothi* as a significant beer used during the initiation ceremony. Participants perceived *umqombothi* as a prerequisite of any *umcimbi*, because it dignified and signified the culture of the *amaXhosa*. Participants perceived *umqombothi* as important to use because a beaker of *umqombothi* accompanied *iimfundiso* or teachings. For example during *ulwaluko*, *abakhuluwa* brought a beaker of *umqombothi* which was put in front of the *amakrwala* or *abakhwetha*. They then explained that the three beakers of *umqombothi* were meant for washing away boyhood sins in the river, and for teaching the initiate how to dress in *ubukrwala* clothes and their meaning, and for welcoming or introducing the initiate as a new man to the family and community at

large. With the presence of *umqombothi*, the *ikrwala* therefore felt proud of his culture more especially when he saw his homestead full of people, and he knew that people would definitely offer him words of affirmation and manhood teachings. That was when he realized that he would now have to change his behaviours and attitudes towards life, and act as an adult. Based on this finding the researcher felt that it was clear that the *amakrwala* knew the cultural significance of *umqombothi*. The recommendation is that *umqombothi* should be taken and used as a priority beer for conducting *amaXhosa* initiation ceremonies since it has spiritual significance apposed to commercial beer which is used as 'sweets'.

5.2.2.2. Sub-theme: Use of *umqombothi* is not compulsory

There were opposing views in the study that *umqombothi* was a compulsory beer to be used in *ulwaluko*, however, P16, P14, P6, P7 and P11 considered that there was no need to integrate *umqombothi* in the initiation ceremony. These five participants felt that *umqombothi* brewing was a waste of money; money that could be used to invest in the *ikrwala*'s future and education. On the other hand, the rest of the participants considered that '*a ceremony was incomplete without the use of umqombothi. Isiko was isiko by brewing umqombothi*'. P11 considered that the purpose of the initiation ceremony was to mark a boy's milestone that he was now reaching a phase of manhood. The researcher concluded that attention should be paid to these opposing views and both if possible should be accommodated, because this might be a signal that '*amaxesha ngamanye, isiko lifuna ukujongwa ngamehlo amatsha*' '*times have changed, rituals needs to be revitalized using new eyes*'. It is recommended that even though most *amakrwala* viewed *umqombothi* as a more important beer to conduct *imicimbi* they should also cater for those who believed in using commercial alcohol only in *ulwaluko*, without judging or labelling them negatively.

5.2.2.3. Sub-theme: Assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko*

In the study there were different assumptions and beliefs attached to *umqombothi* and *ulwaluko* by *amakrwala*. These assumptions ranged from the belief that ancestors saw how initiation ceremonies were conducted, assuming that everyone must undergo *imbeleko* before *ulwaluko*, and there was a strong belief about the secrecy of certain stages of *ulwaluko*. There was a belief that ancestors knew and saw when initiation ceremonies were conducted incorrectly, and they could mysteriously punish the *amakrwala* and their families for such acts. Some *amakrwala* also refused to reveal the certain stages or secrets of *ulwaluko* because they said, “By doing this I protect the privacy and dignity of isiko from public consumption.” Based on this finding as explained by the pilot study participant some *amakrwala* might be afraid to share more about the meaning of brandies’ use in *ulwaluko*, it can be concluded that this was true during the study as *amakrwala* tended to generalize some answers. The recommendation therefore is that the future researchers must first conduct face-to-face interviews to build trust with participants.

5.2.2.4. Sub-theme: Commercial alcohol

The study aimed to compare and contrast the findings of the *amakrwala* on the significance or meaning of integrating *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies. It was found that mostly during the interviews participants were confused about the term ‘commercial alcohol’ or ‘*utywala bentengo*’ but it was clear and easy to understand when the researcher used the term ‘Western alcohol’ or ‘*utywala baseNtshona okanye obomlungu*’. However, some participants had different views that commercial alcohol originated from migrant and domestic labour. The findings showed participants viewed commercial alcohol as serving to complement *umqombothi*, to be used for celebrations and to have fun. It was also found that commercial alcohol has gained significance and commercial alcohol was insignificant and not compulsory in *ulwaluko*. Based on this finding the conclusion was that commercial alcohol must continue to be included in *ulwaluko*

but with a clear explanation and limit on use. It is also recommended that monitoring of commercial alcohol use is necessary to avoid negative consequences that might occur if it was being abused.

5.2.2.5. Sub-theme: Commercial alcohol is used for celebrations and to have fun

Another finding from the study on the significance of commercial alcohol in the initiation ceremonies was that commercial alcohol was used for celebrations to have fun. This was one of the main findings reported by all participants. The participants felt strongly that '*people attend imicimbi to get free alcohol*'; the less alcohol there was the fewer attendants there were at the *imicimbi*. It was also found that people drank commercial alcohol to become slightly drunk, to remove inhibitions so that they could sing freely; and people drank commercial alcohol to show that, '*we are happy for you newly initiation graduate*'. Based on this finding it was clear that without the integration of brandy and commercial beers at *ulwaluko* people would be reluctant to attend these ceremonies. It is therefore recommended that people must be reminded that in the past during the initiation ceremonies the focus was more on the educational value of *ikrwala* than drinking alcohol.

5.2.2.6. Sub-theme: Assumptions and beliefs attached to commercial alcohol and *ulwaluko*

In the study it was found that the *amakrwala* had different perceptions, assumptions, and belief systems on the meaning of commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. The main assumptions and beliefs that arose from the majority of the participants were the belief that commercial alcohol had less significance with *umkhwetha* cleansing and *ukuyalwa*, the strong belief about the three-by-three rule (*isithathu esithathwini*) in the lighthouse, the assumption that crime was rooted in commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, the perception that the

success of *umgidi* was measured by the quantity of commercial alcohol used, and the perception that drinking revealed the eloquence (*ubuciko*) to teach *ikrwala* manhood. Based on these perceptions, the conclusion was that the majority of *amakrwala* said brandies must be used as compensation when someone fell – *ewile* during the manhood test called *ukutshakwa* or manhood code. It is therefore recommended that the *amakrwala*'s opinions of seconding the compensation of buying brandy to apologize must continue to keep their *ubukrwala* fashion interesting and relevant to current times.

5.2.2.7. Sub-theme: Commercial alcohol has gained significance

The study found that brandies such as Commando and Viceroy are the beers used to communicate with ancestors. There was a belief highlighted by some participants that before a ceremony began a tot of brandy must be poured on the ground as a symbol of worshipping ancestors. It was unknown of what was used in the days before brandy. Based on this finding the conclusion was that as highlighted in the above perceptions and beliefs about commercial alcohol use, it was clear that without the integration of commercial alcohol people would not attend *imicimbi* and people would not feel part of that ceremony. Therefore, the researcher recommends that a ceremony must cater for all the needs of the people attending it.

5.2.2.8. Sub-theme: Commercial alcohol is insignificant and not compulsory

In the study it was discovered that commercial alcohol was insignificant and not compulsory in the initiation ceremony because men celebrated the *ikrwala*'s homecoming with or without the presence of alcohol. Most participants were frustrated by commercial alcohol use during *umgidi* and felt that there was no need for its incorporation because they perceived it as a waste of money and a substance that invited unnecessary fighting that occurred after use. However, participants felt that nowadays you would notice that men claimed alcohol as

compulsory in the initiation ceremony. Based on this finding it seemed that nowadays a completeness of the ceremony was measured by the quantity of alcohol used. It is therefore recommended that alcohol must not be a core focus of *umcimbi*, but more attention should be on why *umgidi* is carried out.

5.2.3. Theme three: Comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol

Theme three presented findings on the comparison between *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol, with the aim of achieving research objective number two that sought to explore and describe *amakrwala*'s views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies. It was found that commercial alcohol mostly dominated or overtook *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies because *umqombothi* was perceived as a 'dirty' beer while brandies and beers were perceived as 'cool' beer for intoxicating someone.

Most of the participants believed that *umqombothi* was a beer to conduct *isiko* while commercial alcohol was perceived as sweets that helped people feel happy during *umcimbi*. Based on this theme it was concluded that the *amakrwala* were able to differentiate that *umqombothi* was a beer to conduct *isiko* while brandy was a beer to add to the celebration or the fun part of *isiko*.

5.2.3.1. Sub-theme: More popularity of commercial alcohol

In the study all participants were in agreement that commercial alcohol such as brandy and beers were more popular and relevant in *ulwaluko*, and *umqombothi* was viewed as a beer that was no longer relevant to bring joy and euphoria to the ceremony. Brandy was perceived as a beer of 'style' and 'modern *mqombothi*' by the participants. Based on this finding it could be concluded that in township initiation ceremonies *umqombothi* was an irrelevant beer to use, while brandy was the relevant beer of style. Therefore, it is recommended that significant meaning

of integrating *umqombothi* in *ulwaluko* must be clearly explained by elders to the *amakrwala*.

5.2.3.2. Sub-theme: Commercial alcohol is highly intoxicating

The participants felt strongly that commercial alcohol was highly intoxicating. Commercial alcohol was described as a beer with high levels of intoxication which later brought bad consequences to someone's behaviour. All participants felt that this was not the case with the levels of intoxication for *umqombothi*. Based on this finding the conclusion was that less commercial alcohol must be used in the initiation ceremonies so that people's behaviour could be monitored. It is therefore recommended that a monitoring policy on alcohol use during *umgidi* must be formulated by traditional leaders.

5.2.4. Theme four: Cultural shift and modernisation

Theme four presented the findings on the cultural shift and modernisation, as aligned with the research objective number two that sought to explore and describe the *amakrwala's* views on how *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during their initiation ceremonies. In the study it was highlighted by the participants that the meaning of *ulwaluko* and alcohol use had been largely influenced by the cultural shift and modernisation. The major findings indicated that there was less significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi* in the present day *imigidi* and *umqombothi* is used for personal gain.

Thus, the results of the current study indicated that, '*umqombothi* was a beer for elders' while *amakrwala* perceived 'brandies as a modern *umqombothi* and a cool beer for youth'. Based on this finding it could be concluded that some Xhosa have abandoned their *amasiko* because some people in the modern era perceived *isiko* as 'something for rural people, which is not meant to be practiced in townships and urban settings.' It is therefore recommended that stigma such as these should be

reduced so that the value of *umqombothi* as a unique African beer would remain relevant and respected by all people.

5.2.4.1. Sub-theme: Loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*

The study's findings showed that nowadays there has been a loss of significance and traditional meaning of *umqombothi*. Participants felt that some people, more especially during the lockdown period, were selling *umqombothi* to make money and buy food. This act of selling *umqombothi* was criticized and labelled by participants as 'something that undermines or taints the power and dignity of *umqombothi*'. In addition to the commercialization of *umqombothi*, participants highlighted that *umqombothi* was perceived as an old fashion and ancient beer that was out-dated. In conclusion, this finding showed that *umqombothi*, apart from the purpose of conducting *isiko*, could help people generate an income during times of hardship. Based on this finding the recommendation is that elders have a responsibility of teaching youth about the cultural significance of *umqombothi*.

5.2.4.2. Sub-theme: Usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions

In the study blame and criticism were voiced by the *amakrwala* towards the usage of commercial alcohol in isiXhosa traditions. Their main argument was that although times had changed as a result of watching TV and listening to the radio where they saw new advertisements for alcohol on a daily basis, their question was, should the alcohol advertised be expected in the initiation ceremonies? Where did this place widows and the poor who could not afford to buy these beers for *umgidi*? If yes, what was the meaning or purpose of integrating them in these ceremonies? Another view from the participants was the blame people attached to those forcing commercial alcohol to be mixed with *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies. Based on this finding the conclusion was that people should not expect alcohol advertised on TV to be served in any *umgidi* they attended because

some people could not afford to buy expensive alcohol or many cases of beer for *umgidi*. It is recommended that there should be an exception for those that cannot afford to buy alcohol to do their *imigidi* without integrating alcohol.

5.2.4.3. Sub-theme: Abuse of alcohol

One of the reported views by the participants was the abuse of alcohol which seemed to be worsening year by year in the Township initiation ceremonies. The main purpose of using *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was to communicate and thank ancestors as a family that sent the *ikrwala* to the initiation school and he returned alive. Another aim for integrating alcohol was to celebrate the homecoming of *ikrwala*, even though people tended to exaggerate this jubilation. Most *amakrwala* indicated that during their *imigidi* people offered more beers to show *ububele* – generosity. Based on this finding the conclusion was that even though people used alcohol for celebratory purposes it should be limited to avoid negative consequences. It is therefore recommended that each home conducting *umgidi* must have a senior man to monitor drinking behaviour.

5.2.5. Theme five: Men's behaviour because of alcohol use in *imigidi*

Theme five described men's behaviour because of alcohol use in *imigidi*, with the aim of achieving research objective number three that pursued to explore and describe the views of the *amakrwala* on *amaXhosa* male behaviour that was associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. For example, the personal experiences shared by P16 because of men's behaviour during *imigidi* was a great concern that something was wrong in the way that alcohol was used in these ceremonies. P16 emphasised that steps must be taken to revitalize and restore the dignity of this ceremony. Based on this finding it was concluded that there was positive behaviour as well as negative behaviour portrayed by initiated men as a result of alcohol use in *imigidi*. It is

therefore recommended that monitoring of behaviour must be the priority in all initiation ceremonies to keep the dignity and respect of *ulwaluko* to a high standard.

5.2.5.1. Sub-theme: Positive behaviour of men during *umgidi*

In the study out of sixteen participants interviewed four participants; mentioned that they were happy about the way men behaved in their *imigidi*. There were no fights or quarrels because of alcohol use in their *imigidi*. Men drank alcohol responsibly, and those who misbehaved were asked in a polite manner to leave *the amakrwala's* homes. The main reason why men were well behaved was simply because they respected the dignity of *isiko*, and they were afraid of angering the ancestors. Secondly, they were afraid to anger the wrong men, who were respected *ooSokhaya* in the Townships. Participants indicated that *abafana* during some *imigidi* sang traditional songs with or without using alcohol. Based on this finding the conclusion was that even if there were badly behaved men during *imigidi*, there were still well behaved men, so everyone cannot be criticized in the same way. The study further found that men behaved well in *umgidi* because they knew that this day reminded them of their *imigidi*. Therefore, they must honour this *ikrwala's* special day with respect and dignity. It is recommended that a code of conduct be considered and introduced by traditional leaders to preserve the dignity of *imigidi*.

5.2.5.2. Sub-theme: Negative behaviour of men during *umgidi*

In the study most of the participants were in consensus that men did not portray good behaviour or set a good example for young boy's watching, who would also be initiates some time. There was even a question raised by the participants that, *do men feel proud about their negative behaviour during imigidi?* Hopefully, future studies will answer this important question. It was reported in the study that men became very violent and abused alcohol in the lighthouses, and they did not drink for the purposes of improving *ikrwala's* manhood but to disrespect *umgidi*. The

study showed that to some *amakrwala* lighthouses were traumatic places which brought flashbacks of the painful experiences they witnessed there. For example, three shared painful stories of how they lost their beloved brothers on the day of *umgidi*. Some men stabbed and killed their brothers. This therefore forced them to make the decision that they would no longer attend *imigidi*. In the study it was reported by some *amakrwala* that they experienced negative teachings from drunken *abafana* in their initiation ceremonies. One of the participants indicated that there was pressure by the *abakhuluwa* to *ikrwala* during *umgidi* to sleep with a girl without wearing condoms. The act is believed as '*ukukhupha ibhuma* or *ifutha*' or '*taking away ibhuma's remains from ikrwala's body*'. P3 blamed this act because he considered that some of the *amakrwala* ended up contracting STI's such as HIV/AIDS on the day of *umgidi* as a result of the pressure from the *abakhuluwa*. On the other hand, P11 felt strongly that the *amakrwala* and the *abakhuluwa* must review the way they conducted themselves during the initiation ceremonies, as he noticed the negative behaviour such as gangsterism and negative teachings emphasized by them in the code of conduct even during the ceremonies. Based on this finding it was concluded that the moral behaviour of men during *imigidi* nowadays has shifted negatively which therefore resulted in negative consequences among the *amakrwala*. It is recommended that men should sit in *iimbizo* and set a code of conduct which governs the accepted behaviour of men during *umgidi*.

5.2.6. Theme six: Consequences of alcohol use or abuse

Theme six discussed the consequences of alcohol use or abuse as shared by the *amakrwala*, with the aim of achieving research objective number three that pursued to explore and describe the views of the *amakrwala* on *amaXhosa* male behaviours that are associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. The major results of the study showed that alcohol use and abuse in the initiation ceremonies led to negative consequences such as

health-related problems, family burdens, and societal pressure to conform to using alcohol as part of the ceremonies, gangsterism that appeared in the lighthouses which therefore led to killings and death. Based on this finding the study showed that commercial or Western alcohol was more dangerous compared to *umqombothi*. Therefore, it is recommended that *umqombothi* must play a larger role during the initiation ceremonies.

5.2.6.1. Sub-theme: Societal pressure

The study showed that one of the reasons for alcohol use in the initiation ceremonies was to avoid a societal pressure, because if you did not integrate it you would not fit in when other men spoke at their gatherings, or they would not recognize you as a man. Based on this finding it was concluded that people must avoid pressure put on the *umgidi* host to buy more alcohol to avoid negative consequences. It is recommended that *ulwaluko* must be measured by the quality of teachings by older men to *ikrwala* during *umgidi* rather than the quantity of alcohol purchased for *umgidi* to entertain people.

5.2.6.2. Sub-theme: Competition

Out of the sixteen participants interviewed four participants, indicated that alcohol in the initiation ceremonies was used for competition purposes. Participants labelled this as 'attention-seeking, showing off or a bragging' sign that someone could afford to buy expensive alcohol for his or her *umcimbi*. Participants further indicated that the purpose of alcohol use was to impress the neighbourhood. In conclusion it seemed that the purpose of doing *ulwaluko* had shifted on the way it was in the past where the purpose was to groom young men with manhood but alcohol in the recent years was used as a priority for *ulwaluko* to brag and show-off that someone could afford to buy more alcohol during *umgidi*. Based on this finding, in agreement with P13, it is proposed that parents must stop buying a large

quantity of alcohol to show off, because this led to the loss of focus and attention to '*uSingaye*' or *ikrwala*.

5.2.6.3. Sub-theme: Financial burden

The participants in the study expressed the view that the initiation ceremony came with unnecessary expenditure because some parents depended on the SASSA pension grant for a living, but to make this ceremony a success they sometimes had no choice but to take out a loan of plus or minus R20 000. This therefore became a financial burden as in January it was noticed that after the ceremony they experienced financial difficulties. Based on this finding the conclusion was that parents who could not afford to raise more money for conducting *ulwaluko* must not be judged as this left them with a financial burden after the initiation ceremony. Therefore, it is recommended that a person must undertake an initiation ceremony according to his or her affordability.

5.2.6.4. Sub-theme: Discrimination and exclusion of those with different values

There was a belief expressed by the participants in the study that men perceived you as a disgrace and excluded you if you did not drink alcohol. There was also a view that should a parent initiate a boy without *umqombothi* integration and invite people to attend *umcimbi*, people would no longer respect his homestead. So if an initiate skipped *umqombothi* use during *umngeno* even if he used *umqombothi* during *umojiso* and *umgidi* he was judged and criticized as an incomplete man by other men, and therefore he would be alienated in the lighthouse. The *amakrwala* mentioned that men believed that a man was a man by abiding by the three-by-three rule.

There was also a report by some participants in the study that there was a tendency of excluding *ikrwala* that had undergone a Christian initiation ceremony by other *abafana* in the lighthouse. The attitude expressed by the participants

when speaking about Christianity sounded as if they were also not in favour of a Christian initiation ceremony. The researcher felt that this might be caused by the stigma of the *amaXhosa* cultural believers who criticized '*ingqobhoko*' or Christianity as 'something that steals culture significancy'. This might show that it was time to revise and ask the question: Who came with the belief that Christianity steals away our cultural belief systems? Which one is better between a Christian initiation or a cultural initiation? Based on this finding, the researcher could conclude that it seemed that those who performed male medical circumcision were regarded as neither partially qualified men nor uncircumcised boys by those who had undergone the traditional initiation ceremonies route. Therefore, the recommendation is that stigma and discrimination in the lighthouses must be reported by discriminated *amakrwala* to senior graduated men to sanction punishments for wrongdoers.

5.2.6.5. Sub-theme: Health-related problems

The study showed that there were health-related problems which resulted from alcohol use or abuse in the initiation ceremonies. Firstly, it was indicated that if a boy or soon-to-be-initiate drank alcohol during *umgubho* it was emphasized by the *abakhuluwa* that he would be affected 'down there'. The *abakhuluwa* reportedly said that an initiate should not taste alcohol. Secondly, another disadvantage of *umqombothi* use reported by the *amakrwala* was that traditionally, *umqombothi* was meant or must be drunk by everyone using one beaker, because it was unusual to drink *umqombothi* using a cup or glass. Therefore, now that everyone drank using one *ibhekile* there was the chance of spreading Covid-19. The researcher therefore could conclude that, despite the reported negative health-related problems because of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko* there were also benefits of using alcohol during the ceremony. It is therefore recommended that good hygiene procedures must be observed when drinking

umqombothi during *ulwaluko* and must be emphasized by Environmental Health Practitioners or Health and Safety Officers for food and beverages.

5.2.6.6. Sub-theme: Bad behaviour, gangsterism, violence and death

In the study there was a complaint expressed by the *amakrwala* that alcohol use and abuse in the initiation ceremonies resulted in bad behaviour by men, namely gangsterism, violence and death. One of the participants indicated that he witnessed fights on two occasions in *umgubho* and *umgidi* where men stabbed each other. The participant believed that, if there were not so much alcohol during *umgidi* those incidents would not have happened. Another participant, P16 further added that men offered teachings to *ikrwala* only when there was alcohol, and therefore they became violent or harsh to *ikrwala*. The researcher in agreement with P16, concluded that it was a common occurrence nowadays to enter the lighthouses alive and exit as a dead person. Therefore, the recommendation is to have manhood code of conduct during the initiation ceremonies and the sanctions that punish negative behaving men in the lighthouses. Search the pockets of all men entering the lighthouses to ensure safety for all.

5.2.6.7. Sub-theme: Underage drinking

A few participants in the study criticized the sisters who tended to give younger children, younger boys and girls alcohol to drink during *umgidi*. In concluding this finding, the researcher considered that this showed that older sisters and brothers as well as parents must pay attention to the alcohol they offered to the younger children during *imicimbi yakwaXhosa*. It is recommended that alcohol must not be given to younger children to drink during *umgidi*.

5.2.6.8. Sub-theme: Loss of respect for the Xhosa nation

In the study some participants considered that alcohol use and abuse during the initiation ceremonies led to the loss of respect for the Xhosa nation, culture, and

its dignity. Participants were of the view that in the past, many nations and other cultures around the world used to respect the *amaXhosa* because of their strong principles of upholding their *amasiko*; but nowadays that respect was in vain. There was also an opinion that the way men behaved in the initiation ceremonies undermined the *amaXhosa* culture and nation. Based on this finding it could be concluded that men must value and respect the culture of the *amaXhosa*. It is also recommended that *amasiko* must be strongly preserved and upheld by young and old people.

5.2.6.9. Sub-theme: No adverse behaviour

Despite the negative consequences shown in the above sections, it was noted that some *amakrwala* observed well behaved men in their *imigidi* after drinking alcohol. Based on this finding this showed that like the researcher mentioned under theme five, we cannot criticise everyone in the same way. We need to commend and praise the well behaved men during *ulwaluko*. It is therefore recommended that well behaved men during *imigidi* must be commended and encouraged to continue to do so. Traditional leaders and elders can reinforce this by publicizing awards that reimburse good behaving men during *imigidi*.

5.2.7. Theme seven: Recommendations of *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*

Theme seven highlighted recommendations of the *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in *ulwaluko*, in alignment with the research objective number four which sought to explore and describe the suggestions or recommendations from the *amakrwala* on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during the initiation ceremony. In conclusion on this finding judging and evaluating the tone and frustrations expressed by the *amakrwala* during the interviews the following recommendations were determined as urgent and of great concern.

5.2.7.1. Sub-theme: Responsible use of alcohol to curb abuse

One of the major recommendations by the participants in the study was the idea of responsible drinking and reduction of the overuse of alcohol. There was also a recommendation that if someone during *umcimbi* felt satisfied after drinking alcohol he or she must leave the ceremony and go to sleep at his or her home.

5.2.7.2. Sub-theme: Elevation of the status of *umqombothi*, reduce use of commercial alcohol

In the study the *amakrwala* recommended that there must be more *umqombothi* used in *ulwaluko* with limited commercial alcohol use. The reason for this recommendation the *amakrwala* felt that by reducing commercial alcohol use it could lead to the reduction of bloodshed in these ceremonies. The study also showed that there was no clear explanation by elders why alcohol was integrated in *ulwaluko* during the phase of *umojiso*.

5.2.7.3. Sub-theme: Monitoring of drinking and behaviour

The *amakrwala* recommended that if someone felt satisfied after drinking alcohol he must leave without disrupting the whole *umcimbi*. Another advice they suggested was that there must be one person to monitor the behaviour of drunken people during the ceremony. The *amakrwala* also recommended stopping commercialization of *umqombothi* to preserve its dignity.

5.2.7.4. Sub-theme: Reclaiming isiXhosa traditions

It was recommended by the *amakrwala* in the study that the *amaXhosa* people must return to their roots and never forget the reason for using *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies.

5.2.7.5. Sub-theme: Introduction of guidelines and recommendations on the use of alcohol during initiation

There was a recommendation suggested by the *amakrwala* that there should be guidelines or a constitution that must be followed by all men who underwent initiation ceremonies. It is hoped that by doing this, alcohol use could be curbed and controlled in *ulwaluko*.

5.2.7.6. Sub-theme: Awareness creation or educational programmes

The *amakrwala* recommended that there should be awareness created or educational programmes introduced about initiation ceremonies, their purpose and how to drink responsibly during them. These programmes might be in the form of roundtables or *iimbizo*'s. The researcher can conclude this finding by mentioning that the country could possibly start a campaign where all the *amakrwala*, *abafana* and *amadoda* would not be afraid to speak out about what to do and what not to do in the initiation ceremonies to the soon-to-be-initiates.

The following sub-section highlights the summary of methodology and research design.

5.3. SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

To achieve the aims and objectives of the study, the use of a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate, which eventually led to answering the research question, and achieving the aims, and objectives. The selected design enabled the achievement of the overall goal, answering the research question, aims and objectives. It is now known, how the *amakrwala* view the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration in the initiation ceremonies, as this was the research question. The study was rooted in a qualitative approach as described in Chapter Three, which was exploratory, descriptive, and contextual in nature.

Due to the phenomenon under study being under researched and with a scarcity of literature, an explorative, descriptive and contextual design was perceived as

most suitable in achieving the research goal. Research participants were sampled from a population of Thembalethu Township, using a purposive sampling method. Participants were intentionally selected based on inclusion criteria as explained in Chapter One and Chapter Three of this study. In compliance with ethical rules of research, participants were recruited on a voluntary basis and all research details explained to them prior to participation and a consent form was further explained telephonically in detail with each participant and signed in the form of *WhatsApp* screenshots before the study commenced. A pilot study was conducted to ensure that the proposed data collection method was adequate and appropriate to achieve the research aims and objectives, using semi-structured interviews with an interview guide, containing predetermined questions. After prospective research participants responded to participate in the study, they consented and telephonic individual interviews were conducted. During recruitment, it was clearly stated that the researcher was looking for sixteen participants plus one participant for the pilot study. Through interviews with the sixteen participants data saturation was reached. Data was then analysed, using the descriptive analysis method guided by the eight steps suggested by Tesch (1990:142-145 cited in Creswell, 2009:186). Data was collected through audio-recorded interviews, transcribed, then cleaned by identifiers being removed and coded by the researcher, to form themes, sub-themes, and categories. Other aspects of the research methodology such as trustworthiness and ethical considerations were summarized in Chapter One and Chapter Three of this study. The researcher therefore concluded that the study could have benefitted more if he employed a narrative approach because most participants instead of describing their views on this topic narrated them in a story format, which also made it difficult for the researcher to quote or condense their long excerpts for the discussion of the findings in Chapter Four.

5.4. SIGNIFICANCE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This section presents the value of the study, challenges or limitations experienced in the study and conclusions based on these challenges.

5.4.1. Value of the study

Almost all the research participants felt revitalized and honoured to be given a chance to voice their opinions on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies. They mentioned that studies of this nature were so scarce it was important that they be conducted as they revived the culture of the *amaXhosa*. Studies such as these serve as a tool to preserve the cultural heritage and dignity of the *amaXhosa* initiation ceremonies and alcohol use therein. The study as well adds to the body of knowledge on the phenomenon and makes concrete recommendations for further research.

5.4.2. Challenges or limitations experienced during the study and conclusions based on these challenges

- During the interviews, the researcher felt that most participants did not feel comfortable to disclose the meaning of *umqombothi* and brandy use in depth, more especially when they were asked to reflect on the phases of their initiation journeys. This is due to the sacredness of the initiation ceremony.
- Participants generalized more for some questions because they did not want to break the oath of pledging from *iimfundiso zabakhuluwa babo*, and this therefore limited the researcher from reaching rich data.
- Focusing only on a Township area for the study was also a challenge because the researcher noticed that most participants did not know or attend *imicimbi* in Thembalethu, and they lacked knowledge on the meaning of alcohol use therein. Due to the inclusion criteria (**17-24 years**) most participants struggled to understand, reflect and explain the meaning/purpose of integrating *umqombothi* during the initiation ceremonies. Thus, the researcher only

reported on their description of the ceremonies as well as on what they knew about the significance of alcohol integration in *ulwaluko*.

- Excluding rural areas, and older people's views on, *abakhuluwa*, *amakhankatha*, *iingcibi* and *abazali* was a limitation in this topic.
- Regarding the telephonic interviews there were anticipated challenges that could obstruct this type of data collection such as expensive airtime for calls especially long interviews, poor weather conditions that could lead to communication barriers, disturbing background noises from participant's or researcher's rooms during the interview and lack of openness from the participant since he would not be face-to-face with the researcher and the participant was not assured of speaking openly and freely with the interviewer since he would not have had the chance of seeing him physically. Another challenge was the participants lack of computers or smart phones to download and sign consent forms for interviews, but this was addressed by allowing them to take a *WhatsApp* screenshot for the statement of consent that stated, '*I agree to participate in the study, I am not forced to participate and I agree to be audio-recorded during the interview*'. Another thing that helped was using *MTN Cliq 5* and buying voice call bundles for all networks to save airtime for long interviews.
- During the interview preparation phase via *WhatsApp* one participant said, "*Sorry Sir I don't mean to be rude but did you went through the initiation ceremony wena? Coz I don't want to share things of our isiko with a boy.*" Therefore, the researcher had to take a screenshot of his position from Chapter One which proved that he went through the initiation ceremony in June 2006. The researcher in addition explained that the interviews were not aimed at digging deeply about what was happening in the initiation schools or how they were treated in the bush because that was not the focus of the study. Therefore, reflecting on this scenario it would be a limitation or be difficult for an un-initiated male or a female researcher to conduct these interviews, more especially via

telephone. He or she would therefore not get rich and honest data from all the participants.

- It was a challenge to access and find recent studies that supported the literature and theoretical framework for the study.
- Gaining entry to the community to gather data was also a challenge due to COVID-19 lockdown regulations and the researcher had to apply for ethics amendment to change face-to-face interviews to telephonic interviews.
- Some of the research participants had soft voices during telephonic calls, which made it difficult for the interviewer to transcribe what they said in some research questions. There were also distractions of a poor network from the participant's side, as well as noise barriers caused by aeroplanes or cars at their workplaces.
- One of the research participants accidentally disclosed the secrets of the initiation process but the interviewer did not dwell on or show that he was shocked to hear this disclosure from the participant as it was agreed during the participant orientation phase that he must try not to talk about the *ulwaluko* process during the interview. Secondly, the participant mentioned that even though he grew up in George, Thembalethu, he went through the initiation ceremony in the Eastern Cape, but he was able to answer all questions asked. The interviewer felt that he could explore more on how the participant viewed this topic in a rural area but he also thought that there was also a possibility that a participant in the Eastern Cape might have undergone the initiation ceremony in semi-urban Townships like Thembalethu, as he mentioned that he did not know most of the *amaXhosa* cultural ceremonies.
- In the case of another participant the researcher also tried to stay objective and neutral throughout the interview and he did not interject with his views, thoughts, and feelings about the research questions to the participant. However, the researcher had to intervene before the participant shared his experience of the meaning of alcohol use during his initiation ceremony,

because accidentally, the participant disclosed the information that he was instructed not to reveal before the commencement of the interview. The researcher, when writing the transcript for this participant disclaimed to the research supervisors that he felt that he could not transcribe this part the way the participant said it. This was to respect the culture of *ulwaluko*. So, he described the response of the participant in paraphrased form.

- Another challenge experienced was that it was too difficult to get participants, as most of them did not keep their appointments with the researcher, and this was because they did not see him face-to-face beforehand to build trust and rapport. Some of them thought the researcher had not gone through the initiation ceremony, so they were afraid to disclose the secrets of *isiko lokwaluka* to the 'outsider'. This delayed data collection and transcribing stages.
- The criterion to recruit participants (18 to 24 years, June 2017 to December 2018 *amakrwala*) was also a challenge because most of the participants who showed interest to participate in the study went through the initiation ceremonies prior 2017 and after 2018.
- Some of the participants under the age of 20 years struggled or did not have any idea of why *umqombothi* was part of the *amaXhosa* initiation ceremonies. This meant that the recruitment inclusion criteria also limited obtaining the reasons and meaning of alcohol use during these ceremonies. The study could possibly have benefitted more if five participants were between 18 to 25 years old, five participants were between 26 to 30 years old, and six participants were between 31 to 40 years old.

5.5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This section briefly highlights the proposed research areas by the *amakrwala* as well as recommended areas of research proposed by the researcher.

5.5.1. Proposed research areas by *amakrwala*

In the study the *amakrwala* proposed areas for further research such as research on the views of older men on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies, and to explore whether masculinity values instilled in initiation graduates were effective and appropriate. Some questions participants raised for further exploration through research included the following; how proud are men of their manhood, what steps can be taken to implement the knowledge and responsibilities acquired from the initiation school? Some topics raised by participants for future studies to focus on include; marginalisation and exclusion of women in initiation, effects of alcohol on young men, views and perceptions on revitalising culture or traditions, views and perceptions on contemporary initiation graduation ceremonies, and the question of; should alcohol continue to be used to penalize those who failed the manhood test?

5.5.2. Recommendations for future studies by the researcher

- Future studies must focus more on rural areas, older people's views, *abakhuluwa*, *amakhankatha*, *iingcibi* and *abazali* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.
- Future ethnographic researchers need to go straight into *imigidi* and observe the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use instead of relying only on the participants' views.
- More books or research-based articles should be written on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies.
- Historical meaning and origins of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol integration during *imicimbi* must be revisited since literature on this topic was scarce during the period of this study.

- In the townships there is no need to request entry from ward councillors because it is not the same as in rural areas where a researcher has to go through *usibonda* and *inkosi*.

The results of the study indicated that a key focus for future research is the need for and development of a manhood code of conduct for before, during and after the initiation ceremonies that speaks to alcohol use or non-use, behaviour, and sanctions.

5.6. OVERALL SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

To achieve the goal and objectives of the present study, seven themes and related sub-themes with categories describing the views of the *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use in the initiation and other cultural ceremonies emerged. The major results of the study showed that *umqombothi* served as a spiritual connection with ancestors, a beer to conduct *imicimbi*, a ceremony with no *umqombothi* was perceived as incomplete and *umqombothi* dignified and served as the only beer that distinguished the *amaXhosa* from other cultures or races that held initiation ceremonies. On the other hand ten participants in the study expressed the view that commercial alcohol was good and relevant to use in the initiation ceremonies because of its significance to the naming of *umkhwetha*, *ukuyala ikrwala*, teaching *ikrwala* the three-by-three rule, cleansing of *umkhwetha*, brandies as a symbolic beer to the first initiated Xhosa man *uSomagwaza*, thanksgiving to the initiates' care-givers and brandies 'are the modern beers for celebrating *umcimbi*'. However, the other six participants perceived that commercial alcohol had no value or significance in *ulwaluko* or any other *amaXhosa* ceremonies; they were just 'sweets for fun and entertainment purposes'. In addition to this, these participants believed that if they were given the

chance to hold initiation ceremonies for their future sons they would not use any alcohol, either commercial alcohol or *umqombothi* in *ulwaluko*.

One of the research findings showed that there was a shift to modernisation or Westernization in the manner that *ulwaluko* was being conducted. The *amakrwala* complained that in *imigidi* of Thembaletu area there was no longer stick-fighting; but gangsterism in the lighthouses, there was no longer singing of traditional songs; but the use of Western songs and *DVD*'s in the lighthouses, women and girls' role in *ulwaluko* was dominated by the patriarchal system, *imigidi* nowadays was meant for bragging, competition and more alcohol use with no attention given to *ikrwala*, and *abakhuluwa* offered incorrect teaching to the initiate or *ikrwala*.

Lastly, *amakrwala* mentioned that if someone could do *ulwaluko* without integrating *umqombothi* or commercial alcohol, no one would attend that 'boring' ceremony. There was a strong feeling from the participants that times had changed, *umqombothi* was no longer the centre of attention in *ulwaluko* but a beer for older people, while commercial alcohol was perceived as a modern *umqombothi* which was relevant and in fashion for the youth.

Centred on the above research results and reviewed literature from Chapter Two the researcher could conclude that, firstly, it has been showed that the moral behaviour of men during initiation ceremonies after using alcohol has shifted negatively due to modernisation and the influence of Western culture in current years. Secondly, most *amakrwala* during the study were unaware of the significant meaning or reason why *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during the initiation ceremonies. Therefore, the researcher could conclude that, all the *amaXhosa* initiated men must or should unite and revitalize the dignity of the initiation ceremony by clearly explaining to new graduates and soon-to-be-initiates why *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used.

5.7. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter revisited the research question, the goal, and objectives of the study. This chapter presented a summary of the findings and conclusion of the study linked to themes and sub-themes. This was followed by a summary of the research methodology and research design employed in the study, the significance, and limitations of the study. Lastly, the chapter provided recommendations for future research, followed by the overall summary of the research findings, and concluding remarks.

The researcher would like to close this research report by saying that, *“Initiation ceremony is one of our oldest rituals as amaXhosa, umqombothi and brandies were always part of this isiko and they will always be part of it. Therefore, let us preserve this precious ceremony by drinking ‘responsibly’ and handle eli siko with care and respect. Enkosi!”*

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Appendix 1: Letter to gatekeepers



Change the World

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela University
• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmu.ac.za

Date: 11 September 2020

To: The Ward Councilor
Themba lethu
George
6529

Dear Ward Councilor

I am Mzoli Mavimbela living in George, Lavalia. I am currently enrolled for a Master's degree in Social Work Research at the Nelson Mandela University. I have to complete a research dissertation as part of the requirements of the course, and the title of my research is "The views of *amakrwala* on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies." At present I am making preliminary enquiries to establish if such a study would be feasible. My request to your community is to identify potential research participants who meet the following criteria:

- Participants must be Xhosa males living in George.
- They must be between the ages of 18 to 24 years.
- They must have gone through the initiation ceremony between June 2017 and December 2018.
- They must be able to speak *isiXhosa* or English fluently, but interviews will be commenced with their language of preference, and English is not a must.

- They must be willing to participate in the research study.
- They must have access to a cell phone with WhatsApp.
- They will dedicate their 30 minutes to 50 minutes in a quiet space where they will not have any disturbances during the interview, and they have a choice to propose their interview time of preference.
- Unfortunately, if a participant does not meet all the above-mentioned inclusion criteria he will be excluded from the study.

The research study involves 16 semi-structured telephonic interviews aimed at gaining an in-depth understanding of *amakrwala* views of their initiation ceremony on the integration of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol therein. Each interview will take approximately 30 to 40 minutes to complete. The research study will conform to the ethical guidelines and requirements of the University and confidentiality agreements will be made with the participants. It would be appreciated if you could identify any Xhosa males who meet the sampling criteria, telephonically brief the prospective participant about the researcher's study and then if that participant shows willingness to participate. I ask permission to give his (the prospective participant's) phone number to the researcher. Airtime or a data voucher will be provided to the councillors to cover the costs of their calls to the prospective participants and the researcher. The researcher will then contact the prospective participant to explain again about the purpose of the study, risks and benefits, ethical considerations, consent forms for audio-recording and explain that a telephonic interview will be conducted once the participant agrees to participate in the study. Furthermore, I would appreciate it if you could comment on whether this research would fulfill a need for your community.

My research supervisor is Dr. Zurina Abdulla and co-supervisors Prof. Zoleka Soji from the Social Work Programme in the School of Behavioural Sciences at Nelson Mandela University. Prof. Luvuyo Ntombana is also a co-supervisor and cultural expert on the initiation process. Any questions regarding the study can be directed

to me or my research supervisor and co-supervisors. I can be contacted at 0730001407 or mzo.mavimbela@gmail.com. The research supervisor can be contacted at 0415044821 or Zurina.Abdulla@mandela.ac.za. The research co-supervisors can be contacted at 0415042630 or Zoleka.Soji@mandela.ac.za. Prof. Ntombana at 0415042175 or Luvuyo.Ntombana@mandela.ac.za.

Your kind assistance will be highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



Mr. M. Mavimbela

Masters of Social Work Research Student
Supervisor



Dr. Z. Abdulla

Research



Prof. Z. Soji

Research Co-supervisor

Prof. L. Ntombana

Research Co-supervisor

Appendix 2: Letter to proposed participants



Change the World

• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela University
• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmu.ac.za

Good day Sir

I know that you don't know me in person, my apologies for initially contacting you by phone and not in person. I hope you understand that this is due to COVID-19 and Lockdown procedures and rules for social contact. My name is Mzoli Mavimbela from George living in Lavalia, a 30 year old Xhosa male who graduated in initiation ceremony June 2006. I got your cell number from ward councillor X or from another research participant X who referred you to me for the purpose of my study's data collection telephonic interview. The reason for not telling you the name of the participant who referred you to me is to maintain the privacy for him as this is required for the purpose of the study.

The topic of the study is: **THE VIEWS OF AMAKRWALA ON THE MEANING OF UMQOMBOTHI AND COMMERCIAL (*utywala bomlungu okanye obentengo*) ALCOHOL USE DURING THE INITIATION CEREMONIES.** 'Amakrwala' is just a name to identify and distinguish you as newly graduated man. You only qualify to participate in the study if you meet the inclusion criteria explained to you by your *saluka* or ward councillor. If you are interested in the study you will receive and sign a confidentiality form, informed consent form, and audio-recording forms verbally or in writing via *WhatsApp* or email if you have it. The confidentiality form means that you gave me a permission to interview you, and you were not forced or bribed to participate in the study and during the interview your name will not be disclosed but you will be labelled or called participant 1 or A to ensure that you remain anonymous, and your privacy is respected. Informed consent form simply means that participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw your consent at any time, the focus of this research will only be on your view on the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use

during the initiation ceremonies not about the initiation process; participation is limited to one telephonic semi-structured interview. You also understand that this interview will be audio-recorded, although no discomfort or stress is foreseen, should you experience any discomfort or stress you reserve the right not to answer any question at any time during the interview. Should you experience discomfort or distress the researcher will provide details of counselling services available at FAMSA Outeniqua in George. Participation in this research is entirely confidential and information will not be released in any individually identifiable form. The researcher will answer any questions you wish to ask about this research now or during the course of the research process, and the results of the research will be made available to you if you so wish. The audio-recording form to release information means that the nature of the research and the nature of your participation have been explained to you verbally and in writing and you agreed to participate in an interview and to allow audio-recordings of these to be made, the audio-recordings will be transcribed - *ndiyibhale phantsi incoko yethu* or written down only by the researcher, and once the data have been transcribed the recordings will be destroyed. I will provide a data voucher prior to the interview so that you can send the *WhatsApp* screenshots of the consent forms to me prior to the interview. Below is the sample of interview questions that you can expect during the interview:

- a) What is your general view on *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the cultural ceremonies or celebrations among the *amaXhosa*?
- b) In your view what is the meaning of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies in Themba lethu location?
- c) Do you view these as one and the same substance or different substances with different meanings?
- d) What are the advantages and disadvantages of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies?
- e) Please describe and share with me your views on how and when *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol was used during your initiation ceremony?
- f) What are the *amaXhosa* male behaviour that are associated with *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol use during the initiation ceremonies?
- g) What advice or recommendations can you give on the use of *umqombothi* and commercial alcohol during initiation ceremonies?

IsiXhosa translation:

- a) *Ngokuthe gabalala uyibona njani into yokusetyenziswa komqombothi kunye notywala besilungu okanye obuthengiswayo kwizisusa okanye kumasiko akwaNtu?*
- b) *Ngokwezakho iimbono nezimvo ithini intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa komqombothi neyokusetyenziswa kotywala besilungu okanye obuthengiswayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe kwingingqi yaseThembalethu?*
- c) *Ingaba uwubona umqombothi usetyenziswa ngokufanayo notywala besilungu okanye obuthengiswayo? Okanye uwubona unentsingiselo eyohlukileyo kutywala bentengo?*
- d) *Kubaluleke ngantoni ukusetyenziswa komqombothi nokusetyenziswa kotywala besilungu okanye obuthengiswayo? Kwaye iziintoni ongabalulekanga ngazo umqombothi notywala besilungu kwindlela obusetyenziswa ngayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?*
- e) *Ndicela undichazele kwaye wabelane nam ngezimvo zakho zokuba wawusetyenziswa njani nakangakanani na umqombothi notywala bentengo ngexesha lokwaluka kwakho?*
- f) *Zeziphi izimbo okanye izenzo zamadoda ezinxulumene okanye eziphenjelelwa ngumqombothi kunye notywala bentengo kwizisusa zesiko lokwaluka ongandichazela zona?*
- g) *Zithini iingcebiso okanye iziphakamiso ongazinika ekusetyenzisweni komqombothi notywala obuthengiswayo kwizisusa okanye imigcobo enxulumene nesiko lokwaluka lakwaXhosa?*

After the interview is completed, I will ask you to refer me to other young men that you know who also meet the above inclusion criteria.

Kind regards,

Mr. Mzoli Mavimbela (Masters of Social Work Research Student)

Appendix 3: Permission and release form; recordings and transcriptions



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• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmu.ac.za

USE OF AUDIO RECORDINGS AND WRITTEN MATERIAL FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES – PERMISSION AND RELEASE FORM

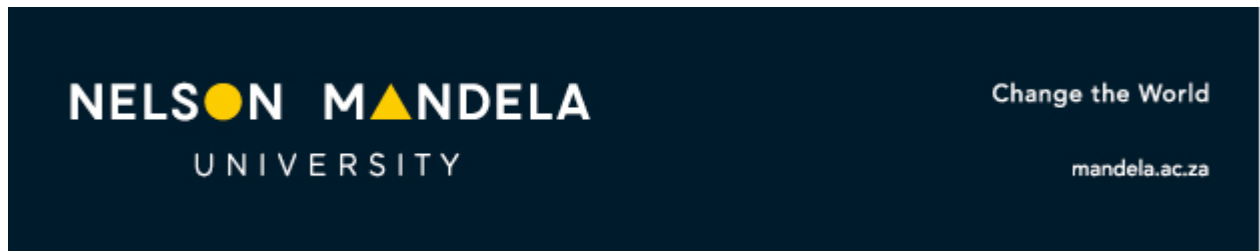
Declaration

(Please sign in the blocks next to the statements that apply)

1. The nature of the research and the nature of my participation have been explained to me verbally and in writing.	Signature:
2. I agree to participate in an interview and to allow audio-recordings of these to be made.	Signature:
3. The audio-recordings will be transcribed only by the researcher.	Signature:
4. Once the data have been transcribed the recordings will be destroyed.	Signature:
Date: Witnessed by researcher: 11 September 2020	

For a description of how these forms were signed by the research participants please see Appendix 2: Letter to proposed participants.

Appendix 4: Consent form



Date: 11 September 2020

INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

Ref: [H20-HEA-SDP-004]

For description of the study and how consent forms were signed by the research participants please see Appendix 2: Letter to proposed participants.

Contact person: Mr Mzoli Mavimbela

Cell: 0730001407

Email: s211117528@mandela.ac.za

Appendix 5: Telephonic interview schedule



- Bhota Mnumzana igama lam ndinguMzoli Mavimbela eLavalia apha eGeorge, enkosi ngokuba undiphe ixesha lakho ukwenza olu dliwano-ndlebe. Njengoko ububonile ke kulaa leta bendikuthumelele yona, ndenza uphando njengomfundi weeMasters waseNMU ukuva izimvo zakho ukuba luthini na uluvo lwakho ngentsingiselo yomqombothi notywala obuthengiswayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe kwaXhosa. Ngaphambi kokuba ndiqhubekele phambili ndingathanda ukuqonda ukuba ungathanda ndikubize njani ngoku sincokola kolu dliwano-ndlebe; ndibe sendibuza le mibuzo ingezantsi.

DEMOGRAPHIC FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION

Participant number	Language preference	Your zone where initiation ceremony took place	Your age and year of your initiation ceremony
e.g. Participant A or 1	e.g. Xhosa or English	e.g. Zone 1	e.g. 20 years and 10 June 2018

- Njengoko ke bendikucacisele kwezaa forms zokunika imvume nokurekhoda olu dliwano-ndlebe, yonke into esiyincokoleyo ndiza kuyirekhoda ukwenzela ndikwazi ukuyibhala phantsi emva kolu dliwano-ndlebe. Igama lakho alizi kuvela kwinto ebhalwe phantsi. Ubukhulu becala ke ndiza kumamela wena uthethe njengoko inguwe umntu onamava ngalo mxholo usesithebeni. Masiqalise ke Mr X...

For the research interview questions please see Appendix 2: Letter to proposed participants.

- Xa siluqukumbela olu dliwano-ndlebe ingaba uyive njani le interview? Akukho nto okanye mibuzo/mazwi akuvise kakubi phofu? Yintoni ongathanda ndiyitshintshe kule mibuzo okanye ongathanda ukuyongeza?
- Okokugqibela ke Mr X ungathanda ukusifumana isishwankathelo seripoti yam ngeleta okanye ngephone call xa sendisigqibile esi sitadi?
- Enkosi ke ngexesha lakho ndakuphinda ndikukrwece xa kukho izinto endifuna ukuziqonda kule ncoko besinayo. **Bye...**

Appendix 6: REC-H amended clearance approval letter



PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth, 6031, South Africa mandela.ac.za

Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)
Tel: +27 (0)41 504 2347
sharlene.govender@mandela.ac.za

NHREC registration nr: REC-042508-025

Ref: [H20-HEA-SDP-004] / Amendment]

10 September 2020

Dr Z Abdulla
Faculty: Health Sciences

Dear Dr Abdulla

THE VIEWS OF *AMAKRWALA* ON THE MEANING OF *UMQOMBOTHI* AND COMMERCIAL ALCOHOL USE DURING THE INITIATION CEREMONIES

PRP: Dr Z Abdulla
PI: Mr M Mavimbela

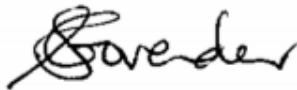
The request for an amendment to the above-entitled application served at the Research Ethics Committee (Human) for approval. The study is classified as a medium risk study. The ethics clearance reference number remains **H20-HEA-SDP-004** and approval is subject to the following conditions:

1. The immediate completion and return of the attached acknowledgement to Imtiaz.Khan@mandela.ac.za, the date of receipt of such returned acknowledgement determining the final date of approval for the study where after data collection may commence.
2. Approval for data collection is for 1 calendar year from date of receipt of above mentioned acknowledgement.
3. The submission of an annual progress report by the PRP on the data collection activities of the study (form RECH-004 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) by 15 November this year for studies approved/extended in the period October of the previous year up to and including September of this year, or 15 November next year for studies approved/extended after September this year.
4. In the event of a requirement to extend the period of data collection (i.e. for a period in excess of 1 calendar year from date of approval), completion of an extension request is required (form RECH-005 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal)
5. In the event of any changes made to the study (excluding extension of the study), completion of an amendments form is required (form RECH-006 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal).
6. Immediate submission (and possible discontinuation of the study in the case of serious events) of the relevant report to RECH (form RECH-007 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) in the event of any unanticipated problems, serious incidents or adverse events observed during the course of the study.
7. Immediate submission of a Study Termination Report to RECH (form RECH-008 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) upon expected or unexpected closure/termination of study.
8. Immediate submission of a Study Exception Report of RECH (form RECH-009 available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) in the event of any study deviations, violations and/or exceptions.
9. Acknowledgement that the study could be subjected to passive and/or active monitoring without prior notice at the discretion of Research Ethics Committee (Human).

Please quote the ethics clearance reference number in all correspondence and enquiries related to the study. For speedy processing of email queries (to be directed to Imtiaz.Khan@mandela.ac.za), it is recommended that the ethics clearance reference number together with an indication of the query appear in the subject line of the email.

We wish you well with the study.

Yours sincerely



Dr S Govender
Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)

Cc: Department of Research Capacity Development
Faculty Manager: Health Sciences

Appendix 1: Acknowledgement of conditions for ethical approval

<u>APPENDIX 1</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

I, **DR Z ABDULLA** (PRP) of the study entitled **[H20-HEA-SDP-004] THE VIEWS OF AMAKRWALA ON THE MEANING OF UMQOMBOTHI AND COMMERCIAL ALCOHOL USE DURING THE INITIATION CEREMONIES**, do hereby agree to the following approval conditions:

1. The submission of an annual progress report by myself on the data collection activities of the study by 15 November this year for studies approved in the period October of the previous year up to and including September of this year, or 15 November next year for studies approved after September this year. It is noted that there will be no call for the submission thereof. The onus for submission of the annual report by the stipulated date rests on myself. I am aware of the guidelines (available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) pertinent to the submission of the annual report.
2. Submission of the relevant request to RECH in the event of any amendments to the study for approval by RECH prior to any partial or full implementation thereof. I am aware of the guidelines (available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) pertinent to the requesting for any amendments to the study.
3. Submission of the relevant request to RECH in the event of any extension to the study for approval by RECH prior to the implementation thereof.
4. Immediate submission of the relevant report to RECH in the event of any unanticipated problems, serious incidents or adverse events. I am aware of the guidelines (available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) pertinent to the reporting of any unanticipated problems, serious incidents or adverse events.
5. Immediate discontinuation of the study in the event of any serious unanticipated problems, serious incidents or serious adverse events.
6. Immediate submission of the relevant report to RECH in the event of the unexpected closure/discontinuation of the study (for example, de-registration of the PI).
7. Immediate submission of the relevant report to RECH in the event of study deviations, violations and/or exceptions. I am aware of the guidelines (available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) pertinent to the reporting of any study deviations, violations and/or exceptions.
8. Acknowledgement that the study could be subjected to passive and/or active monitoring without prior notice at the discretion of RECH. I am aware of the guidelines (available on Research Ethics Committee (Human) portal) pertinent to the active monitoring of a study.

Signed: *ZAbdulla*

Date: 10 September 2020

Appendix 7: Interview transcript with participant number 2



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Researcher: Bhota Mnumzana wam, igama lam ndinguMzoli Mavimbela apha eLavalia eGeorge, eeh enkosi ngokuba undiphe ixesha lakho ukwenza olu dliwano-ndlebe. Njengoko ububonile ke kulaa leta bendikuthumelele yona, ndenza uphando njengomfundi weeMasters waseNMU ukuva izimvo zakho ukuba luthini na uluvo lwakho ngentsingiselo yomqombothi notywala obuthengiswayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe kwaXhosa. Ngaphambi kokuba ndiqhubekele phambili ndingathanda ukuqonda ukuba ungathanda ndikubize njani ngoku sincokola kolu dliwano-ndlebe?

Participant: Hayi ndingabulela ukuba ungandibiza nje Ndoda.

Researcher: *Okay okay* hayi ke ndiza kukubiza ndoda ke ngoku seku-sekumnandi kuba bendino, eny' into ebendingayenza bendingathi ungu*participant* Y okanye u*participant* L but ndiyavuya *now that* uthe wena mandikubize uNdoda, nguMr Ndoda akukho ngxaki so yeyiphi *language* ocela senze ngayo olu dliwano-ndlebe kukhw' isiXhosa kukhon' iEnglish okanye sizimikhse zonke?

Participant: Ha masiqhubeleke nesiXhosa ngoba sithetha ngomsebenzi wakwaXhosa.

Researcher: *Oryt oright* ke Mr Ndoda. Eh izowuni ohlala kuyo wena eThembaletu yeyiphi?

Participant: Eh ndihlal' aph' ezone 9.

Researcher: *Okay so* wolukel' ezone 9?

Participant: Eh ndolukele aph' ezone 9.

Researcher: Oryt ithin' i-age yakho kulo nyaka?

Participant: Kulo nyaka ndineminyak' eyi24.

Researcher: Oh *okay so* ungene kowuph' unyaka wena ebhomeni?

Participant: Eh ndingene ngo2017 ngoJuni.

Researcher: *Oright* njengoko ke bendikucacisele kwezaa *forms* zokunika imvume nokurekhoda olu dliwano-ndlebe, yonke into esiyincokoleyo ndiza kuyirekhoda ukwenzela ndikwazi ukuyibhala phantsi emva kolu dliwano-ndlebe. Igama lakho ke alizi kuvela kwinto ebhalwe phantsi. Ubukhulu becala ke ndiza kumamela wena uthethe njengoko inguwe umntu onamava ngalo mxholo usesithebeni. Masiqalise ke Mr Ndoda siye kwimibuzo yam. Eh ndingaya kwimibuzo yam?

Participant: Khawuqhube.

Researcher: *Oright* eeh umbuzo wokuqala ke Mr Ndoda uthi, xa unokukhumbula ngexesha lokukhula kwakho ukuzothi ga kule minyaka ukuyo ngoku, yeyiphi imisitho, imicimbi okanye amasiko nezithethe zakwaXhosa osayikhumbulayo noyaziyo eyenziwa ngamaXhosa apho kuthi kusetyenziswe umqombothi notywala bentengo okanye okanye utywala baseNtshona?

Participant: Lisiko lokwaluka nentunjane.

Researcher: Lisiko lokwaluka nentunjane?

Participant: E-e.

Researcher: Ikhon' eminy' imicimbi ngaphandle kwesiko lokwaluka nentunjane oyaziyo osayikhumbulayo, mhlawumbi ke *let's say if* mhlawumbi ungumnt' okhulele ezilalini kuba siyayiqond' uba abany' abantu *before* bez' eGeorge bayakwaz' uba baphume nasezilalini. Ingab' ikhon' eminy' imicimbi oyaziyo futh' eyesiXhosa apho kusetyenzisw' utywala siqale phay' ezilalini.

Participant: Mininzi bhuti eeh isiko, isiko...izila (*researcher – uhm*) ibe lisiko lokwazisa umzi, xa xa kugqitywa kwakhiwa kuloo ndawo. Kwaziswe izinyanya ukuba ngoku kukwabani apha ngumz' othile wasemathileni. Eh andinakuyibalula yonke.

Researcher: *Okay okay no* ndiyavuya kuba *at least* undinike imicimbi okanye imisitho yakwaXhosa. *So now that* ke ngoku undinike le misitho yakwaXhosa ezilalini, so apha ke ngoku edolophini yeyiphi imicimbi otsho ongandichazela yona eyakwaXhosa apho ungathi uye ukhe ubone kusetyenziswa utywala noba ngumqombothi noba butywala baseNtshona?

Participant: Ndibone, apha ndibone ndawubalula nesendizibalule, ndibone ulwaluko ndabona nento ekuthiwa yiti kodwa ke eli gama leti ndicing' uba lelasemzini libolekiwe kodwa ke bathi bona aph' edolophini yiti. Apho kuthi ke u-unkosikazi xa ebekokwabo abuye abuye ethwele ezo nto azithweleyo azinikwe kokwabo. Aze nazo emzini afike aphungise abantu bekhaya (*researcher - ooh*). Eeh xa siphungisa abantu bekhaya ke

kuye kubekho ezo switanyana zikhoyo ke, iintw' ezinje ngeecommando obu tywala basemzini.

Researcher: *Okay okay* hayi ke ndiyakuva ndiyakuva. So ngelishwa ke ngoku kuba ixesha elininzi ulikhulele ngapha ngasedolophini, bendiza kubuza ukuba le ti ke ngoku iqhutywa apha edolophin' eGeorge ingaba mhlawumbi xa ubunayo *ibackground* yaselalini inoba ikhona iti nasezilalini okanye hayi iti le yinto yasezidolophini kuphela?

Participant: Ikhona ikhona nasezilalini (*researcher - umh*) ikhona nasezilalini qha kohlukana nje iindlela zokuyenza aah ngoba ke emakhaya njengokuba aph' edolophini kuzezaa switi, ezaa commando neebhiya neentoni, emakhaya ke kubakho ibhekile yomqombothi. Eeh apho ke kwaziswa khona ukub' umakoti ebegodukile ngoku ubuyile ubuya eze noku, uzophungisa abantu bokuhlala njengoko ibinguye oququzela ezimbizeni.

Researcher: *Okay okay* hayi ndikuvile ndiyakuva wena Mr Ndoda so kule misitho ke ngoku okanye imicimbi le uyikhankanye apha ngasentla ungathi wena uyibona njani ke into yokusetyenziswa komqombothi okanye utywala obuthengiswayo?

Participant: Eeh isiko lithi ukuze ibe lisiko kuphalale igazi, igazi lebhokhwe, lenkomo kushiyana ke imizi ngokweentlanti. Eeh umqombothi izinyanya ziyasilelwa kufuneke zinukiselwe ziintsipho. Utywala obu basemzini andibuchasi bona iintw' ezinje ngeebhotile neentoni. Asinayo ibhotile, asinayo icommando asinayo intoni, bonke obu tywala asinabo apha kwaXhosa kodwa ke ngenxa yempucuko nokwenguquko nokugqobhoka sithi ke sizisebenzise. Andinawuma ngaphambili ke kuzo kodwa ke ngokokwam ayiyonto ebekumele uba sinayo, into yethu thina kukuba sivun' umbon' egadini, sivun' umbon' entsimini size naye siwukhand' elityeni emveni koko unxuzwe kwenziw' inkoduso kwenziw' umqombothi. Abantu bokuhlala batsic' ekhayeni.

Researcher: Mhm *okay so if* ndikuva kakuhle ke ngoku ubalul' uba wena ingathi ubukhulu becala uthi ngumqombothi into oyibona ingathi ithand' ukuba nentsingiselo. Utywala obu besilungu uthi ziiswiti andazi nokuba ndikuve kakuhle na?

Participant: Nditsho!

Researcher: Yha *okay so now that* ke ngoku ubona obu tywala bungenelele apha besilungu ku-kuma-kwimicimbi yethu ucing' uba ngokokubona kwakho eeh ezilalini nalapha ezidolophini inoba seyiyintw' enye efanayo? Umzekelo bendikhe ndakubuza ngasentla uba iti iyenziwa na nasezilalini wathi ewe yinto eyenziwayo naselalini nalaph' edolophini iyenziwa. So ungathi mhlawumbi ifuthe ledolophu lilo elenze ukuba kufakwe neebhranti othi wena awuyiboni kakuhle eyona ntsingiselo yazo okanye hayi

kwasezilalini ingathi sekonakele ngokokubona kwakho. Senditheth' uba buyasetyenziswa kwautywala besi-baseNtshona?

Participant: Akukho mohluko ngoku, sonke sigqobhokile umse-umcimbi ayisengomcimbi ngaphandle kweebhotile, bade bazinkqange ke abantu. Loo nto ke ize neli futhe lasedolophini yenza konakala nasemakhaya. Kuyafana ke ngoku ilizwe lonke.

Researcher: *Okay okay okay oh no* ndibuza kuba mhlawumbi bendicing' uba zohlukile nase-ezilalini umhlawumbi kusebhetelana kunasezidolophini xa sithetha ngokusetyenziswa kobu tywala.

Participant: Eeh kubhetelana ezilalini ngoba ke neendlel' ezi zokwenza. Kodwa ke utywala bona obu be-besilungu nobesiNtu buyadityaniswa endaweni enye. Nantso ke apho kungekho mehluko khona, kodwa ke ngokweendlela zokwenza kuye kufike kohluke. Aph' edolophini ingcwele iba lipheyile i25 litres, kodwa ke emakhaya ingcwele uyayazi uba ngumphanda (*researcher – umh*) eeh so zohluka phaya, apha kuxatyiswe kakhulu utywala obu busephangeni. Emakhaya kuze kuxatyiswe kakhulu umphanda nangona ekhatshwa bobu tywala ndithi ziiswiti.

Researcher: *Okay okay okay oright* so masike sithethe ke ngoku ngesiko lokwaluka, ingaba ikhona imibhiyozo, izigaba okanye imicinjana ethi yenziwe xa kubhiyozelwa okanye kulungiselelwa eli siko ongandichazela zona? Ukuba zikhona ezo zisusa eeh yeyiphi le-le mibhiyozo idla ngokwenziwa xa kulungiselelwa ukwaluswa kwenkwenkwe?

Participant: Eeh ndiza kuyithatha ndiyisondeze kum ndiyibeke nalapho sendinyathele khona ngoku ndiyile ndoda, kodwa ke ndiza kuqala ngoku ngokwalapho ndandiqale khona mna. (*Researcher - umh*) inkwenkwe iyachetywa, ichetywa ngebhotile obu tywala basemzini. Inkwenkwe ukugqitywa kwayo ukuchetywa, ichetyelwa ebuhlanti, ukugqitywa kwayo ukuchetywa kukhutshwe laa bhotile, iseyinkwenkwe inikwe abachebi. Isebobu tywala basemzini akuthiwa yibhekile, yibhotile yokucheba. Ibe yibhotile yabachebi. Emveni koko kuqhutyelekwe nomcimbi. Xa kugqiba kukhala ibhokhwe kulelaa xesha ke ngoku kukhutshwa laa bhekile ke ngoku yokuba yalaa bhokhwe yakho yomngcamliso ukuba ngoku usingisa KwaNdoda ungcanyiswe ugqitywe, utywala besiNtu bulapha, umqombothi. Utywala basemzini bulapha, ezi bhotile. Ixesha elininzi ke kusetyenziswa ibhotile ebomvu. Baye bathi bayathiya bayafuzisela ke oonozazi bayo yonke le nto. Bafuzisela ngalaa bhotile (*researcher – umh*). Kuhambe ke uye apho uya khona. Ufike phaya umsebenzi uza wuqhutyw'

ugqitywe, ugqib' uthi uyindoda emveni koko abo bebekusile baza wutsho banikwe iimfanelo zabo ke ngoku; laa noshumi, unoshumi ke ndicing' uba ngamancith' alishumi. Aah ngamancith' alishum' omqombothi, akhutshelwe nebhotile. Zizibele ke ngoku ezi. Kuyafuziselwa ke naphaya ngoba indoda inye. Laa bhotile inye kufuziselwe. Kweminy' imizi ziba ntathu nalapho kuyafuziselwa sisithathu esithathwini (*researcher – umh*). Ezi laa bhotile nalaa mqombothi kukubulela nje uba umsebenzi uqhube kakuhle. Abantwana abantwana be-enzekile umsebenzi ngaphandle kwamagingxigingxi nantoni. Akuthiwa ke noba kwenzeke amagingxigingxi awuzubakho lo, azizubakho ezaa mfanelo ngokuba isiko lihamba nesithethe (*researcher – um um*). Igqitywe ke leyo into, kub' ibingumngcamiso lowo. Kuza wudlula iintsuku ezisixhenxe kweli lesibhozo kuyojiswa. Abanye ke bathi kuyosiswa. Kushiyana ke iziXhosa ezi zabantu. Mna ndithi kuyojiswa apho ke u-usebuhlanti utyiswa laa mbona othathw' edladleni, umbona owomileyo. Uyojiwa phezu kweliny' ihlahla, ihlahl' ekuthiwa ngumthathi; ihlahl' elikrakrayo, wojiwa phaya. Nalaa nyama yakho yojiwa phaya leya yomojiso umkhonw' ebhokhwe. Zojiswa phaya zonke. *Then* emveni koko ukugqiba kwakho ukuty' ezaa nyama kukhw' ibhekile yomqombothi ohlanjwa ngayw' aph' ezinyaweni. Laa bhekile yomqombothi kulapho uyalwayo uxelelwayo ukuba ngoku uyindoda. Uwagqibile *mos* amasuku amathathu, amatha-asibhozo. Ngoku kuthiwa uyindoda uz' uhambe uyoma ngolwandle. Uhamb' ungceka. Uhlanjwa ngalaa mqombothi waziswa kwizinyanya zakokwenu ukuba ngoku uyindoda. Ubusowazisiwe ngoku ubungcanyiswa ukuba uya phi? Uya KwaNdoda, ngoku uyojiswa. Amaxhego ayangqina ukuba akubonile ukuba uyindoda. Ngalaa mqombothi uhlanjwa ngaw' ezinyaweni urhabule, kuthiwa ke ngoku siyakwazi uyindoda. Aqhubeke umsebenzi. Kuphume ke ngoku ezi zinto ke zasemzini, iibhotile, nalapho ke kuyafuziselwa ngohlobo ezikhutshwa ngalo. Kushiyane ke izibele zabantu. Ibuyela kulaa nto yam bendisithi ezi bhotile azibalulekanga, uba bezibalulekile ngowuhlanjwa ngazo phay' ezinyaweni, ngowusaziswa ngazo phay' ezinyanyeni. Adlule low' umsebenzi ngaloo mini bonwabe abantu kube mnandi kube yiloo nto bonwaba ngomqombothi bonwaba ngotywala basemzini. Ndisikum ngelaa langa lesithathu ukuba uza wuphuma ngoms' omnye kuza wunyathelwa inkundla kokwenu kuthiwa ngumnyathelo. Kulapho ke ngoku uxhelelw' inkomo. Kuza wunyathelw' inkundla. Kulaph' uxhelelw' inkomo kokwenu. Kubhiyozwe kube yiloo nto xa ndithi kubhiyozwe akubhiyozwa ngokuba kubhiyozwa kuza kukhal' iigumbagumba kwiintoni, hayi! Kuyombelwa ngamaculw' akwaNtu. Kumnandi kuyiloo nto nina bakhwetha niza

wuyolala ebuhlanti. Nawulala ebuhlanti kulosothonto. Emveni koko umqombothi ukhona. Ngoku nisebuhlanti umqombothi ukhona. Ngoku kuhlatyw' inkomo yenu yomnyathelo ihlatywa ngomqombothi, emveni koko kulandele obu tywala basemzini. Bona buhlala bukhapha laa ngcwele yomqombothi ngoba yonk' intw' esiyenzayo ihamba nalaa ngcwele yomqombothi. Sigqibela phaya emnyathelweni ukukhupha unoshumi. Kuzo zonke ezi ndlela uzihambayo, iba yingcwele yomqombothi. Ingcwele ngulaa mphanda ke lo umkhulu (*researcher – uhm*) liyeke igxibha, lo uphantsi kwalo ligxibha lokunyathel' inkundla. Kugqitywe kutyiwe laa nyama iphele. Emveni koko ngalaa mini kusa uphuma ngayo yile mini ke ngoku kutshiswa ngayo iingubo zakho ebhomeni kwenziwa yonk' into. Azitshiswa ziyasikwa ziyathini kuba kuza wutsha nebhoma ngengomso, nina niyolal' emlanjeni. Ngeli xesha siyolal' emlanjeni, mandingathi nina, thina siyolal' emlanjeni umkhwetha nomkhwetha emlanjeni uya nebhottle yakhe yecommando kuba ke kuthiwa icommando butywala bendoda yoqobo, loo ntw' iyiyo kodwa ke uya nayo, awubalulwanga umqombothi phaya. Yimpazamo yokuqala ke leyo kodwa ke uya nebhottle yakhe phaya, akayi eyiphethe ngokwakhe, isuka kokwabo ihamba nekhankatha lakhe. Njengokuba singena sibanints' aph' ebhomeni. Niza wulala phay' emlanjeni. Nihlanjwe kuyombelwa kumnandi kuyiloo nto, wen' uvuyel' ub' ugoduka. Bayasela abaselayo. Ngengomso ekuseni phambi kokuba kukhutshw' inkomo ebuhlanti kungelaa xesha ke ngoku kukhutshwa ngalo iibhekile zombulelo kubulelwa ukuba abantwana begcinakele kakuhle ehlathini bade babuya. Kuza kukhutshwa iinkomo ebuhlanti, iinkabi ziyolanda abantwan' emlanjeni. Kukhutshwe njengoba nibalithoba uba nibalithoba kwelo bhoma kuza kukhutshwa ezaa bhekile zilithoba phaya kulosothonto ziselwe ke ngamakhwahla athethe phezu kwazo ukuba ngoku kuyolandwa nina. Kuqhutywe ke ngoku ezaa nkabi kuyobikwa emlanjeni. Xa kufikw' emlanjeni kuthethwe namakhankatha ukuba nizolandwa, hayi ke amakhankatha akusekho tywala ke ngoku, sebebutyilwe utywala babo. Ukuba bushiyekile bayazityela nje abusathethi. Kunyukwe nani ke emlanjeni kuyiwa nani phi? Ekhayakhulu kulosothonto. Kulapho ke ngoku, ngelaa xesha abafazi bayagwadla pha ingqongqo bayombela; amadoda awayekanga aph' ecaleni nawo ayombela, ayamtsho uSomagwaza. Niza wuthi ke ngoku xa nifik' uba niza wuhlala phantsi kuba niza wuyalwa, uba niza wuyalwa kuza wuphuma ingcwele, kuphume kuza wuphuma ingcwele kuphume iibhottle ezintathu zihambe necase lebhiya nob' ixutyiwe nob' ithiweni, zihambe necase lesiselo idrinki. Ezaa ntw' eziya kukubulela iinkabi zonke ezilimelana nani. Ezithe zakwaz' uba

ziyothatha abantwana emlanjeni. Ze zithi xa xa kugqityw' ezaa nto obaa tywala bonke emveni koko ke ngoku nina senihleliswe phantsi nina makrwala nilindele ukuyalwa, aniseli anithini nina, kusel' abantu esebepupasel' utywala (*researcher – umh*). Ibe yiloo nto ke ngoku, niyalwe nithiweni, iqal' indaba ke ngoku. Kuthathwe, nithathwe nisiwe endlini yesibane. Kulapho ke endlini yesibane apha sithi ke kusendlini yekrwala. Bayayikhumsh' abanye bathi kusel*ight house* (*participant - iyandilandela le moto*) kulapho ke ngoku siza wuqala khona nendima yotywala basesilungwini. Bufike buxhaphake gqithi khona phaya endlini yekrwala. Phaya endlini yekrwala niyafika nihlale phantsi, emveni kokuba nihleli phantsi kusahleliwe ibhunga phaya enkundleni uba utywala buza kwenziwa njani, iinkabi ziza kulawulwa njani. Xa xa kugqityiwe yonke loo nto buphum' utywala basekrwaleni. Utywala basekrwaleni ke njengokuba benoluke nonke nibanintsi kodwa indoda nganye inel*ight house* yayo, inendlu yayo yesibane. Silapha nje ngoku kukuba besoluke sonke, sizokhunga usothonto wethu. Umgidi ngowakhe namhlanje. I-izinto ziza kwenzeka, ezi nto ziza wukwenzeka kuthi zezi ziza wukwenzeka nakuye. Kuza wuphuma ibhotile yakhe, ibhotile yakhe yeyokuthini? Yeyokufundisa ikrwala. Ibhottle ke ebomvu yecommando iviceroy loo ntw' iyiyo. Yeyokufundis' ikrwala. Kuphume neebhekile ezintathu. Zonk' ezaa ndlela azihambileyo, *three three three* yeebhokile. Ngokobubele babazali baye bayenze yonke laa nto kodwa ke ngokwemiqathango yaphaya iba ngunoshumi namanxith' alishumi kufuneke ephaya apha-phaya ahamba nezaa bhottle. Eeh kuza wuqhutyekwa ke kuselwe zikhona ke neebhiya ezi-ezi sizibiza ngokuba ziiswiti yonke loo ntw' ikhona. Kube mnandi konwatywe. Ndingalindel' imibuzo okwangoku. (*Researcher - ha-a ungaqhub' ungaqhuba wena*). Ndingaqhubeleka? (*Researcher - um-u*). Okay njengokuba ke konwatyiwe kwakobu tywala, uyabo ngoku andikho senkundleni ngoku, ndithetha ndisendlini yesibane. Kwakobu tywala kufuneka kube khon' utywala njengoba bekukhutshw' utywala phaya endlini phaya enkundleni njengoba bekukhw' ibhunga kufuneka bez' endlini yotywala bamantombazana. Amantombazana ngala ebesithezela ngoku besisehlathini. Ebengasithezeli kodwa ken gala bekuthi xa kukho umnyathelo, umojiso kusithini eze neenyanda. Ezaphaya ehlahini besizithezela ngokwethu. *But* ezi ke ngoku zokwenz' umsebenzi bezisiza nabo. Abanye ke ngaba bebesiphekela emakhayeni ethu, kuyanyanzeleka ke ngoku ukuba la mantombazana siwahoye. Aza wuqhephulelwa kwakoba tywala ke. Le into ayiselo siko, ngokolwazi lwam ndingathi sisithethe, yinto eyayenzeke kwabani ekumeluba nalaph' emaNgqosinini yenziwe. Aqhubeleke ke umcimbi kube mnandi

kube yiloo nto. Njengokuba kuza wulandelwa nangengomso kukhanywe kuthiweni, emveni koko kuqalisw' ukukhatshwa ke ngoku. Xa kukhatshwayo kuza kuqalwa phi kusibonda. Usibonda yilaa ndoda ibisekele usothonto. Kuza kuqale kukhatshwe phaya yena. Izinto ke ziza wukwenzeka njengoko bendikucacisele kulo womgidi kasothonto. Uba kuzokwenzeka kanjani (*researcher - um-u*) Yes.

Resereacher: Okay hayi ke ndiyakuva wena Mr Ndoda kangento yokuba ndithanda indlela ondizobela ngayo le *picture from istep* sokuqala into inkwenkwe isalungiselelwa ukuya emphumeni wayo. Andinayo ne*follow up question* kulo umbuzo ngoba undithathe wandichula ngesandla ukusuka ekuqaleni ukuyotshona ekugqibeleni. So eeh umbuzo wam ke ngoku olandelayo njengokuba undichazele imibhiyozo nemicinjana eyenziwayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe ndicela ke ngoku uze ucinge ngeThembalethu kule mibuzo yam ingezantsi. (*Participant - E-e*). Nangu k' umbuzo, xa ujonge apha eThembalethu ungathi ithini intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa komqombothi? Ngamanye amazwi usetyenziselwa eziphi iinjongo umqombothi ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?

Participant: Umqombothi ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe usetyenziselwa ukuba umqombothi yeyona nto isidibanisa nabantu abadala, abantu abadala bathi ize bonele ukuba umsebenzi uhambe kakuhle barhabule ibhekile. Nangona ke iza kurhatyulwa sithi kuginye bona. Umqombothi usetyenziselwa apha ukuba wena mntu uyinkwenkwe uy' ebudodeni waziwe zizinyanya ngokwalaa mqombothi, ukuba uyindoda.

Researcher: Okay okay so yiyona njongo leyo ebangel' uba usetyenziswe umqombothi?

Participant: Ewe yiyona njongo leyo, kaloku xa kwenziwa isiko akwenziwa ukuba makube mnandi kwenzelwa ukuba isiko maliqhubeke ngokwendlela.

Researcher: Okay hayi ndikuvile mna Mr Ndoda. Eeh xa ujonge apha eThembalethu ungathi ithini intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa kotywala besilungu okanye obuthengiswayo? Ngamanye amazwi busetyenziselwa eziphi iinjongo obu tywala besilungu ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?

Participant: Bendikhe ndayibalula intw' ethi saaguquka saagqobhoka. Yaalahlwa ngabadala. Akukho mntu ungowalapha eThembalethu kodwa ke lowo wokuqala wafika wagxumek' iintente zakhe apha eThembalethu wathi mhla enomcimbi wasil'

umqombothi. Wathenga obu tywala besilungu wabubek' apha. Abalandela emva kwakhe basebenzisa obaa tywala. Ngoku sekungathi lisiko into yokuba mabusetyenziswe obu tywala besiNtu, obu tywala besilungu, ezi bhotile. Ngoko ke xa wena uthe awabi nayo le bhotile aph' emcimbini kwakho iba ngathi wenze isiphoso; iba ngathi awuyondoda; iba ngathi wenze intw' engazange yenziwa (*researcher - umh*) ndingathi mna ihlobo ekusetyenziswa ngalo obu tywala busetyenziswa kuba kwa-kwaNyawuza kwakwenziwe kanje nalaph' emaNgqosinini kufuneka kwenziwe kanje.

Researcher: Oh so abunanjongo bona idibaniselene nezinyanya kuba emqombothini ubuke wayikhankanya intw' ethi akwenziwa kuba kumnandi isiko kuthethwa nezinyanya nangona nje zingangcamli *layikhi literally* zingcamlelwa ngabantu. Ndiyivile ke leyo injongo so apha kobu besilungu akukho njongo ongathi hayi mhlawumbi le idibaniselene nezinyanya ngaphandle nje kokuba uthi kukho lo mntu umnye wafikayo eThembalethu babona nabany' abantu sekungenelel' utywala besilungu?

Participant: Abunantsingiselo bhuti tu! (*researcher - umm*) abunantsingiselo kodwa ke abantu bayaqhuba becing' uba bunentsingiselo ngoba ke senditshilo uba saalahleka kwasekuqaleni. (*Researcher - umm okay*) hayi abunantsingiselo tu.

Researcher: Okay so njengokuba undichazele ke ngenjongo yokusetyenziswa komqombothi notywala besilungu kwimicimbi yokwaluka ingaba uwubona umqombothi usetyenziswa ngokufanayo na notywala besilungu? Okanye uwubona unentsingiselo eyohlukileyo kutywala obuthengiswa ezivenkileni?

Participant: Utywala utywala besilungu buxatyiswe ngaphezulu kokuba ngaphezu kobu besiNtu. Kodwa obenza umsebenzi bobu bungaxatyiswanga. Uba bekusiya ngokwam bekumel' uba utywala besilungu abubikho kwaukubakho emcimbini. Umntu ofun' utywala besilungu makathi xa ephuma emcimbini kwam ahambe ayozithengela utywala besilungu. Bekumel' uba emcimbini kunuk' iintsipho qha enkundleni (*researcher - umh*) Yes.

Researcher: Xa ucinga ke ngoku, ndiyayithanda le ndawo uvela nayo uba uba bekuya ngawe, *meaning in your perspective* ibingase bungabikho nje kwabon' obu besilungu. Ucing' uba mhlawumbi xa ke ngoku ubunokuwenza ngolo hlobo umcimbi kuba nawe usazoba mdala wenz' eyakhw' imicimbi, ucing' ub' abantu bangez' emcimbini wakho kufakwe umqombothi kuphela?

Participant: Bangeza abantu kuba bezoxuma ikhaya. Kodwa ke abazukonela ngumcimbi wakwam kub' engenazo ezi zinto baziqhelileyo kuba kaloku kuthiwa

isiqhelo siyayoyisa ingqondo. Oku-bayiqhelile laa nto, baza wuba nezikrokro ezithile kodwa ke andinangxaki ngoba baza wuhamba bezitheth' endleleni, ngoba kwam kufuneke kunuk' iintsipho qha. (*Researcher - um um um hayi ndikuvile*) yha.

Researcher: Hayi ndiyakuva ndiyakuva so njengokuba undichazele intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa komqombothi, ungathi ziintoni ongabalulekanga ngazo umqombothi xa unokucinga indlela osetyenziswa ngayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?

Participant: Khawuphind' umbuzo.

Researcher: Njengokuba undichaze-undichazele *mos* apha ngasentla intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa komqombothi ungathi ziintoni ongabalulekanga ngazo umqombothi xa unokucinga indlela osetyenziswa ngayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?

Participant: Xa xa umqombothi usiliwe ngokweenjongo zam kukuba mawuselwe uphele. Xa xa ungaphelanga udityaniswe neentsipho uyochithwa enkundleni. *Then* intw' endingayithandiyo yinto yokuba kuthi xa kuphele umcimbi abantu bengasekho aph' edolophini apho ndihlala khona. Aph' izinto ndizenze khona umqombothi kufikelele kulaa ndawo yokuba mawuthingiswe uthengiselw' abantu kub' umcimbi ubungezolo namhlanje makwenziw' imali ngayo ngawo yeyona nto ndiyikhabayo leyo, ukub' umqombothi qha ubuselwa wonk' umntu ofikileyo agalelelw' ibhekile asele onwabe abe yiloo nto atsic' ekhapha. Eyona nto ibalulekileyo kokwaa kutsica. Xa utsicayo ubalisel' izinyanya uba kummand' ekhapha nazo zonwabile njengokuba zibukele (*researcher – ooh...*) xa uqali-xa uqalisa ke ngoku uwuthengisa awusenzi-awusenzi le yokub' ubuwusilele yona.

Researcher: Umh oh iyenzek' into yokuba buthengiswe aph' elokshini utywala xa umcimbi ke ngoku sowudlule, *let's say* bekusilwe kakhulu imigqomo emikhulu?

Participant: Eeh hay' uyenziw' ub' uthengiswe.

Researcher: Ho hokheyi hokheyi horayithi *okay* so utywala be-obuthengiswayo okanye obesilungu bona ungathi ziintoni obungabalulekanga ngayo kwindlela obusetyenziswa ngayo ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe?

Participant: Eeh u-si-ilizwe lindlongondlongo linje nje ngoku kuthethwa ngokuba umntw' a, ilizwe selindlongondlongo linje umntw' abuy' azithethelele ngokuba ebenxilile kuzeke ibobu tywala besilungu. Ngelaa xesha umntu ebesel' umqombothi, umntu ebesel' umqombothi anxile acing' iimpahla zakhe ukuba iigusha zam zikweliphi icala iinkomo zam zikweliphi icala; owohlulakalayo anxile alale. Kodwa obu busephangeni umntu bumbonis' izinto ebengamelang' ub' uyazibona. Ahamb' ehluke mez' abantu apha ezitalatweni. Ndingathi mna bonk' obu bundlobongela

bukhoyo ngoku buze nalo mdiliya waseNtshona. Ngelaa xesha besibek' ilitye apha kuqhubeleke umcimbi ngaphandle kwalo mdiliya waseNtshona kwakungekho bantu badlwengulwayo.

Researcher: *Oh okay so uchaphazela into yokumoshakala kwezimilo kusenziwa butywala baseNtshona.*

Participant: Ukumoshakala kwezimilo kwenziwa butywala baseNtshona. Buye bufikele entwen' umntu ebehlele' eyicinga qha ke engenasibindi sayo bufike buyivumbulule. Kanti ke obu tywala besiNtu bethu bu-bu-bu-buhlala kakuhle engqondweni yomntu. Bulungiselelwe ingqondo yomntu abunamandla abunamandla esiyobisi ngaphezu kobu busephangeni. Ewe.

Researcher: Umh *okay* kuloo ndawo kanye *now that* sithetha ngobu tywala besilungu bumosh' izimilo ingaba bona umqombothi xa ngaba mhlawumbi uselwe kakhulu nguloo mntu uwuselileyo mhlawumbi andifuni kuthi bunxilise bukhe bumgqwethe kakhul' umnt' umbon' uba yheyi angenza iziphumo ezifana nalo mntu ebesebenzise utywala obusebhotileni?

Participant: Benditshilo ndathi buyakugqwetha kodwa awusoze ube ndlongondlongo njengalo usele obe-obusebhotileni kaloku bona buhambe bufikelele kulaa ndawo yentlonipho ngokuba kaloku indawo obusela kuyo yindawo esulungekileyo, yindawo ibinomcimbi okanye yindawo enomcimbi. Awukwazi ukuy' emcimbini ube ndlongondlongo kodwa ke obu busephangeni bona xa uhluthi bubo apha okanye ungonelanga bubo uyakwazi ukuyozifumanela phayaa esitalatweni. Utsh' uqhubeleke ke ngoku ne-ajenda yakho wenz' ezi zinto ufun' ukuzenza kub' ulawulwa bubo. Kanti obu bomqombothi uza busela unxile ulale kwalapha ngokuba awuna-awunathemba lokuba uza kuphinde ubufumane phi. Bulapha apho bukhoyo.

Researcher: Oh abuvumelekanga ub' uphume nabo ngegeyithi mhlawumbi uphath' ibhekile ebiselwa kulo mzi uye nayo kwamheza uyogqibezela ngaph' *enext door?*

Participant: Hayi uphuma nebhekile yakhw' igoqoza.

Researcher: Ho (*laughs*) awuphumi nayo isenobu tywala balo mzi?

Participant: Hayi! Kaloku ngoku u-uyamosha ngoku kaloku. Uzise isisu sakho apha awuzelang' eny' into. Uzoxum' ikhaya uzise isisu sakho. (*Researcher - um-u*) Yes.

Researcher: Uyakwazi umntu eze nawo umqombothi as *icontribution* mhlawumbi ongumakhelwane? Kuba ndikhe ndibone kweminy' imicimbi ufumanis' uba *lets say* xa ingumgidi umntu eze neecase zeebhiya neebhranti. Aph' emqombothini aph' elokshni

iyenzek' into yokuba mhlawumbi kubekh' umakhelwane othi uza kuza nebhekile yomqombothi ukuzoncedisa aph' ekhapha?

Participant: Ayenzek' aph' elokshini kodw' emakhaya iyenzeka.

Researcher: Umh inoba zithini izizathu ezibangel' uba ingenzeki aph' elokishini?

Participant: Ingxaki ke aph' elokshini kuyakwazi ukuba umakhelwane angayenzi le nto uyenzayo, ngokweenkolo zethu (*researcher - um-u*). Kanti ke emakhaya ixesh' elininzi inkolo ivamise ukuba ibe nye kumyinge ka100 iba *maybe* iba linani elimbalwa abangahambiselani nale nkolo yenzeka kwamakhelwane. Kant' aph' edolophini sisuka kwiindawo ngeendawo. Ngoku ke umakhelwane uyakwaz' uba angenz' ezi zinto ndizenzayo. So iinto zokuba zomgido, kuba kuthiwa kuyogidwa kuyogidw' emaMpingeni azixhaphakang' aph' elokshini. Ukuba ke ndithe ndanobo bubele ndawuthenga loo bhotile ndiyise, kodwa akad' asile.

Researcher: Oh *okay okay alright* so ndicela ke ngoku ukhumbule ngexesha lakho lokwaluka wabelane nam ngamava akho okuba wawusetyenziswe kangakanani? Kwaye wawusetyenziselwa eziphi iinjongo umqombothi?

Participant: Eeh umqombothi ihlobo owasetyenziswa ngalo ngelam ixesha hayi andinasikhalazo, andinasikhalazo. Yeka nje ukuba wayethelekiswa nobu tywala baseNtshona. Yonk' intw' eyenziwayo kufunek' uba laa bhekile yomqo-uba yibhekile yomqombothi kufuneke kukhona iibhiy' eziyikhaphayo neebhotile. Ngapha koko hayi yonk' into yenzeka ngokwehlelo.

Researcher: Um *okay* eny' omny' umbuzo okwakule *question* ubuthetha ngokuba wawusetyenziselwa eziphi iinjongo, kodwa ubuthe xa uphendul' umbuzo wam wokuqala kulaa mibuzo iphezulu kweya kulaa ndawo undibeke *step by step* wandivezel' uba umzekelo usetyenziswa *before* inkwenkwe xa iguywa naxa isojiswa ukunyuka nazo ude kuyofikw' emphumeni, so nakowakh' umcimbi kwakusetyenziswe ngokolohlobo ubulichazile pha ngasentla injongo yawo?

Participant: Yah nakowam nakowam kwakunjalo.

Researcher: *Okay alright* andifun' uba sisose siphinde siyiqhube kwakhona uphind' into eyi-one kuba ubusowuke wayi-introdyusa le izteps zawo (*participant - a-a*) neenjongo zawo uba wawusetyenziselwe eziphi na (*Participant – yes*). So xa unokukhumbula kwangexesha lakho lokwaluka, utywala besilungu okanye obuthengwayo bona babusetyenziswa kangakanani? Kwaye babusetyenziselwa eziphi iinjongo?

Participant: Njengoko besendiyibalule pha ngasentla, iinjongo zokusetyenziswa kotywala besilungu abadala abasenalwazi ukuba mabadibanise ntoni nantoni ukuze umsebenzi uhambe ngeli hlobo bafuna ngalo. Kujongwa into eyayenzeke emaMpingeni, nabo aph' emaNgqosinini bafun' ukwenza laa nto yayenzeke emaMpingeni, kuba bengafuni kuthiwe umsebenzi wasemaNgqosinini awukhange uhambe ngendlela. Uni noni ebengekho. Ndingathi ke iinto zotywala besilungu sebezenza isithethe ngokuba into eyenzeke kwammelwane mayenzeke nakwam okanye mna mandiyibaxe, uba ummelwane ebenze iibhotile ezimbini mna mandenze iibhotile ezine.

Researcher: Oh so ngaphandle nje kokuba, kuba ndiyayiva uba ingathi eyona njongo uyichazayo kukuba ngoku xa bendinokuyibeka ngesilungu isik' ingathi kuyakhompithwa (*participant - yha*) okanye kuyabhregwa ngale ndlel' uyichazayo ukuba mna bendineekheyisi eziyi10 ngomgidi wonyana wam so andifuni kodlulwa mhlawumbi *because* ndingusomabhizinisi. Eeh ikhon' eny' injongo nje eyenye oyi-oyicingayo uba hayi yayiyeyona njongo endandiyibona kobu tywala besilungu ngaphandle nje kokuba usithi hayi mhlawumbi kwakuqhayiswa?

Participant: Hayi mna ngokwam andiyiboni mna andiyiboni, obona tywala bubalulekileyo bobu besiNtu kaloku emgidini bekungamel' ukuba xa uphelil' umgidi kuthiwe yhoo hayi ebemkhulu umgidi kabani. Ayizonjongo ezo zokwenz' isiko. Isiko kufuneke liqhubeke libheke phambili. Ubukhulu nobuncinci asijonganga loo nto, kaloku apha siphilisa umntu. Yes.

Researcher: Umh so bona babusetyenziswe kangakanani *if* unokukhumbula, ndiyayiqond' u2017 lixsha elikudana noko xa siku2020 *but* mhlawumbi unokukhumbula *even* nangoku ubusentabeni pha, mhlawumbi kumane kufik' abafana, mhlawumbi zikhon' iinto owawukhe uziqaphele uba heyi *maan* ingathi buya-*abuswer* obu tywala mhlawumbi abantu bafike nee*beers* ezithile zabo, okanye *even* nangomgidi wakho heyi ingathi wasetyenziswa kakhulu okanye hayi ekhaya kwakul*imited* indlela ekwakusetyenziswa ngayo zange kube nguvula-zibhuqe?

Participant: Uyabona *iflat* u1 *room*? (*researcher - um-u*) wayegcwele butywala wawunokucing' uba buza wuthengiswa phaya ekhaya (*researcher - um-u*). Eeh iinjongo ke zezokuba iinkabi-iinkabi esilimelana nazo, iinkabi esihlomlelana nazo apha ekuhlaleni, pha ku-apha ke kuyasilelwa iinkabi kuba khona inkabi umzekelo eyaphaya ekhaya inkabi nguYezaliphisi, eyaphaya ebumelwaneni liqadi likanobomvu, eyaphaya nguBhungalipheli. Ezo nkabi k' ezo zaasilelwa kuba xa kukhon' umgidi laa nkabi

mayilawulwe nayo iyalawula ngapha. Ngok' obaa tywala buye bulawule ezaa nkabi. Iba yinto ebukekayo xa ungumntu ongacingi izinto, inoba kudala kwakusenziwa njani? Inoba kudala phambi kokuba kubekho obu tywala iinkabi zazihlomlelwa njani zazilawulwa njani? Uyabo iba yinto ebukekayo. Qha ke ngoku ifikela kum mna ndihleli ndiyijonge ngeliny' iliso le nto lena yokuba apha kuyadlalw' apha. Yintlonti le futhi kuhlukunyezwa nj' obu tywala. Ndingatsho ndithi izinto zazihamba kakuhle kodwa ke utywala bona bahlukunyezwa ngoba ndaaphum' obaa tywala babugcwelise laa *flat* bungasekho (*researcher - um-u*) buseziswini ebantwini, obunye ke inoba babusezikamereni ebantwini kodwa ke utata wawenza umsebenzi wa-wazilamla iinkabi wathini. Yintw' esaqhubekayo ke nanamhlanje nam ndiqhubeka nayo ngoku ndisephantsi kwesandla sakhe. Kodwa ke ndisophulukana nesandla sakhe hayi andiyingeni mna, utywala endisebenza ngabo bobesiNtu.

Researcher: Um-u akazuba nengxa-akazuba nengxaki ke ngoku utata xa uphuma okanye mhlawumbi ayilosiko esingathi sisinyanzeliso pha kwisiduko sakokwenu?

Participant: Hayi aa laa nto yona ayilosiko ukulawula iinkabi yintw' efana nombutho (*researcher - um-u*) ukuba amadod' ale lali az' athi xa eye emgidini kulaa lali akwazi uba asele kulawulwe inkabi yawo. Laa nkabi ezaa bhotile ziphumayo zalaa nkabi ziza wuselwa ngala madoda kuba akanasabelo phaya aza wusela utywala benkabi qha.

Researcher: *Okay okay okay* so ingaba unakho na ukukhumbula ukuba ngoku wawubuyiswa entabeni ingakumbi ngexesha lomgidi wakho aye aziphatha njani amadoda emva kokuba esele umqombothi kunye notywala besilungu?

Participant: Njengokuba besenditshilo ukuba utywala besilungu bubenza ndlongondlongo ayekhona amabali okuba heyi ubani wayonkqonkqoza emzini othile wakhab' amacango wathi, heyi ubani wenze oku noku. Kwaliwa ke nokuliwa kuba obona tywala babuxabisileyo bobu besilungu, iingcwele zazisamile enkundleni. Zisahleli phaya zisagwantyile pha, abaseli phaya. Obona tywala babuselayo bobu busephangeni.

Researcher: Um inoba yinton' ebangela uba babusele kangaka obu tywala bephanga kunomqombothi lo?

Participant: Kukuphapha! (*Researcher - um-u*) utywala utywala obu besiNtu ba-bathi buyahluthisa abukhawulezi buye kulaa ndawo. (*Researcher - oh*) But obu basemzini bukhawuleze bumgqwethe umntu (*researcher - hokheyi hokheyi*) so bafun' ukukhawuleze bagqwetheke yile nto ndithi kukuphapha ke ngoku baphaphela izinto ezikude abazifuni izintw' eziza kade (*researcher - um um*) yes.

Researcher: *Oright* ngokokokokuqaphela kwakho ingaba le ndlela ayeziphethe ngayo kowakho umphumo amadoda ayaziphatha nangayo na kwimigidi yamanye amakrwala apha eThembalethu?

Participant: Kusenjalo ingakumbi ngoku iye iba-isiya kude ngoba bayabulalana nokubulalana ngoku.

Researcher: Um-um-um *after* besele unantsika utywala?

Participant: *After* besele obu tywala besilungu hayi bayabulalana kodwa xa usele obu besiXhosa uba ndongondongo nje uhlale kwalapha enkundleni awucingi kuya phi.

Researcher: Um-*okay* umbuzo wam wokugqibela zithini iingcebiso okanye iziphakamiso ongazinika ekusetyenzisweni komqombothi notywala obuthengiswayo kwimicimbi okanye iziyunguma ezinxulumene nesiko lokwaluka lakwaXhosa?

Participant: Eeh uyabona wena bawo pha abazali bethu bayasityala, basityala ingcaciso, basibuyisele emva basicacisele ukuba sasiphila njani khon' ukuze nabo bagqumelelekileyo isandla basibona ngemva bangasiboni ngaphambili bakwazi uba bayazi ukuba ummo lo wethu singoobani? Sisuka phi? Le ntw' ingumntu yintoni? Eyona nto ndingayibeka phambili yinto yokuba kumsebenzi wakwakho yenz' isiko sukwenz' isithethe. Isithethe asizukusa ndawo, yenz' isiko kuphil' umntu, ulibale ngesithethe ngob' isithethe isithethe yihlal' isenzeka. Yintw' ibiyenzeke phayaa. Nam kufuneke ndiyenz' apha. Ub' unyan' akho ebesokwe ngepolo ezi moto zikaNokutsho nam kufunek' owam ndimsoke ngepolo. Sisithethe ke ngoku eso esidibene nesilungu phakathi. Kant' uba wenz' isiko isiko lihambe ngokwesiko uba inkwenkwe ehlathini yenz' oku noku noku lisiko elo loo nto ingqamene nezinyanya. Uba nje abantu bangalandela isiko bakwazi ukulohlula kunesithethe kungabe kugqityiwe. Aba-abazali bethu bakwazi ukuba baxolise basicacisele ukuba le nto yalahleka phi naphi naphi. Singenza njani ukuze sibuyele phaya khon' ukuze utywala besiNtu buza wusetyenziswa ngokwendlela bungathelekiswa notywala besilungu ngokuba abuhambi ndim' enye. Utywala besilungu butywala bokuzonwabisa, utywala besiNtu butywala bokwenz' umsebenzi.

Researcher: Um ndiyayithanda le ndlela uyibeka ngayo olu luvo lwakho neengcinga undikhumbuza eny' into ke ngoku ebendiyilibel' uba xa ujongile ingaba utywala besilungu bobuphi obu-*overtheykha* obunye kubo nomqombothi ngexesha lokwaluka kwamakhwenkwe indlela obusetyenziswa ngayo?

Participant: Utywala utywala besilungu buhamba phambili bhuti kangankwazi ndide ndibamb' amazinyo xa kucaba kuxatyiswe bona, ezona zinto zilityalwayo zezi

zesiXhosa ngoba kuxatyiswe ukuba abantu baza wuthini, kulityalwe ngale izelweyo ekhapha (*researcher - um*) utywala besiNtu bubekw' emva obona bu-bubekwa phambili bobu besilungu. (*Researcher - okay okay*) ndingatsho ndithi ke ngoku obu besi-besilungu buyabuovatheykha obu besiNtu ngaloo ndlela. (*Researcher - oright hayi ndikuvi...*) kodwa bekungamelang' uba kunjalo.

Researcher: Ndiyakuva Mr Ndoda xa siluqukumbela olu dliwano-ndlebe ingaba uyive njani wena le *interview*? Akukho nto okanye mibuzo okanye amazwi akuvise kakubi phofu? *And* yintoni ongathanda ndiyitshintshe kule mibuzo okanye ongathanda ukuyongeza?

Participant: Hayi mna andi-andinanxi, andinanxi tu yonke into ihambe ngokwehlelo futhi ke ndibulela nodliwano-ndlebe olu, lutsho lwandilola ukuba mandifunde nangakumbi. Mandizisel' iso izintw' ezenzek' ekuhlaleni khon' ukuze njengokuba sendinelihlo lokuba ndicing' uba silahlekile ndenz' indlela yokuba ukuba lingakhon' ithuba sikwaz' uba sibuyele apho sisuka khona. Kukud' eMbo kodwa xa singcambaza sawude sifike. (*Researcher - um um*) *yes*.

Researcher: Hayi ke ndiyakuva kodwa ke akukho mbuzo kuba into eza kwenzeka ndiza kuphinde ndibuze abanye oosaluka bakho mhlawumbi, *because* abantu endibabuzayo ngabantu baka2018 no2017 (*participant - yha*) so akukho mbuzo ocing' uba *now that* unawo umdla wokuba eyi ingase sibuyel' eMbo eeh oqond' uba ingase ungawuxokomezela nawe njengomntu ofake igalelo kule-kwesi *study* uthi mhlawumbi bhuti wam eyi ndingathand' uba ungongez' umbuzo othi, uyivile yonke *mos* le mibuzo yonke, *I think* ibiyi8 endiyibuze kuwe (*researcher - e-e*) awukh' oqond' uba unawo umdla wokuba mandisose ndiqhubeleka ndibuza nabanye abafana?

Participant: U-u-uz' ubabuz' abany' abafan' ukuba xa koluke inkwenkwe kobu tywala bukhutshwayo besiNtu nobesiXhosa sithini isabelo samazibazana?

Researcher: *Okay okay* so izibazana kanene iya wuba yintoni? *If* mhlawumbi undandidiskraybhela lona undichazele uba mhlawumbi ngumama wenkwenkwe eyolukileyo okanye yintombazana ezalwa nale nkwenkwe so *that* (*participant - izibazana ngumama wenkwenkwe*) oh *okay* so wena ufun' ukuqonda isabelo sabo uba sithini na?

Participant: Njengokuba kukhutshw' obu tywala budyakrazwa busithini, sithin' isabelo sezibazana?

Researcher: *Okay okay* so ingaba mhlawumbi njengob' ubuza lo mbuzo ukhe *ufilise* ngokungathi amazibazana ayalibaleka kule *process* ingathi mhlawumbi

kukhokheliswa amadoda xa kusoluswa? Mhlawumbi wona amazibazana abakhona kwicala lentonjane kakhulu?

Participant: Aah abant' abangoomama bahlala besiz' emva kwizinto zakwaXhosa kukuba kaloku sihlala sisithi indoda yintloko yekhaya. Ngoku ke ndikubuza ndisithi uz' ubuze lo mbuzo nje ndifuna uz' uve izimvo zabo zokuba bona bayibona njani le nto, mna ndibon' ingathi bahlala besiza mva ngokuba izinto azihleli zilingana. (*Researcher – okay*) ezamadoda zihlala zingentla kunezabantw' abangoomama.

Researcher: Horayithi hayi ke ndikuvile ndikuvile Mr Ndoda (*participant - camagu*) okokugqibela ke Mr Ndoda ungathanda ukusifumana isishwankathelo seripoti yam ngeleta okanye nge*phone call* xa sendisigqibile esi sitadi? (*Participant - eeh hayi le iya wuxhomekeka kuwe. Yha because into eza kwenzeka esi study sam okokuqala nje mandi-njeba siqukumbela ngoku eeh besingeke siphumelele tu uba ngaba wena igalelo lakho belingakhange libekho kuba amagalelo endiza kuwenza ndiza wufuna abany' abafana, kufuneka babeyi15 bebonke (participant - yha) So ngamany' amazwi mna ndizifundil' iincwadi zonk' ezithetha ngayo le topic yethu ejonga intsingiselo yokusetyenziswa kotywala nobaseNtshona nomqombothi ngexesha lokwaluswa kwamakhwenkwe, kodwa eeh noba ndizifundile nje iincwadi ndafumana namaphepha even nezi nezi zininzi neenewspapers eziphumayo nasethivini kuyathethwa ngesiko lethu kodwa besingeke siphumelele esi study if wena ubungakhang' uthethe wena ngegalelo lakho apha. So kubalulekile ke ngoku kum uba xa sendiyigqibile yonk' into ndiyibhale phantsi le ripoti kuba ekugqibeleni ndiza wubhala iripoti ndithi now that ke ngoku wena Mr Ndoda wawuchaze usithi uluvo lwakho ubona ngolu hlobo nabany' abafana baye bafumanisa ngolu hlobo, neencwadi zithi hay' utywala nants' eyona ntsingiselo yabo nomqombothi. Kodwa ke ngoku mna njengomphandi, iresearcher ndiphuma nesi sishwankathelo kwizinto endizifumene kwizisele zenyathi ezinini wena Mr Ndoda, so ke ngoku kum kubalulekile uba now that ndicele ixesha lakho ndiphinde ndibuyele kwakuwe, ndiku-owish' into yokuba noba ndikufowunele noba ndibhale intw' eyileta phantsi ndiza wuyenza ke loo nto leyo njengob' usithi ndiza wuzikhethela. Kodwa kufuneka wena usazile ukuba iziphumo zalo olu phando lwam ziphume zisithini. (*Participant - camagu*). Iya okay oright (*participant - hayi uza wuzikhethela bawo*). Enkosi ke ngexesha lakho ndakuphinda ndikukrwece xa kukho izinto endifuna ukuziqonda kule ncoko besinayo ne.*

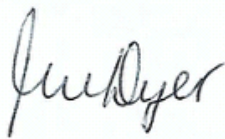
Participant: Kuhle bawo. (*Researcher - hayi ke enkosi kakhulu ke Mr Ndoda*). Camagu. (*Researcher - oright bhabhayi*).

**Appendix 8: Declaration of language editing and proofreading - Mzoli Mavimbela
Thesis**

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To whom it may concern:

I confirm that I have language edited and proofread Mzoli Mavimbela's thesis: *The Views of Amakrwala on the Meaning of Umqombothi and Commercial Alcohol use during the Initiation Ceremonies* and have made changes, corrections, suggestions, and comments for his attention.



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