

**Female morality as entrenched in Batswana traditional teachings in Initiation  
Schools**

by

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## DECLARATION

I declare that **Female morality as entrenched in Batswana traditional teachings in initiation schools** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



.....(Signature).....25/02/2017.....(Date)

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## ABSTRACT

The state of moral decline has recently come under scrutiny in South Africa and abroad. Moral development is nurtured and developed by moral teaching. South Africa has put in place various avenues for moral education in order to curb moral degeneration. However, due to the continuing social ills that are experienced in the country further avenues of moral education ought to be explored. Due to the multicultural nature of the South African population, moral considerations should consider the strengths that cultural diversity in moral education can contribute toward a moral society. Moral teachings have been explored through education and religious chastity; however, the indigenous knowledge systems of South Africans have not been tapped in this regard. This is partly because the scientific world has not seen it fit to accommodate these knowledges in the knowledge production sphere. The study employed a constructivist grounded theory approach to explore the role of traditional teachings in Batswana female initiation schools and how the traditional teachings contribute to morality and the construction of womanhood. A decolonial epistemic perspective, the African epistemology and social constructionism were used as concepts that formed a framework to allow the critiquing of main stream theories and to allow a grounded theory to emerge from a Batswana female initiation context. Unstructured interviews with initiation instructors as primary data sources were conducted. Secondary data sources included initiation songs and dance; conversations with people who are involved in initiation schools, people who are knowledgeable in Setswana culture and the cultural celebration that the researcher attended were used. The textual data was analysed using the Attride Sterling model of thematic networks. Womanhood as a particular identity and female morality as mainly determined by context are the main themes in the study. Womanhood and morality are intertwined within this context that determines womanhood according to acceptable behaviours. An ethic of responsibility was the overarching theme when analyzing how female morality and womanhood is constructed in the context of initiation schools in Taung.

*Keywords:* Initiation Schools, Initiation Instructors, Female Morality, Womanhood, Batswana, Constructivist Grounded Theory, Indigenous knowledge systems, Taung, Ubuntu, Thematic networks.

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## CHAPTER 1

### CREATING CONTEXT

*“For us, to learn is to construct, to reconstruct, to observe with a view to changing - none of which can be done without being open to risk, to the adventure of the spirit”*

(Paulo Freire, 1998, p. 47)

Morality is an issue that has occupied a central position in the consciousness of many societies both globally and locally. Historically, questions that concern the becoming and maintenance of a moral and ethical subject have been the focus of ethico-political debate and regulation. Most recently in South Africa, morality figured prominently in discourses about nation building, social transformation and the need for humanitarian intervention. Three years into the new democratic dispensation, the former President Nelson Mandela convened a meeting in 1997 with various African religious leaders aimed at attending to the problem of moral degeneration in the country. Concerns about the decrepit sense of morality within South African society were given greater voice and urgency through a number of apparatuses such as The Moral Regeneration Movement, The South African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (SAIKS) Policy, ministries of Education and Traditional Affairs. While these systems inscribed the early moments of democracy with a clear agenda of social transformation and social development, they also signalled at the very least, a discursive shift towards reconstructing what it means to be a moral subject. It is argued that the interlinkages between these systems provide an important conceptual lens for thinking about the place of culture within a social system organized along democratic lines and how morality as a cultural phenomenon is signified within such a scheme. More pointedly, this study is concerned with how black women get to claim recognition as moral agents in the world.

In this chapter, the problem statement is clarified. A brief background of moral teaching and moral development is also provided to contextualise the inquiry undertaken in this study. The research question and aims and objectives of the study are discussed next. Then the rationale for the study is discussed and the chapter concludes with a presentation of how the study report is organized.

## **Problem statement**

Women's morality is increasingly becoming a focus of ethico-political debate and regulation. The current moment is one that is characterised by considerable attention to young women's state of moral conduct and the social problems that originate from it. Many domains of deliberation have come to be topics of ethical scrutiny in particular in relation to how young women claim recognition as moral subjects. Morality, according to Kretzschmar (2010) is at the core of humanity and provides an index for people to treat each other fairly and humanely. Lack of respect for one another, drug and alcohol abuse (Mofokeng, 2014) and increasing rates of teenage pregnancy are some of the issues that continually spark conversations about the state of moral conduct particularly among young women and young men and have been flagged as a question of a moral crisis (Bayaga & Louw, 2011; De Klerk & Rens, 2003; Louw, 2009; Matlala, 2011; Swart, 2009) that requires urgent intervention. The construction of young women's morality as a condition of crisis has generated research interest in numerous issues concerning the psychological impact on the functioning and wellbeing of families and communities as a whole, the effect on education and eventual economic viability of young women (Kheswa & Pitso, 2014).

Various vantage points have been utilised to provide some explanation of the moral crisis evidenced in the way in which young women live their lives. Recently there has been some apprehension expressed by some scholars about the lack of a positive value system, particularly within the school system, and how this prefigures moral decline in young women and men (De Klerk & Rens, 2003; Louw, 2009; Matlala, 2011). Other scholarly arguments attribute the state of moral decay in South Africa to the effects of apartheid and colonialism (Matlala, 2011; Ntombana, 2011a; Swartz, 2010a). The most predictable explanation in discourses that link the decline in moral standards to South Africa's political history argue that instead of subjecting behaviour to ethical scrutiny and questioning immoral lifestyles, South Africans were rather concerned with activities aimed at survival in the apartheid era (Ntombana, 2011a; Matlala, 2011). This line of thought suggests that morality has a fixed basis of validity and that an interrogation of South Africa's historical context is fundamental in shaping any meaningful discussions about morality (Swartz, 2010a). With the changing political conditions in the country, important questions have been raised about how morality can be regenerated to rebuild the moral fibre of South Africans.

Concerns with morality gave birth to The Moral Regeneration Movement among other initiatives which formally came into being in year 2000 (Ntombana, 2011a; Rauch, 2005; Swartz, 2006). The moral regeneration movement started in the NGO sector with government

and religious leaders in South Africa working together. This movement later emphasized education as the wellspring for moral regeneration, thus locating moral education within institutions of learning like schools by including subjects such as Life Orientation in educational curricula to instil moral values and encourage learners to make informed decisions around issues such as sex, crime, and abuse (Ntombana, 2011a; Swartz, 2010a). While the role of the schools and NGOs in influencing morality has gained government support, in a democratic society such as South Africa there is also an accompanying challenge of multiculturalism, which raises questions about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity in the transmission of moral standards. The school system has arguably not only changed with the changing political landscape in South Africa with regard to the teaching of morality, but has encouraged an accommodating approach to learners, teaching students to appreciate and respect the cultural diversities and different belief systems (Govender, 2004). The Department of Education also ensured that a religious pluralistic curriculum is in place to help students understand multiculturalism (Department of Education, 2003). The issue of multiculturalism opens up critical questions about what counts as moral education and more fundamentally, who counts as a moral subject. Cultural relativism reminds us that different societies have different moral beliefs and that our beliefs are deeply influenced by culture (Howson, 2009; Rosado, 1994). Cultural Relativism tolerates and respects difference in thoughts and teaches that cultural context is important to understand people's values and practices. From this point of view, there is no one privileged standpoint relating to moral and ethical issues. In our multicultural country of South Africa, it is important to hear voices from different angles when deliberating about issues of moral impact.

The primary responsibility for teaching morality is oftentimes appropriated to a particular institution. The school as an institution which is proffered the authority to educate is often viewed as the dominant vehicle for moral teaching and is as such proffered the authority to educate on matters around moral uprightness. Religious organizations are also regarded as one of the main institutions to teach morality and strengthen the moral compass of society. Those more inclined to hold on to traditional views see the family as the vehicle of choice for the transmission of moral standards. It is important to note that all these institutions have their role to play in moulding moral individuals. One avenue that has not been adequately explored is the culture of indigenous South Africans in this debate. Culture and traditional values are an important part of how people's values and practices are shaped in South Africa. Within this view, teaching morality does not confine itself to just one institution. Within African culture moral teaching takes place in a broader context and is not the sole responsibility of the family.

The African culture puts the primary responsibility of teaching moral values in different institutions at different significant points in a person's life. While an African child grows, they are taught by the family on issues of acceptable and moral behaviour. When this child is of age they attend an initiation school, which is an institution for teaching morals and the appropriate behaviours, which will be evident when a person has learnt to act in a moral way. Initiations schools teach the individual culture, which encompasses traditional values. These traditional values include respect, accountability, and responsibility. In initiation schools, the responsibility of teaching morality is on matured and knowledgeable adults who take forward the training that was started at home (Dikotla, 2007). These teachings assist the individual to act in a moral way and respect everyone around them. This study is thus located within discourses about how moral education can contribute meaningfully towards improving moral values.

### **Moral teaching and moral development: A brief historical background**

Every enduring community has a moral code which is instilled on its members. The word moral comes from a Latin root *mos or moris* which refers to the codes or customs of a people which constitute the social glue that defines how individuals should live together. The responsibility to instil this code has historically been left to the adults to impress it upon the hearts and minds of its young. Moral education is an important aspect of developing a moral posture. Moral teaching might happen organically as children are socialised into good habits and choices by witnessing what right choices adults around them make, or this might happen when children are formally taught what right and wrong is (Peters, 2015). Moral teaching pertains then to the teaching of right knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills. These teachings have an impact on how a person will behave in situations as well as how a person leans towards wrong or right choices (Verhoef & Michel, 1997). Broad-spectrum explanations of what morality is and how moral teaching and learning can take more vicarious and intentional forms has been presented by Peters (2015) and Verhoef and Michel (1997). While these are useful in providing some basis for thinking about what moral being entails and the importance of a moral positioning in locating a person within the realm of the human, such a perspective remains uncritical of how power gets to be installed in the way in which a moral posture and consequently what it means to be a moral human being is defined. What is rendered invisible by such uncritical atheoretical treatment of morality and moral education are fundamental questions relating to who gets to determine the contours of morality, the strictures of the moral compact between people as well as the standards for how moralities are to be generated to transform individuals into moral subjects. An uncritical uptake of issues of morality undercuts

the symbiotic dualism between structures of knowledge and structures of power which diverse black existential thinkers such as bell hooks, Toni Morrison, W.E.B du Bois, Angela Y. Davis and Latin American decolonial scholars such as Lewis Gordon, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, and Ramon Grosfugel have characterized.

Since the advent of schooling, adults have expected the schools to contribute positively to the moral education of children. The Moral Regeneration Movement of the year 2000 in South Africa revived the perennial question of what the aims of moral teachings should be and reinscribed the importance of formal schooling as a fundamental foundation for helping children acquire moralities or moral habits that will help them individually to live good lives and at the same time to become productive, contributing members of their community and South African society generally. Any meaningful exploration of the significance of the institution of the school as a vehicle for transmitting moral education has to locate such an analysis within history. The advent of formal schooling introduced a shift in how the teaching and learning of moralities occurred. To understand the shifts and transformations that the school as an institution and the concomitant system of education that it introduced demands thinking about the school as a project of modernity and its relation to colonialism.

The appearance of the school as a legitimate and formal system of education coincides with the history of colonialism more especially in South Africa. The earliest European schools in South Africa were established in the Cape Colony in the late seventeenth century by the Dutch reformed Church elders committed to biblical instruction, which was necessary for church formation. Therefore, when the first common missionary schools were established, which proliferated much after 1799, moral education was the prime concern. In order for children to have access to the grounding wisdom and moral code believed to reside in the Bible, children needed to learn how to read and write. As British common schools spread throughout the colonies, the role of indigenous schooling systems which were responsible for moral education of children was taken for granted. Formal schooling was promoted for both secular and moral reasons. Horace Mann who was a champion of the common schools in the nineteenth century advocated for moral education. His support for moral education was driven amongst others by a concern about the widespread substance use and drunkenness, increasing levels of crime, poverty, and increasing numbers of immigrants who were flooding into cities, unprepared for urban life and to participate in democratic civic life.

Moral development has been studied in the field of Developmental Psychology (Edwards, 1986). Kohlberg's theory of moral development emphasizes cognitive development when assessing moral development. Kohlberg's theory found that there are six stages of

development that are incrementally reached when a person's cognition develops (Kohlberg, 1987). Kohlberg suggested that his theory was universal. This theory has been used extensively in the field of moral development. Gilligan later studies the moral development of women (Gilligan, 1985). Her theory expounds that women use the ethic of care as compared to men who use the justice ethic in moral reasoning. The importance of the studies that Gilligan conducted was that they suggested that women are different to men on moral reasoning but not necessarily inferior (Edwards, 1986).

Moral education is an important aspect of moral development. The teaching of morality has been studied through the ages from diverse angles such as the Christianity Values Education approach, and Education. Some biblical scholars argue that the lack of discipline and of moral decay is because there is a lack of a value system. This value system should be based ideally on biblical principles (De Klerk & Rens, 2003). These proponents of Christian value education take to task the constitution of South Africa, which emphasizes individual rights. In another study, Swart (2009), believing that Christianity could contribute to building the moral fibre of the country, attempted to see what influence Christian beliefs have on adolescents' moral behaviour. He notes that adolescents could be influenced by Christian beliefs, peers and authority. While this is so, some who identify as Christians do not use the Christian values when deciding what is right and wrong in situations (Swart, 2009). De Klerk and Rens, (2003) explain that morality cannot be separated from education, and thus the school environment is a major contributor to teaching morality. The Department of Education have established values which are ideals of nation-building in South African schools to show the importance the school system places on education concerning morality (De Klerk & Rens, 2003).

African societies have used traditional teachings as informal ways of socialization to teach children socially acceptable behaviour (Gbadegesin, 1991; Magona, 1990). Molopyane (2013) has argued that these traditional teachings are a tried and tested way of teaching values, and a way of elders to influence and guide the younger generation. Moral teachings have been closely monitored throughout history in traditional societies through ritual practices which contain moral lessons that are imparted by elders who are custodians of knowledge contained in institutions like initiation schools (Lesejane, 2012; Ntombana, 2011b; Setlhabi, 2014). Traditional spaces such as initiation schools are cooperative attempts by parents of initiates as well as the significant adults in communities to transform young girls and boys into responsible adults. This transformation, considered from a psychological point of view, suggests more than just responsibility. This transformation is about a certain type of identity and a particular

type of person who is being shaped. Identity includes the traits, characteristics and roles that define who one is (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). It is the way a person sees themselves in comparison to other people around them. Women who attend and graduate from initiation schools graduate into womanhood. Womanhood within the initiation context is a gender identity that includes responsibility and particular roles (Setlhabi, 2014). A woman from female initiation is identified with a particular type of behaviour within the community, which includes respect, responsibility, and possessing cultural knowledge.

Moral teachings and spaces for teaching morality tend to have a gendered twist. The importance of inserting gender as an analytical concept has been demonstrated by Gilligan (1985) who showed through a series of assessment tests and proposition of morality of care that, contrary to Kohlberg's assertion that morality rested on the universal principle of justice, moral orientation of a person is associated with their gender. While men's moral decisions have been demonstrated to rest on the value of justice, women's decisions are mainly oriented toward the value of care (Gilligan, 1985; Schwickert, 1992). Moral teachings as imparted in initiation schools in traditional African societies are gendered as well, where men are taught about morality in institutions called <sup>1</sup>bogwera while female lessons are taught at <sup>2</sup>bojale in the Batswana Communities. Men and women as such are imparted different knowledge in different spaces at initiation schools.

Nkomazana (2005) states that bojale and bogwera results in gender constructions that have a lasting impact on the lives of women and men. He argues that the role of women in culture was constructed in a way that women were subject to men. Cultural processes like the rights to own land were given to males (Nkomazana, 2005). He argues that furthermore Christianity perpetuated this state of affairs as the religion is patriarchal, and that women were still largely seen as symbols of fertility. This is while men enjoyed decision-making roles on community level and in the home (Nkomazana, 2005). It is indeed true that women and men are socialised into different roles in the Batswana culture. Concerning the repressive nature of the roles that women have been subjected to, one would need to interrogate what subjugation means in this context and who defines it as such. Representation of others is an important

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<sup>1</sup> Bogwera refers to male initiation schools used to mark the transition from a boy to a man where boys are taught the norms and values of their tribe. The teaching involves rituals, songs, stories to teach acceptable behaviour within the community. Male initiation schools include circumcision.

<sup>2</sup> Bojale refers to female initiation schools held among the Batswana marking the transition from a girl to a woman, who then joins an initiation-determined 'regiment and takes on new roles and an identity as a woman. The teachings at the female initiation schools include songs, stories that emphasize acceptable behaviour in communities.

aspect to consider in research and academic writings. It would seem important to gather what African women say about this state of affairs of subjugation that was perpetrated on them by their different cultures. Familusi, (2012) argues that before the African met the west roles between men and women were complimentary. No role was better esteemed than the other. Furthermore, before colonisation land was not a commodity that could be individually owned or sold. The land was given to the lineage and both male and female had rights to use it ( Oyèwùmí, 1997).

This current study focuses on moral teachings related to women in Batswana female initiation schools. These institutions that relate to girls and women see them separated from the communities to be taught the secrets of womanhood. They become prepared physically and mentally for their new role of being women, learning grace and acceptable behaviour in their diverse communities (Ling & Eicher, 2006). While this is true, traditional institutions like bojale and bogwera have been wrought with negative attention in an attempt to misrepresent and ‘other’ knowledges, which are seen as non-scientific and non-western. During the colonial era, western knowledge was seen as superior to alternative knowledges and as a result those who depended on these alternative knowledges were humiliated creating epistemological colonisation (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). This was done by repressing beliefs, symbols, and ideas, which were seen as useless for the colonial process. This epistemological colonisation did not end with decolonisation. Recently, there have been many reports on male initiation schools and the misfortunes that transpire there. Often the reports do not come from initiation schools’ participants; they come from people who have not attended initiation and are therefore talking from the other side. Arguments made centre around human rights issues involving circumcision. This is an argument that continues to marginalise and vilify the alternative knowledges, which are not based on western backgrounds. It is important to note that traditional initiation schools are not only about circumcision, they are institutions that offer holistic cultural knowledge. These institutions need to be viewed as holistic encounters to educating young adults about life in general. It is important to look at initiation rituals as a system and not to limit the attention to only one aspect within these cultural spaces.

Initiation schools are the hub of culture in indigenous communities, imparting moral teachings and the culture of different communities and therefore it is important to investigate the potential contribution that traditional knowledge as carried through these institutions can make in reinvigorating moral consciousness in contemporary times (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). In doing this, valuable knowledge may be discovered that could be used in a collaborative manner to fight against moral degeneration in South Africa.

Appraisals of the role and power of such institutions in contributing towards moral regeneration have been less than admirable. It is argued in this study that they are one avenue that has not been fully explored in the fight against moral degeneration.

### **The research question**

The main research question that informs this study is:

- How do moral teachings in Batswana traditional initiation schools help shape morality and womanhood?

### **Aim and objectives of the study**

The aim of the research is to investigate the significance of traditional teachings in female morality as taught in Batswana initiation schools for women. To achieve this aim, the objectives of the study are:

- To explore the role of initiation instructors (Bo RaMaswaile) in moral teachings in female initiation schools.
- To explore how initiation instructors (Bo RaMaswaile) account for the importance of moral teachings in women.

### **Rationale and motivation of study**

South Africa is faced with social difficulties that amount to a state of moral decline. The state has made steps to curb many of these social ills, using religious, educational and social means (De Klerk & Rens, 2003; Louw, 2009; Matlala, 2011; Swart, 2009; Swartz, 2006). However, the crime, disrespect for one another, and the ill-discipline in schools and in different societies are still visible, suggesting a need to explore all possible avenues for teaching and strengthening morals. Cultural knowledge has been marginalised in the solutions and it is now that we should delve into cultural knowledge and look for answers for Africans. Indigenous knowledge needs to be employed in this regard, to see if cultural knowledge and traditional values can assist in moral teaching. This can be done collaboratively with the mainstream schools, religious institutions and other social organizations.

Indigenous Knowledge System (IKS) is local knowledge which is based on local experience unique to a given culture or society. It is a basis of local knowledge which involves agriculture, health care, food preparation, natural resources, religion and other activities in that cultural context (Ntombana, 2011a; Mawere, 2010). It has become important to talk about indigenous knowledge system as people of African heritage are re-awakening to their true

selves. It is now that Africa is trying to reclaim itself, realizing that there are certain elements in its past, which are of worth and can be used for development and survival. Africa realizes that there are aspects of culture that have been lost, which should be rediscovered (Hevi, 2004). It is now that Africans are willing to enquire into and find solutions to Africa's problems and challenges in their past knowledge (Hevi, 2004). Since initiation Schools are hubs of culture and moral teachings, closer attention should be paid to such institutions. It is important to see what cultural knowledge and traditional values can be beneficial in order to contribute to moral teaching. It is important for Africans to see the potential contribution that cultural spaces can have in teaching morality. De Klerk and Rens, (2003) explain that morality can never be removed from education. These institutions have been put in place to teach morality from pre-colonial times. Initiation schools were considered the most formal schools within the African's life before contact with the west. Morality has always been an integral part of maturity and development within African cultures.

The South African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (SAIKS) Policy that was promulgated in 2001 is an enabling framework to stimulate and strengthen the contribution of indigenous knowledge to social and economic development in South Africa (Department of Science and Technology, 2004). It was put in place after a decision was made to have a unit in the Department of Science and Technology that is dedicated to the Indigenous Knowledge Systems in order to encourage research done in indigenous knowledge systems (Department of Science and Technology, 2004). Other countries like India, Brazil, and the Philippines recognize and respect indigenous communities rights with respect to traditional knowledge associated to genetic resources. Zimbabwe and Mozambique also have indigenous knowledge that is used to establish a moral, virtuous society (Mawere, 2010). These are taboos which are in place to secure the Shona society and keep it moral (Mawere, 2010).

One of the main SAIKS Policy drivers is the affirmation of African cultural values in the face of globalization. This policy driver calls for a promotion of a positive African identity and acknowledgement of cultural values (Department of Science and Technology, 2004). The aim of this policy is to recognize and to preserve indigenous knowledge. This shows the importance of indigenous knowledge that is starting to be realised by Africa. Conducting research about female initiation schools will help to contribute towards the SAIKS policy aim of affirmation of African cultural values as initiation spaces are the main cultural spaces that are in place to not only teach morals but also the African cultures to maturing adults. It is also important that we tap into the African traditional ways of doing which have been grossly neglected.

While African knowledge has been studied for different reasons through the ages the focus has been on psychologizing and abnormalizing these knowledges, which are seen as inferior in scholarly circles. Most research that has been conducted on African traditional ways of knowing negatively represents these knowledges and is aimed at othering (Chilisa, 2012). As a result, African knowledge that has been used from long ago to teach morality remains untapped, or misrepresented in the fight of moral decline in the country. Furthermore, in the world of teaching and learning, indigenous knowledge is frequently dismissed as unscientific (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Paolo Freire and Antonio Faundez (as cited in Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008) state that indigenous knowledge is a rich resource for any attempt to bring about social change. An appreciation of indigenous knowledge provides scholars with another view of knowledge production in diverse cultural sites (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). The value of indigenous knowledge in teaching morality can be discovered in initiation schools as they are hubs of culture and culturally appropriate ways of behaving. The importance and value of indigenous knowledge systems in our multicultural country and environment is to provide new levels of insights. This knowledge has been transmitted orally from generation to generation to help people to cope with their sociological environments (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008).

Research that has been conducted pertaining traditional initiation schools focus more on male Xhosa initiation schools (Ntombana, 2011a) and not on female initiation schools (Setlhabi, 2014). While the recent surge of media attention flagging problems in male circumcision in initiation schools might be the reason, closer attention must be paid to the othering and sensationalizing of African knowledge as weird and superstitious. The media and the broader academic context are predominantly critical on issues of culture. Another train of thought is the gender constructions in a socio-historical context, studies that relate to women are not easily researched or reported on except for the ones that show that women are different and inferior. Within the western framework, issues of manhood receive more attention as compared to issues of women.

### **How the study unfolds**

In Chapter 2, an overview of the existing literature on moral development, moral education, morality in the African cultures and an overview of initiation schools will be provided. This will serve to provide a context for the study and to deconstruct the misrepresentation of African realities and knowledges as the current study results will later be positioned within this bigger context of previous research studies. The conceptual framework for the study is presented in Chapter 3. This conceptual framework includes the Decolonial

epistemological perspective, African Epistemology and Social Constructionism. The Decolonial epistemological perspective allows a critical reading of the studies using theories that are based on western background and paves a way for alternative theories to come to the fore. The African epistemology is the African theory of knowledge and it provides an understanding of the basis of African thought. Social constructionism assists in understanding how female morality and womanhood are socially constructed concepts. Jointly these three form the conceptual framework of the study. Once the conceptual lens has been constructed and the context for the study is set, the research design and methods used in the research are discussed in Chapter 4. Constructivist Grounded Theory as it applies to the study is explored, as well as the practical phases of how the study was carried out. The research results are presented in Chapter 5, providing extracts from interviews. This chapter is written in Setswana to ensure the validity of the study as well as to represent the participants of the study in a respectful and accountable manner. Considering that research has been conducted in Africa and about African realities without giving the African an opportunity to participate in creating that knowledge, this study aims to represent the participants and to give them a voice about their knowledge and how that knowledge is constructed. In the view to contribute to the indigenous knowledge system (SAIKS) Policy of the country, it is out of respect and an urge to preserve the culture that this chapter is in Setswana. Translating the knowledge and writing it in English will also undermine the meanings that come with the language of Setswana. In Chapter 6, the meaning of the research results is interpreted in light of the conceptual lens and literature review provided in Chapters 2 and 3. This chapter is written in English and the Setswana extracts are loosely translated to give the essence of the results. Based on the findings of the study, recommendations for future research are made.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of literature on morality and moral education. Moral development, moral education, and female moral development theories are explicated upon to consider how issues of morality have been represented in scholarship, to debunk the misrepresentation of African realities and knowledges and to uncover colonizing and othering theories that have been used to research communal communities. These colonizing theories are often working under the guise of universality and do not allow alternative theories to come to the fore. Morality from an African perspective, rites of passage, female initiation rites, are explained in this chapter. The significance of gendered contextual morality is critically reflected upon. Furthermore, pointers of what constitutes womanhood from an African worldview are also discussed. Batswana female initiation schools are a hub of cultural knowledge and traditional values that are put in place to teach morality and womanhood. These are explored as an alternative to other avenues of moral teaching and to a universal female morality. This will set the stage for the grounded theory that the study aims to bring forth.

#### **Morality and moral development through the prism of theory**

Morality is the consideration of right and wrong. A person is considered moral when they choose what can be considered the more noble position in any given situation (Reber, Allen & Reber, 2009). Developing a moral stance helps a person to choose between right and wrong (Reber et al., 2009). A sense of morality develops as a person grows from childhood to adulthood. This does not happen in a vacuum, moral development is a result of shaping behaviour along socially desirable lines either by instruction in morality or by modelled behaviour within a social environment (Peters, 2015). Moral education pertains then to the teaching of right knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills. These teachings have an impact on how morality develops in humans as well as how a person leans towards wrong or right choices (Verhoef & Michel, 1997).

There have been debates about the universality of moral development. Lawrence Kohlberg (1987) suggests that morality develops as cognitive development occurs and as a person matures. He argues that this is true for everyone despite the different contexts that people find themselves in. The argument for the universality of moral development states that moral development occurs simultaneously with cognitive development (Kohlberg, 1987). This implies that all human beings develop cognitively and therefore should develop morally.

Studies have been conducted which do not support this theory. For instance, on responding to the universal notion of moral development as set out by Kohlberg, Gilligan (1985) suggests that moral development is a gendered concept. Gilligan's theory is based on the premise that women and men differ pertaining to moral reasoning. For Gilligan, women predominantly use the ethic of care as compared to the ethic of justice displayed by men. Kohlberg's theory finds that women do not reach the highest state of moral development but often reach only the fourth stage of moral development, which is characterised by a relational morality. Kohlberg's theory was developed using predominantly male samples (Peters, 2015; Pritchard, 1984). Therefore, Gilligan suggests that since women and men develop along different lines of moral development, they should not be assessed using the same model. This counter discourse to universal conceptualizations of moral development suggest that gender differences and contextual influences contribute towards the development of morality (Baek, 2002; Edwards, 1986; Gilligan, 1985; Hall, Toit, & Louw, 2013; Okonkwo, 1997).

Kohlberg's theory is used extensively in the moral development field despite the criticism levelled at it (Peters, 2015; Pritchard, 1984). In addition to the gender criticism against the cognitive theory of Lawrence Kohlberg, contextual influences are not catered for (Edwards, 1986; Okonkwo, 1997). When Kohlberg's theory is used to measure moral development, communal societies often fall short of reaching the highest stage of the theory. They only reach the conventional morality level which according to Kohlberg's stage model, is the fourth stage of the six which is the maintaining social order stage. Since this is the stage where what is moral is what benefits the whole society, communal societies never reach the highest stages of moral development according to Kohlberg's theory. It is important to note that theories that have been based on western standards cannot accurately and fully capture the moral development of culturally different people (Lotfabadi, 2008). Attempting to measure culturally different people's moral development using such universalizing models based on western standards will serve only to humiliate and perpetuate the coloniality of the other.

While Gilligan substantially challenged the universality of Kohlberg's theory based on gender, and achieved some autonomy for women who were represented in her study, it is imperative to turn some attention to the non-western female figure, the figure of a black woman. There is no uniformity within different women's experiences. Black women have different backgrounds and experiences when compared to the women that Gilligan was researching. Gender is not the only identity marker that the African woman identifies with, they also identify with the non-western race which translates to the contexts they are in (Smith, 2015; Wilkins, 2012). The intersection of these two identity markers are an important aspect

when considering morality and moral development. Kohlberg's theory is biased against women and equally biased against persons from a non-western background. Both these biases apply to a non-western woman. I argue that in addition to gender, culture is an important element that needs to be factored into conceptualizations of moral development. The location of culture in debates and discussions about morality is an important and critical aspect, paying attention to the fact that development, whether moral or general maturity, takes place within a particular context. Culture determines the identity of a person. Culture furthermore, influences a person's understanding of wrong and right. Morality is contextual, what is wrong or right depends on your context and the socially constructed truth regarding what is moral and what is not.

### **On the 'faulty' parallelism of care and justice in moral development theories**

Piaget, Kohlberg, and Bronfenbrenner developed theories of moral development with corresponding stages. Bronfenbrenner's self-oriented morality stage is similar to Kohlberg's stage of pre-conventional morality, his authority-oriented morality coincides with Kohlberg's Law and Order stage, and his objective-oriented morality is similar to Kohlberg's universal principles stage (Boeree, 1998). Piaget's theory of cognitive reasoning focused on the early stages of childhood, while Kohlberg's theory extends this theory to adolescents and adults (Fleming, 2006). Therefore, Kohlberg's theory is seen as an extension of Piaget's theory. When developing his theory, Piaget's focused on children in groups and highlighted that the process of learning what is wrong and right was an active rather than passive process (Fleming, 2006). Bronfenbrenner's environmentally influenced morality theory, on the other hand, may be seen as different to the other two as his work explored the influence of environmental forces on children's moral development. Bronfenbrenner therefore emphasises cultural forces, family traditions and religious training, and parental understandings and actions as having an influence on children's appreciation of right and wrong. While this is the case, Bronfenbrenner, Piaget and Kohlberg's theories are criticised for being male oriented due to the male dominated western sample used in their studies (Fleming, 2006). None of these theorists included samples from other ethnic groups or participants from other racial groups (Fleming, 2006).

The common theme among dominant theories of moral development is their claim to universality and that the stages are hierarchical in order. These theories describe moral development as moving from externally imposed rules to more flexible internal judgement. They promote the idea that at early stages of a person's development, children and young adults depend on their context to guide their moral compass. They depend on adults and influential people in their lives to determine what is right and wrong. They also do what is considered

right in a specific context for fear of being punished because of what is deemed right by other people. However, when they grow up they internalise the moral codes and they start to decide for themselves without a consideration of what other people think is moral when they are making decisions. This self-regulation is meant to show moral maturity and cognitive maturity in an individual (Fleming, 2006).

Kohlberg (1987) locates moral judgment in six stages, with each stage representing a more progressive ability for moral reasoning. The stages divide into three levels, each of which suggests a significant increase of the moral point of view from an egocentric through a societal to a universal ethical formation (Fleming, 2006; Gilligan, 1985; Kohlberg, 1987). In Kohlberg's view, at the highest stages of moral development the individual can make moral judgements independently of both his own individual needs and of the values of those around him (Kohlberg, 1987). Kohlberg identifies a strong relational predisposition in the moral judgments of women, which leads them to be considered at the third level of his six-stage developmental order. This stage is characterised by good interpersonal relationships, what is moral is what pleases or helps others. This stage lies on societal ethical formation (Gilligan 1985). This then means that women do not attain the highest level of moral reasoning according to Kohlberg, which is the universal ethical principle on Kohlberg's stages.

### **Ethics of care as a signifier of female morality and female moral development**

Feminist scholars such as Gilligan (1985) argued that men and women reason differently when faced with an ethical or moral dilemma and that the conventions that shape women's moral judgments differ from those that apply to men. Women see morality as a way of solving conflicts in a way that no one gets hurt in the process. The moral person is she who helps others, and who meets their responsibilities and obligations. Women's moral judgement are tied up with feelings of empathy and compassion and they are more concerned with real life situations than hypothetical dilemmas (Fleming, 2006; Gilligan, 1985). For Gilligan (1985), women demonstrate a distinct moral language whose progression informs the stages of women's moral development. This language revolves around responsibility towards others, which defines the moral problem as one of obligation to exercise care and avoid hurt. The infliction of hurt is considered selfish and immoral in its reflection of unconcern, while the expression of care is seen as the fulfilment of moral responsibility (Schwickert, 1992).

Gilligan's stages of moral reasoning progress from individual, to social morality and then principled morality (Gilligan, 1985). Women's moral judgments start from paying attention to the self at the first level because at this stage, they are concerned about their self-

discovery. The second level is concerned with the concept of responsibility as the basis for a new balance between self and others. At this level, the good is linked with caring for others (Gilligan, 1985). At the third level, the self becomes the mediator of an independent judgment that now includes both conventions and individual needs under the moral principle of nonviolence (Gilligan, 1985). Judgment remains psychological in its concern with the intention and consequences of action, but it now becomes universal in its condemnation of exploitation and hurt. In Gilligan's study, the moral aspect that emerges repeatedly in women's conversations is a need to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the real trouble of this world (Gilligan, 1985; Schwickert, 1992). When commenting on Kohlberg's theory, Gilligan notes that it is not surprising that women fall into the third stage of the theory given their caring and empathetic nature. Broverman et al., (as cited in Gilligan, 1985) concur that prominent among the attributes considered being desirable for women are sensitivity, tenderness, caring for others. These traits are seen as characterizing women's goodness. These then are the same characteristics that are used to classify women at a lower stage of moral development on Kohlberg's scale, thereby rendering women deficient in moral development (Gilligan, 1985).

Gilligan concluded that the moral development of men and women follow different paths and that one must not be viewed as inferior to another. Studies have been conducted with results supporting Gilligan's view (Gilligan, 1985) while others such as Muthukrishna and Govender (2011) contest it. Muthukrishna and Govender have also argued that there are no gender differences between males and females in relation to moral reasoning. In a study investigating the age and gender differences in how morality developed in young children, Muthukrishna and Govender (2011) found that both girls and boys with ages ranging from 6 to 7 years old reflected an ethic of care more than they did an ethic of justice. The children showed principles like loyalty, responsibility and concern that individuals may get hurt and experience pain (Muthukrishna & Govender, 2011). The researchers found that 70 % of the children's responses showed a bias towards an ethic of care as contrasted to 30 %, who showed an ethic of justice. The findings supported Gilligan's theory of the morality of care for girls but not boys, who also showed a bias towards an ethic of care. These responses increased with age. Their results reflected a decrease in justice orientation with age, suggesting that early in development both girls and boys appear to understand the importance of solving problems in a way that considers the needs and concerns of all individuals. The researchers conclude that this might be because children understand their society's expectations concerning treating others with respect. As mentioned before moral development depends on moral teaching which

may be achieved by formal training or by socialisation through modelling and good examples in the society (Muthukrishna & Govender, 2011).

Masqud (1998) examined the differences in the moral orientation and the association between the length of formal education and moral maturity of Batswana high school female and male students in Mmabatho. Masqud (1998) found no variations between the application of both the ethic of justice and the ethic of care among 18 to 19.4 year olds in standard 8, 9 and 10 (grades 10, 11, and 12). There were, however, differences between the younger and the older group highlighting that the ethic of care seemed to drop with age. The mean scores of grade 12 pupils tended to be lower than those for students in grades 10 and 11. Considering that schooling is undergirded by particular principles of learning, there might be a relationship with the amount of schooling years and the drop in the ethic of care. It is possible that how children are taught at school progressively encourages individualistic reasoning and therefore the decrease in the ethic of care. The school system is supposed to assist one to develop cognitively, and this cognitive development is based on a system, which is undergirded by certain principles (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981). Batswana communities are communal and relational in nature, considering the good of others in their daily lives. For children to move away from a relational morality, the insertion of an aspect that lies outside the worldview of Batswana will be warranted. The education system that is based on western foundations will be based on what the west values, which is an individualistic outlook towards life (Fleming, 2006). Therefore, it makes sense that the higher the grade the less one bases their reason on relations. Masqud (1998) did not support Gilligan's contention of moral behaviour differences according to gender as there was no difference between girls and boys when addressing hypothetical moral dilemmas. The researcher attributes these findings to socialisation of the Batswana youth, concluding that there is no difference in how boys and girls are socialised in the Batswana society, and that adults do not expect different morals for different genders. He explains that if there are any gender differences in moral reasoning then that can come about because of social roles and expectation of each sex and not inherently because of gender or cognitive development. The study took a quantitative approach and tested adolescents reasoning in hypothetical dilemmas using the Moral Orientation Scale to measure their ethics of care and justice.

A care and justice orientation as a function of gender has also been studied in preschool children. Cassidy, Chu, Dahlsgaard, and Wright (1997) found that there are no gender differences in moral reasoning at this early stage, perhaps because at this tender age a child is not yet fully socialised into different social roles. The results also showed that both girls and

boys both used a care orientation or a justice orientation similarly. The researchers caution that the sample in this study was taken from a homogenous white, middle to upper middle class suburb and should not be extended to other diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds (Cassidy et al., 1997). In their earlier study, Muthukrishna, Hugo, Wedekind and Khan (2006) using real life problems, conducted research to see what moral logic children bring to their judgements of violent and potentially violent events. The sample for this study included 12 girls and 18 boys with age ranging from 9-13 years old coming from different languages, racial and ethnic groups. The results of their study did not support Gilligan's theory. The results showed 65% of boys and 60% of girls across gender and age applied the judgement based principles. On the other hand, 35% of boys and 40% of girls used the ethic of care. Furthermore, the ethic of care decreased with age and as the older children grew they tended to reason more in a rights oriented fashion in both girls and boys. These were children based in a community that had been largely affected by violence and poverty. The researchers purport that the results may be because of the fact that children had been exposed to violence and their rights may have been violated hence the shift to a rights oriented reasoning. The researchers, however, acknowledge the role of a variety of contextual variables in moral reasoning (Muthukrishna et al., 2006).

### **Culture as a prism for understanding moral development**

Most moral reasoning and development research studies are conducted from a cognitive perspective, using Gilligan and Kohlberg as the basis for the research. This happens in western and non-western contexts. These theories suggest that moral development increases as a person grows and develops cognitively. Kohlberg believed that his theory is universal and that thinking processes do not vary according to culture and context. However it is not that thinking processes are not universal, but the thinking underlying the stages may differ across cultures (Fleming, 2006; Papalia, Olds, Duskin, & Feldman, 2006). Kohlberg's concepts of post-conventional morality reflect western philosophical ideals based on Enlightenment values of individualism freedom and rights (Fleming, 2006). In a collectivist community, Kohlberg's theory may be limited because of its inability to tap into environmental factors like family and the environment that a person finds themselves in (Fleming, 2006; Papalia et al., 2006). Edwards (1981) argues that the upper stages are not found in all cultures because they correspond to the conflict resolution methods of complex societies. This stands to show that the foundation of Kohlberg's theory is based on a value system of a specific culture or cultures. This casts doubt on the universality of the theory; as most communal societies often do not score above stage 4 in Kohlberg's theory. This theory puts the communal societies at a

disadvantage. In these cases, it is difficult to imagine that such communities are not cognitively developed but that perhaps moral development, as Kohlberg understood it, is not the highest moral development that is sought after by all cultures. Therefore, Kohlberg's model does not fit the cultural values of these particular societies (Fleming, 2006; Papalia et al., 2006). Collectivistic cultures value harmony within the communities therefore stage 4 would be their highest stage. This stage is seen as deficient in moral reasoning according to Kohlberg's theory (Edwards, 1986; Harkness, Edwards, & Super, 1981). Methods and theories have been used in the building of the colonial matrixes of power that worked to marginalise and "other" Africans and other non-western societies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014). Theories that suggest that the non-western societies are deficient in thinking and reasoning, contributes to the doubting of their humanity. Psychology as a discipline was very influential in positing theories that marginalise Africans (Nsamenang, 2007). Concerning developmental psychology and its theories Nsamenang (2007) explains that it was more suited for the western world and is not fit for African thoughts and ways of living.

Ferns and Thom (2001) investigated the universality of Kohlberg's theory and concluded that white and black adolescents in South Africa differ in their development of moral reasoning. According to their study, stage 4 is the highest level of moral reasoning that black adolescents attain compared to white adolescents, who score higher than stage 4. This would imply that black adolescents do not attain post conventional morality (Stage 5 and 6). They continue to rely on external principles, like the relational morality in the society to guide their behaviour. In a critique of Ferns and Thom's conclusions, Mojapelo-Batka and Schoeman (2003) argue that it is hard to accept their results without exception since the measurement instruments used in this study may not have been culturally fair. Moreover, considering the fact that the test was not translated into African languages already put the black research participants at a disadvantage as language is not just for communicating but a tool to convey meanings. There is also no guarantee that the interviews here were able to elicit the very best and most mature reasoning about moral problems in the different cultures studied in this study. Considering the separatist apartheid regime, which engendered an unequal environment, it is not difficult to find that moral reasoning for black children will be deficient as compared to white children. This regime forced blacks to attend a different, inferior school system therefore; the black children were not afforded the same opportunities to develop cognitively. The whole aim was to perpetuate the perception of inferiority of blackness as compared to whiteness. Testing black South Africans with a theory that was standardised in a different context without taking into consideration their worldview is unfair and biased.

Edwards (1986) conducted a review of studies on cross-cultural testing of moral development and found that moral stage four and five were often not reached in “traditional, small-scale societies”. She thinks that this is not necessarily that these stages are not reached but that this is a result of test bias. Cultural diversity is an important factor that should be taken into consideration when conducting research for moral development in different contexts. While the study conducted by Ferns and Thom (2001) explains that culture plays an important part in moral development, this study may further marginalise black South Africans. While in another study conducted with Igbo students the results show that to understand a person’s moral reasoning requires an appreciation of a person’s culture and the worldview thereof (Okonkwo, 1997). It was found that in contrast to Kohlberg’s idea, the Nigerian traditional outlook was humanistic. What is good and moral is what benefits human beings and the community. Edwards conducted research to consider the relationship between individual moral development and sociocultural context in a community in western Kenya (Harkness , Edwards & Super, 1981).

Edwards (1986) explains that when universality of Kohlberg is put under a test there are certain questions that should be addressed. Is the dilemma interview method a valid way of eliciting the moral judgments of people in other cultures? She further explains that the dilemmas used in the interviews should be real to the particular people interviewed; therefore, the dilemmas used should be about questions that are important to the people concerned. For instance, Benjamin Lee (1973, as cited in Edwards, 1986), an American of Chinese descent developed a series of filiality stories and moved away from Kohlberg’s dilemmas, when conducting research to study the moral reasoning of participants of Chinese descent. Filiality is central to moral human behaviours in all Chinese and Taiwanese societies as. It involves being respectful, loving and dedicated to one’s parents as well as all older people in one’s life, extending to ancestors (Jordan, 2005). Filiality is said to be the core of all benevolent actions as well as moral behaviour. Because Filiality is a core Chinese value used to guide all aspect of life in Chinese societies and the participants could identify with the stories told, the participants scored high (Jordan, 2005). Broadening the research and using ideas and concepts, which are not based on western understanding of moral development only, can enrich the research conducted on moral development when dealing with non-western societies. The inclusion of filiality stories in this regard, expanded the questions to issues other than the core concerns of westerners. This approach proved to be enriching to studying moral reasoning in Taiwan (Edwards, 1986).

In another study, a comparison was struck between Korean and British children in terms of their moral development (Baek, 2002). The results of this study showed no difference in the moral reasoning of Korean and British children according to age and gender except for cultural differences in the use of moral orientation. There were some traditional concepts, which played a part in the Korean's moral development that Kohlberg had not taken into consideration. There were some answers, which could not be scored with Kohlberg's manual (Baek, 2002). The concept of *Chung*, which is uniquely Korean, was given as a reason why Heinz should steal the drug for his wife even if he did not love her. According to Baek (2002) the concept of *Chung* plays a great part in moral judgement and overwhelms rational thought among Koreans. Baek (2002) explains that while Kohlberg's theory may be used to examine children's moral stages, it was insufficient to understand Korean children's moral reasoning. This study showed that cultural influence and understanding the cultural context is an important part of understanding moral development of non-western societies. This concept of *Chung* in Korean societies in moral judgement highlights the issue of how language carries meanings and understandings, which are embedded in the language. Language is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981; Oyèwùmí, 1997). Values are a basis of a people's identity and are carried by language. Language carries culture and culture carries values by which we identify and we know our place in the world. What a society believes to be moral is therefore communicated through the language they speak. Some concepts are unique to cultures and you need to know the language as well as the culture to understand the concepts. Social constructionism paradigm explains that knowledge is created; it is created through language by people who agree that this is knowledge. This knowledge is created by interaction and through historical and cultural norms (Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). Cultural belief systems provide details, understanding, and clarifications for the world as it is experienced and interpreted to be. Culture provides details of what is moral.

Kohlberg's theory arguably offers us one useful way to study moral development and moral decision making. However, this is not the only approach that can be used to study moral development across the board. This is especially true in cultural contexts, which are different to the culture and society he used as a population to build his theory. Cross cultural research shows that this theory is not universal. It shows that depending on the different cultures, the Kohlberg's stages are not an achievement and that it is not necessarily true that the higher the stage the better at moral reasoning a person is. In cultures where relational morality is important and is given precedence, being on stage 4 is desirable and honourable (Edwards, 1986). This is because the society does not value individualistic goals. Theories like

Kohlberg's theory of moral development that are undergirded by individualistic values do not fit in cultural societies whose epistemology derives from a relational perspective. These theories are seen as fuelling the subtle coloniality of the societies. They perpetuate the idea that non-westerners are inferior to westerners. The theories serve further to marginalise these societies as they ingrain the idea that such societies are inferior, whether it is moral reasoning or cognitive development.

### **Morality: An African perspective**

Given the history of Africa and its colonisation, where Africans were unfortunately misrepresented and the continent's heritage was defined from a western point of view, it is important to let Africans name themselves and their heritage (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Masenya, 1997; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, 2013). Since humanity was defined from a male western point of view, anyone who did not fit this description was not well esteemed. Individuals from African cultures as well as many other cultures were seen as subhuman as a result. The concept of Africa seen as sub-human is further explained by Decolonial scholars when they unpack the coloniality of being. Fanon, (1986) explains that black has a negative connotation even in the dictionary, while white is pure and desirable, making it clear that the black people were not on the same level as the white people. Black people were seen as below the abyssal line of being human and they were seen as inferior to the westerners. This idea of being sub-human saw the blacks being subjected to atrocities such as slavery and war as their humanity was questioned by the conquerors (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012, 2013). Africans were not only seen as subhuman, their knowledges were disregarded and discarded as unscientific and irrelevant to civilisation, which the colonisers were supposedly bringing to Africa. African beliefs, ideas, languages, and knowlegdes were considered useless. The colonisers brought with them their knowledges, images and beliefs which were based on the enlightenment era (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Addressing the issue of humanity defined from a western point of view and other African cultures seen as the other, Masenya (1997) explains how this led to an identity crisis among other things for the Africans.

Like many concepts, morality has been viewed primarily from a western point of view, which is unfortunate as many cultures do not fit this view. Africans are therefore better served when represented from an African point of view. This is true for studying morality as well as other areas. Morality as viewed from the African point of view is different to morality theories that are underlined by western philosophies. Unfortunately an African point of view has been mostly marginalised in moral theoretical deliberations (Metz & Gaie, 2010). It is important to

acknowledge that there might be similarities and cross overs to other countries and contexts concerning morality, but there is similarly distinctly different themes that can be drawn from Africa as compared to other contexts (Metz & Gaie, 2010; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). It is important to note the diversity within the African continent itself when engaging with African viewpoints. There is no one approach that engulfs an African philosophy on morality (Metz & Gaie, 2010; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). Africans have a vast amount of cultures and as a result, different African cultures approach morality differently. Although that is the case, there are common themes concerning issues of morality in Africa as compared to western theories and philosophies (Metz & Gaie, 2010; Verhoef & Michel, 1997).

To understand how morality is understood from within an African cultural point of view, we first need to understand how Africans understand the human person (Bujo, 2001). Africans define the human in different terms as compared to the westerners. Africans do not think in either/or but rather in both/and categories. The African view of morality depends on the community, not only the visible community but incorporates the ones yet to come and the ones gone before us, as well as the supreme God (Bujo, 2001). Africans mostly talk about humans instead of God because they believe that one who pays heed to the dignity of the human also pleases God (Bujo, 2001). African morality hinges on communal relationships and moral processes are primarily concerned with the maintenance of good relationships with others as opposed to the maintenance of justice and individual rights as in other theories (Bujo, 2001; Metz & Gaie, 2010; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). African morality hinges on the concept of Ubuntu, which means to be fully human and this can be achieved only by positive relationships with other people, not selfishness. If one is not relating to other people in a positive way they are said to be without “Botho” or that you are not a person, you are less than a person because of your negative relationships. From an African point of view what is considered as moral and upright revolves around relationships and connections, and being a community (Bujo, 2001). Mbiti (1969, as cited in Verhoef & Michel, 1997) explains that what is immoral is what separates. Communal duties and respect is highly regarded in these contexts. There are obligations that are known and everyone is expected to fulfil them for the benefit of the whole community or group. It is understood that if these are not upheld, relationships break down. These are seen in respecting the elders as well as in elders upholding the welfare of the younger generations (Verhoef & Michel, 1997). This sense of community includes identity and solidarity, so one has to be part of a group as well as work for the common good of that particular group, this is considered moral. It also shows the desirable interaction between people (Metz & Gaie, 2010). Seeking out community or living harmoniously with other

people, this becomes the leading idea that guides what the majority of the people will do, so everyone in the community works toward the good of everyone else. Familial relationships are seen as the most basic form of community, and esteeming those familial connections is an important part of morality. This relational concept includes the family that has since departed as well as children that have not yet been born (Bujo, 2001). Familial relationships are esteemed more than other connections that a person can be connected to, even in the future. The familial relationships are important in other communal societies as well, like the filial relationships in the Chinese and Taiwanese societies mentioned earlier (Edwards, 1986; Jordan, 2005). “*Gaabo motho go thebe phatswa*” “*kgabutle ga a nke a feta gaabo a re go tlala.*” These sayings emphasize the importance of relatedness that has its origins in the family. These Setswana sayings explain the importance of family. They explain that no matter where you are, family is important.

Morality is seen as a contextually bound concept as it is about connections and relationships that bind the community as a whole. As a result it is to everyone’s benefit to learn and understand their role in the bigger picture pertaining to acting morally for the good of the whole community (Bujo, 2001; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). African ethics differs from ethics that are derived from rationalism where reason is central, instead they hinge on relatedness. For Africans it is not the I think therefore I am but the “I am known , therefore we are” that is important (Bujo, 2001). Therefore, the African morality concept is bound to responsibility. There is a sense of an ethic of responsibility, which is closely linked to an ethic of care, which Gilligan proposed and is different to an ethic of justice. This is not only persons but it encompasses the entire cosmic arrangement and the environment. African morality is concerned not just about what is right and wrong, but about life itself (Bujo, 2001). The African concept of morality goes beyond the ethic of care and the ethic of justice, and is governed by an overarching ethic of responsibility towards people and the environment.

### **Constituting Womanhood (Bosadi)**

Womanhood has been associated with morality from long ago. Women were integral part of their different societies and were seen as symbolic keepers of morality, in a position where they teach the younger generation how to behave (Taiwo, 2010). As Gilligan explained, morality is a gendered concept and men and women’s moral development continues on different trajectories because of gender. Therefore, gender plays an important part on how moral development will play out in different individuals. Ziervogel and Mokgokong (1975, p. 1154 as cited in Masenya 1997, p. 442) explain that Bosadi is a Sotho abstract noun from the

word “mosadi” which mean ‘woman, ‘married woman’, ‘wife’. Being a woman embodies the identity and behaviours that are associated with the word.

Gender is a western concept that emphasises biological body types. Oyěwùmí (1997) explains how the woman problem is a western concept. It is not indigenous to the Yoruba- and many African societies. The word woman is found in primarily western gender discourses and it did not exist in the Yoruba vocabulary before they came in touch with the west (Oyěwùmí, 1997). The cultural categories of the west are based on biological determinism and social categories like woman are based on body type and are related in contrast to another category, which is man. Oyěwùmí (1997) explains that before western influence in the Yorubaland and in most African societies, the body was not the basis of social roles, inclusions, or exclusions. It is important to note that now the word ‘woman’ is used in African societies due to the influence and the contact with westerners, and the role of the west in knowledge production. Gender conceptions are derived from the biologic determinism and have become widespread even in African societies ( Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Womanhood has been defined and studied from western points of view. Western feminists have had a lot to say about women and womanhood. The liberal feminists have concentrated on the subordination of women through unequal opportunities, insisting that women should be given equal opportunities with men (Chilisa, 2012). Social feminists use capitalism, class, race and ethnicity to explain how women have been marginalised. Radical feminists explain that men and women are different to each other but while that is the case their characteristics have equal value (Chilisa, 2012). This is the ideas that Gilligan had on morality and moral reasoning, that while men are more inclined to have morality that hinges on justice, women’s morality hinges on care. She explains that none of these ways of showing morality has to be seen as inferior to the other.

As can be seen, western women have had their fair share on defining womanhood and women’s issues. They have also voiced their ideas on how non-western women are marginalised and subordinated. Research conducted on womanhood in Africa mostly focuses on the role of the woman in traditional cultures and the way African women identify themselves (Masuku 2005; Mungwini 2008). The themes are often around the two extremes, which is that African women are seen as either witches or perfect mothers. The perfect mother theme brings to mind the characteristics of nurturing and responsibility that are expected from women in cultural communities. The role of women in African traditional cultures is often perceived to be mostly disadvantaging to the women. Womanhood is seen as a sign of burdensome toil and subjugation. Women are seen as less inferior than their male counterparts. Often these stories

are written from a western point of view and are looked at through a western lens. The voices of African women are not heard in such stories. African women do not agree with all that is written about them by their western counterparts. They believe that these stories are written from a western female base of language, concepts, theories and reality (Chilisa, 2012). In such stories, the lived experiences and realities of the African women go unrecognised. There is a denial of African women's power within their relational spaces that celebrate motherhood, sisterhood and friendship (Chilisa, 2012). African feminism brings to the fore the centrality of motherhood in African households and agency of mothers as the source of solidarity. By ignoring these points about African women, the texts then consign African women to the victim and do not show that they have used their roles to empower themselves. It is then important that the stories of African women be heard concerning their lives (Graham, 2007). It is important to deconstruct the western theories about African women and help bring the stories of African women to the fore by finding theoretical spaces in their contexts even if they are not seen as theoretical from a western point of view (Chilisa, 2012). This will help to uncover what indigenous cultures can offer in reconstructing our current situation in the world.

In some of the research conducted on African women's roles, Masuku (2005) looked at the roles attached to women in traditional folklore and praise songs. She suspected that these two extremes of being either witches or perfect mothers might be playing a part in depressing women. Both Mungwini (2008) and Masuku (2005) argue that women need to rethink their traditional cultural identity in today's world. Mungwini, (2008) said that childbearing and being a wife are constructions of womanhood in the nativist sense and that they need to be rethought in the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Masuku (2005) argues that in the folklore writings that she analysed, the traditional Zulu woman felt depressed, by the two extremes of viewing women. She continues to recommend that since women have changed it is necessary for women to shape their sons to adapt to the idea that women have changed; they have rights and privileges, which could intimidate their male ego. Mungwini (2008) says that cultural ways that continue to see the ideal Shona woman as a child bearer, domestic worker, and wife in servitude to the husband as head of the family should be challenged. She suggests that women must be given positions of responsibility where policies are debated and this would be a good step in challenging male dominance and then they can take that to their bedrooms.

It is important to note that the perception that African women are oppressed by men has not always been so. It is equally important to note too that these perceptions may not necessarily come from African women themselves. Taiwo, (2010) asserts that women were seen as a significant part of the community despite the patriarchal system, being well respected

as they were seen to be close to nature and God. They were seen as creators because of their ability to carry life. They were gatherers and their communities depended on them to survive. Familusi (2012) consents that although African women seem like they are on the receiving end of negative energy and they are abused by the cultures that they are in, it is not all true as there are also benefits of having the status of being a woman. She does not in any way agree that women are inferior to men as she highlights various roles played by them both in the home and society. Familusi (2012 p. 309) states that “Yoruba women are very intelligent, lively, expressive, courageous, devoted to family, enterprising and versatile” The fact that the mother is described as gold “Iyaniwura” while the father is mirror “dingi” suggests to an extent their relevance and value. Economically and socially speaking, gold is more expensive and cherished than a mirror. Oyěwùmí (1997) explains how in African societies there are women who are prominent in the communities, some were even female village heads, however not much is said about them except the usual narrative of how culture victimizes women.

It is important that destructive things should be eliminated in cultures that abuse women but also important to look at the situation holistically so that cultural values should be retained and not destroyed in the guise of civilization (Familusi, 2012; Taiwo, 2010). Taiwo (2010) argues that even though the patriarchy system in Africa cannot be denied, yet, the African woman possesses the power that binds the society together. In traditional African society, the survival of the family and the future of marriage depended a great deal on the African woman. Thus, the African woman played a key role in the education and the teaching of children social, ethical, and moral values, which were part of the cultural standards for evaluating proper societal behaviour. Traditional African society attached no importance to gender issues because every individual had a role to play both in the family as well as in the larger society. Men and women played complementary roles at home and in the society. Gender inequality came with colonialism (Taiwo, 2010). This is implied by Mothoagae (2010) when explaining that the missionaries translation of the bible into Setswana compromised the cultural beliefs of the Batswana and produced a patriarchal society tempering with the women’s identities and removing them from the public spaces. Oyěwùmí, (1997) explains that gender categories originated in the west. This served the colonisers well in othering African societies and their women.

Culturally, African women were the transmitters of the language, the history and the oral culture, the music, the dance. They were the knowledge bearers and were responsible for instilling traditional values and knowledge in children. “The African family has always been

characterized by strong women who usually held pertinent positions in the family” (Taiwo, 2010, p. 230). The women are often the backbone of the family in traditional Africa.

African women like all Africans have been a marginalised group. They bear the brunt of both racial and sexist discrimination. While western women have had a chance to pave their own understanding on their morality and moral development, African women have not had that chance as far as we know. Oyěwùmí (1997) laments the use of western concepts as the foundation for African thought because these theories’ aim was to project Africans as the other. Graham (2007) explains that black women are in a unique position. He explored whether the feminist ethic of care addresses the needs of black women. He argues that black women are in a unique social space, and their life experiences are tainted by race, gender, class, and age factors and as a result, they view life from different perspectives. Their lives do not fit neatly into debates about gender because this view overlooks other factors in their lives. Factors like that black women have multiple identities and their sensibilities may affect moral influences and their dimensions of care among them. Using black feminist thought, he explains the complexities of black womanhood. He explains how black women draw upon cultural antecedents and lived experience when considering moral behaviours. Black women often draw on cultural attributes to create conditions of empowerment. Recreation of black identities shaped by African centred perspectives that are concerned with social relationships, health of body and mind is often the order of the day (Graham, 2007).

African women are an important part of their societies, especially pertaining to teaching morality and acceptable behaviour to the younger generations. Gilligan’s ethic of care was based on interviews with white middle-class women and she does not acknowledge that there might be differences in how women may shape their moral perspectives (Graham 2007, p. 196). The ethics of care without the deliberations of socio-cultural and historical contents will not be fully understood. Furthermore, it is imperative to understand that gender, and therefore gendered morality is not a universal concept and the experiences of western women cannot be the standard for all women in the world. It is therefore important to seek awareness of specific contexts. While some literature find that motherhood equals subordination of women (Masuku, 2005; Mungwini, 2008) other women emphasize the centrality of motherhood in African households. Africans emphasize the importance of interrelationships, connections and interdependence between all, including women, men, children and even nature (Chilisa, 2012). It is important that African women are offered a chance to theorise from their contexts and lived experiences to generate contextually relevant theories that build relationships and effective for everyone in their communities (Chilisa, 2012).

### **Indigenous knowledge, moral education and the importance of initiation schools**

Moral education is nurtured at different institutions put in place by communities and societies to help develop the morality of its people. These institutions are educational, religious, cultural, and familial institutions. Swartz (2010a) points out that moral education should cover intimate, communal, and national relationships between human beings. It should also include relationships between people and their environment. Matlala (2011) conducted research with South African Black adolescents, with an aim to ascertain the social factors that play a role in moral development, factors which accelerate moral development in the lives of black children. In her study, as well as in a study conducted by Louw (2009), social factors like the school, the state, peer relationships, media (internet and television), and positive role models were found to be the major factors that play a role in moral development. School Principals, teachers and community members are all seen as important positive role models for the youth. Environmental influences which play a part in engendering positive behaviour in youth, which were outside the school context included family influences, especially parents. These studies were conducted with black South African adolescents in particular. Parental involvement appeared to be of utmost importance in enforcing good moral behaviour in the everyday life of adolescents. The findings revealed that transformation and moral regeneration needed to start within families. Therefore, the work of moral education does not primarily lie with schools but needs to be championed from home. In an investigation of how college students' lives are influenced by involved role-players in the development of their characters, Freeks (2015) concludes that the family does not play such a major role in character development of college students. Instead, role models in other different settings such as the university, the church, and other contexts were seen as influencing character development and moral development. Freeks (2015) recommends therefore that the family play a larger role in influencing the moral development of their children to ensure that the children do not involve themselves in dangerous behaviour. This will give the family an upper hand in guiding their children's morality, instead of letting the children be influenced by external forces outside the home.

Moral education in precolonial times was taught through an indigenous system of education (Bujo, 2001). This was by both formal and informal means. Informal ways were indirect ways of teaching. This would happen in the everyday happenings of life and societal practices. Children were in contact with older members of their communities and they would learn by example. Songs, dances, stories were also used to teach children morality. Formal education consisted of initiation schools which included a formal means of teaching and a set

time for instruction (Matemba, 2010). Initiation schools were spaces where males and females were taught behaviours that were expected of them in the community as well as in the households. Cultural knowledge, traditional values, and respect were taught at initiation schools. Initiation schools played a crucial role in moral education. However, when western education was introduced into the African's life African moral values and the institutions that shaped them were condemned and side-lined as barbaric and uncivilised (Nkomazana, 2005). This was in line with the colonisation agenda that stripped the indigenous African of all that was valuable to them. At present, initiation schools have been reignited, despite the negative attention around them.

There has been a plethora of studies about initiation schools in the recent past. The most prominent themes in these studies revolve around male circumcision as performed at mainly Xhosa male initiation schools in South Africa and the perceptions of initiation schools. Understandably so, as the initiation schools in the South African contexts have come under much criticism considering issues of human rights to the extent that some people have even called for the ban of initiation schools (Ntombana, 2011a). On the other hand, considering that majority of research conducted on African knowledge mainly misrepresents the African and works to "other" non-western cultures, it is not surprising to find negativity around issues of initiation. While the media presents statistics of botched circumcisions every year, they never give a representation of the number of initiates that graduate successfully. All this reporting is often made by people who have not been to initiation schools and are working to problematize such institutions. A dismissal and denigration of African institutions like initiation schools is attempted by such reporting in the media. It includes reports, which are written about people who do not have a say on how their stories are told. Often epidemiological issues including the high rates of mortality and morbidity at male initiation schools have been highlighted (Bottoman, Mavundla, & Toth, 2009; Kepe, 2010). Medical research conducted advocates circumcision because of the association that has been found between prevention of the spread of HIV and circumcision (Venter, 2011). Although in this case medical circumcision is propagated in opposition to traditional circumcision. Circumcision is an integral part of traditional initiation, and as a result, initiates and males who are considering circumcision tend to prefer traditional circumcision as it is an integral part of becoming a man. It is found that initiation that involves traditional circumcision is perceived as giving power and authority to initiated men over uninitiated men and women, thereby putting pressure on uninitiated men to attend initiation schools (Mavundla, Netswera, Toth, Bottoman, & Tenge, 2010). The attitudes of the mothers of initiates tend to differ as others state that their sons have to be initiated in the

traditional way, which involves circumcision while others would like their sons to be circumcised in the hospital fearing for their safety (Venter, 2011).

Ntombana (2011a) explored the role of Xhosa male initiation in moral regeneration in the country and concluded that although the concepts of initiation have changed through the years, initiation does have a strong educational role that benefits societal structure. He also advocates for the strengthening of initiations schools by training the initiation school instructors and by getting government to register the initiation schools as informal schools, thereby giving responsibility to the traditional leaders.

Literature on Batswana initiation schools date back to the 1900s, and are based on studies conducted in Botswana. These studies focus on the transition of the initiation schools from precolonial, colonial, and post-colonial times in Botswana (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2005). They demonstrate that the shift in the initiation ritual from precolonial to colonial period was mainly caused by Christianity and furthermore depended on the Chief at any particular point if the ritual will be practiced or abolished. Nkomazana (2005) argues that initiation schools were a good space, providing positive training for teaching moral issues, especially relating to sexual issues. The abolishing of the schools left a gap in the development of young people. He points out that there is no support structure for the youth of societies. They are unprepared in matters of sexuality and identity as they become victims of problems such as teenage pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and dropping out of schools. Concerning the role of the Chief in initiation schools, Setlhabi (2014) suggests that bojale has always depended on the Chief even to this present day. Women are joined together in a regiment that becomes the Chief's practical and symbolic socio-political base. Considering newspaper reports, it is clear that initiation schools are thriving within the African communities. While academics and other critics may focus on negative aspects which may work to denigrate initiation schools, it is clear that African people still consider traditional initiation as an important means to teach and train moral and socially responsible adults.

As mentioned above initiation is the responsibility of the traditional leadership of a community (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015). Traditional leadership is headed by the Chief of the community. The Chief and the traditional leadership are the custodian of culture, and therefore decide if and when initiation will take place (Dikotla, 1996). This is true for both the female and male initiation. In the past initiation schools were attended in the winter months, at the moment initiation is attended at a convenient time especially taking into consideration the fact that initiates are often school going children. In some communities as explained by Dikotla (1996, 2007) the Chief's wife takes part in the decisions around female

initiation schools. The Chief's wife (Mohumagadi) is given the privilege to decide when the female initiation will be attended. Mothers of girls who are ready to attend initiation come and ask the Chief's wife to allow their daughters to attend initiation because they are ready. She would first need to confirm for herself that the young girls are indeed matured and ready for this step. The Chief's wife can also decide that initiation should be attended, when one of the Chief's daughters reaches puberty. In this case, she will inform Kgosi that initiation must be announced (Dikotla 1996; 2007). In other instances, where the Chief marries an uninitiated woman, initiation may be called by him. This would be to allow the new queen to go through the initiation rite. In this case, girls who are ready to be initiated would accompany her and form a regiment which she would lead (Dikotla 1996; Setlhabi 2014).

### **Draft Policy for initiation schools in South Africa.**

The Department of Traditional Affairs compiled a draft policy on the customary practice of initiation in South Africa (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015). The objective of this draft policy is to protect, promote, and regulate the customary practice of initiation. This will be achieved by providing acceptable norms and standards, and providing structures that ensure that initiation takes place in a controlled and responsible manner. This draft policy has a human rights focal point. To ensure that while initiation takes place, there will be prevention of injuries and any abuses and that no initiate's life will be lost at any phase of the initiation ritual. This policy also puts responsibility at the door of Traditional Leadership, by ensuring that leadership will accept responsibility for the practice of initiation within their communities.

Initiation schools are supposed to provide all activities that relate to the rite of initiation, this should be done in conjunction with traditional leadership. The draft further seeks to ensure that the teachings and rituals that are part of initiation are aimed at character building, the promotion of societal values and the sharing of constructive and factual information about sexuality, gender and reproduction and, ultimately, to prepare the young people for adulthood (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015).

An initiation school must be registered in accordance with the provisions of this policy. If an initiation school is not registered then the children attending the school will be regarded as abducted and legal steps will be taken to remedy the situation (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015). Initiation is a voluntary customary practice and therefore no person may be forced or coerced into attending any initiation school or undergo any initiation practices. Provincial government must determine registration fees to be paid for conducting an initiation school, reasonable fees to be paid per initiate for undergoing initiation and the payments to be

made to traditional surgeons and care-givers. Guidance from initiation caregivers should be included in terms of fee structure (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015).

Section 31 (1) of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) provides for persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community to attend and enjoy their culture. However, concerning activities at initiation schools, Section 12(3) and (4) of the Children's Act, 2005 prohibits genital mutilation or circumcision of female children while section 12(4) prohibits virginity testing of children under the age of 16. In the case of children older than 16, only virginity testing is allowed if the child has given consent and after proper counselling. Concerning young male children, the Children's Act (2005) allows circumcision of under 16-year-old children under provision that it is done for religious purposes only or for medical reasons. Circumcision of children under 16 years of age is not allowed if it is carried out for the sake of culture. Circumcision of older than 16-year-old children is allowed only if the child gives consent.

### **Female initiation Rites**

Brown (1963) defines female initiation rites as rites that consist of one or more set ceremonial events, usually compulsory for all girls of a given society, and most often celebrated between their eighth and their twentieth years. They are usually rites that include puberty rites. Female initiation rites are in line with the time when a girl is experiencing maturation signs in her body, like the appearance of menarche and breasts starting to grow (Brown, 1963). The female initiation rites therefore fall under adulthood rites, which are meant to help with transition from childhood to adulthood. Female initiation rites are not universally practiced, however they have been prevalent in most of the world's cultures and societies throughout history (Brown, 1963; Price & Crapo, 1999). However according to Maluleke and Troskie (2003) it's not that the puberty rites are not practiced, it is only that there are few societies that celebrate them in rituals.

In the societies where rituals are used to celebrate the moving from one phase to another the girls either become the centre of attention with feasting, thereby celebrating the transition in a public manner, including the family or the larger community. In other societies the girls go into seclusion and may even fast, these types of transition are meant to teach the girls the secret of womanhood as well as their responsibility as a woman in different contexts (Brown, 1963; Ling & Eicher, 2006).

Price and Crapo, (1999) found that 43 non-industrialised societies held female rites of passage ceremonies for their children when they transitioned from childhood to adulthood.

These ceremonies differed according to the type of family units they had. The simplest ceremonies were found among societies with a basic family unit, and the most elaborate were found in societies that had large extended families who were close and worked together. The role of these rites of passage is to help the young adult as well as the community around her to be aware of her new role as an adult (Price & Crapo, 1999). Brown (1963) concluded that female initiation rites are more likely to happen in societies where young girls do not leave the domestic unit of their parents after marriage, therefore the rite will help acknowledge the girl's new status even if she is still in the same context.

Ling and Eicher (2006) note that there are different rituals that are performed that mark the transitioning from one phase to another. These rituals differ according to cultural expectations. Concerning the different female adulthood rites, rituals like the charity balls held for middle-class daughters in America are mentioned. Age specific parties around the adolescent period of growth like the sweet sixteen birthday parties, African-American debutante balls used to mark and recognise a young woman's transition into adulthood are also mentioned. The quinceanera in Latino families, a 15-year birthday celebration that is specifically used to celebrate the transition from childhood to adulthood is also mentioned. Many cultural groups in Africa and South Africa observe rituals that assist the transition of their female children from childhood into adulthood or womanhood (Brown, 1963; Ling & Eicher, 2006; Price & Crapo, 1999). The Mende people of Sierra Leone separated girls from the community to be taught the secrets of womanhood, this initiation practice included, among other aspects a clitoridectomy (Brown, 1963; Ling & Eicher, 2006). The Venda *vhusha/domba*, the Bemba *chisungu* in Zambia, the Sande bush school of the Mande-speaking Kpelle, as well as the Batswana *bojale* schools (Dikotla 1996; Maluleke & Troskie 2003; Mosothwane 2004; Power 2000; Rite 2002).

Some cultures that practice female initiation include female circumcision or female genital mutilation. Female circumcision is when a part or all of the female genitalia is removed. It may include excision, which is the removal of part of or all of the labia minora. It may include a clitoridectomy, which is the removal of all, or part of the clitoris. It may also include infibulation which is the cutting of the labia majora which is then stitched together and a small opening is left to allow urine and menstrual blood to pass (Nyangweso, 2002b; Schmidt, 2005). There is a naming challenge with this part of the female rite, whether it is called female circumcision or female genital mutilation. Female genital mutilation is a term that emphasises the harm that is done to the female body, whereby female circumcision is seen as an equivalent of its male counterpart (Schmidt, 2005). Schmidt (2005) sees the female genital mutilation

name as a problem that might cause emotional accusations to those that believe in the cultural importance of this practice.

Schmidt (2005) conducted a study on the theoretical debate of female circumcision in Kenya. In this study it is noted that female circumcision is condemned by international organizations but is defended by the local people who are performing and undergoing female circumcision. The objections to this part of the female initiation ritual are mainly because of violation of women and children's rights (Schmidt, 2005); the argument being that children and, sometimes, women who are circumcised are non-consenting victims to this practice Gachiri (2000, p102, as cited in Schmidt, 2005). It is of note that in this study, the majority of circumcised women did not support this view; they do not agree that their rights are violated. Another debate is around medical complications. The short term complications mentioned are severe bleeding and severe pain. Long term complications may include an obstructed urinal and menstrual flow, urinary tract infections that can complicate and progress to kidney failure, are mentioned. Although this is the case, circumcising communities do not agree with this reasoning either as these complications do not usually occur (Schmidt, 2005).

Gachiri (2000, as cited in Schmidt, 2005) mentions that female circumcision is also to tame women's sexual desire and ensures that the man is in control of a woman's sexual desire and it is used to teach submission to the husbands. In Sudan, women agree that women are oppressed by men but they do not believe that female circumcision is the cause; they see it as a symptom of the system. Some circumcised women explain that their circumcision has increased their enjoyment of sexual activity (Schmidt, 2005).

Culture is contextually bound, and it makes sense in its particular context. Looking in from outside might lead a person to look and decide that there are injustices happening. There is a problem when a group of people attempts to talk for other people. The people that are being talked for are silenced in the process and the voice of the speaker is the only one heard. Mende people in Sierra Leone are said to perform female circumcision. Although it is a very controversial issue, it is seen as an important marker that helps with the transition from childhood into the next phase of maturity (Ling & Eicher, 2006). Although it makes sense that female, circumcision is painful and may be dangerous, the meaning that is placed upon the ritual and practice is understood by the partakers of the culture that is practising it.

Concerning female circumcisions in South Africa, there is talk about female circumcision but, as Maluleke and Troskie, (2003) explain, there is no evidence to support the claims of female circumcision as in the case of the Mapulana people in Bushbuckridge who

are said to practice it (Maluleke & Troskie, 2003). Although female initiation rituals differ according to culture and the society the females are in, it is noted that there are some similarities in these rituals. The visible markers of a woman's development seem to mark the beginning of this transition. First signs of menarche, developing breasts and other physical markers of development are seen as a sign that the girls are ready to be initiated. These signs are normally seen around adolescence. This is also the time that many African societies initiate their youngsters into adulthood (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2005; Nyangweso, 2002; Setlhabi, 2014).

### **Batswana Female initiation Rite (Bojale)**

Bojale is a Setswana word that is used for the female initiation rite. Bojale or female initiation is a rite marking the transition from a phase of a girl to one of being a woman. Female initiation rites assist women in transitioning from childhood to womanhood. The focus of the female initiation rite (bojale) encompasses teachings that include appropriate social, sexual behaviour in adult life, as well as a sense of responsibility in women (Dikotla 2007). Girls and sometimes women are taken as a group to be taught culture, morally acceptable behaviour and nature (Dikotla, 1996, 2007; Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2005; 2008; Setlhabi, 2014). Initiation schools are schools of culture where one is taught to be a responsible part of a community as a woman. Responsibility that extends towards everyone around including your husband, family and the community at large is taught at female initiation schools.

Within the Batswana context initiation is also used to mark a regiment of a newly initiated group (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2008). Women who have been initiated join an initiation-determined regiment. This regiment is named according to the circumstances that they were initiated in or the political context at the time of their initiation. The initiation-determined regiment is also seen as a way to foster friendship and a sense of belonging within the group (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2008; Setlhabi, 2014). Setlhabi (2014) reasons that these regiments are a political base for the Chief who reigns when the group graduates as they serve as the Chief's political and military wing. In the ethnographic research that was conducted by Setlhabi (2014), she explains that a new Chief was expected to initiate his first regiment, and this would be a way to strengthen him through tradition.

Female initiation rite is predominantly attended by girls who are at the age of puberty (between ages 13 - 18) (Nkomazana, 2005; 2008; Werbner, 2009). These girls are seen as maturing as they have begun to menstruate and develop breasts. Although the usual group is females who are starting to develop these physical signs of becoming young women it is not

unusual to find older females attending initiation schools within the Batswana tribes (Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014). Female initiation rite (bojale ) among the Batswana has been conducted simultaneously with the male initiation rite (bogwera) (Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014). Literature differs on explaining the sequence of males and females as they enter and exit the initiation process. Setlhabi (2014) explains that women go first to initiation followed by the males, there is a saying in Setswana that says “*Kgosi e itibola ka basadi*”, meaning that the first born of the Chief is women. There are other views that explain that males go first in and out of initiation, followed by women (Dikotla, 1996, 2007).

Unlike at the western or mainstream schools that are in Africa today, initiation schools use different kinds of techniques to teach. While staying at the shelters (mephato), the initiates are taught these lessons in different modes, songs, dance and tribal folklore. The lessons are mostly conveyed through songs. This is in line with the oral nature of traditional teachings. In traditional spaces memory has an important role in understanding and retaining the lessons that are taught through song (Dikotla, 1996; 2007; Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014). The songs used in female initiation Schools employ metaphorical messages on womanhood, morality and nature. The community’s history, folklore and traditions are taught through the use of song (Dikotla, 2007). Some initiation songs are kept secret to outsiders of the initiation rituals. However, some songs are permitted to be heard by the public and are shared in the public space, as those used at the graduation ceremony (Dikotla, 1996; 2007). Dikotla (1996, 2007) explains that in the Batlokwa context where she conducted her research studies, songs are used at different sections of the initiation process, with a different purpose. As an example, when the Chief’s wife (Mohumagadi) alerts the women that initiation can take place a song would be sung. A song about a female ancestor (Mmantadi) which is believed to be the one who allows the female initiation to take place was sung in her study (Dikotla 2007). The different songs are sung with a purpose and also to transmit certain lessons (Kangwa, 2011; Thabethe, 2008).

### **Initiation as a rite of passage**

Arnold Van Gennep contributed to the theories that define initiation as a rite of passage that exist within different communities. According to Van Gennep (1960, 1), the rites of passage are ritual ceremonies intended to mark the transition from one phase of life to another. Rites of passage exist as a response to the recognition of the various stages that humans move through during their life cycle. Humans move through four different stages as they develop; i.e. birth, maturation, reproduction and death (Van Gennep, 1960). The transition from one life-stage to the next is marked by rituals, referred to as rites of passage, to ensure the safe transition of an individual from one stage to the next. The rites of passage exist within a certain

cultural context; therefore, the conditions of transition are laid down by the social structures; and there is a general recognition of a correct, pattern that should be followed in any particular performance.

Rites of passage are ritual ceremonies marking a new phase in a person's development (Van Gennep, 1960). Rites of passage exist as a way to acknowledge the various stages that humans move through during their life cycle. There are common cross cultural rites, which include birth, puberty, and death (Ampin, 2003). Different cultural groups practice these rites according to their own traditions or religious preferences. Most African societies are characterised by an active participation in performing rites of passage. These include birth, transition into adulthood, marriage, eldership, and death rites. These rites are performed according to prescribed social rules and customs within a community or culture (Ampin, 2003). The initiation rite, also known as the adulthood rite, is one of such rites. This stage of development spans from the onset of puberty to initiation into adulthood. This rite of passage is seen as ensuring the shaping of productive, community-oriented, and responsible adults. African societies systematically initiate boys and girls into adulthood. Traditional teachings are used as part of this initiation process. These teachings include rules, moral teachings, social responsibility as well as society taboos (Ampin, 2003; Van Gennep, 1960). The initiation rite of passage fall, into three main phases discussed below.

**Separation Phase:** In this phase, the initiate moves away from his/her familiar environment and enters a new role and space (Van Gennep,1960). In this phase the initiate is prepared for the next phase of development in his life (Turner 1964). This seclusion may include abstaining from certain practices and certain types of foods (Hammond-Tooke,1974).

The Batswana female initiation rite follows the same sequence as Van Gennep explained. During this phase in the Batswana female initiation there are preparatory rituals which are performed. They spend this time arranging and getting all resources that they will need to survive while at initiation schools (Dikotla 1996; 2007; Setlhabi 2014). These may include money to pay for the initiation, and food that will be needed for the duration of the initiation. These are arranged by the parents of the initiates as well as relatives who are wishing the initiates well. In some contexts the initiate's uncle has to perform certain rituals for the initiate before the point of seclusion takes place if this has not been done when the child was young (Dikotla 1996; 2007; Setlhabi 2014). This time may be spent at the Chief's kraal practicing initiation songs (dikoma tsa thupiso) in the evenings (Dikotla 2007; Setlhabi 2014).

**Transition Phase/Liminal Phase:** This phase is the one where learning takes place. Appropriate behaviour and social responsibilities for the next stage in their lives are learnt. This phase takes place away from the community or in secret. According to Van Gennep (1960), this phase is categorized by various procedures used to make the journey longer and more difficult. The aim of these strategies is to make participants stronger and have perseverance as they enter into manhood or womanhood (Turner, 1964; Van Gennep, 1960).

In the past girls were initiated in the communities in secrecy (Mosothwane, 2004). This was to avoid those who are not part of the initiates to overhear what was taught at the initiation school. A shelter would be arranged for initiation purposes at an instructor's house (Dikotla, 1996). In this case the initiates would remain quiet during the day. Teachings and singing commenced in the dead of night to avoid being overheard by the community. This gave them the opportunity to continue with their daily activities like attending work or school during the day (Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014).

More recently girls are separated from the community for approximately 3 months in winter or summer for initiation depending on the community (Dikotla 2007). They are accommodated at shelters under supervision of older ladies (Bo RaMaswaile) who are overseers of the initiation rite and teachers at the initiation. Shelters are outside the village to avoid the songs and teachings being overheard by those who are not attending initiation schools (Dikotla 2007).

Initiation schools keep their teachings a secret to outsiders and other uninitiated women. This has always been the case and it is something that is generally accepted and respected in communities that still practice initiation. The main teachings of the initiation schools are to offer the initiates teachings on appropriate womanhood, moral teachings, secret lessons about sex and relationships with husbands as well as taking care of the family (Setlhabi, 2014; Dikotla, 1996; 2007; Nkomazana, 2005). These lessons are seen as important in building the character of a woman and to teach what a woman's responsibility is to the community as well as in the home. The teaching in initiation schools revolves around the different relationships that a woman has with different people in the community. The relationship between a woman and the men in the community that is, husband, brothers, boy children, the relationship between a woman and other women, as well as the relationship between a woman and children in the community (Dikotla 1996; Setlhabi 2014).

Bojale differs from place to place. Some bojale pull off the hymen membrane to prepare the women for intercourse while some involves the enlargement of the labia by massaging and elongating it. Some initiation schools only offer lessons without altering a woman's body in

any physical way. In a study that was conducted by Dikotla (1996, 2007) on cultural songs in traditional settings it is noted that while at the initiation schools the girls wore skirts which were prepared by their families and painted their bodies white to symbolise the spirit world. The skirts are made of corn stalks and melon seeds. The corn stalks were an indication of fertility (Dikotla, 1996, 2007). While at the initiation schools, separated from the community, some of the duties that initiates are involved in are fetching wood, water and learning how to swim. They wear skirts made of loose threads (Dikotla, 2007; 1996). There are rules at the initiation schools that need to be followed by the initiates at all times. They had to use back-doors whenever they left the shelters; they were not allowed to talk to people, or to look behind them as they passed in the forest. They used walking sticks for protection against wild animals in the forest. The initiates are taken care of by the initiation instructors who are called boradikgaratlhana/boramaswaile (Dikotla, 1996, 2007)

When the initiation instructors are satisfied that initiates have been taught well, they assemble at the Chief's kraal and announced that the initiates are ready to graduate. They publicly announce this by singing initiation songs. The families and community give them presents for the graduation. If the initiation was allowed by the queen (Mohumagadi), she then informed the Chief that the young women had completed the initiation process. The day before attending the graduation ceremony, the young women burn their skirts (matlhaka) and walking-sticks and then the older women (Bo Ramaswaile) prepare them for the ceremony.

**Incorporation Phase:** The incorporation phase is the last phase in the initiation process. This is the phase where the participant is formally admitted to the new role. In the initiation ritual process, one of the important elements of the ritual is the graduation ceremony. It celebrates the successful outcome of a long and sometimes painful learning process and the bringing out of a new adult. This ceremony becomes a formal entrance back into the community following seclusion. The ceremony is characterized by a celebration and the exchange of gifts from family (Van Gennep, 1960). It may further involve initiates attached to each other, being covered together, or sitting together on the same seat (Van Gennep, 1960). The attachment symbolizes that the participant is no longer a child but is being incorporated into adulthood with full privileges and that they are part of a new regiment (Van Gennep, 1960). As the participants spent a time being taught about the expected behaviour, the change of status from childhood to adulthood is supposed to be accompanied with appropriate behaviour.

After completing the secret initiation process (*go aloga*) a graduation ceremony (*thojane*) is held in order for the initiates to announce their new status of adulthood. This is done by arranging a celebration at the Chief's kraal *dikoma tsa thojane* where the graduates

(*dialogane*) dance and sing various initiation songs all night long (Dikotla 1996; 2007). Songs play a very important part in initiation as these are filled with lessons taught in the initiation schools. Historically, Thojane was known as a ceremony where the graduates danced in a way that exposed their buttocks to the Chief (*go isa marago kgosing*). This graduation ceremony would also be an opportunity for the Chief to promise marriage to one of the graduates as his wife (*go tlhoma letlhokwa*). Other initiated men would also be given a chance to betroth other initiates. Dikotla (1996, 2007) notes that although this ceremony is still called ‘*go isa marago kgosing*’, it is no longer common for the Chief to choose a wife at these ceremonies. These celebrations lasted the whole night and the graduates would disperse and go home the following day, happy and proud of their achievements and new status of being a woman (Dikotla 1996). Girls that have not yet attended initiation schools are called Mashwaile or Boshoboro (Dikotla, 1996, 2007; Setlhabi 2014).

### **Initiation as a space for teaching moral behaviour and shaping identity**

Schapera (1942, as cited in Mosothwane 2004) explains that social and moral behaviour lessons was one of the lessons taught in initiation schools from long time ago. This was so even before the era of colonisation (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2008). Initiation schools have always been a space where the continuation of moral education took place. It was a point where a girl was graduating into a woman. Becoming a woman meant that there are certain behaviours that you could be indulging in that you are encouraged to stay away from after you graduate.

Nkomazana (2005) explains that initiation practices of the Batswana were meaningful rituals as they assisted in forming social and cultural identity. Initiation has an educational and a social role that it plays in a community that takes part in them. Mabena (1999) explored the role of initiation schools in the identity formation of southern Ndebele adolescent boys. Identity forms involve dealing with questions like who am I? and where do I belong? Mabena (1999) continues to explain that successful initiation rites in initiation schools address these questions. Mabena (1999) posits that the initiation rite promotes values, maintains social order, and reinforces group solidarity and identity to contribute to the overall process of socialization. It is not only individual identity that is formed at initiation schools but also group identity and cultural identity. Similarly, Setswana female initiation schools (*bojale*) teach the initiates who they are, and emphasize group identity as the initiated form a regiment, which becomes a lifelong friendship. The regiment is named at the graduation ceremony, thereby confirming their identity. The importance of identifying as a person that belongs to a certain culture and a certain community is instilled. In a study Setlhabi (2014) conducted among the Bakgatla-ba-

ga-Kgafela, the participants felt that their new status of being initiated is the confirmation of them being real Bakgatla women. Initiation bestows respect from other women and the community; it bestows pride to an individual as a person and a woman and as a Mokgatla. After undergoing the initiation rite, you now have access to spaces that you were not allowed into before (Setlhabi, 2014).

### **Conclusion**

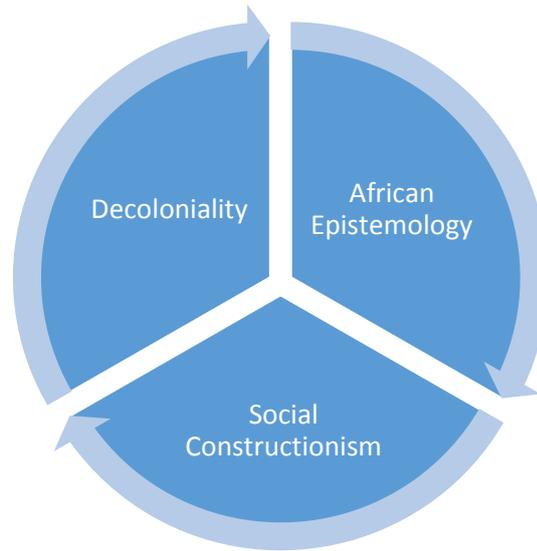
In this chapter, an overview of the literature on studies pertaining morality has been provided. A critical reflection upon these studies ensued. The importance of understanding the intricacies of culture and context when assessing if people are moral was explained. The controversial matter of using methodological tools that are not in line with a people's context and value system are considered. While no previous studies to our knowledge have researched what the significance of traditional teachings in female morality as taught in Batswana initiation schools for women are, this chapter has served to provide an understanding of the different social constructions of what morality is in different contexts. An African view of morality was also explained serving to set the context of the study. A consideration of what Africans understand as moral, the question of gender as well as initiation schools as a hub for teaching morality to Batswana women was ensued upon.

## CHAPTER 3

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the conceptual framework that guides the study. Conceptual frameworks are products of qualitative processes of theorizations. Decolonial perspective is used to deconstruct and critique western theories which have been used to conceptualize moral development and has been used to study and misrepresent African participants. Decolonial perspective is useful here as it investigates hidden power structures within theories which may reproduce coloniality in an African's life. The decolonial perspective will assist in critically considering how theorizing can be done from within the margins to generate knowledges that have a liberatory and transformative intent. The study argues that western theories based on individualistic values are not sufficient in the context where morality is a relational exercise. Therefore, theories based on African realities should be brought forth.

An African epistemology will be used as an interpretive lens to understand the data that is collected in an effort to explore the role of initiation instructors (*bo Ra-maswaile* – a Setswana pronoun for female initiation instructors) in moral teachings in female initiation schools as well as to explore how initiation instructors (*bo Ra-maswaile*) account for the importance of moral teachings in women. The African epistemology is the African theory of knowledge, which includes how the nature of knowledge is viewed by Africans. Social constructionism will be used as the paradigm of the research study. Social Constructionism is employed with the understanding that knowledge is created within relational spaces. Womanhood and female morality as socially constructed concepts in the Batswana initiation spaces will be considered. A diagram is used to depict how the conceptual framework is deployed in the study.



**Diagram 1: The interlinkage of the conceptual framework**

### **The Decolonial Perspective**

Colonialism is when one nation exerts power over another for its own benefit (Childs & Williams, 1997; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Rukundwa & Van Aarde, 2009). This exertion of power may involve conquest, political and economic influence. Ninety percent (90%) of the world was colonised or under colonial rule at some point in history (Childs & Williams, 1997). The natural knowledge of the indigenous people in the colonies came under fire. These knowledges were disregarded and seen as primitive and backward by the colonisers. The colonisers replaced these natural knowledges with theirs, this is evidenced through mission schools which were a common part of colonies (Matobo, Makatsa, & Obioha, 2009; Nkomazana, 2005; Mothoagae & Semenya, 2015). These were used to “enlighten” the indigenous peoples and move them away from what the colonisers assumed to be their ignorant ways of knowing. One of the examples of such is the initiation schools, which were labelled backwards and unchristian. They were discouraged vehemently by different missionaries (Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2005; Ntombana, 2011b; Shoko, 1997). Furthermore, Africa has experienced the slave trade, imperialism, apartheid, and is presently experiencing globalisation.

The 1950s through the 1960s saw a major historical moment of decolonisation, when colony after colony gained their independence from their colonisers (Childs & Williams, 1997). Even though the colonial flags went down in the colonies during this period, the aftermath of colonial rule and influence can still be felt continuously through coloniality. Coloniality is a global power structure that keeps continents like Africa under subjection of the Euro-American

world (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Coloniality refers to patterns of power that kept colonialism in place, but survived colonialism and continued beyond it. Maldonado-Torres defines coloniality as “patterns of power that defined culture, labour, intersubjective relations and knowledge production well beyond colonialism” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) decolonisation did not remove coloniality. Coloniality continues to exist in how Africans and those who have been colonised see themselves even beyond the rule of colonisation. It exists in the minds, languages and dreams of the previously colonised (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

Decolonial epistemological perspective has been chosen as the foundation for the conceptual framework in this study. Conceptual frameworks offer a procedure to understand the data (Jabareen, 2009). Decolonial perspective is a liberatory multifaceted epistemology, which seeks to bring forth other views, which have heretofore been silenced. Decolonial perspective also seeks to show the limits of a western approach to life and the modern world (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). While modernity was meant to enlighten and make life easier for the west, it has a darker side (Goga, 2015). This side was felt by Africans and many other colonised nations across the globe. This darker side was that for the colonised, modernity meant colonisation, slavery and war (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Decolonial perspective involves challenging the Euro-American epistemology as it is limited and does not serve all humanity, but rather looks after the needs of a few at the expense of others.

Decolonial perspective rests on three concepts, which are coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge, and coloniality of being. These concepts assist us in understanding how the current modern world is constructed (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). The concept of coloniality of power helps to investigate how the current ‘global political’ was constructed and constituted into the unequal and modern power structure, with the west as superior and the rest of the world beneath them (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). It explains the modern global power as a system of exploitation. It shows that decolonization did not produce a postcolonial world, thereby explaining that the African people are still under global Euro-American domination and exploitation (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Ndlovu-Gatsheni, (2012) explains the concept of coloniality of power as the control of natural resources, control of authority and control of gender and sexuality, which keeps in place the western-centric education pertaining to the family system and control of subjectivity and knowledge, which displaces indigenous knowledges.

The second concept is the coloniality of knowledge, which focuses on teasing out epistemological issues, politics of knowledge generation as well as questions of who generates which knowledge, and for what purpose (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014). Indigenous knowledges have been pushed to the margins of society. Africa is full of knowledge that continues to marginalise and subjugate its inhabitants. Research has been a culprit at generating such knowledge about the African. For instance, observation as a method of data gathering has been used extensively in explaining the “African as a childlike, impulsive and onlooker” (Chilisa, 2012, p 89). This type of research which never included views of how Africans actually viewed themselves assisted the colonisers in establishing themselves as authorities over African cultures and knowledge. Some methods of data gathering were used to manipulate and keep colonization in place. One such data-gathering method was the Porteus Maze, which was used in Africa to test difference of ability among Africans (Chilisa, 2012; Desai, 2001). This test was later used to test the difference of ability cross-culturally. The research groups included the Europeans, Indians and Native Africans. The test was later abandoned as it showed that there are no peculiar racial differences in the results. The test was withdrawn because the results were not in line with the ideology that Europeans are more intelligent than Africans (Chilisa, 2012; Desai, 2001). This is one proof of knowledge which was generated by the west, which kept Africans colonized and pushed them to the lowest rank of existence. Coloniality implies that knowledge originates from the west and other societies do not have knowledge.

The third concept is that of coloniality of being. Coloniality of being as an analytical concept focuses its critique on Rene Descartes’ motto ‘Cogito ergo sum’ (I think, therefore, I am) and the long term implications of this motto (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). What is quietly implied by the “I think”, suggests that others do not think. What is implied with “the therefore I am” suggests that others are not or are invisible (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The coloniality of being speaks to the idea that colonisation emphasized that there is a difference between people of different races, as between the conquered (darker skins) and the conquerors (lighter skins) placing others beneath others. Some identities were seen as more superior to others; the lighter the skin the more closely to humanity a person was seen (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Slavery, war, rape was how the conquerors related to the conquered as they questioned their humanity to the length of doubting that they had souls (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The concept of the coloniality of being is important because it assists in probing how African humanity was questioned (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). The concept of coloniality of being makes reference to the lived experience of colonisation and its impact on knowledge (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Colonial relations made an impact in knowledge, economy as well as an impact on language. The colonality of being is an important concept which works to decolonise the Africans as they set out to voice and make visible what has been kept silent and out of sight (Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Decoloniality allows the colonised people into the realms of thought at institutional levels, which were not accessible before (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

These three concepts enable a deeper understanding of the construction of the current modern world and its problems. The decolonial perspective will allow for the deconstruction of the theories which have been used to continually marginalise and subjugate Africans. Moral development has been studied extensively in Psychology using western theories. Decolonial perspective will assist in undermining the colonality of knowledge, being and power through intellectual work which is critical of the paradigms and research methodologies that maintain and reproduce the marginalisation of non-westerners and continue to put the theories of the west on a pedestal. Moral theories used in Psychology are undergirded by western backgrounds without considering the alternative knowledges. These same theories are used to explain moral behaviour and the development thereof. Since the theories are standardised in a particular context, they find individuals from alternative cultures lacking.

### **An African Epistemology**

Africans have been in the unfortunate position of colonization and now the state of colonality. As a result, Africans feel the need to assert themselves in the areas of knowledge development as well as making meaning in their own contexts. Since Africans were stripped of their knowledges and the opportunity to present their knowledges as equals in the knowledge production arenas, it is at this time that Africans are willing and eager to share their knowledge. Whenever the need arises to understand any phenomena or concept from an African perspective, it is imperative that we understand the way Africans understand and come to understand everything in their lives. It becomes important to understand what Africans mean when they say they know something, as well as what reality is to them. Epistemology is the study of theories about nature and scope of knowledge, its focus is to analyse and evaluate claims of knowledge (Kaphagagawani & Malherbe, 2003; Udefi, 2014). While it is commonly agreed that epistemology is the study of knowledge, the basis of knowledge acquisition vary from culture to culture (Kaphagagawani & Malherbe, 2003). The way human beings come to know and claim to know will differ from culture to culture. An African epistemology is therefore how Africans come to know what they say they know and how they formulate this knowledge. While Africa is a big continent and there are different cultural groups in Africa

and therefore variations in how different societies in Africa approach knowledge, there are similarities in how Africans come to know. This is evidenced by concepts which are translatable into different African languages and are similar in different contexts. There are similarities in the phenomenon of knowledge as well as local variation in how different cultures generate knowledge (Bujo, 2001; Ramose, 2003). This knowledge is the basis of how we direct our everyday life and what we use to direct our behaviours (Kaphagagawani & Malherbe, 2003).

The epistemological issues of any society are identified through well-established general beliefs of a people, their customs and practices, their accepted authorities, their preferred way of acquiring knowledge. It is also seen in the accumulated knowledge that the society passes on to their youth, in whatever way they choose to. In Africa, as well as other Asian societies this is done through language, as most African cultures are passed on by oral language instead of written language (Kim, 2003). Kaphagagawani and Malherbe (2003) explain how the language of an ethnic group is an important fountain of a society's knowledge, because it carries in it laws of their culture. This knowledge is taught through proverbs, revered traditions, myths and folk tales (Kaphagagawani & Malherbe, 2003)

In any society, the people who are important in explaining its epistemology are the people who others turn to for knowledge and advice, people who are asked about traditional matters. In Africa, these are elders and traditional leaders. They are also people who are rich in wisdom and knowledge of traditions, folklore customs, and history. These people are mouth pieces of a culture. These people are a rich resource for philosophical insights. The epistemological traditions of the culture are moved forward by such people who are adventurous thinkers and are not only knowers of the culture but are able to suggest revisions to it (Kaphagagawani & Malherbe, 2003).

The African perception of reality is determined by a history, geographical settings and language entrenched in the African worldview (Teffo & Roux, 2003). In the African perception, religious beliefs are centred on the conception of God, the whole universe and their interrelations. Africans are seen as deeply religious with a strong belief in the existence of a supreme being. God is this being, who is seen as part of the universe since Africans believe that everything is related (Teffo & Roux, 2003). There is no separation in the African conceptualization of the universe. Spirit, person, space and time all play a significant role in the life of Africans. Reality is seen as a closed system in a way that everything is related to each other and is affected by any change in this closed system. The interaction of forces is between God, humankind, animals and the environment. In this system, God is at the apex,

then ancestors and then human beings and then the environment. God is seen as the creator of the universe and a supreme being, following God in this hierarchical system are the ancestors who interact with human beings. They occupy a higher status in the order of things than human beings, and they can assist the living relatives and provide moral leadership to them (Etim, 2013; Teffo & Roux, 2003). The communication between the living and the living dead occurs through rituals. Ancestral veneration is when the ancestors' guidance is accepted and integrated into ordinary life situations. Next in the hierarchy of beings is the humankind. Contrary to what the colonisers assumed about them, Africans believe that humans consists of the mortal body and the immortal soul (Etim, 2013; Teffo & Roux, 2003). Animals and plants are the lower forces. The notion of force is fundamental to understanding the relationship between the different parts of this system. Force is understood as life, energy, and strength. Every part of the system has force; this forms a closed system, where no one force is seen in isolation, even man sees himself as a force among others and therefore the body is seen as a spiritual entity. Africans realize the complexity of the universe and are aware that humankind and its world constitute a much deeper than what the human senses can perceive.

Africans do not separate the concept of being and morality. The moral decisions that are reached in an African's life are influenced by the ancestors and the context where one lives. The understanding that nothing happens in isolation contributes to the communal understanding of morality.

### **The Ubuntu Philosophy**

One of the concepts in Africa that resonate among Africans although given different names according to the local language of each society is the concept of humanness. It is Ubuntu in isiZulu, Botho in Sesotho, Ajobi in Yoruba, Numunhu in Shangaan and Utu in Swahili (Broodryck, 2006). Ubuntu is the philosophy, which encapsulates African ontology and epistemology. Ubuntu is the basis of African philosophy (Broodryck, 2006; Ramose, 2003). It is the idea of being which is viewed as a oneness rather than independent fragments of reality (Ramose, 2003). Ubuntu, according to Ramose, is a combination of two words *ubu-* and *ntu*. *Ubu* evokes the idea of a be-ing, which is a continuous activity (Ramose, 2003). This means that to be a human being is to establish relationships with others and thereby confirming your humanity (Ramose, 2003). It is about a polite, respectful humane attitude towards others. Ubuntu does not only describe the condition of being, but also the process of becoming a human being. Being human is not enough; one is probed to become a human being and to prove oneself in the embodiment of Ubuntu (Ramose, 2003). This is a metaphor for ethical, social, and legal judgement of human worth and human conduct. When you do not act according to

the principles of Ubuntu by upholding humane relationships and a good attitude towards other human beings you are usually said to be less of a human or “gase motho” in Setswana (Bujo, 2001). The Ubuntu philosophy is the basis of most Africans, it relates to the study because the researched topic deals with African realities.

Ubuntu philosophy centres on a person (Ramose, 2003). Being a human according to the Ubuntu concept is not because you are born human. Humans are what they are because of the relationship they form with the cosmos. Being human includes having a holistic relationship with God, Ancestors, as well as nature, thereby forming a whole with the cosmos (Viljoen, 2008). The Ubuntu personality is a reference to the ideal human being who is a kind person, generous and above all else lives in harmony with others and nature (Broodryck, 2006). Since a person is a relational being according to the Ubuntu philosophy, it is about doing good in relation to others and for others’ sakes. Ubuntu, furthermore captures the character of a person. Character is defined as someone’s personality. According to the Ubuntu philosophy, character is seen as performative. Ramose (2003) explains that motion is the principle of being in Ubuntu, therefore action takes precedence over the doer. Character is judged by action. It is not just traits of a personality but extends to how a person performs in everyday life. It can never be a once off occurrence or an intermittent occurrence, but it is performing and acting on a continual basis (Ramose, 2003).

### **Social constructionism**

The study is located within a social constructionist paradigm. Social constructionism views knowledge as created (Andrews, 2012; Creswell, 2007). Social constructionism posits that meanings are varied and multiple. In addition, social constructionism takes into consideration the multiplicity of views rather than concentrate on one view. It believes that meanings are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives (Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). Individuals or groups of individuals define this meaning. So, when participants relate their stories about female morality and womanhood in this specific context they would be constructing their reality as has been given meaning in this particular context and as agreed upon by initiation instructors in Taung.

These meanings are constructed through the medium of language (Andrews, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Terre Blanche, Kelly, & Durrheim, 2010). Social constructionism puts emphasis on the collective meanings and construction of a phenomenon. Culture and the people around us are the main influence in giving ready explanations and meanings (Andrews,

2012). Cultural belief systems provide details, understanding, and clarifications for the world as it is experienced and interpreted to be. This means that culture and the people within a given context give us a template to create the meaning, as long as we agree about the meaning. Following this stance of social constructionism, the body is seen as a socially constructed object. Biology does not determine social behaviour but the collective understanding of how we read the body is what makes it socially constructed (Oyěwùmí, 1997). Bodies are important in understanding how and why people as individuals and groups behave as they do. The body receives messages from others as well as transmit messages to other bodies. Female bodies are read and socially constructed (Oyěwùmí, 1997). In a Batswana context, *bosadi*, which is embodied by a female body, is constructed by Batswana through language. This language is seen in how Batswana women construct womanhood. It is also seen in important sayings like Diane (Proverbs) which show the role and importance of a woman in her context. Sayings like “*Korwe ga ke je, ke bapalela tsetse, Mmangwana o tshwara thipa ka fa bogaleng*”; these sayings show self-sacrifice on the part of women in their role as mothers. It also shows the socially constructed personality of a Motswana woman. Female morality is a social construction. Morality is defined by the context that a person finds themselves in. The filiality stories that are used in China to undergird the moral atmosphere are an example of the contextual morality. Female morality is also dependent on the context one is in. Female morality is closely linked to the construction of womanhood in a context in relation to manhood. In a context like the Batswana context, female morality will be defined by the relational aspect of the community, the sense of community that grounds the understanding of how women should behave.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the tenets of the conceptual framework of this study are presented. The decolonial epistemic perspective provides an important tool in reflecting on the knowledges of previously colonised people. It assists in the examination of the cultural epistemicides, which have been levelled against the African indigenous knowledges. The decolonial epistemic perspective will assist in laying the basis for allowing Africans to create knowledge that was a right they were previously denied. African epistemology is the basis of the theory of knowledge for Africans and it undergirds the relational existences of the Africans. Social constructionism is based on the relational nature of knowledge. Social constructionism posits that reality is multiverse and allows other knowledges to come forth in relational spaces. The objective was to explore the role of the initiation instructors who are seen as knowledge bearers and how they account for the importance of traditional teachings in shaping morality. The idea

was to raise awareness of the importance of multiple realities and to understand how these different views can assist in curbing social ills. The aim of this study is to add to the critical dialogue of rebuilding the moral fibre of South Africa without emphasizing some views over others and marginalizing others in the process.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

In this chapter, the focus shifts from the background of the study as well as the review of literature to research methods used to guide the research process. A qualitative research approach and constructivist grounded theory design is adopted in the study and their relevance and applicability is described. Data Sources, data collection, and analyses are explored in the chapter. Finally, measures of trustworthiness and the ethical considerations are dealt with.

#### Qualitative research approach

The aim of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the significance of traditional teachings in Setswana female initiation schools, as well as how they help shape morality and womanhood. Therefore, the study adopted a qualitative research approach. Qualitative paradigm was introduced by Egon Guba in 1978 as an alternative to a positivist quantitative paradigm (Reason, 2008; Stufflebeam, 2008). The focus on qualitative approaches was given impetus by the dissatisfaction with the quantitative approach's focus on objectivity and generalizability of research data without considering the uniqueness of the contexts. Qualitative approach shifted focus to the concern with multiple meanings and how people make sense of their world (Cooper & White, 2012; Terre Blanche, et al, 2010; Willig, 2008). Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in context or in the field at the site where participants experience the issue under study (Cooper & White, 2012, Cooper & White, 2012). The research process for qualitative researchers is often emergent, and as a result the initial plan for research cannot be firmly set, and all or some phases of the process may change or shift after the researcher enters the field and begin to collect data (Cooper & White, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Kelly, 2010; Willig, 2008).

The different qualitative approaches are interpretivism, constructionism and critical approaches. Interpretivism values the meaning of lived experiences to individuals; while constructionism advocates that the social world is continually being constructed and re-constructed through language. Individuals in their respective contexts define this construction of knowledge. Critical approaches, on the other hand, regard culturally situated issues as linked to broader social phenomena of power and control (Cooper & White, 2012; Swartz & Rohleder, 2010). The qualitative approach adopted in this study is the critical approach coupled with the social constructionism paradigm. Decolonial perspective is critical by nature and aims to make visible the colonial power matrices that continue to reproduce Africans who are subjugated and

marginalised. Social constructionism allows for the contextualised constructions of female morality and womanhood. Since qualitative research values multiple meanings, it is seen as compatible with this study.

### **Research Design: Constructivist Grounded Theory**

In line with the paradigmatic stance adopted for this research study, a constructivist grounded theory methodology was used to guide the data collection and analysis. Methodology is a set of principles and ideas that inform the design of a research study (Birks & Mills, 2011). It influences how the researcher works with the participants, thereby prescribing the position the researcher takes in the field as well as in the final product of the study. Grounded theorists take different philosophical and methodological positions which, in turn, determine the type of methods they use (Birks & Mills, 2011). The purpose of a grounded theory study is to move beyond description of the data to generating or discovering a theory (Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). Glaser and Strauss (1967 as cited in Birks & Mills, 2011) who developed grounded theory approach reasoned that they needed a way of moving from data to theory in order to generate new theories. The two popular approaches to grounded theory are the systematic procedures of Strauss and Corbin and then later the constructivist approach of Charmaz (Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). Although grounded theory approaches are different, there are a set of grounded theory methods, which are essential to conducting a grounded theory study. Initial coding and categorization of data, concurrent data generation or collection and analysis, constant comparative analysis, theoretical sensitivity, selecting a core category as theoretical integration as well as the final product which is a theory that is grounded in the research data (Bryant, Charmaz, & Bryant, 2007; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014).

In the more systematic, analytic procedures of Strauss and Glaser, the investigator systematically develops a theory that explains process, action, or interaction on a topic. This method is more concentrated on the methods of collecting and analyzing data (Willig, 2008). The method is believed to be working from a frame that assumes reality to be discovered from a detached objective observer point of view (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). Charmaz advocated a different approach of conducting grounded theory, promoting a social constructivist perspective that includes emphasizing diverse local worlds, multiple realities, and the intricacies of specific worldviews (Willig, 2008). This methodology also focuses on the place of the author in the text, the relationship the researcher has with participants and the importance of constructing a final text that remains grounded in the data (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bryant & Charmaz, 2014).

This type of grounded theory focuses on developed theory that is influenced by the researcher's view, learning about the experience within embedded, hidden networks, situations, and relationships (Bryant & Charmaz, 2014; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz puts more emphasis on the importance of "views, values, beliefs, and ideologies of individuals than on the methods of research" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 8). Creswell (2007) points out that in doing grounded theory, participants in the study would all have experienced the process that is under study, and the theory that is generated from doing the research will help explain that process or provide a framework for further research. In this type of grounded theory, a preliminary literature review is conducted before data is collected. The literature review is conducted not to force the data into preconceived categories but as a way of surveying what has already been done in the research area. Surveying the research provides the researcher with alternative, possible lenses. It also helps the researcher to position their own research and its relevance in the research field (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The researcher goes into the field with some specified questions that they are looking to answer. These few specified questions will be guided by the research's main research questions as well as objectives (Birks & Mills, 2011; Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014). The study used Charmaz's approach of grounded theory, which is in line with the paradigmatic stance, and the context of the research (Birks & Mills, 2011).

### **Research process: Negotiating Entry**

Entry into research settings is a crucial aspect in the field work process. The process of gaining entry into research settings involves convincing people to let you enter their area and conduct research (Johl & Renganathan, 2010). Negotiating entry handled poorly may put an end to the project before it starts and will define its realization if it is handled well (Gasa, 2006). Communities differ from one another and as a result, this process may differ. In research fields you negotiate entry in, you may need to make contact with the relevant gatekeepers and explain to them what research you are attempting to do and why. Gatekeepers are people who decide who is let in to the research setting and who is not (Kelly, 2010). Some gatekeepers might refuse to give you access to the participants if you are not clear about your aims and objectives (Johl & Renganathan, 2010).

When you attempt to conduct research in any context, it is important that you become aware of the social practices and norms that are in that research field. It may be important to adapt to the language that is used in that particular setting, both formal and informal language in order to build relationships. This will assist you as well in case you ever come back to that research setting for further adventures it may be easy for you to regain access (Johl & Renganathan, 2010; Kawulich, 2011). This process will need the researcher to talk to relevant

people and develop relationships with them in order to be in a position to learn from them (Kawulich, 2011). It is also important that you understand the way in which power relationships are structured in the context (Kelly, 2010). Gaining entry in a cultural context demands that a researcher specifically reflect on these power relations. Although a researcher may be seen as an expert by virtue of coming from the university, in these contexts a researcher has to follow certain protocols that are put in place by the traditional leaders and the community. In these cases, the researcher has to be humble and teachable.

In rural communities, it is important to approach the leadership structures before you begin your project, otherwise this may impact with your project in a negative manner. Receiving permission from the leadership assists in smoothing cooperation with the community. Moreover, it is useful to have local contacts to introduce you to key members of the community who may be useful to your research project (Gasa, 2006). Your contact will also assist you and give you guidance on what is acceptable in the community especially pertaining to acceptable behaviour, dress codes and accepted ways of addressing different people in the community as well as the leadership (Gasa, 2006). Since this study looks at indigenous knowledge systems which is traditional knowledge guarded by the traditional leaders and custodians of culture, a clearance or permission from the Chief and the traditional council in the community was needed in order to conduct the study.

My supervisor and I were invited to a cultural and indigenous knowledge event in Taung, an annual gathering that aims to celebrate, promote, and teach about Setswana culture. The invitation was extended to acclimatize us to the context, considering the type of research that the study was intending. Taung is a village in the North West in a traditional rural setting. The village is under the authority of Kgosi (Chief) who is the custodian of the village and the culture. He is also the leader of the traditional council in the village. This celebration invited all people who are interested in Setswana culture as well as all stakeholders in the province. The Chiefs of all the villages around Taung and the rest of the North-West province were present. Before getting permission from the Chief and the traditional leaders in Taung we needed to make contact with someone who would guide us in navigating the negotiating process. My supervisor and I talked to the Chief's cousin who has access to the Chief about the research and its aims and objectives. Although having a contact was important, taking part in cultural practices was a way of negotiating entry for me, it allowed me to be assessed in order to be allowed access to the community or not. In a community like this one, there are cultural norms and it would not have been in my interest to defy cultural protocols. Patience and planning are essential as you would have to go according to the community norms and

pace. This type of celebration was very beneficial in preparing me to negotiate entry as there were presentations that explained the protocols and expectations when you are trying to gain access to the traditional leadership.

### **Research context**

As indicated, the research project focused on female initiation schools among the Batswana of Taung. Approximately 4 million Batswana live in South Africa. Batswana are a part of the greater Sotho group. Many of them lived in the Bophuthatswana homeland during the Apartheid era which is now called North West Province (SAHO, n.d.). Most of them still stay in the North West and Northern Cape Provinces. Some of them are found in the urban parts of South Africa. They are divided into different tribes. The bigger Sotho group is separated in clans, which are totemic or are related to an animal or a natural object. These totemic clans observe some taboos and prohibitions according to the totem they observe. The main tribes of Batswana are the Barolong, Bakwena, Balete, Bangwato, BaNgwaketse, Barolong, Batlharo, Batawana, Batlokwa, Bahurutshe, Batlhaping and Bakgatla (Solway, 1996).

### **The History of Taung**

Taung is a village in the North-West Province of South Africa. The name means place of the lion. The place Taung was named after Tau, the Chief of the Setswana speaking Legoya or BaTaung tribe (Madise, 2010). Taung is inhabited by the Batlhaping tribe. The area that is occupied by the Batlhaping is bordered on the south east of the Harts River that flows westward and on the North West by the Kalahari Desert. Sebitloane (nd as cited in Madise, 2010) explains that Taung is a predominantly dry area, with minimal rain seasons, although surrounded by river beds they are dry the majority of the time. The texture of the soil is the Kalahari sand, which does not retain much moisture even when it rains; the thunderstorms in this area are heavy and run-offs can flood the river beds. Although Taung is a dry area, irrigation schemes are used to harness water from the Harts River.

Madise (2010) states that Taung is mainly occupied by the Batlhaping, the Barolong and the Batlharo, who are the three main tribes around the Northern Cape and the North West Province. The Batlhaping of Taung were part of a bigger Batlharo-Tlhaping group. Sebitloane in a personal interview (as cited in Madise, 2010) states that in 1830 the Batlharo Tlhaping experienced unrest in Kuruman, and this unrest led to the split among them. One group stayed in Kuruman and the other one moved east where they settled in a place they called Taung. Sebitloane, (nd as cited in Madise, 2010) explains that this group's Chief was Tau Mankuroane

who was a descendant of Chief Phuduhucwana, which is why this group is referred to as the Batlhaping ba ga Phuduhucwana.

### **Initiation schools in Taung**

Initiation schools are an important part of the semi-rural village of Taung in the North West. The Chiefs in Taung play a significant role in regulating initiation schools. Government is seen as a key role player in initiation schools' administration. The Chief decides on the initiation seasons and time table (K. Moshugi <sup>3</sup>, personal communication, September, 2014). Once the time is set for initiation, the Department of Health is notified. There are specific people who are chosen to liaise between the Department of Health and the initiation schools. According to (K. Moshugi, personal communication, September 2014) these people are part of the Department of Health: like Nurses, Doctors and other staff members. Only healthcare workers who have been initiated are chosen to do this liaising between the initiation schools and the Department of Health. Their main task is to train initiation instructors both male and female, in hygiene and health issues. The training of initiation instructors is emphasized especially pertaining to HIV-Aids Education before initiation season begins. Networks are formed with initiation instructors; they are told when to call the ambulances or who to contact at the Department of Health. They are also trained to identify problems in the initiation schools, as well as how to solve those problems (K. Moshugi, personal communication, September 2014). Initiation takes place biennially in Taung. The year 2014 had an initiation season, which collaborated with the school calendar in December (K. Moshugi, personal communication, September 2014).

### **Key role players in initiation schools**

Over and above the government and the Department of Health, the other key role players in the initiation rituals are the parents of the initiate, including the whole extended family. The family of the initiate must make sure that the child is ready to attend. They need to take the child to a medical facility to undergo medical tests and receive approval from the medical facility that she is fit to go. The family must inform the initiation instructor about any medication that the initiate may be taking at that time. This is to make sure that the initiate is able to take such medication during initiation (Mngomezulu, 2014). The uncle of the initiate is an important person in the preparation for initiation as there are particular rituals, which should be adhered to before a child attends an initiation school. It is the role of the uncle to perform

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<sup>3</sup> K. Moshugi is a healthcare worker employed at the Department of Health. He is one of the people who liaise between the initiation schools and the Department of Health in Taung.

these rituals which will ensure that the initiate is protected as they attend initiation school (D. Ndlovu 4, personal communication, November 20, 2016)

### **Initiation Instructors.**

According to the draft Policy of initiation, the initiation instructor is accountable for the well-being of all initiates under her care (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015). She should be at least 21 years old and have no criminal record, especially a criminal record or history of child abuse and substance abuse. She should be able to instil discipline amongst the initiates under her guardianship. Her behaviour should be fit for a tutor of life (Department of Traditional Affairs, 2015). A caregiver is one who has been initiated and is now an instructor. These are older women in the community who have a reputation of good moral behaviour. It is a person who is seen as fit by the community as well as the traditional leaders to take this important role of teaching traditional knowledge.

### **Protocol of getting access to the Chief**

Battiste (2008) and Kawulich (2011) note that indigenous communities have established protocols that require consultation with the community leaders to obtain permission to conduct research. The protocol for getting permission to see the Chief was presented by Kgosi Letlhogile at the calabash in Taung. When accessing kgosi, respect was the first thing stressed, respecting yourself and the Chief's court. Although you may know Kgosi on a personal capacity, you will not be allowed to disrespect him in his office. Everyone needs to follow the protocol of accessing the Chief (Letlhogile, 2014<sup>5</sup>) which is described below:

- Appear before the secretary and explain that you would like to see the Chief. You should mention to the secretary why you want to see him but you should not discuss everything with the secretary to the extent of coming to a conclusion and agreeing with his secretary about the matter you have come with. It should always be taken into consideration that all decisions have to involve the Chief.

- The secretary will then consult the Chief's uncle and explain that you want to see kgosi. The Chief's uncle (Rangwana Kgosi) is the one who is allowed to tell Kgosi that there is someone out there wishing to have a conversation with you.

- Rangwana Kgosi (the Chief's uncle) and the Chief will discuss and decide if you can be seen by the Chief. Then only will you have access to the Chief (Letlhogile, 2014)

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<sup>4</sup> D. Ndlovu is a retired lecturer. She is a former Setswana Teacher at Huhudi High School in Ganyesa

<sup>5</sup> Kgosi Letlhogile is a Chief of Ganyesa a village in the North- West

It is worth noting that although the community is a rural one with cultural ways there are two systems of governance and protocol in it. You have to go through the secretary of the Kgosi, who goes to talk with the Kgosi's uncle in order for you to see kgosi. In our case, the first thing was to go and announce that we had arrived in Taung at the Chief's court. We met the secretary and explained that we are here for the cultural celebration. We did not get to see the Chief then, we were told that the calabash starts the following day and that we can come back then. We later started to explain the research's aim and objectives to the Chief's cousin who was travelling with us. This assisted in getting the research to be evaluated before seeing the Chief. I later had an opportunity to have a brief talk with the Chief to introduce myself as well as to explain the research I am interested in undertaking.

### **Dress code when at the Chief's kraal.**

While at the calabash, there were numerous lectures on culture and different cultural concepts and protocols. In one of these lectures, Kgosi Letlhogile (2014) went into detail about the protocols of seeing Kgosi in his speech at the calabash. He also explained in detail how a person must appear when coming to see Kgosi in order to be in an acceptable position. Performance of prescribed gender roles are seen as appropriate and show respect respectful. A man must wear a jacket and have his head uncovered when coming into the Chief's court. A woman is seen as respectful in the Chief's court when wearing a dress and covering her head. Because of being Motswana and knowing the expectations of a cultural celebration that we were attending, the dress code that is explained above was adhered to by both me and my supervisor. The protocols that are put in place in Taung for everyone, including for the researchers shows that the community controls its knowledge and processes. That also means that when we are talking about power relations and the relationship between the researched and the researcher the researcher is not the expert.

When reflecting on the events at the calabash as well as the teachings that were carried out there, a clear picture emerges. The first thing is that the process of data collection is important (Flicker, O'Campo, Thistle, Worthington, Guta, Pooyak, Whitebird & Thomas, 2015). Since relationships are the backbone of most African cultural activities, it was important to reflect on the relationship I would like to engender with the researched community. Understanding that processes in indigenous communities are relational, I realized that one cannot come and look from a distance but it is imperative to be part of a community, to allow to be assessed and evaluated by the community and by the participants to see if you can be responsible with their information. This assists in getting close to the research communities. As a result, I needed to clarify the position that I was filling for myself before embarking on

the journey of negotiating entry and collecting subsequent data. It was important not to come as an expert from a westernised university, but as a learner of Setswana cultural activities.

Secondly, research that involves cultural communities needs to be sensitive to the injustices of the past, which brought an onslaught on indigenous knowledge and ways of living. This type of research, furthermore, needs to take the epistemologies of cultural societies into consideration in order to respect the knowledge and the people who live by the knowledge. It was important to see the community not as mere participants who could provide me with data but as experts, who could contribute to the preservation of the indigenous knowledge that they had.

The language of communication was also important throughout the research process. Communicating in Setswana with the community and the participants enhanced the research experience, resulting in rich understanding and data. This is because there are concepts that cannot be satisfactorily translated to English. It is because the aim of the research was to conduct respectful research, which would not undermine the research participants and their knowledge.

### **Positionality and Reflexivity in Research**

Researcher positionality describes an individual's worldview and the position they have chosen to adopt in relation to a specific research task. Researcher positionality includes clarifying one's position in relation to a study and understanding that the position the researcher assumes influences various aspects of a research study, including the interpretation of the data (Foote & Bartell, 2011). It is a matter of understanding a researcher's own influence on the research process instead of trying to cover it up or play it down. This shows that the researcher is aware of how they have influenced the research process

Positionality is explaining what one's position is in relation to the subject that is being studied. It is also locating oneself relative to the participants' meaning how researchers view themselves in relation to the participants as well as how others view the researcher (Foote & Bartell, 2011)

Reflexivity is the continuous process of self-reflection that a researcher engages in to become aware of their actions (Darawsheh, 2014). Reflexivity requires that the researcher consider their position in relation to their research. This includes researchers reflecting on their cultural backgrounds, thoughts, actions, emotions, assumptions, and unconscious responses, as well as how these factors may have influenced the research process and findings (Darawsheh, 2014). Reflexivity includes the decision of researching this topic, the type of questions asked

as well as the methodology that I intend to adopt as I conduct this research. Representing the participants truthfully in the data is a way of being accountable. I chose Batswana context because of the fact that I am Motswana and Setswana is my first language. I am aware that my motivation can steer the results in a direction that I am comfortable with. I, therefore, make an effort to reflect on the processes that the research will entail as well as my personal motivations for conducting the research.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1950, as cited in Kawulich, 2011) explain that collaboration with the researcher is, in part, determined by how the researcher presents herself to community. I am a Motswana who grew up in one of the surrounding villages. A unique opportunity presented itself to introduce myself to the Chief of Ganyesa, Kgosi Letlhogile, and identify myself as having been raised in his village helped me to be evaluated, and therefore made it easier to be given an opportunity to talk to the traditional council and the Chief of Taung.

Although I identify myself as Motswana, I realize that in this case I am both an insider and an outsider as I come from a university to collect some knowledge. I am also cognizant of the fact that this fact will have an impact on my research participants as well as on the research study (Gilliat-Ray, n.d.; Macleod & Bhatia, 2014). It was important for me to be reflexive about this tension right through my research study. It is my position that I am in no way an expert in what I am trying to research and that my participants were my educators; in this case imparting knowledge to me. I got an opportunity to retell this knowledge, thereby becoming a part of creating it.

Knowledge of the local language is an integral part of conducting indigenous research. Battiste (2008) contends that linguistic competence is a prerequisite in indigenous research and that indigenous knowledge has to be understood from an indigenous outlook using local language. Language offers not just a communication tool but a system to understand the knowledge, interactions, and the processes in indigenous research (Battiste, 2008). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981) explains that language is not just words strung together but it has a power well beyond the immediate and lexical meaning. Language carries both meaning and the culture. Since the study focuses on initiation schools that are an integral part of Setswana culture, being Motswana worked in my favour as Setswana is a rich language, and a lot of meaning are conveyed by proverbs as well as idioms.

While attending the calabash it became increasingly clear that knowledge of Setswana was an integral part of doing this research. Speeches, dances and all the presentations were

conveyed in Setswana. Furthermore, in rural communities like this one whenever a person needs to introduce themselves, the question “*O mang?*” who are you? may be asked. This is not to say you mention your name and surname but it is to explain your history, your family and your people (Gasa, 2006; Kawulich, 2011).

Once we were able to have a conversation with the Chief about the research the study is proposing, preliminary permission pending university ethical approval was granted by the Chief. This was on condition that we would share the research findings with the traditional council in Taung and acknowledge the Kgosi and Batlhaping ba ga Phuduhucwana as the rightful owners of the knowledge. To honour the request, consultation with the traditional council at all steps of the research process concerning data collection continued to take place. The consultation with the Chief and the traditional leaders is a continuous one in the research journey.

### **Data Sources**

Once entry was negotiated with the community leadership, I started to make plans of approaching initiation instructors. As mentioned before, the objectives of this research study are to gain an in depth understanding of how Setswana female initiation schools help to shape morality and womanhood in women who have attended them. The data gathering was aimed at understanding this from the point of view of initiation instructors. Initiation instructors who have attended and are now teaching at female initiation schools were the primary data sources of the study. In Taung where data collection was conducted, it is not everyone who attends initiation school and as a result, it is not everyone who can be an initiation instructor. Rites of passage are an important aspect of African identities and development. The most prominent rites are birth, adulthood, marriage and death (Van Gennep, 1960). The rite of eldership is an important initiation rite, which marks the elders who represent tradition and wisdom of the past. An elder is someone who is given high status in the culture and who has been through the adulthood rite, in this case the initiation into adulthood rite. The initiation instructors fit this class of people (Ampin, 2003). Bearing that in mind, purposive sampling technique was employed as it enabled the researcher to select participants who would best fit the parameters of the project’s research questions, goals, and purposes in order to find rich data (Terre Blanche et al., 2010; Tracy, 2013).

Identification of the initiation instructors was a collaborative effort between the researcher and community members in the study. Just as negotiating entry involved the traditional leaders in Taung, I needed a person who would assist me in identifying the

participants I was looking for. Identification of participants is a collaborative effort between the researcher and community members. As a result, the first step was to talk to my informant and other community members in order to identify older women who have attended initiation school before, and are now instructors in initiation schools. A few instructors were identified in the region. My informant first went to request a meeting with them and to explain the research aims. They all agreed to the interview provided I do not ask about secrets of the initiation rite. I went to meet them and explain further, what the research is about. They all agreed to the interviews.

My secondary data sources were performances, which was through dancing and singing by a group of initiates in Taung. This gave me an idea of the embodiment of the teachings, as the initiates were singing and dancing to the songs that they are taught at initiation schools. They were also dressed in the initiation clothes as they would in initiation school. The other data source was the calabash that we attended the previous year in Taung. The other custodians of knowledge that I had an opportunity to talk to were various people at the calabash. These people are people who are part of the initiation rite in one way or the other.

Rre Naledi<sup>6</sup> is a man who overlooks the process of initiation in Taung. He is also a traditional healer at Taung. He is mostly involved with male initiation schools

Rre Khonti Moshugi is a health care worker with the Department of health in Taung. He is one of the people who are put in charge of networking and working hand-in-hand with initiation instructors in Taung. Their department trains the initiation instructors before the initiation season to make sure that the initiation instructors know how and when to seek help with the department of health if there is a need.

Rre Obusitse Tom<sup>7</sup> is an initiation instructor in the male initiation schools at Taung. He was helpful in understanding how initiation schools are organized and conducted in Taung.

### **Data Collection**

In line with the research method adopted in this study, which is to get emic understanding of the topic, data was collected using unstructured interviews. A grounded theory interview was conducted, which allows participant to tell their story about the topic. Later on the researcher probed on points that were mentioned by the participant to get clarity. The questions that followed were meant to get clearer information that addresses themes about morality and womanhood in initiation schools. The advantages of unstructured interviews are

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<sup>6</sup> Rre Naledi is a traditional healer in Taung. He also overlooks an initiation school in Taung.

<sup>7</sup> Rre Obusitse Tom is an instructor in the male initiation schools in Taung.

that they allow for more emic, emergent understandings to blossom, and for the interviewees' complex viewpoints to be heard without the limits of scripted questions (Tracy, 2013).

The interviews took place at the initiation instructors' homes in Taung. A voice recorder was used with the consent of the participants to capture the audio. The participants also wanted to be video recorded. There was also an opportunity to use a notepad to capture non-verbal cues that might not be picked up by the voice recorder (Kelly, 2010; Tracy, 2013). The interviews were conducted in Setswana, which is the local language of Taung. Initiation rite is one of the cultural rituals in the Batswana groups; as a result, a lot of meaning is embedded in the language that is used within the initiation space.

### **Data analysis and interpretation**

After the interviews were conducted, the audio was transcribed verbatim into text. Analysis and data collection was an iterative process. Previous interviews' data was used to guide the forthcoming ones. The data was analysed using the Attride-Stirling model of thematic network analysis. The Attride Stirling model of thematic network analysis was used to code and organize themes. The Attride-Stirling model was developed in order to produce a data analysis tool that can assist the researcher to analyse data and organize it in a methodological manner as well as to enhance the trustworthiness of research results by explaining in detail how the research was carried out (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Thematic analysis method works by extracting themes from the data and presents them in a thematic network that summarizes and visually displays the main themes of a text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). By organizing themes into networks, the rich meaning that is in the data is represented in a structured manner and is made salient (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

The Attride-Stirling model of thematic network analysis therefore organizes data into three types of themes, basic themes, organizing themes, and global themes. Basic themes are the lowest order themes that are taken directly from the text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Basic themes do not reveal much notable in the text on their own. They only start making sense when they are read within the context of other similar basic themes. Basic themes of similar issues clustered together form the middle order themes called organizing themes. The organizing theme is the main assumption of the group of basic themes. They represent principles that are more abstract and therefore reveal what is happening in the text. The organizing themes in turn cluster together and highlight a global theme, which is an overview of the fundamental metaphors that can be found within the text. Global themes serve to extract meaning and provide an interpretation of the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). They serve as a main summary

of the themes in the text, as well as provide a principal interpretation of the text. It is important to understand that the thematic networks are not the interpretation of the data; they only serve as a representation of the analysis. They are networks organized in a non-hierarchical illustrative manner and they serve to elucidate themes that emerge from data analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The Attride-Stirling model of thematic network analysis has three stages, namely, reduction and breakdown of the text, exploration of the text, and integration of exploration.

## **Stage 1: Reduction and Breakdown of the Text**

### **Step 1: Data Coding**

This includes dividing the text into significant and manageable text segments. This can either be done by theoretical interest that guided the research questions or on the basis of noticeable issues that arise from the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

### ***Step 2: Theme Identification***

Themes are taken out from the significant text segments that have been coded. This is done by re-reading the text segments within the context they have been extracted from. According to Attride-Stirling (2001), themes should be precise enough and should be able to capture sets of ideas that resurface throughout the text.

### ***Step 3: Constructing thematic networks.***

Themes are arranged into comprehensible groups that represent similar ideas, built on the content of the text extracts. These groupings will be the networks and they are grouped according to either the theoretical grounds or the salient content that reoccur through the text. Basic themes are grouped together and an organizing theme is represented by the main issue that underlies the group of basic themes. Organizing themes are then grouped together to form a global theme, which is made by capturing the main assumption underlying the group of organizing and basic themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Once the basic, organizing, and Global themes are prepared, the researcher continues to create a thematic network of the themes. The thematic network is illustrated as a web-like representation. The final step in this stage is to verify and refine the networks by making sure that the data from the text supports the themes that have been extracted (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

## **Stage 2: Exploration of Text**

### ***Step 4: Describe and explore the thematic networks***

Once the first stage of data analysis is complete, the researcher continues to describe and explore the networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The purpose of this step is to take the

researcher to a deeper level of thematic abstraction from the text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). The researcher starts to explore and identify patterns from the themes that have emerged from the data. Once this is done, the researcher returns to the original text and interpret it with the networks. This is done by making use of text abstraction to support the explanation showing the underlying patterns in the text (Attride-Stirling, 2001). This step lastly joins the data and its interpretation. The thematic networks work to anchor the researcher's descriptions, and to make them clearer to the reader (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

***Step 5: Summarize the thematic network***

The next step in this stage is to summarize thematic networks. After the thematic networks have been explained in depth, an overview is provided of the primary points underlying the networks. The aim in this step is to make plain the core themes that organize the thematic networks, and to highlight any patterns that emerge from the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001). By restating the themes and patterns explicitly, they become more clear and concise for the reader, thus giving more meaning to the thematic networks as well as the data.

**Stage 3: Integration of Exploration**

***Step 6: Interpret patterns***

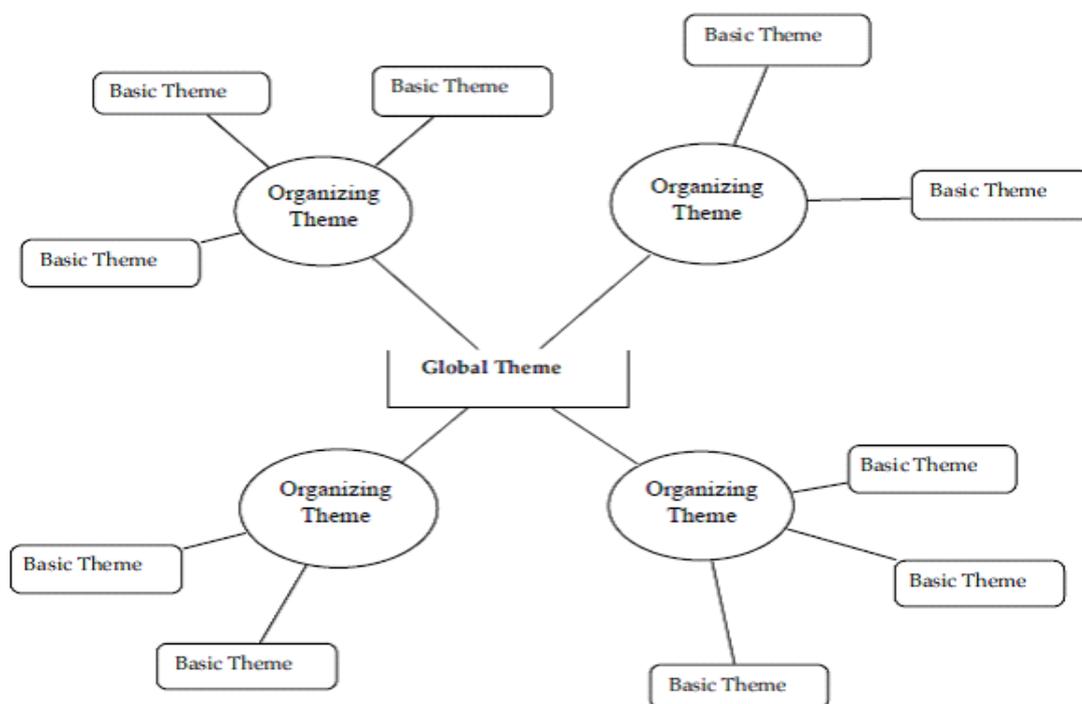
The final stage in the analysis is an interpretation of the patterns that emerged (Attride-Stirling, 2001). At this stage, the researcher brings together the information and meaning that was explored in the thematic networks, and secondly explains the patterns and structures that arose from the text. In this stage, the patterns and structures that are explored are related back to the original research question, and a final argument grounded in the interpretation of text extracts is presented in terms of the research question (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Although data analysis was completed by the thematic network analysis, it is worth noting that in line with grounded theory data collection and analysis was done in an iterative manner. Themes that emerged assisted in representing the data in a visual manner. It is at this stage that the results of the research were translated into English in order to collate a research report. The service of a professional translator was utilised to effectively capture the essence of the data and the Setswana words meanings.

**Diagram 2. Thematic networks. Adapted from “Thematic networks: an analytic tool for qualitative research” by J. Attride-Stirling, 2001, *Qualitative Research*, 1(3), 385–405.**

**Trustworthiness and credibility of the data**

Measures of trustworthiness are used to enhance a qualitative study. Lincoln and Guba, (1985) proposed constructs that are used to ensure rigour in qualitative work such as credibility,



transferability, dependability, and conformability. Reflexivity is similarly one of the measures that can be utilised to improve rigour in a qualitative study.

**Credibility of the data**

Credibility is how consistent the findings are with reality (Lincoln & Guba 1985). The development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organizations before data collection is one aspect that needs to be attended to when ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research. This may be achieved by a preliminary visit to the research site as well as consulting appropriate documents relating to the research site (Shenton, 2004). My supervisor and I attended a cultural calabash and a wealth of information was shared then pertaining to

indigenous ways of knowing. I also had an opportunity to have informal chats with people who are part of running initiation schools in Taung before data collection was initiated.

Triangulation is way of ensuring trustworthiness, and it involves use of different methods or sources. My primary data was with the initiation instructors, while secondary data was collected from analysing songs, which were performed by initiates, speeches from the calabash and interviews from different sources who have an input in the structure of initiation schools. I had an opportunity to check individual viewpoints of my data sources against each other and as a result have a rich picture of the data. Iterative questioning includes probes and going back to clarify what participants have said before (Shenton, 2004). The grounded theory interview allows one to probe and get a richer understanding during the interview. There were frequent debriefing sessions between my supervisor and myself before, during, and after the data collection. My supervisor accompanied me when I collected my data. This gave opportunity to reflect on the interviews and helped to widen my vision. It provided an opportunity to reflect and voice out my developing ideas and interpretations of the data. Peer scrutiny of the research project was accomplished by the conference platforms that I attended and presented my developing study in. I had an opportunity to present some parts of my research at different conferences and thereby received valuable feedback at such gathering. This helped me to scrutinize my thinking as well as strengthen my arguments in the light of the feedback received. Given the fact that the study was conducted in a cultural rural context, it was imperative to describe the research context as it was a substantial part of the study and affected the research and its interpretation.

### **The politics of translation**

The results of this study are analysed in Setswana, the language of the participants and the researcher. I have decided to analyse the Setswana transcripts for fear of losing meaning in translation. Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg (2010) suggest that when translating from a non-English language to English, in order to avoid losing meaning it is better to stay as close to the original language as possible, especially if the researcher and the participants share the same language. When a need arises to translate for the benefit of the research world, it is better to use fluid descriptions rather than fixed one-word translation or direct translation to explain the data. In cultural research, the participants may find that they are not well represented when they see their quotes translated. The translation of a research study from a non-English to English poses problems when the aim of the research is to as closely as possible represent participants in an accurate manner and to give the participants a voice.

Chilisa (2012) asks that we reflect on questions like who benefits when stories from non-western participants are written in Western Languages. She emphasizes that meaning is lost in translation and that when the need arises to translate the participants' quotes one should have both the original language and then the translated version on the same page to allow people who are familiar with the original language to read it. The language carries with it meanings which are created in and by the context within which they are used. We are therefore advised to use bilingual texts in all stages of the research process if there is a need to translate.

In this study, the decision was made to write the analysis in Setswana, which is the language of both the participants and the researcher. This was because, as mentioned, translation poses challenges as meaning is lost, as these meanings are created within the contexts that they are created in, and make sense within, that context (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981). Being a Motswana, it is very difficult to translate to English as I know that meaning is lost and as a result, the participants are silenced. It is also because the results chapter is a chapter that will be taken back to the traditional leaders to make sure that what was reflected is the true reflection of what is taking place in Taung. This chapter will be part of a cultural hub that aims to teach Batswana children in Taung about their cultural heritage. Once the result chapter is written, a conclusory chapter is written in English to give the overview of what results were reached in the study. This is done to include the conceptual framework in a broader sense.

### **Transferability**

Transferability is the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other studies (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Since the findings of a qualitative study are specific to the research context, the findings are not generalizable to a larger population. It is also not possible to predict with certainty that the findings will be applicable to other situations or contexts. However, if a study is explained in detail and a thick description of the context of the research, then researchers who feel their research contexts are similar to that described in the study may relate the findings to their own positions. I clarify all the details of the study in my methodology section and provide as much transparency as I can that pertains to the context of the study, the sample, as well as research methods. Because the results of a qualitative study are understood within the context that the study was conducted in, I also give ample contextual information of the research site.

### **Dependability of the study**

Dependability is ensured by reporting the processes of the study in detail thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work and if possible receive the same results.

Dependability and transferability are in some way overlapping measures of trustworthiness as both require a researcher to give a thick description of the context in which the research was undertaken. I have an audit trail of my interviews as well as my data analysis. I can produce transcripts and data analysis if required to. I will also include my reflection at different parts of the research report.

### **Conformability of findings.**

Conformability is ensuring that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants rather than the preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). Direct quotations from the interviews are what I base the analyses on. These direct translations are in Setswana to make sure that I do not lose meaning by translating concepts, which are not explainable in English. I hand my work in for supervisory comments as well as to allow checking for researcher bias.

### **Ethical considerations**

Ethics in research are seen as principles that are concerned with the research process itself, starting from the conceptualization phase right to the reporting phase. They are concerned with the wrongs and rights of how knowledge is collected, as well as how research participants are treated (Brinkamann & Kvale, 2014; Gillies & Alldred, 2002). Issues of confidentiality and informed consent form a major part of protecting the participants. Research institutions have ethical boards to ensure that research that is conducted meets the minimal requirements of the board and receive ethical approvals. Parker (2005, as cited in Brinkamann & Kvale, 2014) explains how these ethical approvals have their origins in research that originated in quantitative research and that they are often incongruent with the qualitative methods. Parker's research was instrumental in showing that ethical considerations that govern research done in cultural settings are contextual and may even differ from ethics that govern qualitative inquiry (Brinkamann & Kvale, 2014). While it is important to protect participants, it is even more important to take into consideration the context that research is undertaken in and to understand how specific contexts creates specific ethical issues which will need to be addressed (Brinkamann & Kvale, 2014).

### **Ethics in Action**

The University prescribes that ethical clearance is necessary to ensure that the study meets the minimum standards. In order to fulfil this mandate, university ethical clearance was sought in the Department of Psychology before data was collected. Ethical clearance from the hosting university institution is not the only clearance that the study needed to proceed. Since

the study deals with indigenous knowledge systems which is traditional knowledge guarded by the traditional leaders and custodians of culture, a clearance or permission from the Chief and the traditional council in the community was secured in order to access participants. This was a process of understanding the context and taking all cultural mores and expectation into consideration in order to be in an acceptable position to undertake the study as explained above.

### **Confidentiality**

Confidentiality means that a researcher will protect the participants' identity when reporting on the work that has been done (Kaiser, 2009). This is mostly to protect the participants from harm because some participants may in fact face negative consequences if their identity was revealed. As qualitative researchers are required to describe richly their research contexts, this ethical consideration may be somewhat compromised. When conducting research with people who might be unique in the context, a researcher may remove all personal information, but the contextual information may reveal who the participant was (Kaiser, 2009). Another part of this ethical consideration may be the assumption that participants do not want to be named. It is possible that some participants want their stories to be heard and do not want to be veiled with the cloak of anonymity (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014).

The community at Taung has a Chief who is well known. Mentioning the research community may be compromising the confidentiality clause in this regard. Furthermore, this particular community has plans to set up a cultural hub in order to gather relevant information in order to write books and other literature to promote the teaching of Setswana culture in the schools in the region. Participants were assured of confidentiality if they do not want to be named. No names are mentioned on the report unless participants want to be named. However, in this research the participants wanted to be videotaped. They wanted their stories to be heard. They even said that they wanted to appear on television. It was important to explain that the study was not going to be on television but the researcher is willing to video tape them and send them a copy of the video.

Given that, the research context is a traditional one with traditional protocols that need to be followed, the researcher realizes that it would be important to consider that confidentiality does not only apply to the identity of participants but stretches to the information that is constructed in this research encounter. This will need to be negotiated with the participants as well as with the traditional leaders pertaining to the knowledge that will be accessible to the researcher as well as knowledge that the researcher will be allowed to distribute. Battiste (2008) states that in indigenous research there might be information that is confidential such

that it cannot be revealed completely to outsiders. This was one of those instances as initiation is a potentially sensitive research topic that is guarded by sacredness of the process. Some participants first wanted to know if I had been to initiation school. That information helped them to gauge how much they can share with me. The process of negotiations and research continued to be within culturally appropriate and ethical standards (Battiste, 2008). This was done by going back to consult with my participants to make sure that I had indeed represented them correctly in my analysis. The results were also handed in to the traditional council for comment before the report was finalised.

### **Consent to participate in the study**

Subsequent to acquiring permission from the Chief and the Traditional council of the village, permission was sought from each potential participant. My informant went ahead of me to request a meeting, I later went to meet my participants with my informant to explain what my research aims and objectives were. I also explained the fact that participation was totally voluntary and participants can withdraw from the interview at any point without fear. An information sheet in Setswana was given to all participants. The information sheet contained the aims and methods of the study and it was made available to the Chief and the traditional council.

Participants were asked to sign a consent form before the research starts. A written contract is no substitute for trust and although it is preferable, it was important for me to reflect on the fact that in this particular context, it might be more acceptable to receive oral consent rather than raising suspicion by demanding that participants sign a document (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012). Brinkmann & Kvale (2014) explains how it is important to remember that in qualitative research the researcher is the main research instrument and therefore the most important aspects of being ethical is the integrity of the researcher. The participants were made aware that they should contact the researcher if they need to address any issues that arose from the research (Wassenaar, 2010). All participants agreed to sign the information consent. It was important to make sure that all participants understand the information sheet as well as the consent forms especially because one of the participants was illiterate. It was important to make sure that they understood the reason I needed them to sign the consent form.

The researcher was aware that when conducting research in indigenous contexts the ethics extend beyond informed consent and confidentiality. They are culturally determined ethics (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). They include “showing respect, willingness to listen, to be humble, and to be cautious” Smith (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 506). As such, the researcher was cognizant of the contextual ethical implications at all times of the research

process. The researcher had to make sure that she understood what showing respect was in the context. When access was negotiated into the research field, I had an opportunity to speak to someone who was involved in the organization of initiation schools. He enlightened me on the respectful use of language pertaining to initiation schools. This was an important lesson for me to prepare myself for conversing with initiation instructors. I was wearing a skirt or dress all the time when I was busy with the interviews, thereby showing respect and understanding of what is deemed acceptable in initiation spaces. It was important to make sure that I did not use any deception especially when asked if I had attended initiation schools before as that would not have shown any integrity on my part.

### **Intellectual Property**

Battiste (2008) argues that ethics that govern indigenous knowledge research have to be centred on issues of control and decision making. Indigenous communities are concerned about the onslaught of their knowledge and culture because of researchers who “come, discover, extract, commodify, and distribute indigenous knowledge” (Battiste, 2008, p 506). Indigenous people must have control over their own knowledge and retain ownership of their own knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). One of the reasons for writing the results chapter of my dissertation in Setswana was to respect the intellectual property rights of the community in Taung. Translating the chapter into English could dilute the information that was given to me and misrepresent the participants.

Battiste (2008) states that in indigenous research it is imperative that the community must be part of the research and should be given control over the information relating to their knowledge and heritage (Battiste, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The Taung community and the traditional council have protocols in place to allow them to share their indigenous knowledge as can be seen in the annual celebration of the indigenous knowledge and cultural activities. The Chief explained to my supervisor and me that after doing the research it was expected that the traditional council should receive a copy of the research report so they could have the knowledge that would be generated by the research.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, an overview of the methods used in the research process has been provided. In line with the research question, which aimed to understand the importance of traditional teachings of morality and womanhood in initiation schools, a qualitative approach to research was outlined. A constructivism Grounded theory method was adopted for this study, with emphasis on the iterative nature of such a method. Furthermore, the research

process was described in detail, including the processes of participant selection, data collection, the politics of translation and data analysis. Finally, measures of trustworthiness in qualitative research were discussed, as well as the ethical implications of the study.

The following chapter is written in Setswana. This is an attempt to respond to the decolonial turn in academic scholarship that holds social scientists accountable for the kind of knowledge that they produce and the kind of tools that they use to put that knowledge into operation. Setswana, as already indicated, is the indigenous language of the people upon which this research inquiry is based.

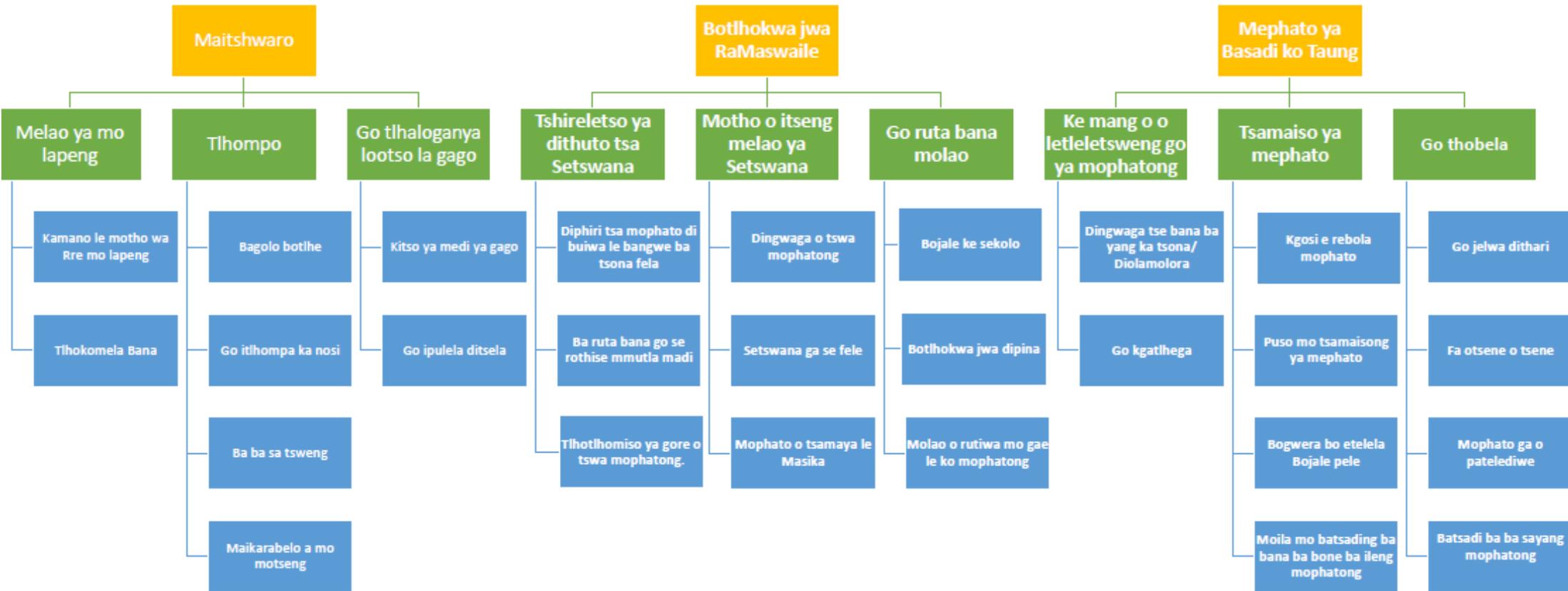
## **KGAOLO 5**

### **DIPHITLHELELO**

Kgaolo eno ya botlhano e bega e bile e tshalosa diphitlhelelo tse di bonweng mo dipuisanong tseo nna jaaka mmatlisisi ke nnileng le tsona le BoRamaswaile ba kwa Taung. Go kgobokanya tshedimosetso ka boitshwaro jo bo eletsegang mo basading jaaka fa bo rutiwa go ya ka dithuto tsa setso kwa dikolong tsa bojale, dintlha tse di mmalwa tse di bonagetseng mo dipatlisisong tseno tse di tshalosang molemo wa dikolo tsa bojale mo basading di begiwa mo kgaolong eno.

Diphitlelelo jaaka di tshalosiwa ke BoRamaswaile ba ba tsereng karolo mo dipatlisisong di sobokantswe mo setshwantshong se se tlhagelelang ka fa tsebeng e e latelang. Kgaolo eno e simolola ka go tlhagisa dintlhakgolo tsa diphitlhelelo tsa dipuisano le BoRamaswaile ka boleng ba dithuto tsa setso le boleng jwa dikolo tsa setso go aga semelo sa bosadi le go ruta ka boitshwaro jo bo eletsegang mo mosading. Morago ga seo, ditemana tse di agang dintlhakgolo di tlhthaloisiwa ka bokhutshwane. Mafoko jaaka a builwe ke BoRamaswaile a dirisiwa go naya ditemana tse di bonweng mo dipuisang mooko le go bontsha bosupi ba gore ditemana di agilwe ka mokgwa o o ntseng jaang. Setshwantsho se se latelang se bontsha tshobokanyo ya dintlhakgolo tsa dipatlisiso tseno.

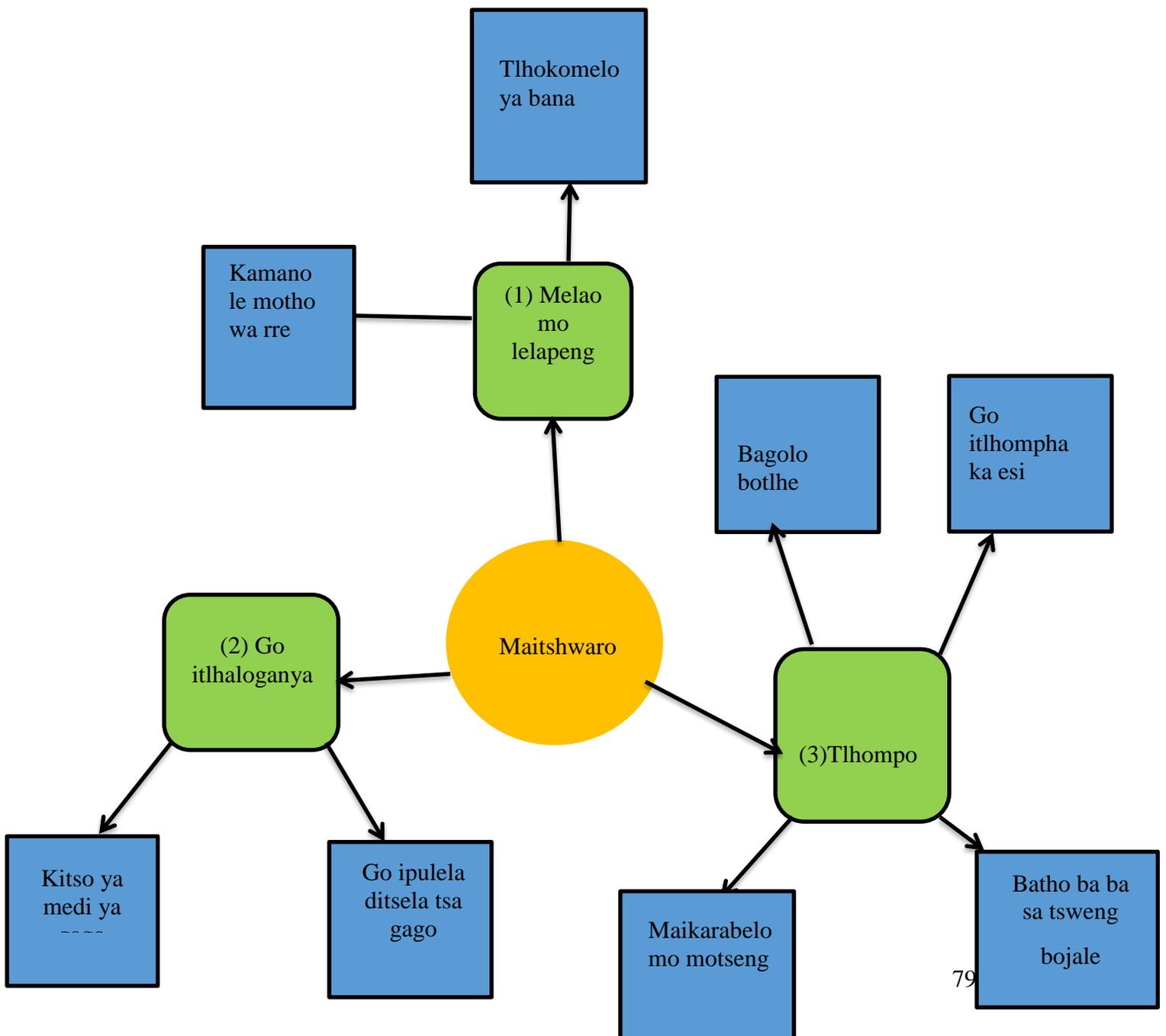
### Setshwantsho 3: Setshwantsho sa dintlhakgolo



## Maitshwaro

Maitshwaro jaaka a tlhalosiwa ke BoRamaswaile ba ba tsereng karolo mo dipatlisisong tseno e bolela maitshwaro a a eletsegang mo mosading wa Motswana. Dilo di le tharo tse di akaretsang maitshwaro mo dithutong tsa kwa bojale ke thuto ka melao ya fa lelapeng, tlhompō, le go itlhaloganya jaaka o le ngwana wa setso sa Setswana. Melao e e rutiwang kwa bojale e rutiwa ka maikaelelo a gore motho yo o setseng a alogile kwa sekolong sa setso o tla kgona go tsaya maikarabelo jaaka e le mosadi mo motseng le mo lelapeng. Setshwantsho se se fa tlase se bontsha dintlha tse di sekasekilweng mo ntlhakgolong ya maitshwaro. Tlhaloso ya tsone e ya latela.

**Setshwantsho 4: Ntlhakgolo – Maitshwaro**



## Melao mo lelapeng

Lenyalo ke ntlha ya botlhokwa mo mothong was Motswana. Lenyalo le kopanya malapa a mabedi go tlhola botsalano gare ga one (Mogapi, 1991; Phiri, 2007). Mo lenyalong, go tsholwa bana ba ba tlhomamisang le go tswelletsa leina la lelapa leo pele. Mosadi wa Motswana o na le maikarabelo a a masisi tota mo lapeng fa a nyetswe. Mosadi wa Motswana o a laiwa fa a nyalwa. O laelwa gore a kgone go tshola lelapa la gagwe sentle ka nako tsotlhe (Mogapi, 1991). Ntlha ya botlhokwa e e tlhageletseng kgafetsa mo dipatlisisong tseno ke ka moo basadi ba ba tswang mophatong ba rutiwang molao ka teng. Molao o o rutiwang kwa bojale o bonagetse gantsi e le molao wa mo lapeng. Go tlhaloganya gore o tshwanetse gore o itshware jang mo lenyalong jaaka o le Mme, gape le gore o tshwanetse gore o tlhokomele bana ba gago le molekane wa gago jang, le motse wa gago ka mokgwa o o ntseng jang (Phiri, 2007). Molao o o akaretsa gape le batho ba ba mo motseng, ba o amanang le bone.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“Ke gore Mme setso ke, ke setso hela se se rutang gantsi, jaaka re le bo Mme go ruta melao ya lelapa gore lelapa la gago o le tshwara jang, o tshwara ntate jang”*

Mongwe wa batsaya karolo o ne a tlhalosa gore e mengwe ya melao e e rutiwang ke ka fa mosadi a tshwanetseng a itshware ka teng

Motsayakarolo 3: *O le ngwananyana wa mosetsanyana, ha o tshotse...o tshotse kgwedi, O ‘mensa’ ga o dule setulo, wa se tlhokomologa, go dula mo godimo ga setulo, monna wa tla o tla go dula mo godimo ga setulo; lo tshwarisa banna mokotla. Ee banna ba bobola...Ee ha o le mosadi, ha o ‘mensa’ ga o tlhakanele bête le monna: O robala o le esi, monna o robala a le esi. O tlaa robala mo beteng ele o le sekono. Ee, o sena go tlhatswa, o le sekono. Kobo tse o ntse o di ala, dišiti tse o di adileng di sekono, then ke gone o ka boela bête. Ha go maga gore o kgabaganye, o ye kwa sakeng lwa dihitsane, ha go maga gore o kgabaganye dipudi ha di heta jana...o tsene mo gare ga tsone.*

Godimo ga tse di tlhalositsweng mono, kamano le motho wa Rre mo lapeng le tlhokomelo ya bana e ne ya tlhalosiwa jaaka e le molao o o botlhokwa kwa bojale.

### **Kamano le motho wa Rre mo lapeng.**

Ka ngwao ya Setswana, Rre ke ene tlhogo ya lelwapa. Mme ke mothusi wa ga Rre. Rre ke ene yo o tlamelang lelwapa. Dithoto le dilo tse di mo lelapeng di gorogela mo go Mme, ebile di nna mo tlhokomelong le taolong ya Mme (Mogapi, 1991). Bomme ba ba neng ba tsere karolo mo patlisisong e ba ne ba tlhalosa gore selo sa botlhokwa mo go ruteng Majale kwa mephatong ke tlhokomelo ya lelapa. Lenyalo le maitshwaro a mo lapeng a akaretsa dintlha tse di tsamaelanang le dingwao tsa Setswana. Ngwao ke segaabo motho, ke mekgwa, maikutlo, tsela e e kgethegileng go tsamaisa setshaba. Ngwao ke mokgwa o setšhaba seo se dumelang gore se tshwanetse go laola matshelo a sone kagone (Mogapi 1985; Phiri, 2007). Ngwao ya Setswana e tlhalosa ka lenyalo, le dikgato tse di latelwang fa motho a tlaa nyalwa. Go simolola ka bogadi, mosola wa ga Malome mo dipuisanong tsa lenyalo, le gape go akareditse gore motho o itshola jang fa a setse e le Mme wa lelapa. Mme selo sa botlhokwa ke gore mosadi yo o nyalwang o tshwanetse a itshole ka mokgwa o feng mo lapeng la gagwe. O tshwanetse a nne le maitshwaro a a rileng mo go ene.

Mosadi fa a nyalwa o tshwanetse gore a tshole Rre ka mokgwa o o rileng. Ga o a tshwanela go buisa Rre mašwe fa o le mosadi yo o nnyetsweng. Fa o bona gore Rre ga a go tshware sentle o ka bolelela batsadi ba gagwe. Ntlha e e gatelelwa ke Phiri (2007) fa a tlhalosa gore mo lelapeng fa mosadi a na le ngongorego epe ka monna wa gagwe, o tshwanetse gore a simolole ka go bolelela ba bogadi. Mosadi ga a tshwanela go sianela kwa ditsaleng tsa gagwe kgotsa a simolola ka go bolelela batsadi ba gagwe pele. Fa Rre a go buisa ga mašwe, wena jaaka Mme mo lapeng ga o a tshwanela go ipusolosetsa ka go mmuisa bosula.

Motsayakarolo 3: *“Ke gore le ha re dutse le bana jaana, ha ba nyetswe, ba itse gore monna ga a rogwe. Ee, ga o roge monna, ha monna a bua le wena ga o mo alole, o mo šeba hela, ha a go raya lehoko le le bosula, o kampa wa ya go bolelela batsadi ba gagwe...ha batsadi ba gagwe ba sa go reetse bolelela ba gago”*

Se se bontsha jaaka fa mathata a a tlhagang mo lelapeng e le mathata a a bolelelwang ba bagolo gore ba tle ba kgone go sekaseka mathata ao. Ba tle ba kgone go bitsa rre le mme wa lelapa ba dule fatshe go lekiwe go rarabolola mathata ao.

### **Tlhokomelo ya bana mo lapeng.**

Ngwao gape e tlhalosa ka ga tlhokomelo ya bana mo lapeng. Bana ba tshwanetse go tlhokomelwa ke mme le rre mo lapeng. Mogapi (1991) o tlhalosa fa bana ba godisiwa ka seane se se reng “lore lo ojwa lo sa le metsi”. Bana ba rutwa gore ba tlotle bagolo ba bone. Mme ke ene a nang le bana ka nako entsi, ke ene o tshwanetseng go tlhokomela kgodiso ya bana. Rre ene o tshwanetse gore a eme mme nokeng ka nako tsotlhe (Mogapi, 1991). Tlhokomelo ya bana ke nngwe ya dintlha tse di bonagetseng fa go buiwa ka melao ya lelapa kwa bojale. Bomme ba ne ba tlhalosa gore bana ba tshwanetse go tlhokomelesega ka nako tsotlhe. Le fa o ka nna mosadi o o itshielang bojalwa go na le dilo tse e leng maikarabelo a gago jaaka mmangwana. Mosadi yo o sa tlhokomeleng bana ba gagwe o banala e le mme yo o senang maikarabelo. Ngwao ya Setswana e tlhalosa ka ga go tlhokomelega ga bana go tloga ba santse ba imilwe ke bommabone. Mosadi o nosiwa ditlhare tse di epeilweng go bofolola teng. Ngaka e tshwanetse gore e tiise gore moimana a sireletsege a se ka a bolawa ke pelegi (Lesejane, 2012; Phiri, 2007).

Fa mosadi a santse a beilwe botsetse go na le meila e e tshwanetseng go tlhokomelwa. Batho ba lelapa ga ba letlelele mongwe le mongwe fela go tsena go bona ngwana (Phiri, 2007). Se se direlwa gore ngwana a se ka a gatega. Go na le merero ya Setswana e e direlwang ngwana gore a sireletsege (Lesejane, 2012). Bana fa ba setse ba le mo lapeng ba tshwanetse go tsholwa sentle, ba otlwa ba tlhokomelwa ke Mme wa lelapa.

Motsayakarolo 3: *“Ee o tlhokomela bana...ke gore ha o setse o nyetswe, o tlhokomela bana...bana ba gago, bana ba gago ba se ke ba gasama mo nageng... o tlhokomela gore le ha e le gore o wa itshiela...o se ke wa phirimelwa ke letsatsi mo nageng...o itse gore, bana ba ja, monna wa ja. Le ha...hela letsatsi le phirima hela wa tshola...ke gore re ba ruta jalo.”*

Se se bontsha jaaka mme wa lelapa a tshwanetseng go tlhokomela bana ka teng. Go tlhokomela gore ditlhoko tsa bone di a fitlhelelwa le gore ba sireletsegile. Gape go

bontsha gore wena mma bana o tshwanetse go fa bana ba gago molao. O tshwanetse gore le fa bana ba e le maloko a gae a mannye, ba tshwanetse gore ba tlhompwe le bone.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“le ngwana wa gago tota hela o tlhompe ngwana wa gago...ke tshwanetse ke itse gore ngwana wa ka ke mo tlhompe. Ke mmatlele mahoko”*

Ka fa ntlheng e nngwe go ne go bonala gore go tlhokomelwa ga bana ga go felele fela mo baneng ba gago ba o ba tsetseng. Le BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa ka fa bone ba tshwanetseng gore fa ba le kwa bojale ba tlhokomele majale ba ba tlileng mophatong ka teng. Majale a tshwanetse gore a laolwe ke Ramaswaile fela e seng batho ba bangwe ka gone ba ka fa tlase ga tlhokomelo ya ga Ramaswaile.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“Molao o mongwe hela mo ntlong ya me. Ke nna hela ke laolang le ha ba tsena kwa kampeng kwa, ba šebile nna hela le bomme bao, ba ya kwa go nna ba go mpotsa gore “mma, a re ka tsena kwa baneng” “Ee, nnyaa lo ka nna lwa tsena”, ke tlaa be ke ba setse morago...ba opela, ba opela...Ee le bone ba ba naya molao, ba tswa le nna ke ba setse morago, ha go ope yo o ‘control’ang ngwanake.”*

## **Tlhompo**

Sekolo sa bojale se ruta tlhompho e e akaretsang batho botlhe. Tlhompo e tile pele mo mothong wa Motswana. Selo sa botlhokwa mo kgodisong ya bana ke go tlhompa batho ba bagolo (Mogapi, 1991). Jaaka re le batho ba ba dirisanang, mme MaAforika a sa kgapele batho kwa thoko, tlhompo ke yone e e bontshang gore motho mongwe le mongwe o tsholwa jang. Mo dipuisanong tsa rona, tlhompo le yone e tlhageletse e le nngwe ya ditsela tsa go bontsha maitshwaro a a eletsegang mo mosading yo o tswang bojale. BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa gore tlhompo e botlhokwa, e bile go lebeletswe gore majale a tla tlhompa batho botlhe mo motseng. E seng fela go tlhompa Rre mo lelapeng fa motho e le mosadi yo o nyetsweng.

### **Tlhompa bagolo botlhe.**

Sekolo sa bojale se ruta gore motho a tlhompe bagolo botlhe. Se se bolela gore o tlhompe batsadi ba gago mo gae. Fa go twe bagolo ba gago ga go bolelwe rrago le mmago fela. Go bolelwa batho botlhe ba o kopanang le bone ba ba golo mo go wena. Fa e le gore o ne o le ngwana o o senang maitseo, o sa tlhompe batsadi ba gago, o rutiwa gore bagolo ba gago o ba tlhompe. O bue ka boikokobetso fa o bua le bone o bontsha gore ruri o a ba tlhompa. Go tlhompa mo gae go bolela le gore o tlhompa bomogoloo le bokgaitradio mo gae.

Go tlhompa ga go bolele fela gore o bua jang le bone. Tlhompo e bonwa le ka ditiro tsa gago. Ngwao ya Setswana e na le maele gore bagolo ba tlhompiwa jang. Mo lelapeng le o tsalwang mo go lone, o tshwanetse go tlhaloganya gore go lebeletswe eng mo go wena. Sekai ke fa o ya go etela bommemogolo le borremogolo. O tshwanetse gore o ba neele dikgalotsana, o ba nee dimpho. Malome le rakgadi le bone ba na le ditshwanelo tsa bona (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991). Mokgwa o mongwe wa go tlhompa le go tlotla bagolo, ke gore fa mogolo a go fitlhela o dutse, fa o le ngwana wa Motswana o tshwanetse o itse gore o eme mogolo a dule, go itlhaganela fa o rongwa le go rata boammaruri (Mogapi, 1991).

Motsayakarolo 4: *“O itshwere ka maitseo jaanong, o latlhile moya o le o neng a sa itse gore motsadi wa gagwe. ha motsadi wa gagwe a bua le ene a be a mo araba jaaka go rata ene. Ha o boa koo o tla o na le tlhaloganyo ee ntšha, o itse gore Ausi wa gago ke mang, Mmago ke mang?”*

Se ga se bolele gore o tla tlhompba batsadi ba e leng ba gago fela, mme o tlile go ithuta go tlhompba bagolo botlhe ba o ba bonang. Gongwe mo nakong ya segompieno bana ga ba tlhompe bagolo ba e seng ba bone, mme fela mo nakong ya kgale bana ba ne ba sa kgethe gore a motho ke mmago kgotsa nnyaa, mme ba bona motsadi mongwe le mongwe e le motho yo o tshwanetsweng ke maitseo le tlhompbo.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“Mogolo, le ha a ka go roga, a sa tswa mophatong, a roga wena ngwanyana...ga ona puo..ga o mo reye sepe...e bile ha nkaka ngwananyana a tle mo go nna a nthaya a re Mma, Mme yole o o motonna ontse a nthoga.”*

Rre Naledi (personal communication, 2015) o ne a tlhalosa gore motho ga a ka ke a re ga a tlotle motho a le mogolo mo go ene ka gore a sa tswa bojale. Bogolo ke jwa Modimo, batho ba bagolo ba tshwanetswe ke tlhompbo. Bangwe ba bana ba ba tsamayang bojale ba na le bomalome ba ba sa yang bogwera ba tshwanetse gore ba ba tlhompe. Malome, kgaitساديا mmago ke motho wa botlhokwa mo tsamaisong ya setso. Ga go kgathaletsege gore a malome o ile bogwera kgotsa nnyaa.

### **Go itlhompha ka nosi jaaka o le mosadi.**

Go itlhompha jaaka o le mosadi go botlhokwa mo basading ba ba tswang mophatong. O tshwanetse go tlhaloganya gore ke eng dilo tse di siametseng mosadi yo o tswang mophatong le tse di sa siamang. Go itlhompha go akareditse dilo tsa go tshwana le gore o apara jang fa o le mosadi. Mo malobeng, basetsana le basadi ba ne ba farologanngwa ka mokgwa o ba neng ba apara ka one le ka mokgwa o ba neng ba itshola ka teng. Basetsana ba ne ba apara makgabe a dipotsana kgotsa a dikonyana (Lesejane, 2012). Basadi bone ba ne ba apara mosese le khiba (Mogapi, 1991).

Mosadi go itlhompha le gone go bolela gore ditshwetso tse mosadi a di dirang o tshwanetse gore a di nagane sentle. Seane se se reng “e re mosadi a inama o a be a ikantse mosese wa morago” se bolela gore mosadi o tshwanetse gore fa a dira sengwe o tshwanetse a be a akanyeditse pele (D. Ndlovu, personal communication, November 20, 2016).

Motsayakarolo 5: *“setso se—tlhompba hela tlhompbo... ke yone hela e e rutiwang batho gore o itlhompe jang le wena ‘self’, o tshwantse o itse gore mo botshelong o tshwantse o tshele jang...le ha o ka*

*akanya gore: kana ke rutilwe ditsela tsa ka banna! nte ke tswwe moo...*

Se se bontsha gore mophato o ruta mekgwa e mosadi a tshwanetseng go re a nne ka gone. Mme mosadi yo o tswang teng o tshwanetse gore dithuto tse a di rutilweng kwa mophatong di mo thibe go dira dilo tse di sa siamang. Di tshwanetse go mo ruta maitsholo a a siameng. Gongwe go na le mafoko a e leng gore ga a lebelelwa go mosadi yo o tswang bojale, kgotsa mafelo mangwe a rileng. Dilo tse tsotlhe di bontsha ka fa mosadi o tshwanetseng gore a ithibe, a ikgalemele mo dilong tse di sa siamang.

### **Tlhompa batho ba ba sa tsweng bojale.**

Go na le kakanyo ya gore batho ba ba tswang bojale le bogwera ga ba tlhompe batho ba ba sa tsweng teng (Ntombana, 2011a). Gatwe ga ba ba tlhompe ka gonne ba bona e le gore bona ke banna gongwe basadi, mme ba le ga ba itse sepe. Gantsi re tle re utlwe gotwe batho ba ba tswang sekolong sa bojale ga ba rogwe. Fa o ka ba roga ba ka go otlhaya. Ntlha e ngwe e e neng e buiwa ke bo Ra-Maswaile ke gore batho ba ba tswang bojale ba rutiwa thata gore ba tlhompe batho ba ba sa tsweng teng. Le fa e le gore ga o a tshwanela gore o ba bolelele ka ditsamaiso tsa tse di diragalang kwa bojale, mme ga o a tshwanela go ba nyatsa.

Motsayakarolo 3: *“Ga re batle ba raya motho yo o sa tsweng ba re ke shoboro...Go bosula ga gwa tshwanela gore wena, o tswa o ikutlwa gore o mosadi... jaanong o bo o raya yo mong gore ke shoboro...O mo leohetse, antse a satswe wa go go tsenya kwa kgosing...a be a kgwata. A be a bidiwa, a beletswa go go raya a re “o shoboro”.*

Leina le *Shoboro* le bolela motho o o satsweng mophatong. Mme bo BoRamaswaile ba re ga ba rate fa ba ba tswang mophatong ba bitsa ba ba satsweng ba re bo shoboro. Go bitsa o mong shoboro go bolela gore o a mo nyatsa o mo bitsa gore ke ngwana. Mongwe le mongwe o tswanetse gore a tlhompiwe, batho ba ba satsweng mophatong ba tshwanetse gore ba tlhompe ba ba tswang, mme le ba ba tswang ba tshwanetse go tlhompa ba ba satsweng.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“Le bone ba ba sa tsweng wa ba tlhompa, eeya, wa ba tlhompa le bone ba go tlhonipa ba seke ba re “yaka o tswa koo o tswela rona”.*

Bogolo se se ne se tlhalosiwa ke bomme ba ba neng ba tseile karolo mo dipatlisisong tseno ke gore, fa o ne o na le tsala pele ga o ya bojale e e leng gore yone ga e ya ka ya ya bojale, fa o boa koo ga o fitlhe o ikgogomosa ka gore wena o itse go mo feta. Ga o fitlhe o re ga o tihole o le tsala ya me ka gonne wena ga o tswe bojale.

Motsayakarolo 4: *“o be ore nna ke mosadi o seke wa nthaya...ka ke rata...ka o rata. O tshameka le ene jaaka o ntse o tshameka le ene”*.

Le fa basadi ba ba tswang mophatong ba ipela ka bosadi jwa bone, ga ba tshwanela go re ba tsamaye ba bolelela motho mongwe le mongwe gore ke basadi e bile ba tswa bojale. BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa gore mosadi fa a tswa bojale ga go sepe se se tlang se fetogile mo go ene mo mmeleng wa gagwe se se ka supiwang. Selo sa botlhokwa ke one maitshwaro aa siameng a. Mme dithuto tsa gagwe di itsiwe ke ene. Bosadi ga se mokgabo ga bo rwale mo tlhogong.

Tlhompo ke selo sa botlhokwa tota mo molaong wa Setswana gonne retshedisanya le batho. Ke selo sa botlhokwa mo ngwaneng wa MoAforika gore tlhompo e bonagale. Go tlhompa mong ka wena, a le mogolo kgotsa a le monnye ke selo se se bontshang botho jo bo tletseng.

### **Maikarabelo mo motseng.**

Mogapi (1991) o tlhalosa gore nngwe ya dithuto tse di rutwang kwa bojale ke maitseo a a siameng a setho. Basadi ba ba tswang mophatong ba tla be ba itse ngwao le setso go feta ba ba sa yang teng. Ba rutilwe ka ditlamorago tsa go se reetse le go latela ngwao. Ba itse gore maitshwaro a a matshwanedi ke a fe. Ka jalo ba na le maikarabelo a go sedimosa le go eletsa ba ba sa yang mophatong fa ba bona gore gongwe ba dira diphoso. Seo se dirwa ka maikokobetso a a bontshang go tlhoka lenyatso. Fa ole motho o o nang le maitshwaro a a eletsegang go nna botlhofo gore o kgone go eletsa ba bangwe kwantle ga go ba nyatsa. Ntlha e e tlhalositswe ke mongwe wa bo mamophato fa a ne a tlhalosa gore batho ba ba ba tswang mophatong ba rutiwa gore ba tsoge ba a ga motse, e le bomme ba ba naleng maikarabelo mo motseng. Ba tsoge e le batho ba ba sa direng dilo tse di seng matshwanedi jaaka go thuba metse ya batho.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“Baba a gang motseba ba sa thubeng malapa a batho, e le batho ba ba itshwereng sentle”*

Kgobokanyo ya tema eno ya go tlhompamba batho mo motseng go simolola ka ba ba leng mo lapeng la gago go filtha mo morafeng otlhe, e bontsha maikarabelo mo motseng. Molao o o rutiwang kwa bojale ke molao o o akareditseng maitsholo a a tsepameng a a lebeletsweng mo mosading o o tswang mophatong. Maitsholo a, a lebeletsweng ke morafe otlhe le ba ba leng gaufi le wena. Go lebeletsweng le gore fa o bona ba bangwe ba dira ka fa go sa siamang ka teng o kgaleme kontle ga lenyatso lepe, o ba gakolole ka ga tsela e e siameng ya go itshola.

### **Go tlhaloganya lootso lwa gago jaaka motho wa mosadi**

Jaaka re le batho ba bantsho, re le Batswana eseng batho ba basweu, go botlhokwa gore motho a tlhaloganye gore ke ene mang (Mogapi, 1991). Batho ba ba tsamayang mophatong ba rutiwa gore ke bone bo mang, gore ba itlhaloganye le medi ya bone kwa e leng teng. Gore e tle e re kamoso ba kgone go itse go latedisa losika lwa bona le medi ya bone. Batswana ba na le setso le dingwao tsa Setswana tse di ba supetsang kwa batswang teng le gore ba dumela eng.

Motswana jaaka Ma-Aferika a mantsi ba dumela gore motho ke motho ka ba bangwe. Motho fa a batlisisa gore ke ene mang ga a lebelele ene fele. O botsa tsela mo go ba ba etsamaileng. Balosika le badimo ba gagwe ke bone ba tla mo sedimosetsang gore ke ene mang. Batswana gantsi ba dirisa poko go itlhalosa. Poko ya Setswana ke theto ya go galaletsa motho yoo itlhagisitseng mo bathong ba bangwe ka tiro ngwe ya bonatla (Mogapi, 1985). Motho fa a ipoka, o tlhalosa gore ke ene mang, o boela kwa morago a bone gore o tswetswe ke bo mang, ba ba kileng ba dira tiro efe ya bonatla. Fa go buiwa ka ditiro tsa boganka, gongwe motho a ka tlhalosa gore ke morwa sennanne o ikileng yare kwena e phamotse motho a e tlasela banna ba tshabile (Mogapi, 1985).

Godimo ga go itlhaloganya jaaka ole ngwana wa lelapa le le rileng, Motswana o itlhaloganya jaaka e le mongwe wa morafe o o rileng, gape e le mosadi yo o tswang mophatong. Dintlha tse di bonagetseng mo temeng eno ke go itse go itse medi wa gago jaaka o le ngwana wa Motswana le go bula ditsela tsa gago jaaka o le motho o o tswang bojale.

### **Kitso ya medi wa gago.**

Jaaka batho ba na le lemorago le ditumelo tse di farologaneng, batho ba bantsho jaaka e le MaAforika le bone ba na le ditumelo tse di ba farologanang le dichaba tse dingwe. Batsaakarolo mo dipatlisisong tseno ba ne ba tlhalosa gore setso se tšile pele

mo Motswaneng. Setso se botlhokwa jaaka re le batho ba ba ntsho, re se ba merafe e mengwe. Dikolo tsa mephato di ruta majale gore ba itlhaloganye jaaka e le Batswana. Setso le ngwao ke mekgwa e merafe e phelang ka yone gotswa kwa ga Lowe. Dikolo tsa mephato fa di ruta setso sa Setswana jaana, ba direla gore e sere kamoso bana ba Batswana ba tlhoke mo ba ka ithutang ka setso teng. Setso le dingwao tsa Setswana di fatlhosa motho o o tswang bojale fa o boa teng o itse dilo tse di ntsi tse e leng gore ga o kake wa di itsi ka ga setso sa sestswana fa o dutse mo gae.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“Eyaa ke ka mo o gotweng ‘somarela-tlhago’ ke gore ya tshwana...,ke ka moo re reng tota fa o le motho yo o montšho o tshwanetse gore selo sa gago o se sala morago, ga re batle setso sa go nyelela re batla se nne se gole...kamoso re be re eme jana re ikisetsa bana ba rona ba sa tshwara sepe, le ‘nou’ jana jaaka o nthaya o re “mma Naledi mpelege, re tsamaye o nkise kwa...key a go tsamaya le wena...ke be ke go busa, ‘Maare wa go bona go na le ‘difference’,jaaka ke ntse ke tshela....maare go ya ‘differ’ ne?”*

Motsayakarolo 4: *“Setso se botlhokwa jaaka re le bana ba Batswana, retshwanetse re ye setso, gone go tshwanetse gore re ye, maare ga o pateletswe ha pelo ya gago e se e rate gore o ka ya setso ga o ye.”*

Re ya setso jaaka re le bana ba Batswana gore re ithute setso sa rona. Gore setso se se ka sa nyelela re a se ithuta gore le bana ba ba tlang ka fa morago ba kgone go se itse.

Mo segompionong go na le mekgwa e e dirisiwang gore motho a itswe gore ka madi o tsalwa kwa losikeng lofe. F a re ne re buisana le bo BoRamaswaile ba ne ba re tlhalosetsa gore go tloga bogolo-golo, bo BoRamaswaile ba na le mokgwa wa go tlhomamisa gore ngwana ke wa lapa lefe. Selo se ga se diriwe gore go senngwe batho maina kgotsa go tlisa kgotlang mo lapeng. Ke sengwe se se diriwang ka gonne mephato e na le tsamaiso ya one. Tsamaiso e ke gore bana ba tshwanetse gore ba dule ka mananeo a a rileng kwa mophatong. Ba kgona go go baya mo maamong a gago ka teng jaaka o le Motswana. Batswana ba na le lenaneo go tloga ka malapa a segosi le a a latelang (Mogapi, 1991; Setlhabi, 2014). Le go ya ka di kgotla tse difarologaneng. Fa

o ile bojale o boa o tlhaloganya gore lelapa la ga lona le wela fa kae mo lenaeong le. O boa o tlhaloganya sentle gore o mokae wa ga rra mang e bile o kgona go ipoka sentle.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“o mmayya sentle! Akere jaanong. that is why ke ra Mme ke re dilo tse tsa Setswana di tshwana le, di tsamaya ka di’ssteps, yaaka re tsetswe o motonna., yo mong, jalo jalo., jaanong re tswanetse go itse gore ngwana yo ha a sa bewa ka seemo sa gagwe, ra mmona ngwana yo ga se Mothosa kampo ga se Mosotho. E se rona e le seemo sa ngwana se re bontsha gore Haikhona! Tulo e lo mpeileng mo go yone ga se yone.”*

Ko Setswaneng gore go bo go tlhomamisiwa jaana, go bolela gore ngaka ya Setswana e na le se e sedirang gore bo mamophato ba kgone go bona fa ngwana a sa dula sentle ka mokgwa o o tshwanetseng. Mokgwa o ke o sekeng wa tlhalosiwa mo tokomaneng e e tshwanang le eno. Mme fela ke ntlha ya botlhokwa kwa mophatong.

Motho fa a boa kwa mophatong o boa a itse go ipoka, a itlhaloganya gore seemo sa gagwe ke sefe mo morafeng. Poko e e kopanya ditiro tse di diragetseng bogologolo le tse diswa mo mothong oo (Phiri, 2007). Leboko le tlhamiwa ke motho yo o nang le maikaelelo a go itsise batho ba bangwe ka ga ditiro tsa boganka tse di mo agang.

Motsayakarolo 1: *Ga khiba ya mma ditlhong mosadi wa sebolaya tlhware, banna ba e tshaba, ga ba re mokalobe o gapilwe. O gapilwe ke mang ka e le mosadi Mamotshidisi, yo o jeleng lepetlu la ngwana wa mosetsana”*

Fa godimo ke sekai sa Ramaswaile mongwe o re buileng le ene. Erile fa re re a itlhalose a be a ipoka. Go ipoka ke one mokgwa wa go tlhaloetsa batho gore o mang.

### **Go ipulela ditsela tsa gago.**

Godimo ga gore motho a ikitse jaaka e le ngwana wa lelapa le lerileng, o tla a ikitse jaaka e le mosadi yo o tswang mophatong. Batho ba ba yang mophatong ba tsamaya e le setlhopa fa ba bolola. Ba fitlha ba dula kgwedi kgotsa di le pedi kwa naging botlhe. Ba boa ba itsane. Ba boa e le seopesengwe teng. Mephato ya Batswana, banna kgotsa basadi ba boa ba na le leina le e leng la bona ba le bosu (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991; Setlhabi, 2014). Leina le gantsi ba le newa ke Kgosi a lebeletse se se diragalang ka nako e o mo bogosing. Gape mephato e tla e ithutile pina ya bona ba le

bosi. Ka ga jalo, majale a aga tsalano e e tsweleng le morago ga ba boa kwa mophatong.

Ka nako ya gore mophato o isiwe gape, batho ba le bantsi ba tshaba go ya kwa dikgweng. Gonne go a itsiwe gore fa mophato o tsene ga go batlege batho ba ba sekeng ba ya mophatong. Go letlelelwa fela batho ba ba tswang mophatong gore ba atamele tulo eo. Basadi ba ba kileng ba ya mophatong, ba ye go thusa go ruta le go amogela ba ba swa. Fa e le nako eo basadi ba itsane gore ke o fe yo o tswang mophatong le gore ke ofe yo o sa tsweng.

BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa gore fa o ile mophatong o kgona go bula ditsela tsa gago fa o kile wa ya mophatong ka nako ya mephato e isiwa. Fa re ne re leka go tlhaloganya gore BoRamaswaile ba bolela jang fa ba re o rutiwa go bula ditsela tsa gago, ba ne ba re direla sekai sa gore ga o ka ke wa tsena kwa Botswana o sena “passport”. Fa re ne re latedisa gore se se bolelang re ne ra tlhaloganya gore go bolela go re jaaka e le batho ba ba tswang mophatong ba tshanetswe gore ba itse gore gongwe le gongwe mo batho ba bololang teng ba amogelegile ba se tshabe sepe fela.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“Le gore ka moso ha ba tsamaya mo dinageng mo, ba utlwa gore go na le batho ba ba bololotseng hale, ba seke ba tshaba go ya...wa bona...Eya.”*

Mophato ke sekolo se go sa eng mang kapa mang mo go sona. Ka jalo gore diphiri tsa sona di se ka tsa fitlha mo ditsebeng tse di bogale go tshwanetswe go nne le mokgwa wa go ka itsiwe gore motho o tswa teng e bile o amogelegile teng. Fa o buwa leina la mophato wa lona basadi ba bangwe ba itse gore ga se leina fela kgotsa ga se pina fela ya mogae e o e binang. Go itlhalosa ka maina kgotsa pina, le go bolela gore o tswa mophatong go go fa tetla ya go tsena kwa mophatong o mongwe. Go letla gore go itsege gore o tswa mophatong. Se se bolela gore ga se gore o nna ntlha ya mophato o o alogileng le one fela, Mme o nna ntlhangwe ya basadi ba bojale ka kakaretso (D. Ndlovu, personal communication, September, 2016). G o raya gore basadi ba bojale ba tla go amogela ba se ka ba tshaba sepe. Mme fa o sa itlhalose ga nkanke ba itse gore o mongwe wa bone. Ke ne ke tlhaloganye gore se se bolela gore ka nako ya setso go a bonala gore ke ofe yo o tswang mererong ya setso le gore ke ofe yo o sa tsweng teng. Fa o kile wa ya mophatong o amoselegile go ya mophatong kwa nageng gonne ke dilo tse o di itseng. Mme fela o tshwanetse gore o ikitsise gore o mongwe wa ba ba tswang

mophatong gore ba le ba tle ba go amogele. Ke ka moo go tla tweng o na le tetla ya go tsena gonne o a itlhalosa gore le nna ke mongwe wa lona.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“tlhaloganya ka gore o mang, tsela tsa gago, tsela e o e tsamaya ele, eeh..,le ha e ka kopana le kgorupana..,wena o tlo go feta mo go yone..ha nkitla o be o e tshaba ha o tswa setsong tsela eo..,kampo o kopana le boMme mo tseleng .. bogolo ka nako tsele tsa rona tsa setso tsele wa itse gore o tshwanetse o bule tsela ya gago jang. mare ha ke tsamaya le wena o sa tswe setsong ga o kake wa bula tsela tsa gago, ke sone go tweng: tsamaya setso, o itse gore tsela o e bula jang... ha Mme a tlhaga... ke a kgalema mo le gore Mme ole a tlhaloganye gore ke tswa kwa setsong...”*

Karolwana e e latelang e sekaseka ntlhagolo ya bobedi e e buang ka botlhokwa ba BoRamaswaile go ruta melao ya bojale.

### **Botlhokwa jwa BoRamaswaile go ruta molao kwa bojale**

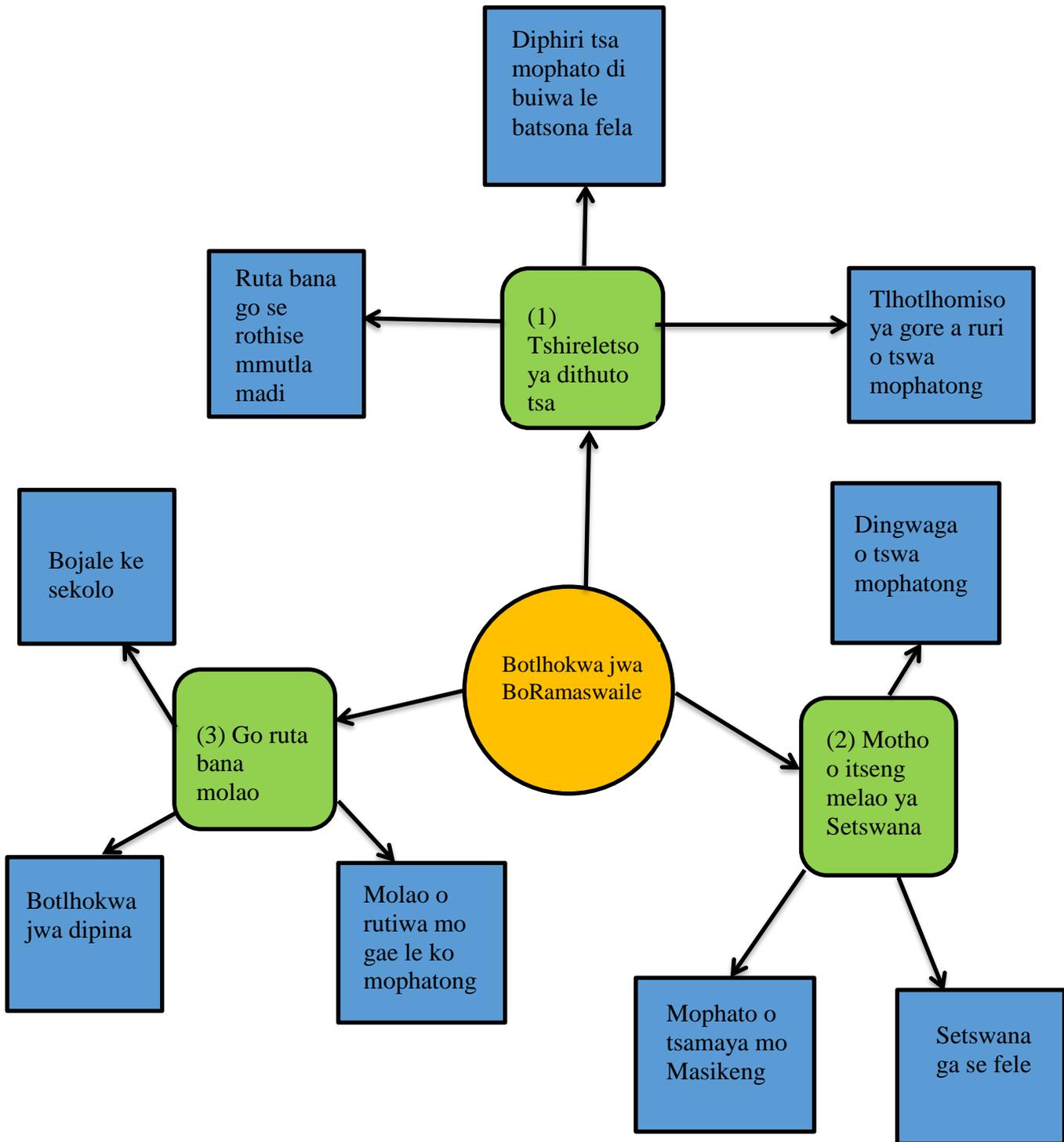
Nngwe ya dintlha tse re neng re di lebeletse mo dipatlisisong tseno e ne e le go tlhotlhomisa gore botlhokwa jwa BoRamaswaile ke eng kwa bojale. Potso e, e ne e botswa go tlhaloganya gore karolo ya bo BoRamaswaile ke eng kwa bojale. Go ne go bonale gore BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba botlhokwa ka gonne ba neelwa bana gore ba ba rute molao. Ke bo Mme ba ba tshepiwang ke motse le Dikgosi gore ba itse molao le ngwao tsa Setswana.

Motsayakarolo 4: *"Mmamophato ke motho wa botlhokwa ka gore akere bana botlhe ke wena motho yo o ba šebileng mo mophatong, sengwe le sengwe se se tlhagang hao, a gonna jang, go nna bosula, ke wena o di emelang... ke Mmamophato, Eyaa."*

Se se bontsha gore BoRamaswaile ba tshepilwe gore ba na le bokgoni jwa go tlhokomela bana ba ba mo tlase ga bone. BoRamaswaile ba bonwa e le ditlhogo tsa mophato. Le fa go na le batho ba bangwe ba ba nnang teng go ruta kwa mophatong, go thusana le bone, Ramaswaile ke ene o o tsayang maikarabelo otlhe. BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba kileng ba ya mophatong, Mme e bile ke batho ba ba tshepiwang jaaka bagolo ba ba bitseng dingwao le setso sa Setswana (Ampin, 2003).

**Setshwantsho 5: Ntlhakgolo – Botlhokwa ba BoRamaswaile go ruta melao**

**kwa Bojale**



## **Tshireletso ya dithuto tsa Setswana**

Mophato ke sekolo se dithuto tsa sone di sa abelwaneng le batho botlhe mo motseng. Dithuto tsa sone ke dithuto tse di felelang koo. BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba tshwereng thuto eo ka e le bone ba rutang kwa mephatong. Ka jalo, ke bone ba ba abelwang thuto e, gape ke bone ba ba tla bonang gore ke mang o o tshwanetseng ke go e itse kgotsa nnya. BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba sireletsang dithuto tsa Setswana le go dira gore di dule di na le seriti jaaka bogolo golo. Seriti seno se dirwa ke gore ga se dithuto tsa ga mang kgotsa mang. Tema eno e akaretsa gore BoRamaswaile ba tlhokomela gore dilo tse di diriwang kwa mophatong di felela koo. Diphiri tsa mophato di buiwa le go sekasekiwa le batho ba tsona fela. Gape ba ruta majale a a tswang mophatong gore dilo tsa teng ga se dilo tsa selegae. Ga di buiwe mo motseng. Bo Mme ba ba isang mophato ba na le tsela e ba tlhomamisang gore a motho o kile a ya mophatong e bile ba a itse ka ga mophato.

### **Diphiri tsa mophato di buiwa le beng ba tsona fela.**

Potso ya gore a o tswa setsong ene e tlhagelela nako tsotlhe fa re ne re bua le bo BoRamaswaile. Gonne go na le dilo tse di sireletsegileng tse e leng gore ga go kgonagele gore motho a di itse, a di fitlhelele fa motho a sa tswa teng, fa re ne re le kwa Taung go a go buisana le bo mmamophato gantsi selo sa ntlha se ba neng ba se botsa pele ba bua le rona ene e le gore a rona re tswa mophatong. Seo se ne se botsiwa gore batle ba itse gore ba ka bua gole go kae le rona. Le gore ke eng se re neng re sa tshwanela go se utlwa ka bojale.

*Motsayakarolo 5: Ee, Jaanong bomma, ke batla go itse, lo tswa setsong bo mamaka?*

Godimo fa ke mongwe wa batsayakarolo mo dipatlisisong tseno, o ne a batla go netefatsa gore a re tswa bojale kgotsa nnyaa. Go na le dipotso tse dirileng tse e leng gore fa re ne re dibotsa go ne go tlhalosiwa jaaka e le tse di koteng thata le fa gonne re se ka ra ya setsong go sa kgonagaleng gore re fitlhelele dikarabo tsa tsona.

*Motsayakarolo 1: Ee Mme, eo ke mekgwa e ke sa kgoneng go go bolelela wena eo. Akere wa re ga o tswa koo. Ha o batla go itse ke hela o ikela, wa go itšhebelo, o bowa o tla go dula haatshe.”*

Go ne go a nna botlhokwa go tlhalosa gore ga re tswa mophatong. Re ne re tshwanela go tlhalosa gore re Batswana ba ba itseng molao e bile re ne re botsa dipotso

go tlhaloganya botlhokwa le boleng jwa mophato eseng diphiri tsa teng. Re ne re sa boletse gore re tle re utlwe gore go diriwang kwa sekolong sa bojale. Mme se re neng re se lebeletse mo dipuisanong tseno ene e le go tlhaloganya gore boleng jwa bojale mo ngwaneng wa mosetsana wa Motswana ke eng. Gone go tlhakile gore go na le dilo tse di boteng tse di sakakang ra di utlwa. Mme ka mokgwa wa go tlhompisa setso le BoRamaswaile re ne ra tlhaloganya seo.

Power (2000) o tlhalosa gore basadi ba bagolo baba rutang kwa mephatong ya batho bantsho, ba nna basireletsi ba dithuto tse tsa mophato e bile ba nna ba sireletsi ba majale. Motho o o letleletsweng go itse ka ga melao e e rutiwang kwa mephatong ya basadi ke mosadi yo o tsenang teng kgotsa o kileng a tsena teng (Mabena, 1999; Manabe, 2010). Bo Ramaswaile ke bone ba ba rutang melao eno e e sa tshwanelang go itsiwe ke batho ba ba kontle. Go ya ka Power (2000)

*“..the secret ‘knowledge’ transmitted in these rites involves both linguistic formulae referring to the one-off event of an initiation ceremony and metaphors representing a system of taboos which regulate a woman’s life persistently thereafter”*

*“Diphiri tse di rutiwang di akareditse dipuo tse di maleba le bojale le maemela puo a bontsha meila e e tsamaisang botshelo jwa mosadi go tloga fa.”*

Power (2000) o tlhalosa gore dithuto tse tsa bojale di rutwa ka puo e e rileng, e e sa tlwaelwang mo motseng. Puo e, ke puo e e itsiweng ke batho ba ba kileng ba ya bojale fela. Puo e e dirisiwa go ruta majale ka ga bojale, melao le maitshwaro fa ba setse ba alogile. Ka jalo fa o sa itse puo e ga o ka ke wa bolelelwa diphiri tsa bojale. Puo e ke yone e farologanyang batho ba ba ileng bojale le ba ba sayang.

### **Thuto ka go se rothise mmutla madi.**

Majale a a yang dikolong tsa bojale a laiwa sentle gore dilo tsa kwa bojale di sala teng koo. Ba rutiwa go tlhompisa mophato le go se bue ka ona le dithuto tsa ona phatlalatsa fela. Ga e se dilo tsa mo gae. Gantsi selo se se dira gore batho ba le bantsi ba bue dilo di gana go fela ka bojale ba sena nnetefatso ya dilo tse ba di buang, ke gore dilo tsa bojale ga di itsiwe. Jaanong batho ba ba iseng ba ye teng ga ba na netefatso ya dilo tse ba buang ka tsone. Ka nako e nngwe bomasisi le dikhupamarama tse tsa dithuto tsa bojale di dira gore batho ba tshabe bojale ka gonne ba sa tlhaloganye gore go diragala eng teng, e bile ba sena ka mokgwa o ba ka fitlhelelang nnete e ka gone.

Selo se se ne se tlhalosiwa ke bo BoRamaswaile ke gore basadi ba ba tswang bojale ba tlhloganya sentle gore ga ba a tshwanela go bua ka sekolo seno se se tonna mo lapeng. Mme puisano ya rona le bone e supa ka fa majale a sa rothiseng mmutlwa madi ka dithuto tseno.

Motsayakarolo 4: *“mophato ke selo se se masisi...mophato o wa tlhomipiwa...mophato...ga o na gore, ngwana a tsa mophatong..., wa ba a kaya gore kwa sekolong sele re ira jana, ke sekolo se se tonna se se masisi, la e le bone boRre ba ditalama le bomapodisi ga a ame, ke sekolo se se botlhoko..ga ba ame mapodisi ... la ibile motho a nna le bogale, nnyaa ba emela kwa! .ee..”*

Se se ne se bontshe gore go na le tumalano mo segosing se se okametseng dilo tsa Setswana le meetlo ya tsona le puso. Mapodisi gantsi a bonnwa e le batho ba ba nang le matla a semolao e bile ke batho ba ba tshabawang. Mme fela fano mapodisi a a tlhloganya gore sekolo sa setso se a tlhompwiwa. Ga go tsenwe fela. BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa jaaka majale a senang go bua ka dilo tsa bojale ka teng. Motsayakarolo one a tlhalosa gore le fa motho a ka bobola bolwetse jwa tlhogo ga a kake a tsamaya a bua dilo tsa teng.

Majale a a tswang mophatong ba tlhloganya sentle bosisi jwa sekolo seno. Le fa go ka nna jang ga ba bue ditlhaka tsa kwa sekolong sa setso. BoMme ba ba ne ba tlhalosa gore le fa o ka nna le tsala e le ntshanang se se inong, ene a saya bojale, fa o boa kwa thabeng ga o fitlhe o mmolelela tse di diragalang teng, le fa e le gore le fitlha le tswelela ka bo tsala jwa lona. O ka nna wa bua le ene ka dilo tse dingwe Mme e se ka tsa bojale.

Majale a tlhloganya gore fa motho a sa ya bojale ga a letlelelwa gore a utlwe dilo tsa mophato. Motho yoo ga se mongwe wa bone gonne go na le dilo tse motho yoo a sa di itseng. Fa a ne a dira dipatlisiso tsa gagwe tsa mephato ya basadi ya Bemba, Power (2000) o tlhalosa ka fa dithuto tsa kwa mophatong wa basadi e leng lefelo le le rutang ngwao le dithuto tsa botshelo. Mme di rutiwa ka puo e e sireletsegileng. Puo e e dirisiwa go ruta ka dipina le dikai tse dingwe tse di kayang dilo tsa setso. Ba rutiwa ka ga puo ya lenyalo le maitshwaro a a eletsegang gare ga mosadi le monna mo lenyalong.

*“A second aspect is a ‘secret language of marriage’, referring especially to the taboos that constrain the physical relationship of husband and wife”*

*“Selo sa bobedi ke puo ya sephiri ya mo lenyalong, e e bolelang meila ee maleba le tsalanyo ya Monna le Mosadi”*

Power (2000, p. 86).

### **Tlhotlhomiso gore a o kile wa ya mophatong.**

Mephato e ne e tshameka karolo e kgolo mo go bopaganyeng setšhaba mo malobeng. Mogapi (1991) o tlhalosa gore mephato e ne e bidiwa go tla go dira tiro e e tlhokegang mo motseng. Mephato e mengwe e thusitse go aga dikereke, matamo, le dikolo. Mophato mongwe le mongwe wa bojale o rewa leina la one, ka ga jalo motho o o tswang mophatong o kgona go go bolelela gore leina la mophato wa gagwe ke lefe. Basadi ba ba tswang setsong ba itsiwe ka gore motho o itlhalosa sentle gore go utlwagale sentle gore o tswa setsong. Gape go na le dipina tse di opelwang kwa mephatong tse di sa opelweng mo gae tse e leng gore o ka palelwa ke go di opela fa o sa tswe.

Ka nako ya mephato, basadi ba ba tswang teng ba ya kwa thabeng go ya go thusa go ruta le go rotloetsa dialogane tse dintsha. Mme fa go tsenwa teng, go tshwanetse gore go bonagale gore tota o itse dilo tsa bojale. O a sekasekiwa gore a o santse o gopola ka fa o rutilweng ka teng ka nako e wena o neng o ile mophatong. Ka jalo go latedisiwa gore ga go na batho ba ba sa tsweng bojale ba ba tseneng ka bokhukhuntswane.

Motsayakarolo 6 *“Go tla nako e e leng gore re utlwe gore boMme ke bomang, le rona ba ba tswang re diriwa ‘research’ le rona... o le Mme hela, o itse gore a o santse o gopola sa gago, a o santse o itlhaloganya... jaanong”*

Mosadi o o satsweng mophatong ga a ye go leka go tsena kwa mophatong. Basadi ba ba tswang mophatong ba a itsane ka gore go na le sengwe se ba se rutilweng se se tla lemogisang ba bangwe gore ka nnete o tswa mophatong. Basadi ba ba kwa mophatong ba tshwanetse gore ba be ba itse molao o ba o rutilweng kwa mophatong.

Power (2000) o tlhalosa gore molao o o rutilweng ka puo e ya sephiri e e rutiwang kwa mophatong ke yone e e tlaa supang gore motho ka nnete o tswa mophatong. Go itse melao le gore o rutilwe eng kwa mophatong go go bulela ditsela mo go boMme ba ba go botsang ka tsa mophato.

Power (2000) o sekasekileng koma ya basadi ba letso la Tshivenda are:

*“The milayo functioned as passwords to certain privileges of association. Recitation of the proper milayo ‘supported a woman’s claim to the benefits of an inter-district, inter-tribal, pan- Venda mutual aid society”*

*“Melao e ne edirisiwa jaaka selotlolo go fitlhelela dingwe tsa menyetla. Go bua melao e e siameng go ne go fa mosadi tetla le tshono ya go fitlelela menyetla eno mo mephatong ya ba Venda mutual society” ( p. 87).*

Fa Mme a fitlha a re o kile a ya bojale, ya re a botswa gore molao o a o rutilweng ke o fe mme a palelwa ke go o tlhalosa go bontsha gore ga a tswe bojale. Go sa tswe bojale go bolela gore ga o mongwe wa batho bao. Go a itsiwe gore dithuto tseo di fitlhelwa fela kwa bojale, fa o sa kgone go tlhalosa ga o a letlelelwa foo. Go ya ka Power (2000, p. 88), *“a woman who has not graduated is not “a member of the club”:* *she has no real say in women’s affairs”*

*“Mosadi o o sa tsweng bojale ga se leloko la setlhopa seno, ga a na puo mo mererong ya basadi”*

Fa o fitlhelwa o itse melao ya bojale le dithuto tsa teng go a itsiwe gore o amogelelele foo. O nna mongwe wa batho ba ba foo. Le fa e le gore gongwe o ile mophatong wa gago le Mathosa gongwe Mazulu, bojale bo bosisi e bile bomme ba ba rutang teng ba dira bo nnete jwa gore ga go motho o o sa tshwanelang o o tsenang a sa dumelwa teng koo. Ga ba batle gore batho ba fitlhe ba bone dilo tsa teng motho a ne a saya go ithuta a be a boe a tle go digasagasa mogae.

### **Ramaswaile ke motho yo o itseng melao ya Setswana**

Dithuto tse di rutiwang mo dikolong tsa bojale ke dithuto tsa Setswana tse di tsamaelanang le tlhago, ngwao, le botho jaaka Setswana se tlhalosa. Gore bana ba rutiwe ka dilo tseno ba tshwanetse go rutiwa ke batho ba ba tlhaloganyang thuto tsa Setswana ka gotlhelele (Mogapi, 1991). BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba tshepilweng ke motse le ba Segosi gore ba itse molao le meetlo ya Setswana sentle gore ba kgone go tlhalosa sentle botlhokwa jwa dithuto tseno. Mo ntlheng eno dintlha tse di tlhageletseng di le botlhokwa di akareditse dingwaga tse Ramaswaile a nang le tsona a tswa

mophatong ka bo ene, ntlha ya gore Setswana ga se fele e bile ga go fa o ka reng Setswana o se itse sotlhe le gore go nna karolo ya mophato go tsamaya ka malapa.

**Dingwaga tse o nang le tsone o tswa mophatong.**

Fa potso ya gore ke mang o o letleletsweng go nna Ra-Maswaile e ne e bodiwa, batsaakarolo ba dipatlisiso tseno ba tlhalositse gantsi gore se se botlhokwa ke gore motho o na le nako e kae a tswa mophatong. Dingwaga tse ke tsone tse di bontshang gore motho o tsepame mo molaong wa Setswana le gore o o itse sentle thata.

*Motsayakarolo 2: Go ya ka dingwaga tsa gore o ile setsong leng”*

Dingwaga tse di bolelwang tse di bontsha gore o na le maitemogelo mo setsong. Basadi baba alogileng, ba boela bojale ngwaga le ngwaga go ya go oketsa thuto ya bone le go amogela majale a maswa. Se se bolela gore ngwaga le ngwaga thuto ya gago e a oketsega. O tshwanetse o be o na le maitemogelo mo setsog gore onne Ra-Maswaile, go lebeletswe gore fa o tswa mophatong o nne o ithutela pele mo dilong tsa setso. Go botlhokwa go tlhaloganya gore gantsi ke go boaboelela kwa mophato go ntsifatsa thuto ya gago go go tlaa go thusang gore o tlhaloganye le go ya pele ka melao ya Setswana e e rutiwang kwa mophatong.

Le fa go le jalo, go ne go utlwagale gore mo nakong eno ya segompiano go a diragala gore motho a sena maitemogelo a mantsi mo go tsa mephato a fitlhelwe e le BoRamaswaile. Se se diragala gonne gongwe go na le madi a a duelwang. Re ne re lemoge gore boMme ba ba neng ba tseile karolo mo dipatlisisong tse ba dumela gore ga go a tshwanela ga nna jalo.

*Motsayakarolo 2: Ha nkaka wa isa setso o na le ‘two years- three years’ o tswa setso...maare gone jaanong gwa diragala...ba kgona go isa ba bangwe nou jaana ne...ba kgona go isa ba na le ‘two years- three years’ ba tswa.*

Godimo ga ntlha ya gore fa o le Ra-Maswaile o tshwanetse gore o be o na le maitemogelo, batsayakarolo ba bangwe ba ne ba tlhalosa gore fa o nna Ramaswaile o tshwanetse o be o tlhaloganya molao wa Setswana, e bile o kgona go ruta batho, o ba tshwara sentle (Mogapi, 1991).

*Motsayakarolo 3: “Nyaa ha o tlhaloganya dilo, o le tshwaro e e siameng, o kana wa isa.”*

Dikwalo tse dintsi di tthalosa gore basadi le banna ba ba tswang bogwera ba rutwa go itshokela mathata a botshelo, go ne go rutiwa ka go kgwathisiwa (Mogapi, 1991). Se ke ntlha ya botlhokwa gonne gantsi re utlwa gore batho ba tsholwa makgwakgwa kwa dikolong tsa setso. Go ne go a itumedisa go utlwa gore BoRamaswaile bare o tshwanetse o be o le motho o kgonang go tshola batho sentle.

### **Setswana ga se fele.**

Ntlha e e latelang dingwaga le maitemogelo a Ramaswaile ke ntlha ya gore Setswana ga se fele, se namile. Le fa o ka nna o ya mophatong go ya go ithuta ka fa go tseneletseng, ka nako tsotlhe go na le sengwe se se ntsha se o ka se ithutang. Ga o kgone gore o re wena o se itse sotlhe. Ke sone gape re utlwang gotwe ga se fela fa o kile wa tsena mophato, ka gore ngwaga e nngwe le e nngwe go na le se se oketsegang mo thutong e o ithutileng.

*Motsaakarolo 6: Setso se ga se hele se yaka kwa pele, le rona ha re le re ka se hele ka sona se sentsi thata, Ee se kwa godimo thata se sentsii. Se namile! Se namile tota bomma, jaanong ha ke itsii gore a go na le seng se le se tlhokang, seke lwa tshaba sepe”*

Mme o o neng a bua jaana o na le dingwaga tse di le masome tlhano le boraro (53) mme o tlhalosa fa a santse a tsamaisa setso le mogoloe. Mme yo, o mogolo mo go ene. Gore a ke a mo rute go ya pele ka Setswana, gonne se namile. Se se bolela gore fa go santse go na le basadibagolo, ba tshwanetse gore ba bodiwe ka Setswana, ba rute ba tlhalose gore fa ba setse ba seo gonne le batho ba ba ka tsweletsang Setswana pele.

### **Mophato o tsamaya le masika.**

Selo sa botlhokwa gape se se bonagetseng ke gore sekolo sa bojale le bogwera se atisa go tsamaiwa ke malapa a batho ba ba ratang setso sa Setswana. Gantsi fa o godisitswe mo lapeng le le ratang setso go bonolo gore o ye sekolong sa setso.

*Motsayakarolo 2: “Hee, mo gae teng ga go ise go nne le motho yo o sa batleng go ya kagore rotlhe mo gae re batho ba setso, re batho ba Setswana, le kwa ga bomama re batho ba Setswana, kwa gabone...re gola hela re itlhela go isiwa e bile go isetswa mo matlung.”*

Se se bonagetseng fa re ne re tshwaragane le dipuisano le bo RaMaswaile ba bane ba ne ba tlhalosa fa go diragetse ka mokgwa o mo go bone,

Motsayakarolo 1: *Nnya: Mma ga a ntlogela jalo kwa gae. Erile ha a bona gore wa gola a be a nthaya a re "bana ba bokgotsadio botlhe ba tshwanetse ba sale ba ya. Maare kwa ga rona ga re tseye ngwana a sa batle, ngwana ha batla hela a re "ke ya tsamayaa" ke gore ha go simola kgang e ya setso, le ha e le bana ba ga mangwane re ya fonelana: go isiwa setso yo o batlang a ye. Ke gore re iletsa kgang gore ngwana o tlaa ya kwa a sa tshwanelang teng gongwe.*

Mongwe wa BoRamaswaile o re neng re buisana le ene o ne a tlhalosa fa a rutilwe ke mogolowe go nna RaMaswaile, e bile a santse a tsamaisa mophato le mogolowe le jaanong. Se se ne sa bontsha gore go isa mophato ke boswa e bile gape ke gore ka Setswana se sa fele, fa o le motho o se rata o sa le monnyane ka gore ke se se dirwang ka mo gae. O feleletsa o bona botlhokwa jwa sone le gore o batle go tswelletsa se se simolotsweng ke bagolo ba gago. Ke ka moo BoRamaswaile ba tsamayang le bana ba bone ba ba rutang go tswelletsa Setswana fa bone ba sa tlhole ba kgona.

### **Go ruta bana melao**

Jaaka re setse re lemogile, BoRamaswaile ke batho ba ba botlhokwa thata. Ke bone ba ba tshwereng dikolo tsa bojale tsa setso kwa Taung. Ba tshepiwa ke motse le batsadi ba bana gore ba tla kgona go ruta bana sentle. Gonne bojale e le sekolo, bomma mophato ba ruta bana molao teng. bojale ke sekolo sa setso sa Setswana. Dithuto tsa teng ke dithuto tse di sa kwalweng fatshe. Ke dithuto tse di rutiwang ka puo ya Setswana. Mogapi (1991) o tlhalosa fa puo ya batho e le sefalana sa ngwao ya bona. Ke modi wa boleng jwa bone. Gantsi go dirisiwa dipina go ruta mo dikolong tseno (Werbner, 2009; Matemba, 2010; Ntombana, 2011b; Kangwa, 2011; Matobo, Makatsa, & Obioha. 2009). Mogapi (1991) a re dipina ke bontlhanngwe jwa puo le ngwao ya Setswana. Dipina di tlhamelwa mabaka a a faapaneng. Dipina tsa Bojale ditlhamelwa go ruta ngwao le melao.

Fa re ne re le kwa Taung re nnile le tshono ya go bona majale a bina dipina tsa kwa bojale tse di letleletsweng go biniwa mo motseng. Dipina tse di ne di na le melaetsa

e e rileng fa o di reeditse. Fa re buisana le bo BoRamaswaile ba ne ba re tlhalosetsa gore melaetsa e e rutiwang kwa bojale e fetisiwa ka dipina tse. Gape bo -BoRamaswaile ba ile ba re tlhalosetsa gore le fa molao o rutiwa kwa mophatong motheo ya dithuto tse e simolola kwa lapeng fa ngwana antse a gole, mme e bile e tswelela pele morago ga mophato.

### **Bojale ke sekolo.**

Ntlha ya botlhokwa e re e nopotseng ke gore bojale ke sekolo. Ke sekolo jaaka dikolo tse dingwe. Bojale bo na le melao ya teng jaaka dikolo tsotlhe di nale melao ya teng. Bojale ke sekolo se se rutang bana ba Batswana melao ya Setswana le gore ba itlhaloganye jaaka e le Batswana, batlhaloganye medi ya bone le gore goreng go dirwa dilo ka mokgwa o o rileng (Makaula & Lumbwe, 2014). Go moruta gore a ikemele. Setso se tlhaga kgakala le Batswana, setso ke ntlha e e botlhokwa ya go nna Motswana. Rre Naledi o ne a re tlhalosetsa gore motsoga-pele wa maloba ha a isa ngwana kwa nageng o ne a mo direla gore a seke a gaisiwa ke dithaka tsa gagwe. Se se bolela gore setso ke bontlhanngwe ba setso sa Setswana. Bana ba ne ba gola mo gae ba rutiwa go itshola ka go lebelela batsadi ba bone, go fitlha mo nakong e baneng ba godile ba lekane go ya mophatong. Mophato ke sekolosegolo mo Motswaneng.

*Motsayakarolo 5: Ee ke 'Colledge' hela e e tshwanang le e kwa go nyena. Ke sekolo o dule hatshe, re go bolelele, re go rute gore sekolo ke eng... ke 'one, two, three...'*

Bojale ke sekolo se e leng gore dithuto tsa teng di felela kwa sekolong. Di itsiwe ke batho ba ba tswang teng fela. Bo RaMaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa fa e le gore go itse gore motho o rutegile sentle kwa sekolong sa setso, ke fa o bona gore dithuto tsa gago motho o di amogetse ka botlalo o bona gore o di amogetse fa a itshotse ka mokgwa o o siameng.

*Motsayakarolo 1: Akere o kwa sekolong sa bone, wa bona. Ke tsa sekolo...O kgotsofetse o bona tiro ya gore e matla o e amogetse ka botlalo ke mosadi...a ka nna le ene kamoso a go direla ba banngwe...wa bona*

Pele ke tlhalositse gore bojale ke sekolo sa Setswana se se rutang molao wa Setswana. Le fa e le gore bana ba rutiwa molao mo legaeng fa ba ntse ba tla ba gola, fa ba godile jaanong ba ya bojale go ya go ithuta sentle ka melao ya Setswana e e

akareditseng botho le maitshwaro a a lebeletsweng mo mosading wa Motswana (Mogapi, 1991; Nkomazana, 2005; Setlhabi, 2014). Tsa sekolo se itsiwe ke ba ba tswang teng fela. Fa RaMaswaile a utlwa gore o kgotsofetse gore ba rutegile ke gone a tla dumalanang le bone gore ke basadi jaanong. Fa go setse go kgotsofetse ene gore o setse a ka kgona go ruta le ba bangwe ka Bosadi.

Motsayakarolo 4: *Ao o raya ha ba tswile, ba ba ya ba dira dilo di sele...ba etla mo go wena ba batlo go go bolelela. Ke boa ke bua le ene.*

Go ne ga bonala gore tota BoRamaswaile maikarabelo a bone ga a felele motlhang ba alosang mephato. Kgosi le setšhaba ba bona RaMaswaile a na le maikarabelo a go ruta bana molao. Maikarabelo a gagwe gape ke gore le fa bana ba setse ba tswile o sentse o bua le bone a ba fatlhosa fa go tlhokagalang gone. Maikarabelo a gagwe ga a felele kwa mophatong mme a tswela pele le mo motseng fa bana ba setse ba alogile kwa mophatong.

### **Botlhokwa jwa pina.**

Melao e e rutiwang kwa bojale e rutiwa ka mekgwa e e farologanyeng. Se re se nopotseng mo dipuisanong tse re nnileng le tsone ke gore dithuto tsa kwa bojale di rutiwa ka go re o dule fatshe o tlhalosetswe sentle gore eng ke eng. Mme gape mekgwa o o rutiwang ka one o mongwe gape ke dipina (Werbner, 2009; Matemba, 2010; Ntombana, 2011b; Kangwa, 2011; Matobo, Makatsa, & Obioha. 2009). Dipina di thusa gore motho a kgone go gopola dithuto bonolo e bile di na le morethetho o o monate. Dipina di tlamelwa mabaka a a farologanyeng. Di ka tlamelwa go rorisa, go gakatsa, go kgala le go tlosa bodutu (Mogapi, 1991). Dipina tse dingwe di opelwa ke motho a le mongwe fa tse dingwe di biniwa ke setlhopa sa batho. Dipina tsa bojale bi biniwa ke setlhopa sa batho. Di patiwa ke go opiwa diatla, meropa gongwe modumo wa matlhaka a a mo maotong a majale (Mogapi, 1991).

Fa re ne re botsa gore botlhokwa jwa pina ke eng go ruta kwa mophatong. Re ne ra tlhaloganya gore melao ya bojale e rutiwa ka pina gonne dipina tse di na le molaetsa mo go tsone sentle sentle.

Motsayakarolo 3: *Thata akere wa utlwa bana ba opela ba re “Mme Mmamosetlho o re ke Mosadi...o re apotse kobo ya bošoboro” ke gore ke ba apotse tlhaloganyo e le e e bosula ele*

Motsayakarolo 4: *Botlhokwa jwa pina ke gone go itse gore motho yole o tswa go rutiwa, o tswa go tsena sekolo ..., ene sekolo seo ga se sekolo se se..., tse tsa dikolo tse tsa mo gae tse..., ha ba tla ba na le dipina tsa bone ha ba hologa ba na le dipina tsa bone, Ee.*

Fa batho ba ile go bolola, gongwe bojale kgotsa bogwera ba boa a ithutile dipina tsa teng. Dipina tse di farologanye, go na le dipina tse di rutiwang tse di letleletsweng go opelwa mo gae. G ape go na le dipina tse di sa letleletsweng go opelwa mo pepeneneng. Go na le dipina tse di sa opelweng mo motseng tse di opelwang kwa nageng fela mme go na le dipina tse di opelwang mo gae gape. Re ne ra nna le maiphitlelo a go bona majale a bina. Mongwe wa bo BoRamaswaile ba re neng re buisana le bona o ne a re re bogele pele fa majale a gagwe ba bina pele re ka buisana le ene.

Bontsi jwa dipina tse dineng di biniwa di ne di utlwala gore di na le melaetsa. E ke nngwe ya dipina tse re di utlwileng. Dipina tse di na le melaetsa ya go ithuta maitshwaro

*Ke ne, ke ne, ke ne ke le pudi*

*(Ha o sa itse) ke ne, ke ne, ke ne ke le pudi...*

*(Ha o sa itse, go monate) Ke ne, ke ne, ke ne ke le pudi...ke ja mmidi.*

Pina e, fa e tlhalosiwa ke Mme yo o neng re bua le ene ke gore fa o dutse mo gae o ise o ye bojale, go na le dilo tse dintsi tse o sa di itseng. Fa o ya bojale o fitlha o ithuta melao le dilo tse dintsi go tshwana le tse dingwe tse re di utlwileng, e bontsha gore go na le melaetsa mo dipineng tsa bojale.

#### **Molao o rutiwa mo gae le kwa mophatong.**

Dithuto tse di rutwang kwa mophatong ke dithuto tse di botlhokwa thata, mme BoRamaswaile ba dumela gore le dithuto tse di rutilweng kwa gae ke dithuto tse di botlhokwa thata. Bana ba Batswana ba rutiwa molao ba sale bannye. Ba rutiwa ke bo mmabone ba thusiwa ke bo rrabone (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991). Batsadi ba ba tlhaloganya seane se se reng “*tloga tloga e tloga kgale, modisa wa kgomo o tswa natso sakeng*”. BoRamaswaile ba ruta dithuto tsa bone ba rutela godimo ga dithuto tse di rutilweng kwa gae. Ba tlhalosa gore maitshwaro a batho ba ba tswang kwa mophatong a bontsha se ba se rutilweng kwa mophatong, mme fela ga se selo seo fela se se

bonagalang. Dithuto tsa mo legaeng le tsone di botlhokwa thata, le gore a motho o tsalegile.

Motsayakarolo 2: *“Ke gore ke ya go utlwa gore o batla goreng.. Mama ene ga go tlhalogaye...ke gore ngwana ha a santse a tlhoga....a tla a gola ...wena o mo naya bosadi bowa bo e leng gore ke motho wa ngwanyana. Go tlile go tla batsadi ba bang ba ba tlileng go mo ha bosadi jo bongwe go gaisa bo le ba gago ba go tswa bonyaneng”*

Tlhompo e tswa kwa gae, e seng kwa maphotong fela. Le ha mophato o ruta tlhompo e agelelwa mo tlhompong e o tswang le yone kwa gae go le gale. Fa motho a tla a sena yone go tswa kwa gae ga go se mophato o tla fitlhang o sefetola. Mme fela BoRamaswaile ba lemoga gore ngwana o rutege kwa mephatong fela fa e le gore o tsalegile kwa gae. Fa e le gore o tswile kwa gae a rutege maitshwaro sentle go fitlha go nna bonolo gore a rutege kwa mophatong.

Motsayakarolo 3: *Lo tlaa bona maitshwaro a gagwe le go tlhompa ga gagwe, ha e le ngwana yo o tsalegileng...ha a sa tsalega...ha nkaka-E tlaa be e le gore...šeba...ke teng hela e theogileng...e e reng ha a nna le batsadi ba gagwe ba bua le ene, a be a sa reetse batsadi...*

Rre Naledi o ne a re tlhalosetsa gore go na le diphiri tse dingwe tsa malapa tse di senolegang kwa sekolong sa bojale le bogwera ka mabaka a a rileng. Mme batho ba ba moo ba rutwa gore ba se ka ba gataka ditshwanelo tsa botho tsa ba bangwe. Mme le fa gole jalo go tswa go re a motho o na le botho mo go ene, e bile a o tsalegile. Ke tsone dilo tse di tlaa dirang gore a se ka a bua ka dilo tse a di utlwileng kgotsa a diboneng ka malapa a ba bangwe. A re botho ga se fela fa o tswa setsong. Go ya ka Rre Naledi (personal communication, 2015), *“Ha o le motho sephiri ha se hela ha o tswa, ha o le motho, o kgona go dira botho, ke selo se se le mo mothong. Ha ke se motho ke ya go bua...go tswa mo bothong jwa motho gore o tsetwe jang...ga se gore go tswa setsong o tlaa be o le...botho ha bo seo ga boyo! Ga bo diri ke gore a o tswa setsong, maar se re se dirang o ka se dira mo gae hela o sa tswa...wa tlhaloganya?”*

Maitseo le botho ga se dilo tse di rutiwang fela kwa setsong. Ke dilo tse e leng gore fa o tsetswe o na le botho o tlaa nna le botho. Go tlhompa batho ba bagolo, go itse

go dumedisa ka maitseo, go romega, le go rata boammarurri ke dingwe tsa dilo tse bana ba Batswana ba tshwanetseng go di rutiwa fa ba santse ba gola (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991). Mme fa o sa tsalega o sa rutega le teng go a bonala le fa o ka ya sekolong sa setso. Seno se bolela gore sekolo sa setso se rotloetsa maitshwaro mantle, Mme fela ga se fetole motho o o tlang a sena maitshwaro gole gale. Dilo tsa setso ga di buiwe, ke gore ke botho jo bo rutiwang teng, fa o utlwile sengwe ka malapa a mangwe kwa bojale, ke go bontsha botho go se utlwise lelapa le lengwe botlhoko.

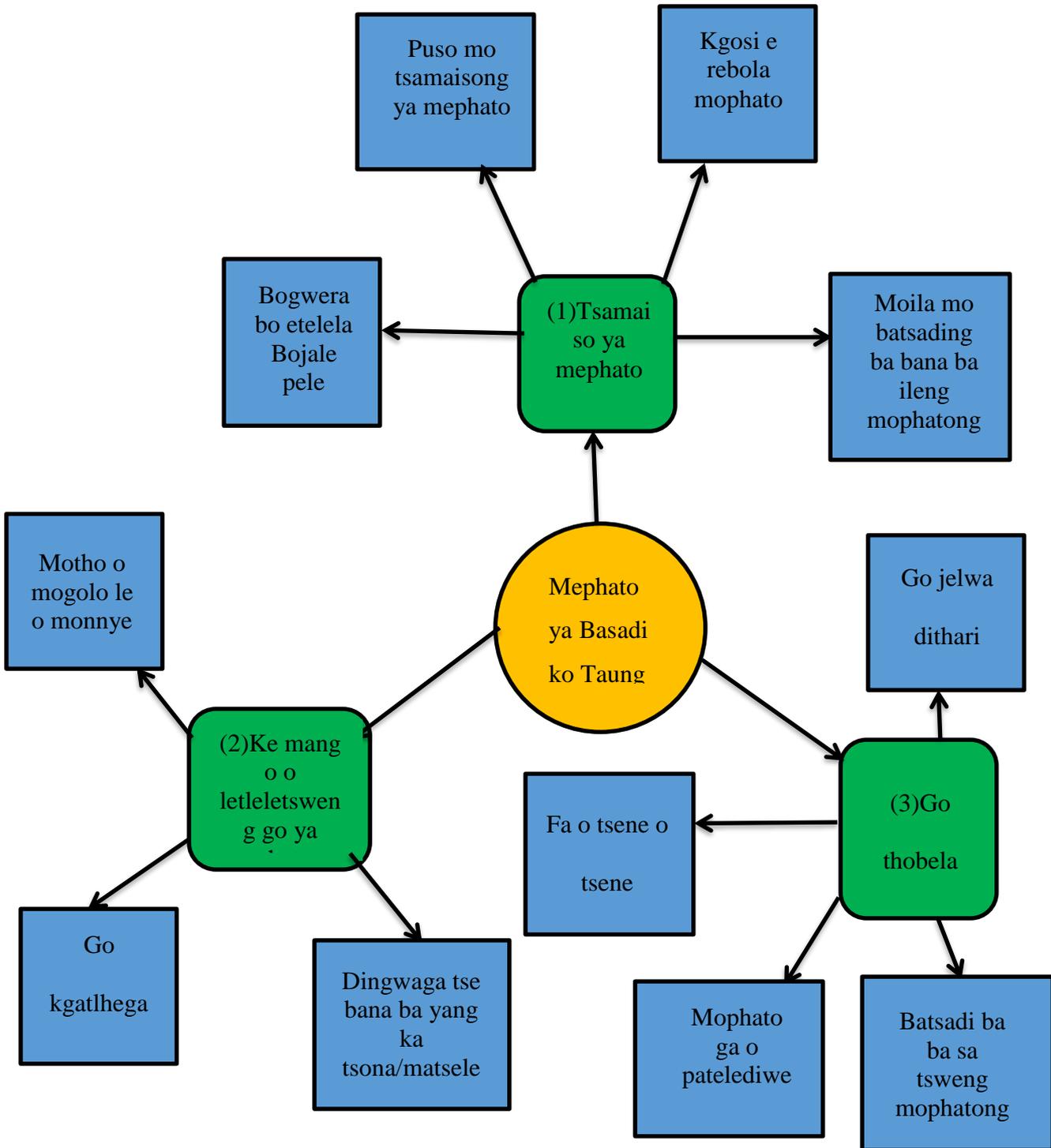
Karolo e e latelang e sekaseka ntlhakgolo ya bofelo e e buang ka mephato ya basadi (bojale) kwa Taung.

### **Mephato ya Basadi ko Taung**

Taung ke nngwe ya ditulo tse di santseng di ruta bana ba bone ka ga setso sa Setswana. Ngwaga le ngwaga ba lefapha la setso ba kopana le metse e e mo Taung go keteka setso sa Setswana ka lenaneo la “Taung Cultural Celebration”. Meletlong e e tshwanang le e, e diriwa gore bana ba ithute ka ga setso sa bone le go rotloetsa lefapha la thuto gore bana ba rutiwe ka ga setso le mmedi ya bone ya Setswana. Dikolo tsa bojale le bogwera le tsone ke nngwe ya go ruta bana ba Batswana go itse ka melao le ngwao ya Setswana.

Dipuisano le batsayakarolo mo dipatlisisong tse di dirilweng ka bojale kwa Taung di bontsha fa go le botlhokwa go tihlalonganya tsamaiso ya mephato le gore mephato e nyalana jang le setso sa Setswana. Ntlhakgolo e, e arongantswe ka ditema di le tharo e leng tsamaiso ya mephato, go thobela le tema e e buang ka gore ke mang a letleletsweng go ya mophatong. Setshwantsho ka fa tlase se botsha dintlha tse. Dintlha tse di fa tlase ga ntlhakgolo e di tthalosiwa fa tlase.

**Setshwantsho 6: Ntlhakarolo 3 - Tsamaiso ya mephatho**



## **Tsamaiso ya mephato**

Taung ke motse o o santseng o tsaya tsia meetlo ya setso sa Setswana. Ke lefelo le le santseng le na le dikgotla, mo molao wa gone o neelwang ke dikgosi le dikgosana. Fa re buisana le BoRamaswaile kwa Taung re filtheletse go tthaloganya gore dikolo tsa mophato di fa tlase ga dikgosi, ba tshwaragane le ba puso, bogolo segolo ba lefapha la pholo. Re tthalogantse dintlha di le mmalwa, gore go na le dilo tse e leng meila mo batsading ba bana ba bone ba ileng mophatong le gore ka tshwanelo mophato wa banna o etelela mophato wa basadi pele ka nako tsotlhe.

### **Kgosi e rebola mophato.**

Kgosi e rebola bojale le bogwera ka nako ya teng (Mosothwane, 2004). Mo nakong ya maloba, bogwera le bojale di ne di tlwaelegile mo Batswaneng. Mme erile go fitlha batho basweu le tumelo ya sekeresete, dikolo tseno di ne tsa kgapelwa kwa thoko (Madise, 2010; Mosothwane, 2004; Nkomazana, 2005). Gone jaanong go na le metse e e sa iseng bojale le bogwera kantlha ya gore dikgosi tsa teng di dumela mo sekeresteng. Se se bontsha gore Kgosi ke motho wa botlhokwa mo tsamaisong ya dikolo tsa bojale le bogwera. BoRamaswaile ba a bolelelwa fa e le gore mephato e tlaa isiswa. BoRamaswaile ba ne ba re tthalosetsa gore Kgosi le ba bogosi ke bone ba ba rebolang mophato. Fa mophato o sa rebolwa ke Kgosi go bolela gore ga go na mophato mo ngwageng eo. Ba ne ba re bolelela gore go tlile molao wa gore go tlodisiwe ngwaga go iwe ngwaga e e latelang.

Motsayakarolo 5: *“ha phoso e le teng batho ba ba etetseng mophato pele jaaka ba beilwe ke bogosi, ba tswanetse ba ne matlho a matshotsho go sheba gore motho yo o isitseng mophato yo, a o tshwere mophato wa gagwe sentle”*

Fa go setswe go dumalanwe gore go a isiwa, Lefapha la Thuto le ruta BoRaMaswaile ka tshwaro entle ya majale. Ba rutiwa go tlhokomela majale le gore ba ba ise bookelong fa go ka tlhaga mathata kwa nageng. Ba itse gore ba ikgolaganye le mang fa go na le mathata. Fa ba feditse go rutiwa ka tsholo e ntle, dikgosi di neela BoRamaswaile makwalo a go letlelela gore ba ise bana mophatong. Motho o o senang lekwalo leno ga a letlelelwa go isa mophato. Dikgosi fa di neetse batho makwalo a gore ba ise mophato ba lebeletse gore majale le magwera ba tlaa tshwarwa sentle kwa mephatong, ba se ka ba tshwarwa makgwakgwa.

Motsayakarolo 3: *Hela ka dikgosi di bua, ha re bidiwa, kwa go Rre Mašoko, ba ne ba bodiwa gore “ a lo tshwara batho sentle”*

Dikgosi mo motseng di tshwanetse go tlhokomela batho ba ba yang mophatong le go bona gore ditshwanelo tsa botho ga di gatakiwe (Mngomezulu, 2014). Ke ka moo ba tlaa bitsang BoRamaswaile go botsa gore a ba tshwara batho sentle kwa mephatong. Fa majale a sa tshwarwa sentle ba kgona go ntsha mophato oo, ba romele majale kwa go RaMaswaile yo o tshwarang batho sentle.

#### **Puso mo tsamaisong ya mephato.**

Puso ya kwa Bokone Bophirima e tlhalositswe e le puso e e tsayang karolo mo dikolong tsa mophato tsa setso. Ga go felele fela mo dikgosing gore ba tseye maikarabelo a dikolo tsa setso. Kamano gare ga dikgosi kgotsa baeteledipele ba setso le puso ke selo se se botlhokwa tota. Ba Lefapha la Pholo ba ikamantse le baeteledi ba dikolo tsa mophato gore ba tle ba itse gore ke eng se se diragalang se ba ka thusang ka sone mo dikolong tsa mophato. Selo sa botlhokwa ke gore le fa go ya batho ba Lefapha la Thuto kwa mephatong go dirwa bo nnete jwa gore ba ba yang ke ba kileng ba feta mo mophatong ka bo bone (Mngomezulu, 2014). Majale a romelwa pele kwa Lefapheng la Boitekanelo gore ba tlhatlhabiwe gore a ba siametse go ya mophatong. Ba ba sa itekanelang ba newa ditlhare gore le fa ba le kwa bojale ba dinwe.

Motsayakarolo 3: *Šeba, akere matlhoko a mantsi...ha re tlhole re isa bana sentle hela...bana ba isiwa koo re sa ye go ba tšheka kwa tleliniking. Ba tšhekiwa kwa kliniking, pele ga ba ya kwa. Bommabone ba ba isa, ha ntse ba tsaya dipilisi, Ee ba go tseela dipilisi, ba tsamaya ka tsone,ke be kedi newa nna MmaMophato...Ee...ba di ja vroeg ba be ba dija maitsebowa hela jalo, hela jalo*

Motsayakarolo 6: *“Ke lebogetse pušo gore ipatanye le rona, ga e ya tsena mo gare ga rona. E romela bomme, e ya ba roma gore, bomme tsamayang lo ye go lebelela gore go re go dirwang...ha ba tsena re ba fa difaele tsa rona, Gore ngwana o o tlileng a bobola yana le yana. Ba alafiwa, ditlhare di ya tla...ha o tlhoka ‘injection’, ba go raya bare “tsamaya mma o ye hospotala”, wa ya a hospotala...akere motho ha buiwi sepe se*

*se mašwe...ke ya ba isa kwa kliniking kwa... mo thuseng mo ke  
'one, two, three'.*

Se se bontsha gore dikolo tsa bojale di ikemiseditse go dirisana le puso go sireletsa ditshwanelo tsa botho tsa majale a tsone. Ga go na gore fa motho a sa itekanela a ka swela koo, ba isiwa dipetlele le ditleliniki gore ba thusege.

### **Bogwera bo etelela bojale pele.**

Re ne ra tlhologanya gore mephato ya bo rre le ya bo mme e tsamaisiwa ka nako e e bapileng, se se bolela gore fa bogosi bo rebola gore mephato e ka nna ya isiwa, go isiwa bomme le bo rre. Mme se re se lemogileng ke gore bo rre ba etelela bomme pele, ka nako ya go ya nageng le ka nako ya go boa kwa nageng ba tla mo motseng (Lesejane, 2012). Mo makwalong a mangwe go tlhalosiwa fa majale a aloga pele (Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014). Fa Kgosi e palama setulo sa bogosi kwa dinageng tse dingwe, o tshwanetse go itiisa ka go rebola mophato wa basadi pele, gonne gotwe Kgosi e itibola ka basadi (Setlhabi, 2014). Ko Taung, basadi ba tswa kwa morago ga ba nna. Banna ba etelela basadi pele go tsena kwa mopahtong le go boa.

Motsayakarolo 3: *“ee, basadi ba tswa morago..akere bone ke basadi...boRre ba gata mabala pele, basadi ba tsamaya mo metlhaleng...le ha ba bowa kwa basadi...morago)*

Bangwe ba batsaya karolo ba ne ba tlhalosa gore banna ke bone dithito, e bile *“e namagadi ga e etelele e tona pele”*. Se se bontsha ka mokgwa o malapa a Batswana a le ka teng. Monna ke ene tlhogo ya lelapa, molao o newa ke rre wa lelapa mme mme ene o tlaa go thusa rre (Mogapi, 1991)

### **Moila mo batsading ba bana ba bone ba ileng mophatong.**

Phiri (2007) o tlhalosa fa Batswana ba na le meila e mentsi. Meila e mengwe ga e tlhalosege bonolo, mme e mengwe e tlhalosega bonolo. Nako ya go ya mophatong ke nako e e bosisi tota, go na le dilo tse di letleletsweng go dirwa ka nako e le tse di sa letlelelwang. Mogapi (1991) o bua ka dijo tsa majale le magwera. Di ne di apewa ke bo mmabone, ba di isa kwa nageng mo mosong le maitisiboa. Megopo e ba neng ba tsholelwa mo go yone e ne e sa tshwanelwa go kgongwa le go dirisiwa ke bana. Se re neng re se utlwa fa re bua le boRaMaswaile ke gore go na le dilo tse e leng meila. Mme ga di a tshwanela tsa dirwa mo lapeng fa ngwana wa gago a ile mophatong. Ga o kgone

go dira sepe se se bonwang e le gore ke selo se se itshekologileng. BoRamaswaile ba tlhalosa ka go roka, go duba boloko, le go dila fa ngwana a ile mophatong. Ka gonne ke nako e e masisi thata eo.

Motsayakarolo 1: *Ga o wa tshwanela go kopana le motho wa rre! Ha o le mme o le kwa, le ngwana ha a le kwa go o kopane le motho wa Rre.*”

Go kopana le motho wa rre ga go a letlelelwa jaaka go tlhalosiwa fa godimo fa. Gape selo se sengwe se se neng sa tlhalosiwa ke bo mamophato ke ka moo o sa tshwanelang gore ngwana wa gago o mmone a tlotitse letsoku. Letsoku le bontsha nako e e fa magareng ga dipaka tse pedi tse e leng gore ngwana o leka go feta mo go tsona. Tseo ke dipaka tsa go tloga mo bonnyaneng go ya go nna mosadi. Meila eno e akareditse le ka mokgwa o go diriwang ka teng fa e le gore ngwana o kwa mophatong a be a tlhokofalelwa ke mongwe wa ba lelapa la gagwe. Moo, motho o o kwa mophatong ga a bolelelwe sepe ka loso lo. O tlaa bolelelwa fa a tswa bojale. Meila ya loso e bonagala le fa motho o ileng bojale a ka swela teng ka mabaka a a rileng. Ba legae ga ba bolelelwe gore motho o ile. Bosigo majale a mangwe a feta a ribega mogopo wa moswi fa gare ga lelapa la ga mmagwe. Ba tlaa tsoga ba bona sesupo se mo mosong (Lesejane, 2012).

### **Ke mang o o letleletsweng go ya mophatong**

Potso e re neng re e botsa ya gore ke motho o o jang o o ka yang mophatong re ne ra tlhaloganya gore sentlente motho mang le mang a ka nna a ya mophatong. Ke gore bogologolo go ne go na le nako e e rileng e bana ba basetsana le bo mmabona ba neng ba itse gore ke nako ya go ya mophatong (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991). Mme fela matsatsi a no dingwaga di na le go kaya gore bana ba ka nna ba ya mophatong, le fa go le jalo ga go motho ope o o ganelwang go ya mophatong wa Setswana (Dikotla, 2007; Setlhabi, 2014). Le fa o ka nna mme o o nyetsweng o dumeletswe go ya mophatong.

### **Dingwaga tse bana ba yang ka tsone mophatong – Diolamolora.**

Bogologolo bana ba ba neng ba ya mophatong wa basadi e ne e le bana ba tswileng diolamolora (Lesejane, 2012; Mogapi, 1991). Diolamolora e ne e le tsona tse di bontshang gore ngwana wa mosetsana o setse a gola. Bana ba ba simololang go bonatsha gore ba a gola, ba ne ba kgobokannngwa ba isiwa mophatong. Bana ba no ke bana ba ba dingwaga di ka nnang go tloga mo go lesome tharo go ya kwa godimo. Mme

o mongwe wa BoRamaswaile o ne a tlhalosa gore go iwa mophatong pele ga matsela a wa. Diolamolora ke matswele a a tlhogang, fa ngwana wa mosetsana a gola.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“ke gore rona mo gae mo ga re ise...ke gore ga re bue ka bana ba gompiano ne...ke gore rona, o gola hela o tswa diolamolora. Ke gore ka Setswana kwa ga rona diolamolora tse ke tsona di berekang mo setsong, wa bona ke gore le batho ba ba binang; ha re bina jana ga re batle ‘bodas’ re batla mabele a be a eme hela jana. Ga ke bue ka bana ba gompiano...rona ha re tla go dira ‘fifteen years’ ra isiwa”*

Bana ba gompiano ba fetogile, go na le ba ba yang bojale ba santse ba le bannye ba se ba bontshe go gola ga diolamolora. Se batsayakarolo ba re neng re bua le bone ba neng ba se tlhalosa ke gore ga se dingwaga fela tse di bontshang gore o setse o itekanetse go ya sekolong sa mophato mo matsatsing ano. Ka nako enngwe go ya ka gore a o na le tlhaloganyo ya go utlwa se o se bolelelwang, a o tlaa tlhaloganyana le gore o se ka wa fitlha o bua tse o di rutilweng kwa mophatong.

Motsayakarolo 4: *go ya ka tlhaloganyo ya gagwe gore, jaanong o setse a na le tlhaloganyo...hae ka ka ya re ha a bowa kwa a tsa a kaya ditlhaka tsa kwa.*

Mme gape go bonala gore mophato ga o kgetholole, fa o ne o sa ya mophatong ka nako e o neng o le monnye ka yone o ntse o amogelesegile go ka ya nako enngwe le enngwe. Mongwe wa bana BoRaMaswaile o reneng re bua le ene o ne a tlhalose fa e le gore ene o ile a le mogolonyana. Rre-Naledi o ne a re tlhalosetsa gore tlhompoga e se fela mo gae, le kwa mophatong e ya tlhokagala. Batho ba ba yang mophatong ba setse ba le bagolonyane ba tlhompiwa ke ba ba nnye ba ba ileng le bone. Bare fa go le jalo go a tle gotwe o motona o isitse ba ba nnye mophatong. Le fa e le gore nnete ke gore le ene o ile go ithuta, se se bontsha tlhompoga mo bathong ba ba tona. Le gone fa motho a le monnye a ile mophatong pele, ga go twe o motonna mo go o mongwe o ileng morago.

Sekolo sa mophato go tloga kwa ga Lowe go ne go ya bana ba ba golang ba ya go rutiwa gore ba ipaakanyetse go gola enna basadi. Mo nakong ya jaanong go bonala gore ba bagolo ba sa yang ba le bannye le bona ba na le kgatlhego ya go ya bojale go ya go ithuta setso le ngwao ya Setswana (Setlhabi, 2014). Ga go na kgethololo epe fa

motho a batla go ya. Batho ba bagolo ba tlhompiwa le fa e le gore ke gone ba yang mophatong.

### **Go kgatlhega.**

Ba bangwe ba ya ka gonne ba kgatlhega fa ba bona ba banngwe ba tswa mophatong ba bina monate. Bana ba kgatlhiwa ke meretheto ya dipina tsa mophato. Le gongwe selo sa gore dilo tsa mophato ke dikhupamarama ke sone se se dirang gore batho ba batle go ya go bona gore tota go diriwang teng. BoRamaswaile ba tlhalositse gore nako e nngwe bana baa kgatlhega, mme ba fetse le megopolo ya bone gore ba ya mophatong.

Motsayakarolo 3: *Ke gore tota, ga ke sa tlhole ke tlhaloganya gore go ntse jalo... go ntse jalo ka gore bana...bana ba bangwe bay a le go kgatlhega...*

Go kgatlhega go, ka nako enngwe go dira mathata. Bana ba fetse go ya mophatong ba sa bolelela batsadi. Mme batsadi ba se ka ba itumelela tshwetso eno.

### **Go thobela**

Go thobela mophato go tlhalosiwa e le fa ngwana a ya mophatong a sa bolelela ba legae. Fa ngwana a sena tetla ya go ya mophatong, seno ke selo se se diragalang gantsi mo mophatong. BoRamaswaile ba ne ba tlhalosa gore ke selo se se tlisang mathata mo go bone ka gonne ba lelapa la ngwana yoo ka gongwe ba ka tshwaya bo BoRamaswaile phoso. Mngomezulu (2014) o tlhalosa gore bana ga ba a tshwanela go ya mophatong ko ntle ga kitso le tumelano ya batsadi ba bone. Dintlha tse ditlhalosiwang fa tlase ga tema eno di akaretsa go jelwa dithari, gore fa o tsene kwa mophatong ga go bonolo gore o tswe o ise o fetse, mophato ga o patelediwe, le mabaka a a amang batsadi ba ba sa yang mophatong.

Motsayakarolo 1: *“Go thobela ke ngwana o sa mo laolela go ya lebollo...o bo o utlwa o santse o dutse gore ngwana wa gago o kwa lebollong. Ka Setswana ra re “o thobetse mophato”*

*“Gape bone bao ba ba thobelang ke bona hela ba senya mephato..ka gore ba ya go thobela wena o dutsi hela ga o itse gore go tla morathe ka ha...jaanong re tlaa ba busa jang?”*

Bakwadi ba bangwe ba tlhalosa gore ka gore fa mosadi a sa ya mophatong o bonwa e le ngwana o o sa itseng sepe ka molao le ngwao, e bile gape go na le mafelo a a sa amogelwang mo go one, gongwe ke lone lebaka le le dirang gore batho ba utlwe ba tshwanetse go ya mophatong (Manabe, 2010). BoRamaswaile ba tlhalosa gore bana ba ba thobelang mophato ke bone ba dirang gore batho ba se rate mophato sentle sentle gonne ba nagana gore BoRamaswaile ke bone ba gapeletsang bana go ya mophatong. Mme le gore fa bana ba fitlha kwa mophatong boRamaswaile ba tshwanetse gore ba ba buse. Ga ba tlhaloganye gore fa bana ba setse ba gatile mabala a kwa mophatong ga go bothofo gore BoRaMaswaile ba ba buse ka gonne go ka nna ga nna le ditlamorago tse di bosula mo baneng bao. Mogapi (1991) o tlhalosa gore ngaka ya Setswana e thaya mabala a mophatong gore majale le magwera ba sireletsege fa ba le teng.

### **Fa otsene o tsene.**

Re ne ra leka go tlhaloganya gore ke eng gotwe golo koo go kotsi le gore fa o tsene kwa mophatong ga go bonolo gore motho a tswe a sa fetsa dithuto tsa teng koo. BoMme ba bangwe ba ne ba tlhalosa gore ke setso fa o tsene o tsene, mme ba bangwe ba ne ba tlhalosa kotsi ya go gata mabala a a setseng a thailwe ke Rre wa ngaka. Dingaka tsa Setswana di dira ditiro tsa setšhaba tse di farologaneng. Nngwe ya tsona ke go thaya bogwera le bojale, gore ba ba ileng teng ba sireletsege (Mogapi, 1991). RaMaswaile o ne a tlhalosa ka bana ba ba thobelang mophato, ba ba yang kwa ntle ga tetla ya batsadi. Thulaganyo ya mophato ke gore fa o bona ngwana a santse a tla mo nageng, wena jaaka RaMaswaile o tshwanetse go mo thibela go tsena mo mosakong wa gago. O mmothe gore a batsadi ba gago ba itse gore o tla kwano (Mngomezulu, 2014). O tlhotlhomise gore a go siame gore ba ka tsena mo mabaleng ka gonne fa ba setse ba gatile mabala gore ba tswe go ka ba tlhagisetsa kotsi.

*Motsayakarolo 2: Ke gore ha o ba tlogela ba tsena mo mosakong...akere Rre wa ngaka o setse a thaile...jaanong hao re be re tshaba gore tlhaloganyo e tla tšhika ba tlaa tswa kotsi*

*Motsayakarolo 4: “Eyaa, ga a tshwanela go tlola dimapo, eyaa go setse go berekilwe, ha tshwanela gore a tswe a tsamaye. Jaanong ke gore wa go go itlhakatlhakanyetsa jaanong.”*

Rre Naledi o ne a re tlhalosetsa kgang e gore tota gonne ga se gore fa o tsene o tsene e bile o ka se tshole o tswa, mme a tlhalosa ka fa batsadi ba ngwana ba nang le

tetla ya go tsaya ngwana fa ba sa itumelela gore o kwa bojale kgotsa kwa bogwera. Selo segolo ke puisano magareng ga ba mophato le batsadi bao. Ka gonne ditlamorago tsa go tsaya ngwana a sa fetsa kwa mophatong tsone di teng, jaanong pele ga motho a tsaya ngwana o tshwanetse go ditlhaloganya sentle o se ka wa re kamoso ba mophato ba dirile ngwana wa gago sennanne.

Fa ngwana a ile mophatong kwa ntle ga tetla ya batsadi, go a buisangwa gore batsadi ba tlhaloganye gore ngwana o o bone se se sa bonweng, ka jalo ditlamorago tsa tseo ke dife. Mme go dumalangwe fa e le gore ba tsaya ngwana, gore e se re kamoso go bo go tewa gothwe ngwana o dirilwe gampe ke bamophato. Se se bolela gore gongwe go botoka go tlogela ngwana a fetse tsothle tsa mephato go na le gore o mo tseye a ise a fetse gonne go ka nna ga tlhaga kotsi. Mme se ga se bolele gore ngwana o tlaa be a tshwerwe gotwe ga o kgone go mo tsaya fa o batla.

### **Go jelwa dithari.**

Setso sa Setswana se na le meetlo e e se dirisang go netefatsa gore bana ba sone ba sireletsegile. Go jela ngwana dithari ke nngwe ya tseo. Ngwana o jelwa dithari go mo tiisa pele a gola. Ngwana o jelwa dithari ke malomagwe, ngwana wa mosetsana kgotsa wa mosimane. Lesejane (2012) o tlhalosa fa go na le mereo ya Setswana e e tshwanetseng go diriwa mo baneng gore ba seke ba tshwara ke malwetse. Dintantanyane le go baya phogwana. Lesea fa le le dikgwedi tse pedi kgotsa di le tharo le tlhonwa dintantanyane go mo tiisa mo mmeleng (Lesejane, 2012). Ngwana fa a sa tlhomiwa dintantanyane o tshoga tshoga fela. O batla gore go se nne sepe se se mo tlhagang kwa morago. Phogwana yone e bewa fa lesea le tlaa tswa motlong. Ngwana o bewa phogwana gore a se ka a okamega. Fa a sa bewa phogwana a ka nna a swa

Go jelwa dithari fa go tlhalosiwa ke boRaMaswaile ba re neng re buisana le bone go bonala e ka nna moreo o o tshwanang le wa go tlhomiwa ditantanyane. Ke selo se se dirwang ke malome a direla gore ngwana a se ka a imelwa ke sepe.

Motsayakarolo 4: *“Go jelwa dithari, ke ya ka go tlhodilwe e le setso, go fitlhela ngwana a jewa dithari...ha a sa jewa dithari, ke gore e nna selo se sele hela, o sa itse gore ngwana o rileng wa e bona, o kreiye a go tshiketse entse e le ngwana wa gago, ha a sa jewe dithari.”*

Jaaka go tlhalositswe kwa ntlheng, ngwana wa mosetsana kgotsa wa mosimane o jelwa dithari ke malomagwe. Go ne go tlhalosiwa gore ngwana fa a ka thobela a sa jelwa dithari, ba legae la gagwe ba tshwanetse gore ba itlhaganele ba mo jele dithari. Jaanong bana ba ba kwa mophatong ba apara kobo ya ga malome fa ba le kwa mophatong. E ke kobo e e rekiwang ke malomagwe gore a e apare kwa mophatong gore dilo tsotlhe di tsamae sentle. Se se neng sa tlhagelela gape ene e le gore malome wa ngwana o mo jela dithari a be a mo rekela kobo le fa e le gore ene ga a ya mophatong. Ga se fela bo malome ba ba ileng mophatong ba ba ka jelang bana dithari. Se se bontsha ka moo malome a leng botlhokwa ka teng mo ngwaneng wa Motswana. Lesejane (2012) o tlhalosa gore ka Setswana malome kgotsa rakgadia ngwana ba na le merero e e fapaaneng. Malome ke motho wa botlhokwa mo ngwaneng. Go tlhaloganya botlhokwa jwa ga malome le go montsha masori go thusa gore motho a ikopele matlhogonolo mo badimong ba gagwe (Mogapi, 1991).

#### **Mophato ga o patelediwe.**

Fa o golela kwa magaeng le metsaneng e go nang le batho ba ba yang mephatong ya bojale le bogwera, mme kwa ga lona lo se batho ba setso, go na le kgopolo ya gore mophato le batho ba ba o tsamayang ba kotsi thata. Gape go na le kgopolo e ya gore batho ba mophato ba tle ba phamole motho a tsamaya mo tseleng ba mo ise mophatong kwa ntle ga tetla ya gagwe. Bomme ba re neng re bua le bone ba ne ba ama kgang eno mo dipuisanong tsa rona le bone. Ba ne ba tlhalosa gore le fa setso se le botlhokwa mo batswaneng ga se selo se se pateletswang.

Motsayakarolo 4: *Setso se botlhokwa jaaka re le bana ba Batswana, retshwanetse re ye setso, gone go tshwanetse gore re ye, maare ga o pateletswe ha pelo ya gago e se e rate gore o ka ya setso ga o ye, motsing pelo e bulegile o ka ya, o re “jaanong ke a tsamaya ke ya setso”, ke gone o ka nna wa ya, ha o wa tshwanela gore o tsewe ka dikgoka, gore o isiwe kwa setso, go batla e le wena o phutholotse maikutlo a gago, gore o ka nna wa ya setso*

Ramaswaile yo, o ne a re tlhalosetsa gore le mongwe wa bana ba gagwe le fa e le gore ke lelapa le le ratang setso o ne a sa se rate a re o a se tshaba, mme ka letsatsi lengwe o ne a fetse le mogopolo wa gagwe gore o ya setsong. Le fa Mme wa gagwe o

ne a tsamaisa setso ga a ka a mo gapeletsa go ya setso kwa ntle ga tetla ya gagwe. Batho ba bangwe ba tshaba setso pele ga baya teng, mme fa ba feditse ba tlhaloganye boleng jwa sona. Mngomezulu (2014) o tlhalosa gore mo tsamaisong ya setso ga go na motho ope o tshwanetsweng go tsewa ka dikgoka, se ke go gataka ditshwanelo tsa botho. E bile ngwana mongwe le mongwe o o batlang go ya setso o tshwanetse go letlelelwa ke batsadi go ya teng. Batsayakarolo mo dipuisanong tsa rona ba ne ba re tlhalosetsa gore setso lefa se le botlhokwa mo maphelong a rona jaaka bana ba Batswana ga se patelediwe sone. Go ya ka go rata ga gago gore o ya setsong kgotsa nnyaa.

### **Batsadi ba ba sa tsweng mophatong.**

Gongwe ntlha ya gore dilo tse di diriwang kwa bojale ga di buiwe, e ka tlisa pelaetso fa wena o le motsadi o o sekang wa ya mophatong fa ngwana wa gago a re o ya teng. Gape selo se se ka nnang sa go belaetsa e ka nna gone go utlwa jaaka re utlwa mo dithelebishining gore mophato o kotsi, gore bana ba ba ileng teng ba tshwarwa makgwakgwa go fitlhela bangwe ba swela teng koo. Batsaakarolo ba dipatlisiso tsa rona ba ne ba re fa lesedi mo ntlheng eno. Dithuto tsa mophato ga di buiwe mo motseng. Ga di buiwe le batsadi ba ba sayang mophatong. Le fa gontse jalo maikarabelo a mophato a mo bathong ba ba ileng mophatong ebile ba tsamaisa mephato.

*“Ba ba sa yang mophatong le bana ba bone ba sa ya mophatong, se tshwenyegeng šebang ba ba tswang ba ba tshotseng karolo ya tsamaiso ya mophato o, tsamaiso ya setso, gore bone a ba ne ba tlogetse hela ba ntse ba bona gore golo ha ga go a siama (Rre Naledi. Personal communication, 2015)*

Batsadi ba ba sa yang mophatong mme bana ba bone ba batla go ya mophatong ba tshwanetse go lebelela maikarabelo mo go ba ba ileng. Semolao, ba ba tsamaisang mephato, le ba Lefapha la Pholo kr bo ne ba naleng maikarabelo a go tsamaisa mophato. Fa motsadi a sa ya mophatong ga a tshwanela go tshwenyega ka gope.

Selo sa botlhokwa se se bonagetseng ke gore bosadi ka Setswana, bo akaretsa go itse melao le ngwao ya Setswana. Ke gore motho o tshwanetse go itshola jang, mo gae fa a nyetswe le go tlhokomela bana. O tshwanetse go tlhaloganya dithuto tsa mophato le go itse gore ke dikhupamarama. Ga o a tshwanela go bua ka tsone le batho ba ba sa yang teng. Gape dipatlisiso tse di bontshitse gore basadi ba ba ileng mophatong ba seoposengwe, ba na le ikitsiso e e tsamaelanang le fa ba saya mophatong ka nako e

tshwanang. Ba itsege e le batho ba ba itseng moalo, ba ba itshwereng sentle e bile ba ba nang le maikarabelo mo motseng a go aga motse le go sa thube malapa.

### **Bofelo**

Kgaolo eno e ne e tlhalosa se se fitlheletsweng mo dipuisanong tsa dipatlisisong tseno. Go kgobokanya tshedimosetso ka boitshwaro jo bo eletsegang mo basading jaaka fa bo rutiwa ka dithuto tsa setso kwa dikolong tsa bojale. Dintlha tse di mmalwa di bonagetse mo dipatlisisong tseno tse di tlhalosang molemo wa dikolo tsa bojale mo basading. Dikolo tsa bojale di ruta ba ba ileng maitshwaro a a eletsegang. Maitshwaro a a akareditse maitsholo a mosadi o nyetsweng, go tlhompaa rre mo lapeng le tlhokomelo mo baneng, tlhompaa mo motseng le maikarabelo mo setšhabeng. Botlhokwa jwa bo Ra-Maswaile le bona bo tlhageletse gore bomme bano ke batho ba ba tshepiwang ke motse le segosi go ruta bana melao le ngwao ya Setswana. Tsamaiso ya mephato kwa Taung le yone e ne e sedimositswe. Kgolagano ya puso ka letsogo la Lefapha la Thuto e tlhalositswe. Kgaolo e e latelang e tlaa ranolola diphitlhelo tseno e di amanye le tse dikwadilweng ke bakwadi ba bangwe ka ga bojale, bosadi, dikolo tsa setso le botlhokwa jwa tsona mo ngwaneng wa Motswana.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

In Chapter 5, the results of the study were presented. The data from interviews that describe the research findings are interpreted and analysed in this chapter in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study. Secondary data is also used to make sense of the interview data and to construct the grounded theory about female morality and how it is entrenched in initiation schools. The data is analysed in relation to the conceptual lens and literature review presented in Chapters 3 and 2 respectively. This means that the representation of participants is fundamentally reemphasized during the process of making meaning out of these research findings and is juxtaposed with the literature that has been presented about female morality and womanhood in a cultural context. Before integrating the essence of the results, the global themes are considered in more detail.

A discussion of the three global themes that emerged in Chapter 5 follows, which assists in making the meaning of the results clearer. Extracts from the interview are included to provide evidence of the meanings derived from the data. In this chapter, however, the extracts are presented in Setswana and their English translation is provided in brackets.

#### **The making of a moral Motswana woman in initiation school teachings**

Batswana initiation schools, according to Dikotla (2007), Pilane (2002) and Setlhabi (2014) teach womanhood. Participants' constructions convey what womanhood and characteristics of a Motswana woman as seen through the prism of Setswana customs and traditional teachings are. Womanhood is seen as a personality that includes various distinct behaviours that are taught in initiation schools and that are expected of a Motswana woman. Personality is defined as an individual's characteristic patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving (Reber et al., 2009). Unlike the western approach to defining personality, African personality is based on an understanding that emphasises the collective community in shaping character and personality instead of an individual or forces that reside within an individual. Personality seen from an African point of view emphasizes performative functions and characteristics rather than innate qualities. In the context of Taung and the initiation schools, a personality of a woman

is very distinct and is seen as manifest through behaviours. This personality is defined as womanhood and is socially constructed within the context of initiation schools.

Womanhood is a multidimensional concept as regarded in the Batswana initiation context in Taung. It centres on motherhood, responsibility in the community, respect, and one's personal identity. Motherhood in this study included taking care of one's children as well as providing familial care. Familial care is taking care of the family as a whole and respecting your husband (Chaney, 2011; Pellerin, 2012). Motherhood is not seen as just raising your own children, but also as an ability of women to ground a family. Here, women are meant to be able to respect their husbands, and instruct and nurture their children. The importance of making sure that your house as a woman is well run and regulated with children being taken care of was emphasised. Women are meant to take care of their homes when married, asserting their power and influence over their children, and living peaceably with their spouse.

Participant 3: *“Eeya o tlhokomela bana...ke gore ha o setse o nyetswe, o tlhokomela bana...bana ba gago, bana bag ago se ke ba gasana mo nageng...o tlhokomela gore le ha e le gore o wa itshiela...se ke wa phirimelwa ke letsatsi mo nageng. o itse gore, bana ba a ja, monna o a ja. Le ha...hela letsatsi le phirima hela wa tshola...ke gore re ba ruta jalo*

[Yes you take care of your children when you are married, your children should not be neglected and be found all over the village, you make sure that even if you drink alcohol, the sun does not set before you get home. You make sure that the children and your husband eat. When the sun sets, you dish up. This is what we teach them].

This quote above explains how a woman needs to take responsibility of her home once she is married. A woman needs to make sure that she performs the nurturing tasks, such as cooking and providing nourishment for her children at appropriate times. These responsibilities of a woman are emphasized by initiation instructors, that even if you are not in the home during the day you cannot forget your responsibility to your children and your spouse.

Participant 2: *“Ke gore le ha re dutse le bana jana, ha ba nyetswe, ba itse gore monna ga a rogiwe. Eeyaa , ga o roge monna, ha monna a bua le wena ga o mo alole, o mo sheba hela, ha a go raya lehoko le le bosula, o kampa wa go bolelela batsadi ba gagwe...ha batsadi ba gagwe ba sa go reetse bolelela ba gago”*

[“When we are sitting with initiates, we explain that when they are married they must know that they should not insult the husband, when a husband speaks to you disparagingly, you do not disrespect him- you just look at him. If he says a bad word to you, you should rather tell his parents, if they don’t take heed you then you tell your parents”].

The importance of familial care and taking good care of children was very prominent in the interviews and was emphasised by all the participants. The importance of relatedness was highlighted as can be seen in the quote above. Marriage and its responsibilities do not only depend on the married couple but, in as many other aspects of African livelihood, the extended family is considered when there are conflict management issues within a marriage.

It is worth noting that the initiation instructors emphasized the importance of motherhood as it relates to womanhood and initiation instruction. According to them, Batswana women cherish and take pride in motherhood. This is contrary to what some scholars think about motherhood, depicting this role of motherhood as a burden to African women. Feminists see motherhood as denuding a woman of her integrity (Makaudze, 2014). African women are seen as fully women after they get married and bear children, especially male children. In this view, African women are seen as a vehicle to reproduce and make her husband’s family bigger. African women, including Batswana women, are seen as marginalised by the roles that they are expected to play in their different societies (Nkomazana, 2008). This view might make women feel that motherhood is not a joy for African women, but only a responsibility. This view may assert that African culture has and is continually working to subjugate and marginalise the woman and that African culture is inherently discriminatory towards women. It can be argued though that positionality influences interpretations of African womanhood and motherhood. A logical conclusion that can be made about the different meanings

that womanhood and motherhood acquire for initiation instructors is that they are speaking ‘from within’, and the theme of culture and custom is not just a fashion, a subject of scholarly academic interrogation, but the living heart of their creative activity as black women and custodians of African mores. Akujobi (2011) explains that motherhood is an important aspect of African womanhood. Some African sayings emphasize the importance and high regard of African women in connection with motherhood in African societies. The Yoruba saying, that depicts mother as gold and father as a mirror shows the importance and value of motherhood in African society. Gold is seen as a valuable metal, strong and important (Akujobi, 2011; Taiwo, 2010). In African cultures, mothers are revered as creators because they give birth to children, they are viewed as nurturers because they do not only take care of their own children, but are able to care for families, extended families and communities (Akujobi, 2011; Rittenour & Colaner, 2012). Batswana women define themselves through the roles they play in the home and the societies.

Motherhood as it relates to womanhood is socially constructed, by people who believe and agree what womanhood means in a context. This social construction is accomplished by the culture that people are a part of. Social constructionism posits that meanings are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives (Creswell, 2007; Willig, 2008). These meanings are communicated through the medium of language. Every human culture uses language as a vehicle to teach and to communicate the cultural values. Batswana have taught their culture from generation to generation with the use of language. They have used important sayings like proverbs, songs, and taboos that embody the root of the culture and how certain concepts are constructed and understood within their different contexts (Pilane, 2002; Presbey, 2003). Similarly, the view of motherhood as it relates to womanhood among the Batswana is based on important sayings of that are grounded in the Batswana culture. There are several proverbs, which are used to guide and teach. “*Mmangwana o tshwara thipa ka fa bogaleng*” is a proverb that is loosely translated as “A mother holds the knife on the sharp end” or “A mother will always protect her child”. This proverb is mostly used when a mother explains why she would take a bold step to either protect or take a decision involving her child. This proverb asserts the importance of motherhood as well as the bond that a mother has with her child. That responsibility of taking care and protecting one’s children is emphasized by this proverb that a mother

would rather get hurt than let her child get hurt. Motherhood is therefore, closely linked to self-sacrifice. Mothers are often seen taking care of their children and others before fulfilling their own needs. “*Bopelonomi bo bolaile mamasiloanoka*”, loosely translated “a bird lacked space in her nest because of kindness” this proverb enlightens the characteristics of self-sacrifice. This bird that kept offering space to other birds in a storm was finally pushed out of its nest because of its kindness. This kindness that puts others’ needs first is often evidenced in motherhood.

A Motswana woman, who is from initiation school, expands her responsibilities of nurturing and care beyond her family circle. She has responsibilities within the community where she lives; she occupies an important position in the cultural community. She has been taught how to behave in relation to other people within her community. One of her responsibilities is to build the community and correct others when they see that they need some guidance and advice. These same women are the ones who will become initiation instructors at a later stage.

*Participant 1: “Baba agang motse ba ba sa thubeng malapa a batho, e le batho ba ba itshwereng sentle”*

[“People who build the community, people who do not break down families and women who are well behaved”]

The comment above is what one participant had to say when she explained what initiated women do in the community. This is in line with the African epistemology of understanding your responsibility and your role in an African relational existence. The women assist to build the community, by not breaking down families and breaking homes. They offer advice on how to take care of children and of taking care and relating to one’s husband. The concept of Ubuntu means that one is continually acting in a responsible and upright way in relation to others in the community. Personality within the African context takes into consideration an individual but concentrates more on the individual within a context. Reality from an African perspective is viewed from a relational point of view including other people in the community as well as the cosmic world (Bujo, 2001). When you do not act according to the principles of Ubuntu by upholding humane relationships and a good attitude towards other human beings you are usually said to be less of a human or “ga se motho” in Setswana (Bujo, 2001). The initiated women are meant to strive for good relations at all times within the community.

Following on the responsibility that a Motswana woman has in the community is the fact that an initiated Motswana woman is respectful to everyone around them. The responsibility in the community entails advising and guidance, this would not be possible if the women were not respectable and respectful. Respecting others, include respecting elders, people who are younger than you, your peers, and children.

Participant 4: *“O itshwere ka maitseo jaanong... o lathlile moya o le o neng a sa itse gore motsadi wa gagwe. Ha motsadi wa gagwe a bua le ene a be a mo araba jaaka go rata ene. Ha o boa koa o tla o na le tlhaloganyo ee ntsha... o itsi gore Ausi wa gago ke mang...Mmago ke mang”*

[“Behaving with respect now, she has given up that behaviour of not knowing who her parents are. When her parent talks to her then they do not answer carelessly. When you come back from there you come back with a new mind-set. Knowing who your sister is, your mother is.”]

Participant 3: *“o be ore nna ke mosadi o seke wa nthaya...ka ke rata...ka o rata. O tshameka le ene jaaka o ntse o tshameka le ene.*

[“Don’t say I am a woman now, don’t say whatever you want to me. You just continue playing with her as usual.”]

The quote above explains that after one attends initiation school a certain change in behaviour is expected. If one was not respectful before initiation, now they are expected to be respectful. One is expected to discard immature behaviour and start behaving in a mature respectful and respectable manner. You are expected to come back understanding the importance of respecting other people, with an aim of relating well with other people in the community. As an initiated woman, you do not come back and disrespect others or treat them any differently.

The respect that is emphasized at initiation schools also means that you respect yourself as person. By respecting yourself, you will act in certain ways and show respect to other people as well. The next quotation highlights respecting yourself by not involving yourself in certain activities that you might have before, which were deemed immature. This shows the growth you have undergone, and that you have learnt

how to behave as a woman. You are supposed to remember the teachings of the school, so that you are able to discern inappropriate and appropriate behaviour.

Participant 5: *“setšo se—tlhompo hela tlhompo; ke yone hela e e rutiwang batho gore o itlhompe jang le wena ‘self’,o tshwantse o itse gore mo botshelong o tshwantse o tshela jang., le ha o ka akanya gore:..kana ke rutilwe ditsela tsa ka banna! nte ke tswe mo.*

[Traditional schools are about respect, that’s the main thing that is taught. That you should respect yourself, how you should live your life. You should think that, since I have been taught the right way, let me not get involved in this or that”]

Respect that is taught and aimed for at initiation schools is taught on the basis that every person is supposed to be respected. This respect includes not disregarding others because they did not attend initiation school. While it is true that women that have graduated from initiation schools behave in appropriate ways and respect everyone that is in the community, a point that was highlighted was that, sometimes initiated women may undermine their non-initiated counterparts calling them boshoboro. This is strongly condemned by the initiation instructors. Calling a person shoboro is seen as a great offence punishable by the traditional protocols in the village.

Participant 3: *Ga re batle ba raya motho yo o sa tsweng ba re ke shoboro...Go bosula ga gwa tshwanela gore wena, o tswa o ikutlwa gore o mosadi..jaanong o bo o raya yo mong gore ke shoboro...O mo leohetse...antse a satswe wa go go tsenya ko kgosing...a be a kgwata...a be a bidiwa, a beletswa go go raya a re “o shoboro”.*

[We do not like it when you call a person who has not attended initiation school “shoboro”. It is not nice, it is not appropriate that now that you are from there you feel that you are a woman, and then you call another “shoboro’ you have sinned against them even if they have not been to initiation school. She can take you to the traditional leaders, you will be punished, you will be hit for saying someone is not from initiation schools “shoboro”]

Motherhood and the responsibility that Batswana women who attended initiation schools have, show that the construction of womanhood in the initiation schools in Taung is rooted in relationships within the family and the community. The importance of taking care of one's family is emphasized. The responsibility extends to others in the community as well. African epistemology emphasizes the importance of relationships. The Ubuntu personality is what an ideal human being is, someone who is a kind person, generous, and above all else, lives in harmony with others and nature (Broodryck, 2006). Since a person is a relational being according to the Ubuntu philosophy, it is about doing good in relation to others and for others' sakes. You are seen as a person not because you were born into this world but the emphasis is on doing. According to the Ubuntu philosophy, character is seen as performative. Only as you perform good deeds are you worthy of being called a person.

### **The entanglement of morality identity as a marker of womanhood**

Identity is explained by how one sees themselves in relation to other people around them. Identity is also shaped by the context one is in. Identity is the traits and characteristics that define one (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012). According to the data collected in this study, the narration of who a person is among other people is tapped into. The personal identity of a Motswana woman as explained in the research study is a woman who is respectable and responsible. However, the existence of African people in general is relational. There is no separation in the African conceptualization of the universe. Reality is seen as a closed system in a way that everything is related to each other and is affected by any change in this closed system. The importance of knowing one's roots as a Motswana woman is seen as integral. One of the aspects of initiation schools is to determine where one fits into their different Batswana clans. This is done by initiation instructors at the schools. Initiation schools follow the lineage of the ranks of people in a community. If a queen attends initiation school, she would be put first in the ranks (Setlhabi, 2014). One of the happenings of initiation schools is how the instructors are able to locate you in your tribe and clan. Even when you do not know where you actually belong, you leave with a clearer idea of who you are. According to each community and initiation schools people are put in their respective places at initiation schools.

Participant 5: *“o mmaya sentle! Akere jaanong...that is why ke raya mme ke re dilo tse tsa Setswana di tshwana le...di tsamaya ka di'steps ,*

*yaaka re tsetswe o motonna...yo mong...jalo jalo...jaanong re tswanetse go itse gore ngwana yo ha a sa bewa ka seemo sa gagwe...ra mmona ngwana yo ga se moThosa kampo ga se MoSotho...*

[You put her appropriately. That is why I say that Setswana culture goes according to steps. As you are born first, and then another, just like that. We need to know that this child is put in her rightful place. We are able to see if this child is not a Xhosa or a Mosotho”]

Personal identity includes the knowledge of self that is embodied in praise names by Batswana. Praise names are used to identify oneself according to your clan name. The praise names mention your ancestors and the characteristics that you family identifies with (Isingoma, 2014; Makhubedu, 2009). Praise names are important in greeting. These names show beauty and greatness that a certain family identifies with.

Below are the praise names that two participants shared with us when asked to introduce themselves. The first was the praise song of a participant’s maternal family and then her praise name after she was married and joined her husband’s family.

Participant 1: *“nna ke le kontsa ke le khukhuni, motho o le die die, tse di diileng basadi, bo marumo go tloga. Ko ga rona ke le rakala thoteng.”*

Participant 2: *“Mo ga khiba ya mma ditlhong mosadi wa sebolaya tlhware, banna ba e tshaba, ga ba re mokalobe o gapilwe. O gapilwe ke mang ka ele mosadi Mamotshidisi, o o jeleng lepetlu la ngwana wa mosetsana”*

The importance of praise names in identity highlights the greatness that you possess and identify with. The praise name in the quotation above depicts bravery: A woman who will kill a python when men are afraid of it.

The cultural knowledge that is imparted at initiation schools is meant to help one understand their background as a Motswana woman. You are taught enough to know your culture as a Motswana. The participants were explaining that culture is a very important part of an African and, therefore, a Motswana woman. The importance of knowing who you are and where you have been will assist us to understand where

we are going as Africans and Batswana. According to Werbner (2009) Batswana female initiation ritual endows the initiates with *seriti* which means an active sense of autonomy, dignity, respect and self-respect. This is contrary to what the missionaries constructed the initiation rituals as objectifying (Werbner, 2009).

Participant 4: *“Eyaa ke ka moo gotweng ‘somarela-tlhago’ ke gore ya tshwana...ke ka moo re reng tota fa o le motho yo o montšho o tswanetse gore selo sa gago o se sala morago, ga re batle setšo sa go nyelela re batla se nne se gole...kamoso re be re eme jaana re ikisetsa bana ba rona bas a tshwara sepe, le ‘nou’ jaana jaaka o nthaya o re “mma Naledi mpelege, re tsamaye o nkise ko... ke ya go tsamaya le wena...ke be ke go busa, ‘Maare wa go bona go na le ‘difference’,jaaka ke ntse ke tshela...maare go ya ‘differ’ ne?”*

[That is why we say value your roots. If you are a black person, you should follow your culture. We do not want our culture to disappear; we want the culture to grow. So that in the future we can teach our own kids about our culture. If you tell me to take you to initiation schools, I will and you will see that there is a difference in my life as compared to how I was living before.]

Collins (1994, as cited in Chaney, 2011) in her examination regarding how African American women balance work and family roles, revealed motherhood to be a social construction that varies among different groups of women. As a result of this reality, she asserted that one must question whether white middle-class models of motherhood should be regarded as the universal standard by which all other races or ethnic group experiences are to be evaluated. Most research that have been conducted and published about African womanhood is marginalising and othering, there is a distinct language that emphasizes African women as subjugated, oppressed, victimized and marginalised by patriarchy (Akujobi, 2011; Pilane, 2002; Wenje, 2015).

Batswana womanhood is a social construction and is defined in a specific way within the initiation context of the Batswana in Taung. This view of how a woman is expected to behave could be seen as victimisation where the stereotypes of what roles women should fill is strengthened. However, one would need to critique what the root

of that assumption is, especially in a situation where the views are from the women about their experiences. Initiates are taught what the expectation is when they come from initiation schools.

During precolonial times, the understanding among Africans was that gender roles were complimentary (Mothoagae, 2010). There existed no gender inequality in traditional African societies. Women played important roles of binding the family and the society together. Women were seen as important and close to God, because of their ability to carry a child. Moreover, women were prominent in leadership positions without any fear. This was not seen as making women inferior in their culture ( Oyèwùmí, 1997; Taiwo, 2010). Women had roles they played in economics, commerce and the politics of society. Taiwo (2010) mentions some prominent figures that were female. He argues that “Queen Aminat of Zaria, Madam Tinubu of Abeokuta and a host of other notable women excelled in politics and particularly commerce” (p. 233). If women’s positions in the community were unimportant, the women mentioned would never have risen to recognition.

Scholars argue that during colonial rule, the role of African women changed owing to the enculturation from the west. Africans were met with ideologies, which were different to what they knew, and practiced. Through the vehicle of Christianity and western culture, women who were in leadership roles started to be disregarded. According to St Clair (as cited in Taiwo, 2010) the European outlook of gender roles was that women are not equal to men. Western women’s roles of taking care of the family were less important than men’s roles. As a result, some of the African women who were Chiefs and warriors before the colonisation were disregarded and removed from public spaces (Odamtten, 2012).

It is important to allow the experiences of black women to be visible through validation. Womanhood, in the research context of this study, extends from being a caring person to accepting responsibility within the community. The intersectionality of African women’s identities cannot be underestimated. African women do not only fit the gender description of being female but they are part of a race that has been colonised. Therefore their experiences, which give insight to the construction of morality and womanhood, cannot be down played. Collins (1991) asserted that the intersectionality of black women necessitated that these women create a self-defined

worldview that would ultimately validate their experiences. Chaney (2011) explains how black women demonstrate ‘strong black womanhood’ in spite of their subordinated social status. She found that African women define womanhood according to feminine behaviours that emphasize familial care and self-respect. Beauboeuf 2005 (as cited in Chaney, 2011) found that black women associated womanhood with the ability of African women to be selfless and to put the needs of others before their own. Many African women find a great deal of satisfaction in their familial roles, especially those of partners, wives, and mothers. Pellerin (2012) found that African women define their womanhood as multi-dimensional with a strong emphasis on motherhood and family.

Womanhood in the Batswana initiation context in Taung, is multidimensional; it centres on motherhood, responsibility in the community, respect, and one’s personal identity. Batswana women do not base their definition of womanhood on western notions, because their experiences of the family structure and their culture which they base this construction on, are different to that of white women (Chaney, 2011). Batswana women construct their identity as women in a relational environment.

### **Initiation instructors as custodians of Setswana cultural and traditional law**

One of the objectives of this research study was to explore the role of initiation instructors at initiation schools in Taung. Initiation instructors are the older women who teach at the initiation schools in Taung. Initiation instructors teach initiates womanhood, culture, and morality. Their Setswana traditional name is bo-Ramaswaile. Initiation instructors are respected elderly women in the community who are given the responsibility and trust by the traditional leadership as well as the community at large to teach cultural knowledge and womanhood to initiates. Initiation instructors are seen as elders who are experienced in traditional knowledge. According to Ampin (2003) one of the rites of development in an African’s life is the rite of eldership. An elder is a matured person who represents tradition and wisdom. An elder is someone who is given high status in the culture and who is seen to have lived a purposeful life. An elder has been through the adulthood rite, which is the initiation into adulthood rite (Ampin, 2003). Only people who have a certain amount of knowledge can become initiation instructors. They are trusted to teach morality and womanhood to the younger generations and are well respected concerning their traditional knowledge. It was clear that initiation instructors play a crucial role of imparting knowledge and culture to the

younger generations. They are seen as knowledge bearers of culture, teachers of culture, and the initiation rituals. They are also the gatekeepers of the culture. This theme will be discussed below.

Culture is the set of rules and mores that a people use to guide their lives and to interact with their environment (Reber et al., 2009). The knowledge of culture was an important part of any African child before colonialism. Culture needed to be taught and learnt to ensure the survival of a society. Culture was taught to growing children by mainly the women. Taiwo (2010) explains the importance of the role women held in African culture and continue to hold. They were transmitters of the language, history, oral culture, the music, the dance, and the habits, which translated to societal standards of behaviour. These behaviours were based on traditional values and knowledge. Moreover, women held vital knowledge of herbs and medicines that also ensured the survival of their communities (Taiwo, 2010).

According to the initiation instructors, for one to be able to continue the teaching from one generation to another, they need to be knowledgeable themselves. The participants in this study emphasized that one needs to know the culture before they become initiation instructors. The length of years that one had spent since attending initiation schools was mentioned.

Interviewer: *A ke mang le mang fela a kgonang go nna titšhere?*  
[is it everyone that can become a teacher]

Participant 2: *Nyaa. Ga se mang le mang , go ya ka dingwaga*  
[No, it is not anyone, it depends on the years]

Interviewer: *Ao kgona go bua ka dingwaga tseo? Kgotsa le tsona ke khupana khupa?*  
[Can you talk more about those years? Or are they also part of the secrets?]

Participant 2: *Go ya ka dingwaga tsa gore o ile setsong leng”*  
[It depends on the years. It depends on when you went to initiation school]

The length of years is seen as experience to better your knowledge of the rite and the important teachings. After graduation, initiates are required to come to initiation and to teach the new initiates as well as get more knowledge for themselves. The reason

of the importance of experience when you become an initiation instructor is, according to the participants, that there is no end to cultural knowledge. You can never say that you know everything about culture. The more time you have spent learning from the older generation the better you will be at teaching.

The years of experience will add other qualities, which are needed to be a teacher. Since a teacher spends time with people, the ability to be perceptive, and to care for people and treat them well is important.

Participant 3: *“Nyaa ha o tlhaloganya dilo, o le tshwaro e e siameng, o kana wa isa.”*

[If you understand things, and you treat others well, then you can be an initiation instructor]

In Taung, there are people who are interested in initiation schools and others are not. African people are originally cultural people. Their contact with people from the west introduced Christianity to them. Among the Batswana in Taung, Christianity came about by missionary from the London Missionary Society (Madise, 2010). Following a few unsuccessful attempts, John Brown, a missionary from the London Missionary Society, is said to have established a church and a mission school in Taung. Christianity was met with resistance in Taung. John Brown was against initiation schools, he mentioned that there were no initiation seasons for the ten years he spent in Taung and he would like to see the end of these institution (Madise, 2010). Some people do not believe that initiation schools are important. It can be assumed that it was the influence of the Christian missionaries that caused this. The trend seems to be that people who are initiation instructors are those whose families have always held on to the initiation rite and the cultural way of living. The participants we talked to explained how they come from households, which live according to the cultural customs. Most of them had been handed down the initiation instructor position from older women in their own families. All of them said, my mother was an instructor or my grandmother was one. It was also important to note that they were going to hand over to their children once they are not strong enough to continue with teaching.

Participant 4: *yo o neng a ntse a o tsenya ke nkgono ,mama wa ga papa...mama ga papa...o mo lehatshing la mokgara, ee ko Mokgareng...ke moo*

*jaanong le nna ke reng a ke tseye lenna boswa jwa mosadimogolo ke ise mophato.*

[The one who used to hold initiation is my grandmother, my father's mother. In the Mokgareng community. That is why I also decided to take this inheritance from the old lady and become an initiation instructor].

Participant 1: *Nnya: Mma ga a ntlogela jalo ko gae. Erile ha a bona gore wa gola a be a nthaya a re "bana ba bokgotsadio botlhe ba tshwanetse ba sale ba ya-Maare ko garona ga re tseye ngwana a sa batle...ngwana ha batla hela a re "ke ya tsamaya" ke gore ha go simola kgang e ya setšo, le ha e le bana ba ga mangwane re ya fonelana: go isiwa setšo yo o batlang a ye. Ke gore re iletsa kgang gore ngwana o tla ya o sa tshwanelang teng gongwe.*

[No, my mother did not just leave me at home, when she saw that I am growing up she said "All your brothers' children should go to initiation school. However, in our home we do not take a child there if they do not want to go. When a child feels ready they just say" I would like to go: When the initiation season starts we phone each other and say it is time for initiation, anyone who wants to go must go. We do not want a child to go when they are not ready]

The initiation instructors are taught by the previous generations the cultural knowledge and they realize that it is important to transfer this knowledge to the younger generation for them to know the culture. What was evident in the previous quotation is that the interest of initiation schools is generated at home. This is done by grandmothers and mothers who had an interest in initiation school and the culture. The importance of family was further highlighted by the fact that moral teachings and cultural values are taught at home first. When one starts attending initiation schools the initiation instructors build on the foundation laid at home. This shows the importance of homes and early childhood teaching in African society.

Participant 2: *kegore ngwana ha a sentse a tlhoga. a tla a gola ...wena o mo naya bosadi bowa bo eleng gore ke motho wa ngwanyana. Go*

*tlile go tla batsadi ba bang ba ba tlileng go mo ha bosadi jo bongwe go gaisa bo le ba gago ba go tswa bonyaneng”.*

[“when a child is still growing, you give her that womanhood that is relevant for a girl child. And then there are other parents who will give her the womanhood teachings which are much more than what you have given her as she was still young and growing up”].

Participant 4: *Lo tla bona maitshwaro a gagwe le go tlhonepa ga gagwe, ha e le ngwana yo o tsalegileng...ha a sa tsalega...ha nkaka - E tla be e le gore sheba...ke teng hela e theogileng...e e reng ha a nna le batsadi ba gagwe ba bua le ene, a be a sa reetse batsadi.*

[You will see her behaviour and her respect, if she is a child who was raised well. If she was not raised well, she will be just a child who does not have good behaviour who does not even listen to her parent when they talk to her].

These quotations emphasize the importance of moral teachings, which is practiced at home from an early age. Moral teachings, which were taught at home, are not only taught by parents but by the whole extended family as well as the rest of the community. In line with the African concept of Ubuntu, social rules and customs, which were taught from an early age, were not only taught by parents in the home, but were the responsibility of the whole community. It is noted that an adult who finds a child misbehaving had the duty to reprimand that child before reporting the misdemeanour to the biological parents of that child (Matemba, 2010; Nyaumwe, 2007). This shows that good behaviour is important from an early age. This behaviour is channelled to allow a child to understand the cultural values and to promote decent relationship between the child and the community at large. Similar to the notion of Ubuntu and the notion that when you misbehave you are not seen as a person or you do not have “botho”, this is seen at initiation schools. If a child does not have “botho” initiation instructors know that she will not value, the teachings at initiation schools.

When a child is old enough to attend initiation school and extend the values education that they have received from at home and within the community, they attend initiation school. Within a cultural context of the Batswana initiation schools are

considered educational institutions, which are the beginning of the teachings in womanhood. Precolonial times, initiation schools were the only formal schools for Africans (Matemba, 2010). While children were socialised at home when they were still in their formative years, as soon as the biological signs of maturity were seen the importance of attending a formal school was emphasized. These schools were to teach one the responsibilities of life from then onward (Kangwa, 2011; Matemba, 2010; Phasha, 2014). Coming in contact with the colonial masters had an impact on cultural institutions such as initiation schools. These schools were seen as irrelevant and barbaric according to the westerners who did not understand them. The school were abolished in favour of Christianity (Madise, 2010). Within the Batswana communities, the schools depended on the Chief that is ruling at the time. If the Chief converts to Christianity oftentimes the initiation rite and the schools will be disregarded in that communities (Madise, 2010; Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014).

Although initiation schools were disciplined by the west and the entrance of Christianity in South Africa, Initiation schools are seen as valid avenues to teach morality and womanhood in communities that are still following the cultural way of life presently. Madise (2010) notes that initiation schools were never abolished in Taung. The community members held them in secret to be respectful to the missionaries who lived among them.

Participant 5: *Eeya ke 'College' hela e e tswanang le e ko go nyena. Ke sekolo o dule hatshe, re go bolelele, re go rute gore sekolo ke eng...ke 'one, two, three...*

[Yes, it is a college, just like the one where you are coming from. It is a school; you sit down we teach you. We teach you what a school is we teach you one, two, three].

Participant 1: *Eya akere o ko sekolong sa bone...wa bona.ke tsa sekolo...wa bona...O kgotsofetse o bona tiro ya gore e matla o e amogetse ka botlalo ke mosadi...a kanna le ene kamoso a go direla ba banngwe...wa bona*

[Yes, it is their (initiates) school. You see those things are for the schools. You will be satisfied, seeing that initiates have received

your hard work. They are women now. Tomorrow it will be them who are doing the same for others]

The quotation above shows that the participants of this study do not see initiation as inferior to other educational institutions. Initiation schools are schools with their own rules and curriculum, and outcomes. Initiation schools are schools that teach important life lessons pertinent to an African child. Initiates are expected to be able to assist and guide others. They are also expected to teach other generations later on.

The lessons taught at initiation schools are conducted through songs and dances (Kangwa, 2011; Matemba, 2010; Matobo, Makatsa & Obioha, 2009; Ntombana, 2011a; Werbner, 2009). In Setswana, as in many other African languages, culture is taught from generation to generation through the medium of orature. Traditional music, songs, folk tales and proverbs shows the intuition and feelings of Africans. Makaula and Lumbwe, (2014) explain that songs are an important part of teaching traditional knowledge. It is within these songs that the cultural knowledge is embedded and is passed down by initiation instructors. These songs, proverbs, and taboos are meant to guide one's life. While collecting data the researcher had an opportunity to listen to some of the initiation songs, which can be sung in the community. It was clear that the songs that are sung have a message; they emphasized the importance of attending initiation schools. Songs are regarded as literature, which is important for cultural life. Through songs lessons can be taught (Dikotla, 2007).

Participant 4: *Botlhokwa jwa pina ke gone go itse gore motho yole o tswa go rutiwa , o tswa go tse na sekolo...ene sekolo seo ga se sekolo se se...tse tsa dikolo tse tsa mo gae tse...ha batla ban a le dipina tsa bone ha ba hologa ba na le dipina tsa bone, Ee.*

[“The importance of the song is to know that the person has been taught...she is from school. And this school is not just a school, not just one of the schools here at home. When they come they have their own songs. Yes”].

Participant 3: *Thata akere wa utlwa bana ba opela ba re “Mme Mmamosetlho o re...ke Mosadi...o re apotse kobo ya boshoboro” ke gore ke ba apotse tlhaloganyo e le e e bosula ele”*

[As you can hear the initiates are singing “Mme Mamosetlho is a woman. She has taken off the blanket of boshoboro from us. That means I have taken off the wrong thinking that they had before they attended”.]

In this song that was sung, the initiates were explaining that the initiation instructor is a woman; she has moved them from their childish mind. This shows that the initiation school is an institution that teaches you, and there are expectations that there will be a change in behaviour from who you were before because of those teachings.

Initiation schools are cultural schools, and they are shrouded by secrecy for those who have not attended them and are, therefore, outsiders. The teachings of initiation schools have always been kept secret from outsiders (Mosothwane, 2004; Setlhabi, 2014). If you have not attended initiation schools, you will not be told about the happenings of initiation schools. It was clear from the data that initiation instructors are not meant for teaching at initiation schools only but that they are also gatekeepers to the initiation rite. The initiation instructors guard the initiation rite and keep everything that pertains to it secret. The secrets at initiation schools are only discussed with the people who have attended initiation schools. The happenings of initiation will be shared with you only after you enter the initiation space. Once you are there, the initiation instructors teach the initiates the importance of keeping the initiation teachings a secret. They are not to discuss them freely with those who are not initiated in the community. During the interviews, one of the first questions asked was whether we had attended an initiation schools or not. It was made clear that while we can be told the impact of attending imitation schools we will not be told what actually takes place at initiation schools.

Participant 1: *Eeya mme eo ke mekgwa e ke sa kgoneng go go bolelela wena eo. Akere wa re ga o tswa koo, ha o batla go itse ke hela o ikela...wa go itšheabela...o bowa o tla go dula haatse...”*

[Those are behaviours, which I cannot share with you, because you have not been to initiation school. If you want to know, you should just go and attend for yourself. And then you come back and sit down.]

Participant 4: *Mophato ke selo se se bosisi...mophato o wa tlhonipiwa...mophato...ga o na gore...ngwana a tsa mophatong...wa ba a kayaka gore kwa sekolong sele re ira jana...ke sekolo se se tonna se se bosisi...la ele bone borre ba ditalama le bomapodisi ga a ame..ke sekolo se se botlhoko..ga ba ame mapodisi...la ibile motho a nna le bogale, nnyaa ba emela kwa!...eeya..”*

[“Initiation rite (school) is a very sacred thing, initiation school is respected, and it won’t happen that when a child comes from initiation school, they start telling that this is what we do at initiation schools. Initiation school is a magnificent school and very sacred, even the police men do not come close. It is a painful school, the police do not touch, and even if a person is known to be strict, they just stand there. Yes.”]

The young and old people who attend initiation schools are sworn to secrecy (Setlhabi, 2014). They are committed to keep what happens at initiation schools there. While the secrecy of initiation schools is good to make sure that the sanctity of the place is kept intact and respected, this may be a reason why people are very suspicious about what happens at initiations schools. The initiation instructors are determined to keep what happens at initiation schools a secret. While every woman who has ever attended initiation schools is welcome to attend whenever there is initiation season, this does not breach the initiation secrecy. All people who attend are tested to see if they have really been through this ritual. Ways that guard the sanctity of this space include ways to make sure those older women who say they have been to initiation schools are tested to make sure that they are really from initiation schools.

Participant 5: *Gotla nako e e leng gore re utlwe gore bomme ke bomang..,le rona ba ba tswang re diriwa ‘research’le rona..,o le Mme hela..,o itsie gore a o sentse o gopola sa gago , ao santse o itlhaloganya...jaanong.*

[“There comes a point where we want to hear who the women are, even us who have attended initiation school before we are

researched. As a woman, you should still remember your part. Do you still know who you are?"]

Elders in African culture hold an important place in societies. They are seen as knowledge bearers of the oral customs and knowledge that is so typical in African culture. The knowledge that they hold is viewed as critical for survival and the ability to guide the next generations (Aubel, 2010). The knowledge of the elderly is derived from the experience they have about life in general (Kariuki, 2009). The book *Re tswa kae Batswana* is a conversation between a child and his grandfather. The grandfather is explaining and teaching the culture to the young man. Traditionally the evening times around the fire among the Batswana are times for listening to folklore stories and games. These are most of the time told by elders in the home. These stories and games are full of life lessons from elders. Elders are an important part of Africans. In some communities there are councils of elders that are in place to fill important positions as in the conflict resolution processes (Kariuki, 2009). In western societies, the values that undergird the culture are predominantly individualistic and youth focused, so there is not much emphasis on the aged and older generations. In African culture when an older person dies it is like a whole library has burned down (Aubel, 2006, as cited in Aubel, 2010). Western paradigms which are taken as the standard around the world undermine the traditions and values of collectivistic cultures which include the recognition and wisdom of the elders (Aubel, 2010). African women have been celebrated as knowledge bearers in African societies. Older African women have the responsibility of supervising younger generations and teaching them the cultural values (Blumberg, 2013; Ramokgopa, 2001). Grandmothers in particular have been very instrumental in passing the cultural knowledge to their children around cultural practices. Older women are regularly consulted to shed light and advice younger members in the family (Blumberg, 2013). The Batswana culture is an oral culture like many African cultures. The role of the older women who are seen as elders and sages in Taung is to pass on the knowledge that has been left to them. This is done through song and other oral means in initiation schools. This is done so that the younger generations understand the core of the culture and are able to pass the knowledge on to the coming generations. The initiation instructors guard and keep the initiation rite sacred by making sure that it is shared with appropriate people only.

### **At the interface of regulation and moral education in initiation schools**

Initiation schools have been under the radar of the media lately. The focus has been on the circumcision of males at the initiation schools. Meel (2011) posits that it is because of the high rates of morbidity and mortality associated with traditional male circumcision. The administration of the initiation schools has come under scrutiny. Some organizations, motivated by the general degeneration in the context of initiation practices, have even called for the termination of the practice (Meel, 2011; Ntombana, 2011b). The explanation of these unfortunate events is that inexperienced traditional surgeons conduct the circumcision ritual procedure under aseptic, unhygienic conditions. As a result there are infections, excessive bleeding, cross-infection, dehydration which are suffered by the initiates (Meel 2011; Ntombana 2011a; Wilcken, Keil, & Dick, 2010). The government has been involved in regulating the rite in order to reduce the fatalities and morbidities. The government passed the Traditional Health and Practitioners Act of 2004, which aims to give guidance and directions for initiation schools (Ntombana, 2011a). In Taung, the initiation rite is regulated according to government-set regulations. The regulation of female initiation schools in Taung within the context of the broader initiation rite is discussed below.

In Taung, the whole community is involved in the initiation rite. The traditional leadership, traditional healers, initiation instructors, caregivers, the family of the initiates and the initiates themselves are all involved in the process of initiation schools. Initiation schools are traditional educational institutions which teach culture; as a result, they are governed by the traditional leadership of the community (Ntombana, 2011b). In Taung, the traditional leadership are at the forefront of the administration of traditional initiation schools. Their role is to protect and promote the customary practice of initiation. It is also to ensure that initiation does not have any adverse effect on the health or lives of the initiates. Initiation season is every second year in Taung; the initiation season is both for male and female initiation. When the traditional leaders announce that initiation will take place in a particular year, it is for both males and female. It was mentioned that the order of who leaves the village first and who comes back into the village from initiation schools, is set. The males will first lead the way to go to their initiation schools and then the females will follow. This is the same order when they come back from initiation when it is time for them to graduate.

The traditional leaders in Taung decide the start and end of initiation season. They communicate this to the initiation instructors. The traditional leaders have the responsibility of screening the initiation instructors according to the guidelines of the government before the commencement of initiation season. The legitimacy of the caregivers needs to be confirmed before each one gets a certificate to continue with initiation. The traditional leadership, furthermore, are in charge of the initiation schools by regulating that the initiates are treated well right through the initiation season (Meel, 2011). The Chief has the right to cancel initiation if he suspects that the initiates are not treated well at an initiation school. The Chiefs involve the traditional healers as well in the initiation schools. Traditional healers play a crucial role in the safety of initiates. They provide the protection of the initiation schools as well as herbs for dressing the wounds in male initiation schools.

Participant 1: *Hela ka dikgosi di bua, ha re bidiwa, ko go rre Mašoko, ba ne ba bodiwa gore “ a lo tshwara batho sentle”.*

[When the Chiefs are speaking, when we are called, I mean there at Mr Mashoko's, they were asked “do you treat people well”.]

The traditional leadership, work hand in hand with the government to regulate the initiation schools. The main role player is through the Department of Health. This allows the Department of Health to be involved in the schools, to curb the health incidents that might occur (K. Moshugi, personal communication, September 24, 2015). In an article by Kepe (2010), the government stepped into the initiation regulation when there was a rise in the reporting of initiates deaths and incidents. The government involved all concerned stakeholders to arrive at a guideline that could be used to regulate initiation schools and to reduce the incidents at the schools (Ntombana, 2011a). Traditional leaders are reported to have had a tendency to reject government interference, insisting that government's involvement violates their traditional and constitutional rights as custodians. The traditional leaders felt that they should be allowed to find solutions to the problems at initiation schools as they are custodians thereof. However, in Taung, the Department of Health is involved with the initiation schools (K. Moshugi, personal communication, September 24, 2015). The initiation instructors explain that they work hand in hand with the Department of health to ensure that the initiates are in a good health status to attend initiation schools.

Participant 5: *“ke lebogetse pušo gore ipatanye le rona , ga e ya tsena mo gare ga rona. E romela bo mme , e ya ba roma gore ,bomme tsamayang lo ye go lebelela gore go re go dirwang...ha ba tsena re ba fa difaele tsa rona , Gore ngwana o o tlileng a bobola yana le yana.Ba alafiwa, ditlhare di ya tla..ha o tlhoka ‘injection’, ba go raya bare “tsamaya mma o ye hospotala”, wa ya a hospotala...,akere motho ha buiwi sepe se se mašwe...,ke ya ba isa ko kliniking kwa...,mo thuseng mo ke ‘one, two, three’.*

[I am thankful that the government has partnered with us. It sends mothers and says mothers go and see what is being done. When they come, we give them our files. That this child who is here is sick, with this or that. They are treated, medicines come, if they need injection, they tell you and say mam go to the hospital, you go to the hospital. You take them to the clinic, please help her, one two three]

Initiation schools are not just the responsibilities of authorities and the traditional leadership, but the families of the initiates are involved as well. The family of the initiate is an important part of initiation ritual. The family of the initiate is involved in the whole process of initiation, starting from preparing for a child to go to initiation school, observing certain taboos while initiation is in session as well as preparing for and being part of the graduation. When the initiate is in seclusion at initiation school the family is supposed to observe certain taboos to ensure that nothing bad happens to the initiate. The time of seclusion is seen as a sacred time. There are certain behaviours, which are not allowed. One of them is that you are not allowed to see your child with the red ochre (letsoku) on. This clay is a symbol of liminality, which is a very sacred time for the initiate. This is to avoid any unfortunate events happening to the initiate.

Participant 1: *Ga o wa tshwanela go kopana le motho wa rre! Ha o le Mme o le kwa, le ngwana ha a le kwa go o kopane le motho wa rre.”*

[You should not come together with a man (sex). When you are a woman and you have gone there, even if your child is there you do not come together with a man (sex).]

When your child is at initiation schools, you are to abstain from sexual encounters if you are his/her parent. An initiate is not to be told if there's a death in the family, they would be told after the initiation period. This shows that when your child or family member has attended initiation school, the family observes some taboos regarding that person. This is because nothing happens in isolation in the African context. What the family members do in the village will influence what is happening at initiation schools and vice versa.

Initiation ritual is a ritual, which carries a lot of responsibility once a person has been through the process. In traditional societies in the past, the schools were attended by young women who were starting to show signs of biological maturity. Physical signs like onset of menarche, developing of breasts (Munthali & Zulu, 2007; Setlhabi, 2014). The female initiation schools in Taung are also attended by young women who are at this stage. This stage is usually around thirteen years of age and above what is commonly known as adolescence. Macleod, (2006) explains that in Africa "adolescence" did not exist prior to colonisation. This was just a transition to adulthood that was celebrated by social mechanisms such as marriage and initiation practices.

Participant 1: *ke gore rona mo gae mo ga re ise...kegore ga re bui ka bana ba gompieno ne...ke gore rona, o gola hela o tswa di-ola-molora (holds her breast)...ke gore ka Setswana ko ga rona di-ola-molora tse ke tsona di berekang mo setsong, wa bona..ke gore le batho ba ba binang; ha re bina jana ga re batle 'bodas' re batla mabele a be a eme hela jana...ga ke bui ka bana ba gompieno...rona ha re tla go dira 'fifteen years' ra isiwa"*

[“We at home we do not take- I am not talking about today's children. You grow up and have di-ola-molora (breasts) in Setswana the breasts are the ones that work, you see. It's because even the people who are dancing, when they dance we don't want them to wear a bra. We want the breasts to be standing straight like this. We are not talking about today's children. We take children who are about fifteen years to initiation schools.”]

According to Setlhabi (2014) initiation schools have shifted from a puberty rite which was for young unmarried women to a rite that accommodates females of any age

and status. whether unmarried or not. In Taung, they also allow other females who are not necessarily teenagers to attend. If a person wishes to go to initiation school and they are older, they are allowed to do that. According to Rre-Naledi (personal communication, 2015):

*O motonna o isitse bana ba”, o mo tonna akere...re ya mo ruta le ha a batla...,ba dire ekete jaanong o mo tonna mo o motonna mo, botonna gab o gope, ga se gore ha o tswa Setswana o le monyane e le kgale o ile, go bo go tla yo motonna ko morago, go be go twe yole o motonna ka setšo..., ha go na selo se se ntseng jalo...ha go na ‘different’ ...,o motonna kagore o ile pele. Bogolo ke jwa bo-Modimo. Gab o amiwa ke sepe akere. Modimo o bua jalo: ha o le mogolo o mogolo le ha o ka ya o le motonna o be o ya Setswana, o be wa go ya le bana, tswanetse ba go tlotle gore o mogolo o ba isitse...*

[The older one has taken the younger ones to initiation school. She is older is it not. We teach her if she wants to learn. If you go to initiation school and you are young, and then later an older person goes to initiation school, we will not say the younger one is older according to culture and when you in initiation school. There is no such thing. Age is given by God, nothing else influences that. That is what God says. If you are old and you go to initiation, schools with younger ones they should respect you because you are older and you are the one who is actually taking them to the initiation school].

Anyone who wishes to attend initiation school will be allowed to go. Whether you are old or young. You will not be disrespected by younger ones who have attended before you. It was mentioned that because of the mystery that shrouds initiation schools, some young children are intrigued and want to attend. Some find that a friend has attended and that their friend cannot share the secrets of initiation school, and this motivates them to attend as well.

Because of the fact that some young women attend initiation because of curiosity, as well as interest in the songs and dancing, some attend initiation schools without the knowledge of the family. This is a problem as there are some protocols that are followed for one to attend.

“Go thobela” is explained as attending without the family’s knowledge and consent.

Participant 1: *Go thobela ke ngwana o sa mo laolela go ya lebollo...o bo o utlwa o santse o dutse gore nngwana wa gago o ko lebollong. Ka Setswana ra re “o thobetse mophato”*

[“Go thobela” is when you have not allowed your child to attend initiation school. As you are sitting you just hear that your child is at initiation schools”]

The initiation instructors explained that this is a problem for them because the families sometimes think that they encouraged or even forced the children to attend so that they can get some money out of it. When a child is ready and willing to go to initiation schools, the first thing is that initiation instructors need to make sure if the child has had a ritual called “go jelwa dithari” done for them. Setswana culture has rituals that are in place to make sure that the child is protected from evil forces. This ritual is one of those. When you conduct this ritual, you make sure that your child is protected as they grow up. This ritual is conducted by the uncle of a child. The uncle conducts this ritual for both boys and girls.

Participant 4: *“Go jelwa dithari, ke ya ka go tlhodilwe e le setšo... go itlhelwa ngwana a jewa dithari... ha a sa jewa dithari, kegore e nna selo se sele hela, o sa itse gore ngwana o rileng wa e bona, o kreiye a go chiketse entse e le ngwana wa gago, ha a sa jewe dithari.*

[“Go jelwa dithari is a ritual that is done according to the prescribes of culture. Until a child has that ritual conducted. She/he will just be a thing; you will not know what is wrong with her. You will find that the child has changed and you do not even know what is wrong even if she’s your child, if the ritual is not done.”]

The importance of this ritual in relation to initiation schools is that, if a child attends initiation school without the knowledge of the family, the family will have to hurry and conduct this ritual for that child. The ritual will assist this child not to have any problems at initiation schools among other children. The ritual strengthens the child so that they should not be overwhelmed by other people. Another point is that the traditional healer will work on the place where the initiation school will be held in order

to strengthen and protect the initiates. A child who has not been protected by his own family's traditional medicine may have problems there.

It is important to note that the participants were clear that no one is forced to attend initiation school. Initiation schools are seen as important in the life of a Motswana child, but no one is forced to attend initiation schools in Taung. Anyone who is there needs to be a willing participant.

Participant 1: *Setso se botlhokwa jaaka re le bana ba batswana, retshwanetse re ye setšo., gone go tshwanetse gore re ye...maare ga o pateletswe ha pelo ya gago e se e rate gore o ka ya setšo ga o ye...motsing pelo e bulegile o ka ya, o re "jaanong keya tsamaya ke ya setso", ke gone o kanna waya...ha o wa tshwanela gore o tsewe ka dikgoka...gore o isiwe ko setšo...go batla e le wena o phutholotse maikutlo a gago, gore o kanna wa ya setšo.*

[“Culture schools are important as we are Batswana children, we should go to initiation schools. But no one is forced if the heart is not ready to go. When your heart is ready you will see, I am going to the cultural school, then you can go. You should not be forced to go to the schools, you need to want to go and your heart be free, then you go.”]

Everyone should go out of their own accord to initiation schools. Even the children who grow up in families, which are raised according to the culture, are given an opportunity to decide if they are going to initiation school or not.

Initiation schools are sacred places for the Batswana. It is not only because of the teachings that are taught there that are to be held in confidence, but also the fact that the preparation of the place where the school will be held is sacred. Before the initiates go to the place where the school will be held, they start at the graveyard to let their ancestors know that they are going to the initiation schools and they need their protections. The traditional healer goes ahead to work on the place to make sure that all initiates will be protected for the duration of the initiation season. If someone steps on that place and leaves before the ritual is completed, they run the risk of losing their mind because of the work that the traditional healer has done there. As a result, it is known that if you step on the place you should preferably stay there until all is done.

Participant 4: *“Eyaa...ga a tshwanela go tlola dimapo... eyaa go setse go berekilwe...ha tshwanela gore a tswe a tsamaye. Jaanong ke gore wa go go itlhakatlhakanyetsa jaanong.*

[Yes you should not jump the boundaries. Yes, the place has already been worked on, she should not leave. If she does that, she’s going to confuse herself now.]

Participant 3: *ke gore ha o ba tlogela ba tsena mo mosakong...akere rre wa ngaka o setse a thaile...jaanong hao re be re tshaba gore...jaanong ngwana ha a tsena kwa, tlhaloganyo ya tshika.*

[It is because when you leave them to come into the boundaries, the traditional healer has already worked on the place. In that case, we are afraid that when a child gets there they are going to lose their mind.]

Rre Naledi is a traditional healer in Taung. He is one of the people who are initiation instructors. He also has a female initiation school that he takes care of. He is one of the traditional healers called to do this preparatory work that readies the place for initiation schools. He explained that the issue is not that you are not allowed to leave the place once you have stepped on it. He explained that the parents have a right to fetch their children if they do not want them at initiation schools. What is important is to have a conversation between the initiation instructor, the family, and the traditional leadership. This is because the consequences of taking the child from the place are real. This child has seen what is not to be seen. Therefore, before a parent takes the child they need to understand what might happen to the child and that the parent must not blame the initiation schools for the consequences.

The parents who have not attended initiation schools may not be comfortable with their children attending initiation school because they may not understand what is happening there. Rre Naledi explained that it is important that these parents trust the traditional leaders and the initiation instructors at these schools to take care of their children.

Initiation schools at Taung are the responsibility of the traditional leadership who are the custodian of their cultural rite. The government is a role player through the

agency of the Department of Health to make sure that the schools follow high hygienic guidelines. The family of the initiate has a responsibility towards the initiates. This responsibility is to be with the initiate in one way or another and to be involved at different parts of the process. The children who attend initiation schools without the knowledge of their family cause problems as the parents may think that initiation instructors have actively recruited the initiates against the family wishes. The important thing is the ability to have a conversation with all the role players when a situation like that presents itself.

In resisting the colonisation, the Africans have carried on with their initiation institutions even when missionaries and colonisers have tried to take this knowledge from them. The terms, which are used by the initiation instructors and the pride that they carry themselves as guardians and gatekeepers of the rite, show that they believe that the indigenous knowledge remains sovereign and important even when others are trying to subjugate it.

**Review of main findings: How moral teachings in Batswana traditional initiation schools help shape morality and womanhood.**

The global themes discussed in the results of this study can be seen as interwoven and connected. The research question in this study aimed to explore how moral teachings in Batswana traditional initiation schools help shape morality and womanhood. This question was to be addressed by initiation instructors who are the main role players in teaching morality and womanhood in the schools. Initiation instructors are a specific group of people in the initiation context in Taung. The study used a grounded theory approach because, to our knowledge, there has not been research conducted with this particular group of participants exploring the issue of moral teachings at initiation schools in Taung. The study aimed to highlight the roles of these initiation instructors by giving them an opportunity for their voices to be heard. The results showed that teachings at initiation schools are geared at instructing initiates in a way that expects a definite personality and a particular kind of individual. The teachings at initiation schools teach initiates to be women within the community. This means that their behaviour impacts the next person within their family circle and the larger community. The moral teachings focus on the appropriate behaviours that are expected of women in the community context. Morality is seen as a contextually bound concept

as it is constructed differently according to context. In Taung the consideration of right and wrong depends on the connections and relationships that bind the community as a whole. A person is defined according to the relationship he or she has with the people that are around them. As a result it is to everyone's benefit to learn and understand their role in the bigger picture pertaining to acting morally for the good of the whole community (Bujo, 2001; Verhoef & Michel, 1997). Traditional teachings in initiation schools are undergirded by the African philosophy of Ubuntu. Ubuntu emphasizes relationships in contrast of what is good for an individual only. African ethics differs from ethics that are derived from rationalism where reason is central, instead they hinge on relatedness. For Africans it is not the *I think therefore I am* but the *I am known , therefore we are* that is important (Bujo, 2001). The responsibility is emphasized within the humankind realm, and it extends to the cosmic world. The results of this study showed that the morality that is taught at initiation schools was in line with the Ubuntu concept (Bujo, 2001). The morality concept is bound to responsibility in this study. There is a sense of an ethic of responsibility, which is closely linked to an ethic of care, which Gilligan proposed. Womanhood is closely linked to morality. Womanhood is seen as a character that is shown through behaviours by the women who have been to initiation schools in this study. This character hinges on the relationships which a woman has with the different people within the community and the home. A woman is one that acts or performs in a certain way that has been socially constructed as appropriate. The acceptable and appropriate behaviour that is an embodiment of Ubuntu is related to the social roles that women fulfill in the community. Womanhood is manifested when one takes on the responsibility of nurturing the family, respects and takes on some responsibilities in the community. Womanhood is also shown when one guards and safe keeps the initiation ritual and relates well with the general community in Taung. These teachings at initiation schools are geared towards teaching these appropriate behaviours, which are seen as a confirmation that a person is a woman now.

Reality from an African point of view is relational, and nothing is seen as separate (Olayiwola & Olowonmi, 2013). Morality is closely linked with women's identity of taking care of others around them. The important part was that women do not only take care of their families, but they extend this responsibility to the community at large. This responsibility is further seen as the initiation instructors agree and assume

responsibility towards the initiates under their care and to teaching these initiates. The responsibility is further expressed in how initiation schools are regulated in Taung.

This view of morality and womanhood may not be readily accepted, as it is not in line with what has been accepted as the standard of morality and womanhood. Coloniality of power assists us in understanding the taken-for-granted order of society which is readily accepted as universal. Decoloniality of power includes the realization of the control of gender and sexuality, which keeps notions of western education pertaining to the family system in place (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014). This notion displaces other knowledges, which do not fit the western-centric education of what a family is. Womanhood, according to the participants of this study pertains to the feminine behaviours which include being responsible to the people around you. It also extends to the importance of knowing and guarding cultural knowledge. The realization that African women have agency to define their lives is important here. Those African women do not see themselves as marginalised and ill-treated by the feminine behaviours that they perform but see themselves as powerful and possessing the ability to take care of others.

### **Integration of Findings: A Setswana view of womanhood and Morality**

The common thread that can be seen in this data is the fact that female morality and womanhood are socially constructed concepts in this context. These concepts are constructed as such by people who share the same meaning of what it means to be a woman. Many of the themes that emerged relate to the responsibility and relational aspect of life within an African communal context. These aspects then draw our attention to the African epistemology and the meaning-making within that epistemology. Many of the basic, organizing, and global themes pertain to the relational arena and a sense of responsibility that is borne by women who attend initiation schools. This is said because when we asked them what a woman is, they did not relate the individual identity traits of a woman, but they explained a woman within the context of a culture that emphasizes relationship above individualism. They accounted what womanhood is in relation to manhood, taking care of the family and the responsibility to the community at large with teaching and guarding the initiation rite. As such global themes that emerged gravitate towards a relational responsibility.

The women define the power structures, which are not based on the western understanding of power, but devolve around the community as well as initiation spaces. These ideas are ideas, which are normally seen as marginalizing and not empowering women, yet the participants in this study construct womanhood and female morality with them (Taiwo, 2010).

Developmental psychologists, Lawrence Kohlberg in particular, assert that moral development is universal and has a definite trajectory that it follows. Moral reasoning and development move from an egocentric through a societal to a universal ethical formation (Kohlberg, 1987). The last stage of development is seen as the more developed one pertaining to moral development. African worldview shows us that within an African context, relationships are of importance despite the fact that a relational morality is not seen as the peak of moral and cognitive development within the western framework. This is because African ideas, and the practices that emanate from within such a worldview are based on a different epistemological logic which Nsamenang explains as a psychological frame of reference that differs fundamentally from that which informs contemporary Western developmental psychology (Nsamenang, 2007). Taking that developmental psychology and its tools are derived to explain the Western world, its scope is insufficient to explain African social thought. Therefore, any project that is serious about (re)presenting African social thought, African culture and customs should take decolonisation as an ethical prerogative. According to Ndhlovu-Gatsheni (2014), to do decolonial work involves epistemic disobedience. A decolonial perspective permits and opens up for views from previously colonised contexts to come to the table and bring their thinking and understandings, which were previously pushed to the margins. Decoloniality embraces a pluriversal world in which Africa has a respected and equal space at the table of knowledge production (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2014).

The participants talk about ‘molao’, which is taught at initiation schools, which emphasizes the responsibility one has in the relational spaces within a community. It is not just the fact that women must respect others but it is a reciprocal tendency of community members as a whole understanding what their role is in the bigger scheme of things. Participants explain their interactions with others as that which comes with a responsibility of being. In terms of interpersonal connection, this standpoint seems to be linked to the understanding of Botho or Ubuntu and the participants’ value system.

This links to the epistemological stance of the African people, which is relational in its nature. The basis of interaction for African people is the relational aspects that encompass the whole cosmic world, including God, ancestors, living beings and the ones that have not yet come. It extends to elders, youngsters and to the individual woman who has been to initiation school. All this happens within a relational space.

Nsamenang (2007) explains that because of the western-centric approach and background of psychology and its theories, minimal attention is paid to the wisdom embedded in Africa's oral sources of knowledge like proverbs, folklore, and practices. Because of the field's inability to capture such meaningful content, which embody the modes of knowing and functioning in Africa's oral traditions, they are vilified and rejected. The problem is that when Psychology or any other social sciences field, attempts to solve problems, which are in Africa, the theories, and methods do not fit the context.

Considering the challenges within the social science disciplines, it is imperative to allow African knowledge to the fore to solve African problems. The study contributes to the call to promote and affirm African values in South Africa. The emergent theory proposes that traditional teachings taught at initiation schools teaches a gendered morality that centres on responsibility. Moral responsibility goes beyond doing what is right as contrasted to what is wrong. Moral responsibility also goes beyond the caring identity that has been identified by Gilligan. The moral responsibility is captured by the relationships that individuals have with each other within their communities

### **Conclusion**

This chapter was focused on discussing the findings of the research study. The main themes were analysed in relation to the conceptual lens and literature review presented in Chapters 3 and 2 respectively. The ethic of responsibility is found as the main finding of the research study. Morality and personhood in a cultural context is a relational business. The relationship between people in a community, the cosmos, and the environment calls for a responsibility that takes into note all the role players involved.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **CONCLUSION**

Moral teaching is an important tenet of society that contributes to moral development. This study is located within discourses regarding moral education and how it can contribute meaningfully towards improving moral values. In Chapter 6, the discussion of the data from the study was ensued upon and a data-based theory is discussed. This is done through a conceptual lens constructed in Chapter 3. What emerged from the findings is that female morality, in the context of Batswana initiation schools, includes the construction of womanhood. Female morality and womanhood are based on an African epistemology and a morality that emphasizes responsibility. While the findings are discussed in Chapter 6, the implications of those findings are presented in this chapter along with conclusions reached. The limitations and recommendations of the study are also presented here.

#### **Limitations of the Study**

At this point, it is relevant to consider that the study is a qualitative one that limited its findings to the Batswana initiation schools in Taung, North West Province, South Africa. In light of this limitation, the study's results cannot be generalised to all African women; nor to women who belong to other cultural groups. While conducting the research it became apparent that there is not enough literature that deals with female initiation schools. As a result, there was no literature to compare findings to.

The study aimed to see how initiation instructors account for morality teachings and it also aims to interrogate their role in initiation schools. While the study achieved this aim, initiation schools occupy a space shrouded and guarded by a pledge of secrecy and the happenings thereof are not shared with outsiders. The instructors only shared the information that they are permitted to divulge to non-initiates. It is therefore possible that the most important aspects of womanhood and female morality were not shared as a result of the sanctity of the schools and their teachings.

Another aspect to consider is that even if the researcher had attended initiation school and such secrets were shared with her, it would not be ethical to share the long held secrets with everyone who has access to the research report. The contribution of

this dissertation is to understand the social construction of womanhood and female morality within the Batswana initiation context. The dissertation contributes to the relational morality that is highly esteemed within this context. The concept that female morality includes a responsibility to the whole cosmic environment is also highlighted. The decolonial epistemic perspective was useful in critiquing the mainstream moral development theories which could contribute to the cultural epistemicides of African indigenous knowledges and African identity.

One of the strengths of this study relates to the research design. A grounded theory design allowed participants to construct their experiences without any confinements. Grounded theory was a good fit due to the fact that while male initiation schools had been explored before, how female initiation teaches morality had not been researched before from the perspective of the initiation instructors. It also allowed the researcher to be guided by the findings of the data as they emerged.

### **Recommendations**

Due to the fact that no research to our knowledge has been conducted in this respect, it is important to conduct more research about female morality and womanhood from an African perspective. Most studies, which are conducted about African womanhood, are written from an othering side. Often analysis of literary work is conducted in a way that seeks to understand how womanhood is constructed. It would be important to talk to African women and allow them to tell their story and allow them to be part of a knowledge production entity pertaining to womanhood.

The results of the study highlighted that female morality is viewed differently according to context. While female morality has been mostly seen as a morality of care, the study highlighted a morality of responsibility. It would also be important to consider this when assessing the moral development of African women. Assessing moral development of African women should not be conducted using western standards without the consideration of context and the culture one finds them in.

Different institutions embarking on moral teaching would do well to understand the background of relational morality when planning and embarking on intervention programmes. This information would assist them to develop intervention programmes, which are inclusive of all cultures and backgrounds.

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## **APPENDIX A**

### **PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

#### **Dear Prospective Participant**

My name is Gaogalalelwe Katide and I am doing research with my supervisor Boshadi Semanya, a senior lecturer in the Department of Psychology. I am studying towards a Masters of Arts in Psychology (Research Consultation) Degree at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled Female Morality as Entrenched in Batswana Traditional teachings in Initiation School.

I would like to request your participation in this research by recording in writing and by tape, your knowledge, thoughts, and experiences regarding the Batswana female initiation practice and its role in the teaching of moral-driven behaviour amongst women. The study consists of unstructured interviews. The interview will take approximately 60 minutes to 90 minutes and because it is an unstructured interview it can be done at any place that is convenient to you.

Participation in this study is voluntary and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to



keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. Your name will not be recorded anywhere and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including an external coder, members of the Research Ethics Committee and my Supervisor.

**APPENDIX B**

**CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY**

I, \_\_\_\_\_ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications, and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the individual interview.

Participant name & surname..... (please print)

Participant signature.....Date.....

Researcher's name & surname.....(please print)

Researcher's signature.....Date.....



## APPENDIX C

### Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants

*The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa has evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA and the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics.*

**Student Name:** Gaogalalelwe Katide      **Student no.**      4206 091 5

**Supervisor:** Boshadi Semenya      **Affiliation:** Dept. of Psychology,  
Unisa

**Title of project:**

Female Morality as entrenched in Batswana Traditional teachings in Initiation  
Schools

The proposal was evaluated for adherence to appropriate ethical standards as required by the Psychology Department of Unisa. The application was approved by the Ethics

Committee of the Department of Psychology on the understanding that –

- All ethical requirements regarding informed consent, the right to withdraw from the study, the protection of participants' privacy of the and confidentiality of the information should be made clear to the participants and adhered to, to the satisfaction of the supervisor;
- All permission that may be required by the community structures will be obtained before the study commences;
- If further counseling is required in some cases, the participants will be referred to appropriate counseling services.

*Signed:*

***The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:***

- 1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
- 2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Psychology Department Ethics Review Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
- 3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*



**Prof. M Papaikonomou**

*Date: 2014/11/11*

*[For the Ethics Committee                    ]*

*[ Department of Psychology, Unisa ]*