

**Spirit possession and social panic: *Amakhosi* possession and
behaviour among learners in selected schools in Mdantsane
Township**

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By

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that **Spirit possession and social panic: *Amakhosi* possession and behaviour among learners in selected schools in Mdantsane Township** dissertation is my own independent work and according to my knowledge, has not previously been submitted by me or any other person at another university.

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Date

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SUMMARY

This research sought to investigate the phenomenon of strange behaviour related to spirit possession called *amakhosi* in Mdantsane Township in East London in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. This spirit phenomenon has recently been prevalent in Township schools in the Eastern and Western Cape Provinces where school children were said to be possessed by a spirit which caused them to demonstrate a strange kind of destructive behaviour. These occurrences were also reported in the newspapers and community radio stations. All these media communications reported that teachers, parents and community leaders were increasingly concerned over a growing trend wherein children purchase muti called *amakhosi* which makes them to behave mysteriously and at times climbed school walls with their bare hands and at times becoming violent to the extent of threatening other learners and educators. The informants included community members, learners and educators. In a mainly qualitative research method, empirical data was collected from five selected high schools by means of observations, individual interviews and group discussions.

The main aim of this study was to better understand this *amakhosi* phenomenon and to determine whether it is a spiritual, drug related or a social phenomenon. The findings of the study suggested that *amakhosi* possession is partly a spiritual phenomenon and should not be overlooked as it can result into serious crimes leading to death just like in the recent cases of satanic killing reported among the youth in South Africa. Secondly, there is also a strong element of drug abuse among the youth associated with *amakhosi* rituals. Lastly, *amakhosi* is more than just a spiritual issue. It is a socio-economic problem which mostly involves the youth who are struggling in identifying their roles and positions in the post apartheid South Africa. The main recommendation is that the *amakhosi* phenomenon needs a 'wholistic' approach and not just intervention by involvement of prayers and traditional healers.

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ASC	Altered States of Consciousness
CJCP	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
DOE	Department Of Education
IQ	Intelligent Quotient
MPD	Multiple personality disorder
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SGB	School Governing Body
SMT	Senior Management Teachers
SRT	Spirit Replacement Therapy
WCED	Western Cape Education Department
WHO	World Health Organization
UN	United Nations

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
SUMMARY	iii
ACRONYMS	iv
CHAPTER 1	1
1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Background	2
1.3. Research problem	4
1.4. Research questions	5
1.5. Research objectives	5
1.6. Rationale	6
1.7. Significance of the study	7
1.8. Chapter layout	8
1.9. Conclusion	9
CHAPTER 2	10
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Dimensions	10
2.4 Spirit exorcism	14
2.5 Africa and South Africa perspectives on ancestral connections	18
2.6 Diviners and herbalists	19
2.7 Kinds of Spirits	23
2.7.1 The <i>Ndzawe</i> Spirits	23
2.7.2 <i>Amandiki</i> spirits	24
2.8 The use of sorcery	29
2.9 Legislation on cultural practices in South Africa	32
2.10 Violence in schools (broader contexts)	33
2.10.1 Violence in South African schools	34
2.10.2 Bullying	36

2.10.3 Gang	37
2.11 Theoretical Framework	38
2.11.1 Functionalist approach – Lewis	39
2.11.2 Socio-cultural theory	40
2.11.3 Narrative approach	40
2.12 Conclusion	42
CHAPTER 3	44
3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	44
3.1 Introduction	44
3.2 Pilot Study	44
3.3 Data Collection	45
3.3.1 Literature study	45
3.3.2. Fieldwork	46
3.4 Type of interviews used	48
3.5 Recording of the interview data	48
3.6 Observations	49
3.7 Sampling	49
3.8. Target population	50
3.9 Area chosen for the study	50
3.10 Ethical Consideration	51
3.11 Limitation of the Study	52
3.12 Data analysis	53
3.13 Conclusion	53
CHAPTER 4	55
4. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	55
4.1. Findings	55
4.1.1. Introduction	55
4.1.2. What is <i>amakhosi</i> ?	55
4.1.3 <i>Amakhosi</i> as demons	56
4.1.4 The current use of the word <i>amakhosi</i>	56
4.1.4.1 Elder’s opinion	56
4.1.4.2. Youth opinion	57
4.1.5 Types of <i>amakhubalo</i>	58
4.1.6 How are <i>amakhubalo</i> acquired?	59

4.1.7 Background of learners possessed by <i>amakhosi</i>	60
4.1.8 What are the reasons for <i>amakhosi</i> possessions?.....	61
4.1.8.1. Protection from witchcraft	62
4.1.8.2. Getting attention from the opposite sex	62
4.1.8.3. Having supernatural powers.....	62
4.1.8.4. For academic purposes	63
4.1.8.5. To be accepted by peers	63
4.1.8.6. Win fights and Bullism	63
4.1.8.7. Prophecy and warning	63
4.1.9. Growing of social tension.....	64
4.1.10 Relationship between <i>amakhosi</i> position and drugs.....	65
4.1.11. <i>Amakhosi</i> at the schools	65
4.1.12. Witnessing on <i>amakhosi</i> performance in schools	67
4.1.13. Discipline problems at schools.....	69
4.1.14. Support from the Department of Education with regard to discipline	70
4.1.15. Disciplinary procedures and punishment in schools	71
4.2. Analysis	75
4.2.1. Introduction	75
4.2.2. <i>Amakhosi</i> as spiritual phenomenon?.....	75
4.2.4. <i>Amakhosi</i> as social phenomenon?.....	77
4.3. Conclusion.....	82
CHAPTER 5	83
5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	83
5.1. Introduction	83
5.2 Conclusion.....	84
5.2.1 The role of educators and other role players in the establishment and maintenance of discipline in school	85
5.2.2 The experiences of learners and educators in the maintenance of discipline in the classroom	86
5.2.3 The role of school rules and codes of conduct	87
5.3 Recommendations of this study	87
5.4 Conclusion.....	89
APPENDICES	102
ANNEXTURE: A	102

APPENDIX: B..... 111

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

This chapter is largely an introduction to the thesis and specifically discusses research background, aims and objectives, problem statement, motivation and research questions guiding this study. This study is conducted from an anthropological and Social Sciences background and relevant qualitative methods are used to get closer and understand the word of informants without judging them. Further that, this study is allocated within the framework of Indigenous Knowledge System by studying a spiritual phenomenon that is mostly not understood and often also difficult to identify and diagnose by conventional medicine and other western healing mechanisms. This study explores the phenomenon of *amakhosi* as a spiritual and traditional belief as a distinctive 'African reality' in an increasingly globalized and westernized world.

This study explores the phenomenon of *amakhosi*-related acts in the schools of the Eastern Cape Province in the Republic of South Africa and its implications for school, law enforcement policy and practice. It is argued that *amakhosi* - related performances in the Eastern Cape is an under-researched area and thus, the current study represents an exploratory investigation into the topic within the field of Anthropology and various existing anthropological research studies are revisited on the subject. The case of Mdantsane in East London and the surroundings, Port Elizabeth and even the Western Cape were marked by widespread *amakhosi* related-violence which was therefore handled by such authorities as law enforcers, school governing bodies, the church leaders and communities. This, in essence, represents the point of departure for the current study.

1.2. Background

Recently, there has been a growing prevalence of strange behaviours in black township schools more especially in the Eastern and the Western Cape. Such behaviour is said to have been caused by a spirit possession called *amakhosi* (literally means chiefs-in isiZulu). The use of the word *amakhosi* is not new; it is its association with the current behaviour that is in question. *Amakhosi* as it will be discussed later, have always been known to be good spirits that were traditionally used to remove *amafufunyana* (bad spirits) and other evil possessions. These occurrences have been reported in the newspapers and community radio stations and were said to be disrupting learning in the schools. Recently one of the cases was three boys from Umtiza High School in one of the East London Townships. The boys were said to mysteriously climb a wall with their bare hands, groaning and violently intimidating learners and teachers (Daily Dispatch, 20 February 2012). There were also other cases reported in Mdantsane where children often mimic animal sounds, indicating the possibility of spirit possession (*ukudabuka*). The affected children were reported to be increasingly anti-social and aggressive.

Most of them believed that they carried in their bodies a superior older entity, which they refer to as the “ancients of ancients” or ancestors (*izinyanya*). These children stick together and as a result created *amakhosi* gangs, which is characterised by contestations of power and superiority. Induction into these gangs was said to be occurring outside the school premises at the abandoned and vandalised buildings. At these places, youths go through a process called *uku-tiger* (acting like a tiger) where *muti* (traditional medicine), vodka and milk stout are mixed to induce possession in a ritual. Once inducted into this state, youths fight to demonstrate that their spirits (*ikhosi*) are stronger than others. Once in this state of possession, the male youths go out to look for fights on the streets and schoolyards to demonstrate their new powers. The possessed youth also believe that *amakhosi* possession enhances performance at school sports and in examinations. Some also believed that *amakhosi* gave them power to better perform sexually.

Both in Eastern and the Western Cape these possessions brought learning at schools to a standstill and in some cases required the intervention of the law enforcement (South African Herald, 2008; West Cape News; 2012) (West Cape News, 2012; 2008; Izwi Lethemba FM radio station; Mdantsane FM radio station). The media communications reported that teachers, parents and community leaders were increasingly concerned over a growing possession of *amakhosi* and its effect in the schools and in the community at large. When such occurrences take place school principals and teachers feel ill-equipped and are often simply too frightened to respond. At times traditional leaders were called to assist and at some times church leaders were also called to pray for the victims and both groups referred to the performances as prosaic and demonic. The phenomenon has generated social panic and has even threatened to force the closure of some schools as parents remove their children from schools that were affected by *amakhosi*. In other cases the possession has provoked suicides and precipitated gang wars.

Also in 2008, several township schools in Nelson Mandela Bay said that they had been hit by a storm of unruly and violent pupils who believe they were invincible after paying *sangomas* (traditional healers) to contaminate them with 'evil powers' (South African Herald;2008). According to the acting principal of the high schools, evil spirits commonly known as *amakhosi* had been transferred into pupils, causing them to wreak havoc at the New Brighton school. According to the reporter, the problem had started at the beginning of the year and grown steadily until it became worse. Some people believed *amakhosi* were transferred into pupils by *sangomas*, who charged R200, a chicken and a bottle of brandy for the procedure. According to the school report, children wanted *amakhosi* because they believed that they made them invincible. The pupils assaulted one another because they wanted to test the strength of the *amakhosi*. As a result, there had been an increase in fighting and in one incident a pupil ripped off a classroom door. They fought a lot and it became difficult to get them under control. Educators said teaching had become impossible because of *amakhosi* possession. Parents' meetings had been called, and teachers and principals had also spoken to the pupils to encourage them to get a *sangomas* to recall the *amakhosi*, but without success.

In 2012, parents from a Township in the Western Cape Province confronted a herbalist at the train station after she was believed to have sold *amakhosi muti* to a 13-year-old (West Cape News; 2012). The report continued that teachers, parents and community leaders were increasingly concerned over a growing trend wherein children purchase muti that they believe made them invincible in a fight. The belief was that *muti*, called *amakhosi*, made the wearer more popular with the opposite sex. Concerns over increasing violence amongst both primary and high school children in the township have reached a point where 300 residents met one night to discuss the situation and ways to deal with it.

Some callers phoning at the Izwi Lethemba FM, a Radio Station based in East London said that this behaviour was related to evil spirit possessions called *amakhosi*. Most said that the possession was not *amakhosi*, arguing that *amakhosi* were traditionally known to be good spirits that were used by *amagqirha* (traditional diviners) to remove *amafufunyana*. These reports (South African Herald; 2008, West Cape News; 2012, Daily Dispatch; 2012) show the state of confusion faced by the educators, the law-enforcers and the communities. The situation shows the lack of information that leads to lack of control measures. This indicates the potential for violence or mob justice. The case studies and literature of spirit possession also show the potential re-occurring and escalating often spreading to other areas.

Whether this strange behaviour referred to as *amakhosi* is caused by drugs, or that it is as a result of evil or good spirits, the fact is that it results in a disruptive behaviour which causes the school to be unruly and disturbs learning at schools. Further that it has a strong spiritual element hence even the communities do not know how to deal with it. All this suggests that this phenomenon has to be observed and better understood, hence undertaking this study.

1.3. Research problem

The problem that has been identified by the study is the growing prevalence of spirit possession called acts and behaviour among young people. The community, parents and teachers were not sure if this possession is a re-emerging of *amakhosi* as they were traditionally known or is a new form. This possession is defined in various ways and forms but the main challenge is that it seems to be more active and visible at

certain township schools. Considering that the main school activity is learning which obviously requires learners to be sober and attentive. This possession seems to disrupt exactly the main objective of schooling (learners and educators) especially in the Eastern Cape Province where the Department of Education has been declared as in crisis (Mail & Guardian, 2012). Even community leaders and police do not have a clearly defined plan to curb the situation. As a result, in some instances Churches have been called to come and pray at schools. There seem to be strong link between supernatural belief and *amakhosi* hence it has so far been difficult to deal with the situation. The main concern over this possession is its potential in escalating the following problems:

- High failure rate at schools
- Growing of social tension
- African Nationals practicing as traditional /spiritual healers in communities can be targeted as the instigators of practices which often result in mob and xenophobic attacks
- Some learners may use practices displayed by individuals said to be possessed by the alleged spirits as a strategy to disrupt and even intimidate educators during school hours
- Gangs can be formed and these can lead to violence in communities

1.4. Research questions

- What are the *amakhosi* possessions? Are they related to drugs, a spiritual or just youth seeking attention?
- How are amakhosi acquired?
- Why are the *amakhosi* more prevalent in Township high schools?

1.5. Research objectives

It seems that one of the central problems regarding *amakhosi* is the lack of reliable knowledge about the subject (Faure, 2003). This new phenomenon and the associated traditional beliefs, African religion and practices are under-researched as an area of study. Even within the context of anthropology as a discipline spirit possession in particular is an under-researched area of study. Anthropologists have

contributed a great deal to the study of African religion and witchcraft beliefs in general (see, for example Petrus, 2010 and Mbiti, 1975).

Spirit possession especially *amakhosi*, as an area of study, requires a non-conventional approach and also represents an opportunity for the application of anthropological knowledge about African beliefs and practices to assist law enforcement officers in the practical investigations of spirit possession cases such as *amakhosi*. Spirit possession-related incidents should be regarded as a valid area of study for anthropologists because this involves questions of contextualising African beliefs, cross-cultural differences in definitions of law and justice, and the use of applied anthropological knowledge to generate recommendations on how to better equip communities and school officials to deal with *amakhosi* cases successfully.

In view of the above, this study has one major aim or objective, within which a number of specific objectives can be identified. The main objective of the study is to better understand and provide insights into the nature of spirit possession /*amakhosi* related cases in the Eastern Cape region, and to indicate how this could impact on schools, communities and law enforcement policy and practice. In order to address this main objective, the following specific objectives have been identified in this study:

- To contribute to the indigenous knowledge in South Africa
- To contribute by providing reliable information about the nature of spirit possession in South Africa
- Provide insight on the impact of possession on schools and in communities
- Get an idea of how communities, schools and law enforcement responded to the problem
- To explore the ways and means of managing the possession better.

1.6. Rationale

Legally it is a child's right to study in a safe environment in which learning and growth can take place without feeling threatened and scared. However, research done by De Wet (2003:4) indicates that learners and educators are often terrified to attend schools, and that even when they are at school .They are scared to go to toilets or

move around on the school grounds. Most of the *amakhosi* or spirit-related incidents are reported to have taken place in the playing grounds or behind toilets during the intervals or spare time.

Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) the Bill of Rights, contain various rights that are applicable to safer school environment – that is one that is conducive to effective teaching and learning. Prinsloo (2005) concurs that the purpose of any school is to ensure that effective teaching and learning take place in an orderly environment. Furthermore, South African educators have an important duty towards the safety and protection of learners, not only in terms of the Constitution and other legislation, but also in terms of their immediate parenting status.

Rossow (2003) asserts that currently one of the most prominent factors influencing the South African schools is the conduct of learners. Steward(2004) points out that maintaining discipline is seen by educators to be a major problem and a source of stress. Oosthuizen (1998) states that school's code of conduct could play a significant part in the case of a law suit, as school rules constitute a particular form of subordinate legislation; therefore it is important that schools should have a legally defensive code of conduct especially in case such as *amakhosi* where the lives of other learners including educators are in danger and the law enforcers do not have a legislation to deal with such cases as *amakhosi* or spirit related.

1.7. Significance of the study

Since insufficient studies have been conducted on the *amakhosi* spiritual issue , especially in the Mdantsane Township and in the Eastern Cape Province , this study seeks to add much needed data to the sparse knowledge and literature base on this topic. The findings of this study will provide a better understanding of the current challenge and draw parallels to relationship to spiritually, anxiety, poverty, drug abuse and moral concerns. Further that seeing most of the participants in this phenomena are young people, this study will prove insights into current youth popular cultures and identities.

This study will contribute to communities, government, law enforcement, academics, educational management and educational law by enhancing our understanding of spirit possession in school and the role of discipline in combating violence in high schools. The study extends the existing literature by providing insight into the perceived causes of *amakhosi* school violence and lack of discipline in schools. It provides further insight into educators' and learners' experiences of violence at school, and into the importance of using school rules and codes of conduct to maintain discipline and safety in schools. A further contribution of this study may be seen in the perceptions of the learners and educators of what really works in practice, and what does not. Lastly, it gives an indication of possible preventative strategies to counter an escalation of school violence. It also provides insight into the nature of educators' experiences with regard to maintaining a safe, disciplined school environment.

This study shared much in common with the literature on spirit possession, specifically its focus on power, and its presumption that possession is a mode of cultural expression that enacts prevailing social conflicts. Part of what is so interesting and philosophically challenging about spirit possession is that it raises many questions about the nature of rationality, and the relationship between intentions and actions. The need for more attention by parents in their children's every day's lives and future, Government and law enforcement to design a framework for managing incidences of amakhosi nature in future and the Department of Education to make schools a conducive environment for learning is of the paramount importance.

1.8. Chapter layout

The study has been planned to include the following chapters:

Chapter one: The chapter focused on the introduction and the background to conducting this research. The problem statement and the objective of the study and the significance are also discussed.

Chapter two: The chapter reviewed literature and important concepts used in the study were clarified. Theoretical framework was also discussed.

Chapter three: The chapter discussed the research methodology adopted by the study

Chapter four: The chapter concerned with the research findings .This is where the data was analyzed so as to make meaning out of it

Chapter five: This chapter dealt with conclusions and recommendations

1.9. Conclusion

As the introductory chapter to this study, a broad overview of the context of spirit possession and *amakhosi* -related incidences was given as a means of providing some background to the issues that are addressed in the following chapter. This chapter clarifies the research problem, the significance of the study, the research questions, and the rationale of the study, the organisation of the study as well as the objective of the study. This study is motivated by the need to understand the phenomenon of *amakhosi* its source and impact upon those who are possessed and those around them.

CHAPTER 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a review of literature on spirit possession as presented by various anthropologists and authors from other fields of study. Broadly, the discussion is based on spirit possession, spirit medium(s), sacred places and exorcism. This literatures review includes theories used in studying possession, various beliefs, traditions and various concepts of possession. This chapter considers literature from other parts of the world and also in Africa but mainly focuses on the South African context. The focus includes case studies and practices of various kinds of possessions and also with main focus *on amakhosi*, the behaviour of the possessed individuals or a group and the control measures. This chapter also looks at literature related to discipline at schools and also takes a particular interest at various problems experienced by schools in South Africa. The theoretical framework underpinning this study will also be reviewed.

2.2 Dimensions

According to Petrus (2010: 50), most, if not all, human societies are aware of three-dimensional nature of human beings, that is, humans as biological, social and spiritual beings. Even various religions recognise that a person is not complete unless all three dimensions are recognised and appreciated, there might be deference in how much recognition is given, for an example in some societies and religions one dimension is usually more recognised than the other. African societies have always been aware of these aspects and their life and culture have always been cantered on all of them. Further to that from an African perspective these dimensions have to be understood as 'whole' and not unconnected. It is within this context that religion and cosmology become significant aspects of African cultures, as a way of explaining the place of humans in relation to the wider natural and supernatural world (Petrus, 2010).

Petrus (2010) here argues that Africans do not separate religion from culture, religion is not a state of being you can be in today and decide otherwise tomorrow, it is part of who African people are. For Africans, religion is who they were, who they are and who they aspire to be and accompanies the individual from long before his birth to long after his physical death (Mbiti, 1969: 2).

2.3 Overview of possession

The English term 'possession' includes the notions of ownership, of control and of dominion; moreover the use of this term is well attested in English from as early as the 16th century (Keener, 2010). According to Boddy (1994), possession is a broad term which refer to an integration of spirit and matter, force or power and corporeal reality, in a cosmos when the boundaries between individual and his/her environment are acknowledged to be permeable, flexible drawn or at least negotiable. Spirit possession can also be defined as the hold exerted over a human being by external forces or entities more powerful than them (Boddy, 1994). Bourguignon (1976:8) presented a cross-cultural analysis of possession beliefs and behaviours where he described a possessed person as charged in some way through the presence of a spirit entity or power in him or on him, taking over his own personality, soul or self.

Auerbach (1993) added that it has been shown across cultures that possession experience is one of the most powerful 'spiritual' experiences a person can encounter. It is the experience of being taken over by an outside force that one cannot normally perceive. For an example the *ukuthwasa* or *intwaso* (calling and passage of being a traditional healer) in Xhosa communities where a person is called by ancestors to be an *igqirha* (traditional healer). When a person has the calling of *ukuthwasa* he/she never has peace until she responds to the calling (Mlisa 2010:5). *Ukuthwasa* is a choice made by ancestors for the person and in most cases a person never has peace until they respond to the calling. In making reference to own personal experience, Mlisa (2010: i) says that she never thought that she would ever be an *igqirha* and she was also scared of the covering clay used by *amagqirha*, but then in the end she responded to the calling. The other example is the spirit possession among Charismatic and Pentecostal Churches, these Churches strongly believe in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit (or Holy Ghost). When one is being baptized

in the spirit there are expected signs such as speaking in unknown tongues, making of a loud noise, some may fall in down in the spirit while some may jump or run inside the Churches and all those performances are not done under normal circumstance but only due to possession. Lewis (1971) makes a pertinent point that it is not for us to judge who is and who is not really 'possessed' arguing that If someone is generally considered to be in a state of possession in his/her own cultural milieu, then they should be considered possessed.

Three elements can be drawn from the above possession narratives; firstly, that the power is not of the person but of a powerful spiritual forces, secondly, that the consequence of possession is more powerful or overrides the possessed person to an extent that they do or perform behaviours they. Thirdly, the very experience of spirit possession is dependent upon the beliefs, norms, customs, and expectations of society. Lewis (1971) also agrees that in many parts of the world spirit possession is strongly related to cultural and social conditions. Most societies and religions have some experiences and beliefs of spirit possession, though possession experience is more common and prevalent in some than in others. Spirit-possession beliefs are geographically and culturally contained and therefore one cannot expect that they will be manifested in the same way even though there are similar trends found in them.

There are also various traditions and interpretations of spirit possessions, for instance the Catholic Church considers possession as a battle for the victim's soul, while other cultures embrace spirit possession as an integral part of their spiritual practices (Lewis 1971). One needs to note that not all possession is bad or evil, each and every culture has notions, meanings and interpretations of evil and good possession. For an example in the Xhosa context there are evil possessions that come as a result of *ubugwirha* (witching) or *ukuthakathwa* (to bewitch) and good possessions such as *ukuthwasa* (calling to be a healer) and *ubugqirha* (being a traditional healer) that comes as a result of ancestral calling. Examples of evil possessions include possessions that cause illness, bad luck, *amafufunyana* (bad possession- will be discussed later), etc. Example of good spirits includes *amakhosi* which are traditionally used to remove *amafufunyana*, *ukuthwasa*, etc. While at times due to lack of understanding and prejudices some people or groups label 'other's' spirit possession 'evil'. For an example the same spirit that Xhosa societies referred

to as good possession such as *ukuthwasa* and *ubugqirha* are called evil spirits or demons by conservative Christian groups. One also observes this negative judgmental attitude among researcher and western oriented knowledge where due to lack of knowledge of African indigenous practices are either referred to as sickness or evil. *Ukuthwasa* is one of such that are have been classified as either disorder or schizophrenic related illness. Spirit possession is not a new phenomenon as it was pragmatic as early as in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean world long before Christianity (Keener, 2010). It has also been observed all over Africa as well, for an example the case of Kenya. Smith (2001) reported that in Kenya Coast Province, between 1996 and 1998 there were several amusing behaviours which were related to spiritual possession. At one point a girl collapsed in class and went into a trance state characterised by moaning and writhing on the floor. The voice then spoke through the girl in a deep, masculine accent acknowledging itself as Mohamed who was brought to the area by a Taita man who had been working in Mombasa as a civil servant (Smith 2001). Upon being questioned by teachers and the school's Headmaster what the spirit wanted, the deep voice confessed that its objective was to destroy education in Taita. This is similar to the *amafufunyana* possessions which are traditionally regarded as bad spirits as it will be discussed later.

The other example of possession is the case of Nontetha Nkwenkwe in 1922, at Fort Beaufort, in the Eastern Cape, South Africa narrated by Julie Parle (2003), Nontetha was a Xhosa diviner, herbalist and millenarian prophet, who preached salvation, a synthesis of Christian and Xhosa spirituality and demanded abstinence from alcohol, dances, and other traditional customs, was arrested after encouraging Africans to boycott white churches. According to Julie she was never formally charged but instead she was sent to Fort Beaufort Mental Hospital and in 1924, she was transferred to Weskoppies Asylum in Pretoria. After diagnosed by white psychiatrists as 'hysterical', she was deemed by the Commissioner for Mental Hygiene to be 'a source of disturbance' and 'a danger to the preservation of order'. According to (Parle, 2003), the story of Nontetha was interpreted as an illustration of the ways in which “psychiatric practices were used against Africans perceived to be a danger to the monolithic nature of white rule” (Parle, 2003). This example shows the lack of understanding of African traditions and practices by the old white South African authority. The case of Nontetha was supposed to be treated in a humanitarian

manner and respect of traditions and customs. I also agree that Nontetha was treated unfairly by the old South African regime and one can conclude that Nontetha was at the early stage of becoming a diviner (ukuthwasa).

Some studies (Lewis 1966,1969, 1971 ;Kennedy 1967) has shown that spirit possession is mostly associated with women, lower class members of stratified societies, and other low status, subordinates, or deviant groups and individuals. This is also known to occur in Ethiopia where there are varying forms of zar (sometimes called *sar*) possession. Lewis explained that *zar* spirits usually possessed women whose husbands are considering marrying an additional wife (polygamy), or where other domestic conflict is present. According to Bancroft (1998) the history of spirit possession reveals valuable clues into the nature of the phenomenon. Although spirit possession is commonly considered to be an objective threat to humankind, it remains an exclusively subjective experience as it involves a person and not inherited. Bancroft (1998) further stated that historical observation reveals that the social and cultural background of a civilization determines the variations, degrees, and meaning of possession. The very experience itself is dependent upon the beliefs, norms, customs, and expectations of society; as are the rites of exorcism

2.4 Spirit exorcism

Sargant (1973) argued that the historical journey of spirit possession from the beginning of civilization was that all forms of sickness, both physical and psychological, were attributed to possessing spirits in ancient Mesopotamia. The number of possessing spirits and demons waiting to attach to a person were so great. This lead to a fear described as one of the most important factors in the daily life of a Babylonian (Sargant, 1973:59). Microsoft Encarta (1994) narrated that ancient Babylonian priests served as exorcists who performed the ritual by destroying a clay or wax image of a demon meant to destroy the attached spirit (Microsoft Encarta, 1994). Baldwin (1991) explained that Assyrian tablets offer the first written accounts for the treatment of illnesses. Treatment included incantations and prayers to the gods, as well as direct challenges to the demons which were believed to inflict diseases of every type (Baldwin, 1991).

Lewis (1995) explained that the word exorcism derived from the Greek word *exorkizein* which means "to bind by oath" (Lewis. 1995:138). He further stated that evil spirits (demons) which possess a person are exorcised (compelled to leave) by a higher authority, such as God or Christ according to the church whereas in some traditions especially the African, the same spirits of the higher rank are used as already mentioned in chapter one in the case of *amafufunyana* and *amakhosi*. According to Lewis, the Roman Catholic Church for an example considers possession as a battle for the victim's soul, while certain cultures embrace spirit possession as an integral part of their spiritual practices.

According to Microsoft Encarta (1994), the word *demon* originated from the ancient Greek word *daimon* which referred to beings with special powers which placed them between people and the gods. The beings could present benefit or carry out the punishment of the gods (Microsoft Encarta, 1994). Lewis (1995) argued that every major religious and cultural tradition worldwide has espoused the idea of spirit possession and the need for some form of exorcism (Lewis, 1995). The rites of exorcism have included the use of prayers, commands, fumigations (burning of dung), holy water, hellebore, rue, salt, and roses. According to Wickland (1974) the Old Testament shares, David took a harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him. Wickland (1974) also stated that in some cultures the exorcist functioned in much the same way doctors do nowadays. People would visit the exorcist seeking a cure for illness, misfortune, or bad luck (Wickland, 1974). .

According to Microsoft Encarta (1994), the Hindu scriptures called the *Vedas* composed around BC 1000 tell of evil beings that interfere with the work of Hindu gods and harm the living (Microsoft Encarta, 1994). Accounts from ancient Persia, 6th century BC, offer evidence of exorcism using prayer, ritual, and holy water by the religious leader Zoroaster, who was considered the first magician, and who founded the religion Zoroastrianism (Baldwin, 1991). Wickland (1974) stated that it is known that Homer spoke repeatedly of demons, a sick man pining away is one upon whom an evil spirit has gazed. Socrates spoke of the insane as those who are under the influence of demons; Plato affirmed that demons obsessed mortals (Wickland, 1974:18). Lewis (1995) explained that the cult of Dionysus in ancient Greece induced voluntary possession by the gods through the use of wine and sexual rituals which

resulted in wild madness. The ritual became so widespread throughout ancient Greece that it was legally suppressed in ancient Rome in 186BC due to excesses (Lewis, 1995). According to Sargant (1973) the Priestesses served as channelers / mediums for the gods of the Greek world. The pronouncements of Apollo at Delphi were given through a priestess who was in trance and interpreted by the priests.

Wickland (1974) explained that Jesus was the premier exorcist of his time. According to him, in Jesus' healings, 25 percent were exorcisms. The ability to cast out evil spirits was a sign of true discipleship among the apostles (Wickland, 1974). He further narrated that at least 26 references to exorcisms by Jesus may be found in the bible, including, "Jesus preached and cast out devils," Mark 1:39. "Jesus gave his twelve disciples the power against unclean spirits, to cast them out," Matthew 10:1. "The evil spirits went out of them," Acts 19:12. "Jesus rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, though deaf and dumb spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him. And the spirit cried, and rent him sore, and came out of him: and he was as one dead, in so much that many said, he is dead. But Jesus took him by the hand, and lifted him up; and he arose, Mark 9:25-27 (Wickland, 1974). Lewis (1995) also further added that in the exorcism of a madman Jesus had cast out the foul spirits; the spirits then entered into a herd of pigs that in turn ran over a cliff and drowned in the waters below (Lewis, 1995).

Guiley (1991) about exorcism stated that, Judaism exorcist rituals can be traced back to the 1st century AD. For him the *dybbuk* (some kind of spirit) is considered an evil spirit which possesses the soul of its victim causing mental illness and changes in the personality. The *dybbuk* is exorcised through the victim's small toe and may either be redeemed or sent to hell (Guiley, 1991). According to Microsoft Encarta (1994), Islam created an elaborate system of demons. Muslim writings tell of a group of evil beings, called *jinn*, who cause destruction and preside over places where evil activities take place (Microsoft Encarta, 1994).

Sargant (1973) further explained that the *dhikr* is a set of phrases which glorify God, which is used in conjunction with a set of physical movements and special breathing techniques which allow the Sufis to enter into union with the divine. Poet al-Ghazali observes the state as, "drunk with a drunkenness in which their reason collapsed they felt utterly possessed by God (Sargant, 1973)." Microsoft Encarta (1994) also

narrated that Ancient folklore contains many stories of demons. The *oni* of Japan are demons said to bring about storms; ancient Japanese history tells of suddenly arising storms which caused superior enemies from successfully invading the island. *Kelpies* are known in Scotland to haunt pools, waiting to drown careless travellers (Microsoft Encarta, 1994).

Guiley (1991) argued that some shamanic traditions consider demons and evil spirits responsible for stealing human souls resulting in maladies and misfortune (Guiley, 1991). The shaman is responsible for searching for, and recovering, the evicted soul; the demon is driven out and the body returned to its rightful owner. Guiley (1991) further explained that the word *shaman* comes from the language of the Arctic Tungus which means 'one who is excited, moved, or rose.' For the Tungus a shaman is one who has mastered spirits and who can introduce them into their own body at will. It is not uncommon for a shaman of the Tungus to permanently incarnate one or more spirits which he/she may call upon at will by going into a controlled trance state. Lewis (1995) added that Arctic Hysteria commonly afflicts women during the harsh winter months in the Polar Regions. It may be diagnosed as spirit possession (Lewis, 1971).

Lewis (1971) further argued that in many parts of the world spirit possession is strongly related to cultural and social conditions. This is also known to occur in Ethiopia where there are varying forms of *zar* (sometimes called *sar*) possession. Lewis explained that *zar* spirits usually possessed women whose husbands are considering marrying an additional wife (polygamy), or where other domestic conflict is present. He also added that exorcism of the *zar* spirit is expensive which involves a complex and costly dance ceremony for the victim. He also stated that after that expensive ceremony wives have been known to threaten a reverse if their demands are not met. Consequently this way force further economic sacrifices from their husbands (Lewis, 1971). According to Lewis (1971), the "*zar* possession strategy" to get needs met has been adopted by women (and some men) throughout the world: Muslim Somali, Muslim Sudan, Egypt, parts of North Africa, Arabia, East Africa, Arabia, South America, China, Japan, SE Asia, Ceylon, Tanzania, and Cairo (Lewis, 1971).

Sargant (1973) concluded on exorcism that accounts from the 4th century AD depicts frightening portrayals of exorcism. According to Sargant, Zeno of Verona describes, "His face is suddenly deprived of colour, his body rises up of itself, the eyes in madness roll in their sockets and squint horribly, the teeth, covered with a horrible foam, grind between blue-white lips; and limbs twisted in all directions are given over to trembling; he sighs, he weeps; he fears the appointed day of Judgment and complains that he is driven out; he confesses his sex, the time and place he entered into man(Sargant, 1973)"

2.5 Africa and South Africa perspectives on ancestral connections

Literature shows a strong relationship between religion, culture and spirituality, to an extent that in most cases of spirit related is studied in relation to religion and culture. According to Mbiti (1975:9), the African perspective of religion is not the same as the western definition, "religion is closely bound up with the traditional way of life, while this way of life has shaped religion as well" (Mbiti, 1975:9). Religion embraces the tradition (history and identity), the state of being (prosperity, wellbeing, sickness suffering and oppression) and the future state of the person (sickness, ageing and ancestors) (Ntombana 2009:220). Life itself is a spiritual journey hence in all phases of human experiences there is the existence of *uQamata*, *uThixo* (God) or *uNkulunkulu* (Supreme Being). According to Ntombana (2009:220) in the amaXhosa cosmology there is no difference between religion and culture but religion is found in all areas of human life. In African society, particularly among the amaXhosa, religion and culture are inseparable. Religion has always been central in the thinking of African people to such an extent that it has shaped their cultures, social life, their political organisation and economic activities (Mbiti 1975:8).

Ancestors (*abaphantsi/izinyanya/amathongo*) have always been at the centre of African religion. Following the *uNkulunkulu* in importance and rank, the ancestors are regarded as the most important beings in the 'traditional' cosmology (Petrus 2009:56). African people have always understood *uNkulunkulu* to be holy and supreme and when the elders died they were regarded as having gone to join *ilizwe lemimoya* (the spiritual world) where God is. Ancestors as spiritual beings play a pivotal role in the life of African people. They are understood as forefathers who are

spiritually present within the family with supernatural powers responsible for protection, disciplining and guidance. They have now been promoted to be mediators between the living and most high God. Ancestors are shown respect and sometimes given gifts of thanksgiving such as food, meat and beer in the form of rituals (*amasiko*) and ceremonies.

Ngubane (1977:50) noted that there are many words to denote ancestors, such as *amathongo* (*ithongo*, singular) is a collective term for all the departed spirits. *Izithutha* means particular spirits that have materialized as snakes or house lizards. (Usually male ancestors materialized as snakes, while female ancestors, particularly old women, materialized as house lizards.) *Izithunzi* (*Isithunzi*, singular) means 'shadow'. A shadow is believed to be one's spirit which has departed from the body when a person dies. A dead body is believed to cast no shadow. A shadow in this sense can be seen as synonymous with a soul, in that it is believed to depart from the body in the form of the body, although invisible. A dead person is initially an *Isithunzi* until ritual is performed after a period of mourning. The ritual integrates him back home as an *isinyanya*. *Izinyanya* (*isinyanya*- singular) are the ancestral spirit responsible for protection or disciplining the descendants. The term refers in particular to the spirits with jurat powers over the descendants. *Abaphantsi* means simply those who are down below, for the dead are believed to live 'down below' - beneath the earth (Ngubane, 1977:50).

Lewis (1995) explained that spiritualism is a belief system or religion, postulating the belief that spirits of the dead residing in the spirit world have both the ability and the inclination to communicate with the living. Anyone may receive spirit messages, but formal communication sessions are held by mediums or traditional healers who can then provide information about the spirit world and further assist the living by advising on relevant rituals to be performed (Lewis, 1995).

2.6 Diviners and herbalists

According to Labuschagne et al (2003), traditionally, in the Xhosa society there is a distinction between two types of traditional practitioners, i.e. *igqirha* (diviner) and *ixhwele* (herbalist). *Igqirha* is commonly known as *sangoma* in isiZulu. Traditionally,

isangoma is known for using bones to perform *ukuvumisa* (to search for answers and diagnose illness). Ancestors are believed to be the ones providing answers. On the other hand *amaxhwele* (plural of *ixhwele*) are known for their extensive knowledge of mixing medicines. Even though there is a difference between the two healers but in some cases some of them are able to perform both duties as ancestors permit them; at the centre of their practising amaXhosa strongly believe that both healers are called and gifted by the ancestral spirits. On the whole healing and spirit related issues, amaXhosa believe that there is involvement of ancestral involvement.

Labuschagne et al, 2003 further added that among all the ethnic groups' different types of diviners can be distinguished. Firstly, there are those who have received (inherited) their ability from the patrilineal (and in some cases the matrilineal) line of descent. Although these individuals are usually trained by their fathers or grandfathers, they could also be directed by an ancestral spirit to continue their vocation. The majority of Sotho-Tswana *dingaka* (traditional healers) belong to this category of diviners. They normally use a set of divination bones as instrument of divination and have medicine horns. The second category of diviner is normally called by ancestral spirits in a state of 'illness' termed *ukuthwasa* to act as intermediaries between the ancestral spirits and the living by pursuing the vocation of diviner. The *izangomas* (plural of *isangoma*) of the Zulu and *amagqirha* (plural of *igqirha*) of the Xhosa belong to this category (Labuschagne et. al, 2003).

Labuschagne et al, 2003) concluded that a third category of diviners is found initially among the Tsonga although they have spread southwards to South Sotho tribes and westwards to the Venda and North Sotho tribes. Here too, a 'calling' may come from a family spirit or even from foreign spirits. Unlike the Nguni tribes, their bodies are believed to be literally possessed by the spirits.

Hammond-Tooke (1974) explained that in Zulu culture, there are different classes of traditional healer which are loosely often called 'witch-doctor'. An *igqirha* may inherit the profession from family. Such a person may be either a simple herbalist or a diviner. A *sangoma* is a person who must receive a 'call' from the ancestral spirits. A *sanuse* is higher than both of them. A *sanuse* is a high *sangoma*. Such a person, according to Motshekga (2003), is the highest priest-diviner, the most venerated and revered person in African society.

The apprentice *sangoma* is one who has been affected by an illness, called *ukuthwasa*, which cannot be diagnosed by Western medicine. During the training period he or she is called an *ithwasa*. The *ithwasa* must learn how to prepare herbal medicines, interpret dreams, communicate with spirits and diagnose illnesses. In addition the *ithwasa* must learn tribal history, mythology and sacred ceremonies. Because some of their time is spent countering curses put on people by witches, the *sangoma* is sometimes called a 'witch-doctor', a term that many of them accept because it does describe one of their functions (Hammond-Tooke, 1974).

Hammond-Tooke (1974) further argued that *sangomas* should be defined as diviners, shamans and healers. According to him, these terms need unpacking especially with the aim of showing that *sangomas* must under no circumstances be confused with witches. He distinguishes *sangomas* from herbalists but concedes that among some groups the roles of diviners and herbalists are not clearly differentiated by name or by function. Both are called for example among Venda and Tsonga, by the name *nyanga*. All *sangomas* are herbalists and diviners, but not all herbalists and diviners (*nyangas*) are *sangomas*. Only the chosen are *sangomas*, and no *sangomas* are witches. To think of a witch as a healer of any sort is a confusion of the most fundamental kind (Hammond-Tooke, 1974).

According to McAllister (1981), a Xhosa person who becomes a candidate diviner experiences a calling emanating from the ancestor (*iminyanya*) (McAllister 1981; Hunter 1936; Hammond-Tooke 1974; Hirst 1990) called *intwaso* and the process is referred to as *ukuthwasa*, which literally means to emerge or appear gradually. Persons who experience the calling are subject to many dreams (*amathongo*, *amaphupha*) and even visions (*imibono*) (Lee 1958; Hirst 1990). The import of these is initially vague but gradually becomes clear, particular once the person becomes the novice (*umkhwetha*) of a practising diviner. Among Xhosa diviners, 'to be called under the river' (*ukuthwetyulwa*) is a widely used metaphor signifying that the novice comes under the instruction and authority of the initiating. Persons who are said to be called to the river characteristically dream of Water Rivers, of being submerged in a river, or, in rare instances nowadays, actually immerse themselves in a river.

Lee (1958) added that Initiation as a diviner involves the symbolism of separation and seclusion, death and rebirth and social transition. The terms *ukuthwasa* and

intwaso are thus metaphoric of a transformation that gradually takes place in the person who suffer a trauma and subsequently becomes a diviner. The transformation is equivalent to undergoing a process of conversion, involving the beliefs and rites of traditionalist Xhosa religion, which to some extent means an educational or resocialisation process (Lee, 1958).

McAllister (1981) further stated that the diviner occupies a socially sanctioned position, which is symbolised by the ceremonial regain of hat (*isidlokolo*) and skirt or girdle (*umthika*) worn during ritual dancing at the homesteads of clients. The regalia is made associated and imbued with the power (*amandla*), fearsomeness (*isithunzi, isithinzi*) and luck (*ithamsanqa*) of the ancestors. If the various signs associated with the calling are recognized and the candidate consequently undergoes the required training and ritual induction into the profession, then he/she becomes a diviner without further complication. However this is rarely the case in practice. More commonly, the signs and ritual associated with the calling are ignored and neglected, with the result that the candidate suffers a trouble (*inkathazo*) or affliction which is reputedly caused by the ancestors.

According to McAllister (1981) when the ancestors are neglected, they withdraw their protection (*ukukhusela*) from their descendants, making them open to witchcraft/sorcery (*ukuthakatha*) and thus subject to illness (*isifo, ukugula*) and misfortune (*ilishwa*). These include various aches and pains (*amahlaba, ubuhlungu*), anxiety (*umbilini*), madness (*ukuphambana ukugeza*), spells of fainting (*ukuxhuzula*) and 'river sickness' (*umlambo*), which can include anything from barrenness and impotency to skin rash and swollen joints. Thus the candidate suffers somatic, psychological and/or psychosomatic symptoms on the individual case with the performance of the appropriate rituals, the ancestors suffering, which they were instrumental in causing in the first place. The ancestors consequently bestow visionary dreams of a presentation character and special divinatory and healing power (*ubugrwirha*) on the emergent diviner (McAllister, 1981).

The calling to be an *igqirha* or *intwaso* (or *ukuthwasa*) is said to be a long, expensive and difficult process. After one has seen and experienced signs of the calling, they need to consult clan elders and then later visit a traditional healer who can charge them between R 5000-R15000 for the whole process. Among amaXhosa in

nowadays, it is rare to find people going through the processes of *ukuthwasa* to be *igqirha* (traditional diviner), some people now follow the new type that wears the red and white beads sometimes with powder blue beads and a white skirt with tiger prints. This new calling is said to be less expensive and also takes a shorter period than the more orthodox *ntwaso*. Most of them are known to use *amakhosi* to perform their duties of being a diviner. One of the major differences from the orthodox is that in this case anyone without necessary calling by ancestors can join and can be able to heal using amakhosi spirits.

2.7 Kinds of Spirits

2.7.1 The *Ndzawe* Spirits

According to Lee (1958), *amanzawe* (*ndzawe* –singular) is another set of practices that are specifically permitted or empowered by a set of non-material entities different from practices associated with the healers' 'own' Nguni ancestors. The *emandzawe* are regarded as real albeit non-material presences. They are not 'spirits' in the Christian sense, nor are they identical with the *emadloti*, or 'ancestors' and are specifically foreign.

Lee further explained that the origin of *emandzawe* is from Maputo (Mozambique). It is believed that one may find that a Maputo man may come and settle in Swaziland or South Africa and marry one of the local girls. At that state the foreigner is taken as part of the community and at his death his spirit also integrates itself into the community. Now the spirits of *mandzawe* connect to the spirit of the family that he has been living with. This spirit is a go-between, as he is a spirit that has come to settle because he is not from this area; he comes from Maputo, and Beira (northern Mozambique). While the *Ndzawe* are foreign spirits, they teach and enable a 'technology' of healing called *kufemba*, 'to smell out'. The *femba* is a dramatic technique for identifying 'foreign bodies' in the body of the client using a short 'whisk' made of hyena hair and a small beaded ring made of ritual substances wrapped in cloth. With this, the healer literally 'smells' all over the body of the client, and occasionally 'identifies' some active entity – sometimes human, sometimes animal, sometimes some other substance – in the body of the client. The healer will then 'take out' this entity by allowing it to enter into his own body.

Furthermore, when this happens, the healer takes on the character of the substance or entity that has been found in or smelled out of the client's body. If the entity is human, the healer will immediately take on the personality and character of the hidden entity. This enactment of its presence makes it visible. The client and others who may be observing, will then interrogate this 'person' to find out why it is dwelling in the client's body, and who, if anyone, has put it there. This entity, now in the person of the healer, who enacts it, may become violent and refuse to leave. If so, it is cajoled by others present at the healing session, and persuaded to leave with a gift. The gift can be anything – a small coin, even a leaf or a twig – since the entity is not able to assess its value. If it is an animal, such as a dog or a pig, the healer will act the part of the animal. If it is a 'dead' substance, the healer will immediately fall down senseless on the mat and has to be restored to life by his helpers and others standing around.

Accordingly, this method of healing is regarded as exceptionally powerful and dangerous. It is always performed with other healers in attendance that can assist in restoring the primary healer to his own senses at the end of the session. This method of healing is strictly the province of the *emandzawe*, and cannot be practised by those who have not been specifically trained and initiated into its practice. Training in this technique is often not included in the ordinary training of a new *sangoma*. If it was not originally included, then a *sangoma* may go to a *gobela*/trainer that has specific skills in this area of knowledge and undergo a second period of training or 'thwasana-ship' (Lee, 1958).

2.7.2 Amandiki spirits

Amandiki in South Africa are the one of the old popular words used to spirit passion, (*indiki* - singular) which have been described as causing similar behaviours to that of *amakhosi* and *amafufunyana* which were first reported in Zululand in the mid 1890's (Ngubane 1977). In November 1910, eleven women, ranging in age from fourteen to thirty, were brought before the Resident Magistrate of Eshowe and charged with the crime of witchcraft. Strongly denying the charge, the women insisted instead that they were the victims of a new form of spirit possession - called *indiki* - that caused them

much physical and mental suffering. Colonial officials were unable to decide whether the women (known as the *amandiki*) were in fact practising witchcraft, were merely fraudsters, or were actually mentally ill - the victims of an epidemic of hysterical mania that was said to have been raging through Zululand since the mid-1890s. While some *amandiki* were released with only a strong warning, others were sentenced to a term of hard labour.

The *amandiki* was said to be extremely contagious and to cause people to start up in a rage, declare themselves to be possessed by the ghost of a defunct person, and ask for dogs flesh or other uncommon kind of food. The person in question menacing that he/she will kill so-and-so, as the body of the spirit who has beset him/her was killed in a similar way for a similar reason if he/she does not get what they asks for (Ngubane, 1977). They sometimes threw themselves in the river and were drowned. The persons thus afflicted will often speak in a language thoroughly unknown to them (Ngubane, 1977).

2.7.3 Amakhosi spirits

The word *amakhosi* is said not new among *amaXhosa* and has been in use for more than 30 years now in the Eastern Cape; the main difference is that the recent possession also called *amakhosi* is totally dissimilar from the orthodox one (also see chapter 4). As previously mentioned, *amakhosi* were widely understood by Xhosa people as the good spirits as opposed to *amafufunyana* which were understood as bad spirits. *Amakhosi* are said to be in the form of red ants (*imbovane*) which are mixed with other muti to perform certain spiritual purposes. The word '*Amakhosi*' is a plural for the Zulu word *inkosi* which means a king or a supernatural being and is similar to the word 'Nkosi' used by the Xhosa speaking people referring to supernatural being (God or Chief). The connection between the use of the word *amakhosi* seems to have an emphasis of power, control and influence, suggesting that it is a spirit that is more powerful than other spirits or is able to conquer all other spirits. *Amakhosi* are also called *amadoda amakhulu* (means superior men) and people would not talk bad about someone with *amakhosi* as it was believed that they could hear. Due to power and superiority *amakhosi* also have been associated with *ukukhuphuka* or *ukugquma* (the sound a lion makes before attacking). This probably explains why they have been used when delivering a person possessed by

amafufunyana which were said to be evil spirits. *Amakhosi* are known to be indigenous spirits that come from the Northern areas of South Africa in the 1960's and have since penetrated the ritual of *ukuthwasa* among the amaXhosa and amaZulu. This has led to the emergence of a certain type of *amagqirha* who identify themselves by wearing the red bead while the old Xhosa *amagqirha* wore white beads. *Amakhosi* new initiates were traditionally identified by their wearing of red cloth with the tiger printed on them and even today those with *amakhosi* are still seen wearing their red clothes. This is a type of *amagqirha* who traditionally did not use the isiXhosa term *camagu* (literally means I agree or it is so) but opted for the Zulu term *ukuthokoza* (literally means I agree or it is so). Even though *amakhosi* were also associated with *ubugqirha* they have always been regarded as lesser than *amagqirha* because *ubugqirha* has always been known as a calling by ancestors while *amakhosi* were more regarded as *ukuthwala* (to acquire) as anyone could acquire them. *Amakhosi* were more popular among Zionist Churches as Zionist priests used them to heal and for prophesy and they also integrated them into their services. Those Church leaders with *amakhosi* were known and respected among Zionist Churches due to their immense ability to prophesy and to see things that other people could not see. Further that those who had *amakhosi* were highly respected to an extent that one would not talk bad about them as it was feared that they could hear them. Most people did not know much about *amakhosi* and as result few people desired to have them. Even though *amakhosi* were not a calling from ancestors and anyone could have them but most people found it challenging as people with *amakhosi* had to follow a lot of rules and rituals which were almost like not living a normal person making similar to the calling of *ubugqirha*. *Amakhosi* were used for various reasons including prophesy, healing, guidance and exorcism of spirits that were understood to be evil like *amafufunyana* as already discussed. When people were struggling from difficult problems and sickness that regarded to be more spiritual and witchcraft they would visit an *amakhosi* healer who would prophesy them and further guide them on various issues. *Amakhosi* healers did not necessarily give traditional medicine but instead use impepho and water and there were mostly used in Zionist Churches. Traditionally three categories of *amakhosi* were known and they were all broadly called *amakhosi*. The first is called *amakhosi*, the second *amakhubalo* and *izizwe*. The first category is the one that has been discussed above which called *amakhosi* and were used to heal or to fight and protect

a person when believed to be in possession of *amafufunyana* or any another evil spirits. Some people use this category to *ukuqinisa* (strengthen) their families from evil spirits and witchcraft. The second category is called *amakhubalo* (ancestors or elders) which is being associated with the current trend as it will be narrated later. *Amakhubalo* were significant higher ranking type of *amakhosi* who are believed to be one's elders or ancestors spirit who died long time ago who through the world have been searching for a family body to possess. These were used for fortune telling and the healing of the people. They communicate with the host and only the host can hear what is being said. The last category is known as *izizwe* (nations), which are mostly for healing and fortune telling. They speak languages that are foreign to the host mostly isiZulu and others although the host is a Xhosa speaking person. These *amakhosi* are also possessed by a traditional healer and are sometimes are visible kept in *amaselwa* (calabashes). This type of *amakhosi* use *umlozi* or *impempe* (whistling) to communicate with their host and everyone can hear the whistling although the message can only be interpreted by the host. Healers in this category used to wear red and white beads and even the calabashes used to be covered by red and white beads. People possessing spirit in this category are said to be very sensitive to whistle blowing. *Amakhosi* were said to be obedient and worked on instructions most of the time. They were also used to *ukukhupha isimnyama* (remove bad luck), *umgqwaliso* (when one has been bewitched), they also helped when people had big problem and even during difficult court cases. They have their own signs which is understandable by the owner used to pass instructions and warnings for an example when one is about to be in danger the owner become scared to take the certain routine and decide to take other route, ears get itch when people wrong speak the owner or even about dreams or vision. *Amakhosi* have their own names which mean their area specialization and duties such as Ntombethongo (lady of dream) which refer to the interpretation of dreams, Magawulegoduka (chop while going home) meaning to act fast to any performance required or Zanendaba (come with the news) referring to fortune telling or prophecy.

2.7.4 Amafufunyana

As previously noted, *amafufunyana* are traditionally known to be bad spirits that have been prevalent among amaXhosa and amaZulu. African communities believe that *amafufunyana* possessions are as a result of people's invasion and taken over by evil spirits as a result of witchcraft (Edwards, 1984; Lund, 1994; Ensink et.al 1998:884). The person who performs the bewitchment takes ants that have been feeding on a dead body in a grave. These ants are made into a poisonous (idliso) which is given secretly to the affected person. One symptom is that people hear voices coming from their own stomach area. These voices speak a different language to their own. Xhosa speakers in the Eastern Cape, for example, claim that the voices speak Zulu. People may go into states of extreme agitation and run about and break things. In one case it was said that it took five men to hold down a 13-year-old sufferer (Edwards, 1984). The person may fall down exhausted and begin to speak in a strange voice which sounds like that of another person. For example, a woman may speak in a deep male voice. The voices are believed to be those of the possessing spirits. Onlookers may question the voices and be told the names of the spirits and who sent them. *Amafufunyana* are known to be dangerous as one would flaunt a strange behaviour they would not normally perform including committing suicide. Psychologists have identified *amafufunyana* possession as some kind of schizophrenic illness (Enskin 1998; Niehaus et. al 2004) or some kind of disorder. For an example Enskin, et.al 1998, described *amafufunyana* as an extension of schizophrenia and compared it to white African cases of schizophrenia. The conclusion of the study suggests that as much as there are common behavioural trends found people with schizophrenia there are also visible differences among cultures in manifestation of the disorder. As previously mentioned among Xhosa societies it is regarded as a waste of time to refer a person with *amafufunyana* to hospital or psychiatric help. Those possessed by *amafufunyana* are usually referred to Church priests or traditional leaders.

2.8 The use of sorcery

Although much has already been discussed about the general conceptualisation of spirits and sorcery in African communities, it is necessary to refer to some of these ideas when trying to understand the place of the spirits or sorcerer in the cosmology of the Xhosa-speaking peoples. In order to understand the nature of the odd behaviour that took place in the Eastern Cape schools.

According to Hammond-Tooke (1958; 1962), the witch (*igqwirha*) and sorcerer (*umthakathi*) are practitioners of black magic, and use their supernatural powers for evil or harm, a belief that is common to various Xhosa-speaking peoples in the Eastern Cape. They (*igqwirha* and *umthakathi*) thus stand in direct opposition to the diviner (*igqirha*) and herbalist (*ixhwele*), who use their powers for the benefit of the community. Although it may appear that there is a clear distinction between the use of supernatural powers for good or evil, in many cases the distinction is not as clear. This is due to the ambiguous nature of the supernatural realm. As a result, diviners and herbalists, who are the specialists when it comes to the counteracting of witchcraft and sorcery, use the same supernatural powers employed by the witch and sorcerer. Thus diviners and herbalists also occupy an ambiguous position, as they are believed to possess many attributes of witches. This is because diviners and herbalists are endowed with mystical powers and special knowledge, which help them to achieve their goals. No wonder religious leaders were formerly called “witch-doctors” (Hammond-Tooke, 1958; 1962).

Furthermore, Pauw (1994) added that it is particularly the herbalist who can use his powers to cause harm. In this case, the herbalist may provide medicine to clients who wish to harm others (Pauw, 1994), or he may himself use medicines to cause injury to someone else. However, some scholars, such as Olivier (1981) and Pauw (1994), point out that a herbalist who does use his medicines to harm, will only do so if provoked (Olivier, 1981), or to get rid of an enemy (Pauw, 1994). In addition, the herbalist must work in secret so that he is not found out and possibly punished.

According to Olivier (1981), a herbalist may also place evil spirits (*amafufunyana*) into a person. This is done by smearing the fat of a slaughtered black sheep on grass stalks and placing these in a new grave at night. The following day, the grass stalks

and the root of *amangwe* are mixed together and given to the victim in some way or another to ingest. Once the victim has ingested the medicine, he will begin writhing in pain, a sign that the evil spirits are beginning to talk (Olivier, 1981).

Again, this idea is substantiated by Pauw (1994) who stated that a herbalist may place evil spirits into a person's body (Pauw, 1994). Olivier (1981) argued that since the herbalist can use his medicines to manipulate supernatural forces for good or evil, he is both a benefit to the community, but also greatly feared (Olivier, 1981). Hunter (1961) insisted that there should be a distinction because witchcraft is wholly illegal while sorcery may be legal or illegal. However, this statement is also problematic because sorcery, like witchcraft, is defined in terms of an evil intention to harm another. In other words, one cannot speak of "good/legal sorcery". Hunter also claims that sorcery is practised while witchcraft is not, for an example the behaviour displayed by learners that is suspected to be amakhosi is magical and also practised (Hunter, 1961).

This is also problematic because it implies that witchcraft, that is, the use of familiars to harm others, cannot be practised. Witches are believed to intentionally use and send their familiars to specifically chosen victims. This suggests that witchcraft is an activity that can be carried out, and is thus something that can be practised. Perhaps Hunter's argument relates to the inherent problems in proving witchcraft. A practising sorcerer may provide evidence of his/her craft in the form of medicines that can be seen and touched.

The sorcerer may use medicines against another person for personal reasons. These reasons may involve envy or jealousy (Pauw, 1994). Much that has already been discussed about the herbalist's use of medicines for harmful intentions will apply to the sorcerer. Like the herbalist, the sorcerer obtains his/her medicines (*imithi*) from plants. However, unlike the herbalist who uses his medicines for good, medicines used for evil, as in the case of the sorcerer, are called *ubuthi*.

Pauw (1975) explained that the use of *idliso* occurs when the sorcerer wishes to place harmful medicines in the food or drink of the victim. The medicine depends on ingestion in order to work and thus refers to the oral administration of medicine of sorcery. *Idliso* can manifest in various ways, ranging from stomach aches and vomiting to a small creature lodged in the chest of the victim (Pauw, 1975). Hunter

(1961) added that *ukuthathela* is a sorcery technique that relies on using materials that a victim has been in contact with. This may include body parts such as hair, nails or excreta, as well as clothing or even soil from the footprint of the victim.

The use of this method is based on the notion of sympathetic magic, that is, the idea that objects sharing a cosmic causal interactive relationship can affect and be affected by each other. As such, a sorcerer can, for example, use an object belonging to a victim and through the medicinal treatment of this object, may pronounce a curse or ill fortune on the object (Hunter, 1961; Hammond-Tooke, 1962 Olivier, 1981.; Pauw, 1975). Olivier (1981) stated that It is believed that due to the cosmic relationship between the object and the victim, the medicines applied to the object will magically affect the victim as well (Olivier, 1981). *Ukuphosela* refers to medicines used from a distance, without direct contact and refers specifically to medicines used from a distance, without direct contact and refers specifically to medicines used in 'love-magic' (Hunter, 1961; Pauw, 1975). In this case, medicines may be used by a man to increase his favour with a woman.

While this may seem to be beneficial, it could be regarded as a form of manipulation and will thus have a negative, and hence, harmful impact on the female victim. These harmful effects include nervousness, hysteria and mental derangement which can be interpreted as some form of demonic possession (Pauw, 1975; Olivier, 1981; Osei, 2003). *Ibekelo* refers to the use of medicines that are buried along a path used by the victim. If he/she steps over the medicine, the victim will become ill, first in the legs and gradually in the whole body. In some cases, medicines may also be buried in the field of a victim while a curse is pronounced over it. In time, the victim's crops will wilt and die (Olivier, 1981).

In her study of sorcery among the Pondo, Hunter (1961) also found a technique of sorcery referred to as *ukulumba*, which she described as selective sorcery in which the harm is directed to a particular person by calling his (or her) name (Hunter, 1961). Once again, within the context of the villagers of Pondoland, these techniques that may be referred to as sorcery among other groups, were not distinguished from witchcraft, and were regarded as being practised by witches in general.

The behaviour displayed by learners is magical or sorcery and is reported to be possessed by herbalist as was the normal practised in the olden days in case of

amakhosi. *Amakhosi* were possessed by herbalist as a good spirit to cast out the evil spirit (*amafufunyana*) believed to be possessed by witches and for the future protection in any other diseases. Somebody with *amakhosi* used to be vigorous during fighting times.

2.9 Legislation on cultural practices in South Africa

Although African religion and practices are recognised by the current South African constitution but the conflict between the traditional African functional environment and the western environment always and still represents a major cause for the threatening legitimacy crisis for the South African legal and judicial dispensations. In the old Constitution of the apartheid regime, South Africa was identified as a 'Christian country' and Christianity was the only religion recognised and promoted by the white supremacy. Even though African people had space and rights to perform their cultural practices and rites but their culture and religion was not recognised and promoted by the apartheid constitution. Further that, religion was drawn into reinforcing racist legislation and segregation on the basis of racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious signs of difference (Chidester, 2006).

When the democratically elected government took over they were faced with responsibility to change the old constitution did not recognised black people with an inclusive one that will protect and promote rights of every one. Provisions for freedom of religion and freedom from discrimination on the basis of religion were supplemented in the Constitution by clauses ensuring the promotion and protection of the rights of linguistic, cultural, and religious communities (Chidester, 2006).

Traditional healers remain outside the experience of many South Africans but are fully part of South African life and consciousness. Their traditional beliefs and practices have been well described over the years (for example Ngubane 1977, 1981; Du Toit 1980; Cumes 2004 Petrus 2011), one also has to consider that these practices are fast changing and at times they are difficult to define and understand. Indeed, the term 'traditional healer' is a misnomer if by 'tradition' we mean an unchanging conservation of past beliefs and practices and by 'healer'. According to Jones (2006), today many of their practices scarcely resemble the older traditions reported in the early ethnographies, though some, like divination, remain. Since the

South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) does respect, support and encourage the freedoms of various cultural groups and religious beliefs. Traditional healing and spirit possession has become very prominent in public discourse. Increasing numbers of people today become traditional healers and freely practicing without fear or intimidations. Today, people are freely practice their cultural practices and rituals, while even traditional healers can openly display their medicine. As a result on the streets of the urban centre in East London there are a number of papers promoting various traditional healers and most are non South Africans. The papers are written various kinds of illness that the traditional healers claim to cure. For many, this appears to preserve a sense of a distinctive 'African 'identity in an increasingly globalized and 'Westernized' country.

Even though the rights are religions rights are recognized in the constitution, but religious and spirit related matters are difficult to regulate. Petrus (2009) noted that one of the challenges is that spiritual acts and of acts of witchcraft are not catered for in the constitution as a result they are difficult to regulate and persecute. Petrus (2009) further says that when an act such as murder becomes linked to a religious or supernatural belief, the existing legislation becomes less adequate and consequently hampers the success of law enforcement structures in investigating such acts. For an example during the displays of *amakhosi* in schools, law enforcement were called and were unable to intervene and solve the problem as expected because there was no legislation to support their expected actions. In relation to the reported behaviour of youth with *amakhosi*, there is a great need to be careful of beliefs and cultural practices especially those that are harmful and infringe the rights of others.

2.10 Violence in schools (broader contexts)

According to De Wet (2003:89) school violence is not a new phenomenon, even in the 17th century; French schools were faced with sword and fist fights, unrest and attacks on educators. Blandford (1998) argued that there is a perceptible breakdown of school discipline worldwide. According to Cotton (1990) in the United States of America, the Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes toward the Public Schools concluded that a "lack of discipline" has been identified as the most serious problem facing the nation's educational system (Cotton, 1990). Cotton (1990) further stated that in a Harvard Education Letter, many educators and learners are said to be

gravely concerned about disorder and danger in the school environment. It was further reported that school personnel, pupils and parents call attention to the high incidence of such problems in the school environment as drug usage, cheating, insubordination, truancy and intimidation, which result in countless school and classroom disruptions, and lead to nearly two million suspensions per year in the United States of America (Cotton,1990)

In addition to these schools discipline issues, Cotton added that United States classrooms are frequently plagued by other more minor kinds of misbehaviour which disrupt the flow of classroom activities and interfere with learning. It was also reported that approximately half of all classroom time is taken up by activities other than instruction, and discipline problems are responsible for a significant portion of this lost instructional time (Cotton, 1990).

According to Du Plessis (2008), school violence should be considered broadly as a group of undesirable behaviours that result in a significantly negative outcome for another learner or entity (such as the school building itself). These behaviours can include:

- Acts against objects, such as theft.
- Acts against same-sex peers, such as intimidation, bullying, assault, battery, and homicide
- Acts against opposite-sex peers, such as sexual harassment, sexual assault, intimidation, bullying and rape, and
- Acts against staff and faculty, such as intimidation, bullying, assault, battery, theft, sexual offences of various types, and homicide.

2.10.1 Violence in South African schools

In South Africa, School violence, just like the general kind of violence in communities is widely held to have become a serious problem in recent years, especially where weapons such as guns or knives are involved. It includes violence between students as well as physical attacks by students on school staff. According to Du Plessis (2008), there are different kinds of violence and can easily be perceived as a single or general problem in society. Du Plessis (2008) notes that, a clear distinction can be

drawn between political violence, gang violence, general criminal violence, and violence in relationships. All of these types of violence in some way affect many of our South African schools, and are often interrelated.

Recently, the South African youth have become the central focus in criminal activities, and specifically violence-related issues as mostly reported by the media. The most reported form of violence often occurs as a result of religion and cultural practices such as Satanism and spirit possession. Some violence activities occur within the school environment, a context where young people spend a substantial amount of time. Its importance goes beyond the immediate physical harm that can result for the learner, or the psychological harm attached to either direct or indirect victimisation. Both direct and indirect violence associated with school often results in truancy from school as learners become too scared to attend or try to avoid the school environment in an attempt to avoid the situation.

Smit (2010) argued that teachers in South African schools are familiar with the disruption and harm that are caused in schools by violent behaviour especially after the new constitution that took away corporal punishment (Smit, 2010). The South African Human Rights Commission reports in their inquiry into school-based violence in South Africa (Wa Kivilu and Wandai, 2009) that such violence takes the following forms and patterns:

1. Physical violence and fighting
2. Racially motivated violence
3. Verbal abuse
4. Bullying and intimidation
5. Gang violence
6. Drug and alcohol abuse -related violence
7. Theft of property and vandalism
8. Student protests that turn violent
9. Sexual violence in schools and gender-based violence
10. Violence undermining the education of girls by forcing them out of school.

In addition to the above mentioned types of violence, there is a growing violence in the Black South African youth which is more related to religion and cultural practices

such Satanism and spirit possession. These incidences are mostly reported to occur in urban Townships and very less in rural areas where the orthodox cultural practices are respected and performed.

In the South African various factors contributing to the risk of violence are factors such as; poverty, neglect, ineffective parenting, dysfunctional family life, high-density housing in townships, childhood exposure to violence and alcohol and drug abuse (De Wet, 2003). According to Du Plessis (2008), all these factors reverberate in South African schools. De Wet (2003) concluded that not only could all of these factors spill over into the schools, with serious consequences for education; they also could lead to collapse of learning culture at the same time, however, there are many schools in the world which, regardless of their size, socio-economic influences, student composition or geographic setting to a collapse of a learning culture. Blandford (1998) claims that some of the causes of violence in schools are the effects of a poor socio-economic environment, and factors such as drug abuse, child abuse, neglect, and community- and media-related violence, all of which reverberate in many classrooms worldwide.

Parker (2003) stated that when children do not feel safe in their learning environment, not only could their scholastic achievement be affected, but exposure to violence could have significant consequences for the development of their emotional functioning and socialisation (Parker, 2003). Smit (2010) argued that it might seem as though the causes of violence as discussed heretofore lie outside the influence of schools. However, the effects usually affect the school climate directly; therefore school violence could be seen as both a school and a community problem (Smit, 2010).

2.10.2 Bullying

Bullying is a form of violence, an action intended to hurt and is repeated over and over. It is still prevalent in schools and stressful for victims. It may also have undesirable consequences for bullers, with anti-social behaviour persisting into adult. Bullying can be either overt or covert. According to Gale *et al.* (2004:12) bullying could cause psychological harm, not only to victims but also to others as well

(bystanders). In addition to the psychological harm caused through violence or situations in which there is a threat of violence, developmental harm may also occur in the form of anxiety about the threats of harm.

2.10.3 Gang

Although there is no uniform definition or universal definition of the gang terminology, Smith (2010) has identified six major elements of all gangs: structured organization, identifiable leadership, territorial identification, continual association, specific purpose, and involvement in illegal behaviour. Longres (1990) adds to this: adolescent and male formation; routine and recurrent criminal behaviour; organized, advanced planning of activities under some structured chain of command; and ethnic and class composition.

Musick (1995) classifies gangs into three different categories. In the first category, named the *scavenger gang's* crimes, transgressions are usually not planned, and this group's members are often low achievers or school dropouts. Secondly, *territorial gangs* are well-organised gangs that have initiation rites which separate members from non-members. Often, prospective members have to prove their loyalty to the group by fighting. The third category is the *corporate gangs* which are highly structured criminal conspiracies that are organised to sell drugs. It is believed that teenagers as young as fourteen could become members. All gangs have names and recognisable symbols

In the United States of America, the presence of gangs in schools in the United States of America has been reported as having doubled between 1989 and 1995 (Gasa, 2005). Howell and Lynch (as cited in Huizinga,1997) reported that youth gangs are linked to serious crime problems in elementary and secondary schools in the United States, and that scholars report much higher drug availability when gangs are active at their schools. Schools that have a presence of gangs have a higher violent victimization rate than those that do not have a gang presence. Huizinga (1997) stated that teenagers who are gang members are far more likely to commit serious and violent crimes than other teenagers.

In the South African context, many preventive measures were introduced into schools. It was suggested that a police presence in the school area would prevent troubling situations from escalating, and that police officers can be “adopted” through the *Adopt-a-cop* programme for the school (Segoe and Mokgosi, 2006). According to Kodluboy (2004), school systems are prone to outright denial of gang presence or the significance of a gang presence in schools. Tompkins (2000) points out those learners believe that if they retaliate against an act of aggression that is committed by one gang member, they will have to deal with the entire gang; therefore they refuse to report gang activities at their schools.

According to Dissel (1997) gangs in schools should be seen as a community problem in South Africa and, since schools are a part of the community, they reflect the problems of that community (Crawage, 2005). Gangs which cause violence in schools is, however, not restricted to one province but are found in schools throughout South Africa. In South Africa, urbanisation has been characterised by a history of repression and poverty, especially of people living in townships, informal settlements and single-sex migrant hostels. The schools where this acts of amakhosi were reported to occur are near the informal settlement in townships and most learners are from the informal settlement. Tompkins (2000) also added that sometimes, innocent learners can be drawn or forced into violent behaviour, alcohol and drug abuse by joining gangs, as this provides them with a sense of belonging and most respondent learners stated that their reason for possession is for belonging and protection (Tompkins,2000) .

2.11 Theoretical Framework

To elaborate on the epistemology of *amakhosi* spirit possession and its dimensions, one has to approach its epistemology and explanation from various perspectives such as; social, spiritual and cultural. As previously mentioned in this study, amakhosi are regarded as a spiritual phenomenon due to the fact that those who use them considered them as such. Further that they are not only spiritual but they are also embedded in a strong cultural experience. To explore this dilemma three theories are considered for underpinning this study i.e., the functionalist approach, socio-cultural theory of abnormal behavior and narrative theory. The three theories or

approaches were found to be relevant for the better understanding of *amakhosi* possession and its relationship to the possessed group under study.

2.11.1 Functionalist approach – Lewis

In relation to spirit possession, Lewis (1966, 1969, and 1971) adopts a functionalist approach. He views spirit possession in terms of 'rational' strategies, as to what sort of people become possessed, and what function does possession play in relation to their material conditions of existence. Lewis makes a distinction between cults where possession is a positive experience involving spirits who uphold the dominant moral order of a society and typically speak through men, and peripheral cults, where possession by amoral spirits is locally regarded as a form of illness that typically afflicts women and other marginal or subordinate individuals. In these peripheral cults, spirit possession is a means of which marginalised categories exert mystical pressures upon their superiors in circumstances of deprivation and frustration when few other sanctions are available to them. They are a means of upward mobility for people of low status who are excluded from the dominant religious forms. As it is discussed in the chapter on findings, this study to some extent does confirm Lewis' assertion in the sense that the *amakhosi* possession occurs only among the poor and underprivileged. However, in this case the youth are not powerless and the possession comes from their endeavours and initiatives.

Lewis' theory also received criticism from anthropologists that:

- 1) His explanation is reductive
- 2) He fails to grasp the full significance of sorcery and possession practices.

Instead, they suggest that possession and sorcery should be examined in their own terms. Janice Boddy (1989) argues that the phenomena of possession can be located in its wider social and historic context in any particular society, and see possession as a political and moral act through which people are thinking about and making statements about their relationship to others. He further states that possession can be explored in relation to issues of selfhood, identity, global political

and economic domination, and the articulation of an aesthetic of human relationships to the world.

2.112 Socio-cultural theory

This is the theory of abnormal behavior by Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (1896- 1934). Socio-cultural model views the causes of abnormal behavior within the broader social and cultural context in which the behavior develops. According to the model, behavior that deviates from what a society considers acceptable or normally practiced by larger society is often labeled as abnormal for example the behavior of the *amakhosi* possessed is different from what is normally practiced or by those who are not possessed . Theorists in this tradition believe that abnormal behavior may have more than to do with the social ills or failures of society that with problems within the individual. The reports of *amakhosi* are among the youth of certain group and age which relates more on social activities than cultural practices.

Accordingly, the model examine a range of social and cultural influences on behavior, including social class, poverty, ethnic, cultural background and racial and gender discrimination. The reports of *amakhosi* incidences (South African Herald, 2008; West Cape News; 2012) (West Cape News, 2012; 2008; Izwi Lethemba FM radio station; Mdantsane FM radio station) only reported from townships schools and not in so called multi-racial schools although there are black learners in those schools from townships. This is the indication of social class, racial, ethnic and cultural background as the theory suggested since the township schools are catered for the black poor and for the lower in social class.

2.11.3 Narrative approach

According to Crossley (2000), the narrative approach is an ideology of transformation and reflexivity, and of the construction and reshaping of the life encounters towards sense of making and identification of 'self'. The narrative approach is also a mode of knowledge construction and knowledge communication. The narrative provides young people with an opportunity to tell their stories, which reveal their lived experiences and spirituality. The young people's narratives are used as phenomenological, epistemological and experiment tools to examine how Xhosa

youth construct existential meanings, redefined and shape their struggles and crisis and make and construct their identities in the spirit possession/ *amakhosi* process. For an example, as a young people narrated their life stories in this research it was easy to observe how new meaning was constructed as they upon what previously been taken for granted as a normal journey.

The researcher supports the Balcomb's views (2000), that narrative approach enables people to tell and narrate their human experiences, lifestyles as lived and perceived by them from their own perspectives. According to Balcomb, narratives from part of people's identity .People can tell from their own world-views and life experiences that they are and therefore, through stories, they are able to make sense of their selves and the quality of the life they live and experience. Therefore, through narratives, young people who aspire or are possessed by *amakhosi* are given a platform to narrate their experiences and feelings, to reflect on the meaning and values and the experiences during the processes. The young people interviewed for the research took time to respond to questions that demanded reflections of their past and even what they were doing .Sometimes the researcher had to rephrase questions more than once to obtain response.

The narrative approach also holds that narratives can be perceived as a framework that gives a structured format in 'plots'/'meaningful units' / 'texts' that provides the natural way of recounting existential and learned experiences (Moen, 2006). Moen further reflects on the narratives as natural, practical solutions to fundamental problems to create reasonable order out of experience. This means that the storytellers do not just produce narratives to order and structure their life experiences, as the social and structural theories would do, but also create descriptions about their experiences for themselves and others. They also develop narratives to make sense of the behaviour of others (Zellermayer, 1997).The possession of *amakhosi* according to most learners is the result of behaviour seen from their peers.

According to Polkinhome (1988), people without narratives do not exist. Life itself might thus be considered a narrative within one finds a number of other stories (Moen, 2006).In other words, narratives can also be looked at within the framework of

socio-cultural theory as they interlink between the individual and their context. The individual in question is irrevocably connected to his/her social, cultural and institutional setting (Wertsch, 1991).

Balcomb (2000) also supports the value of storytelling in shaping human existence by linking it with how culture is shared. According to Balcomb (2000), cultures depend on shared schemata, which determine intelligible actions by shared consensus, that is, by a person and others. It is therefore not just one's personal perceptions and views but also others' views sharing common ideas. Narratives in the community help to transmit community values through future generations. Narratives, therefore, capture both the individual and the context. (Heikkinen, 2002) In other words, narrative research offers three claims:

Balcomb concludes by strongly advising that stories therefore have to be kept alive, updated, transformed and modernised to keep up with life dynamics so that they do not die and rot. This therefore shows a vital concept about stories, namely that they are part of life. Life is lived to tell a story, and a story tells one about oneself. It is without reservations that the researcher strongly believes that the stories of amakhosi collected in this study on their respective religion (for those who believe in it), should be taken beyond the academic demands of this study.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter consisted of two sections: the literature review and the theoretical framework. The first section reviewed literature of spirit possession from other parts of the world and also from Africa. The historical and contextualisation of spirit possession was discussed. Various forms of spirit possessions were discussed and it has been recognised that spirit possession has evolved and continues to evolve. Further that spirit possession is culturally bound and it is not to outsiders to tell who is possessed or not, if one is possessed in their own cultural context then they must be recognised as such.

The second section consisted of the theoretical framework. It examined three different approaches used in this study to try to describe the phenomenon of

amakhosi and its epistemology. The three approaches seem to have one theme in common: emphasis on the reciprocal relationship between people, culture, and environment. In addition, the focus is on the need for acknowledgement and acceptance of the phenomenological narratives from insider perspectives in order to describe and explain complex phenomenon such as *amakhosi*, its abstract nature and how those who possess define and explain it.

There is definite common ground between the theories that can be explored productively in the current inquiry. For example, all theories and/or approaches discussed allowed the researcher to delve deeply into their personal life histories. The approaches allowed the youth to reclaim their identities and to take it upon themselves to address their phenomenological experiences on the process of *amakhosi*.

CHAPTER 3

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the approach and methodology used to conduct this study and also the reasons for choosing such a method. The role played by the researcher and his approach to the cultural setting of informants is also provided. Further that, the researcher describes in details how participants were selected; and the methodology used to collect, transcribe, analyse and interpret data.

3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study is indispensable for the appropriate administering of the data. It also helps the researcher to think well in advanced about analysis of the results. Strydom (1998: 179) states that a pilot study can be viewed as a “dress rehearsal” for the main investigation. In this regard, semi-structured Interviews were conducted as part of pre-tested in a pilot study with two high schools and about five learners from each school were chosen. Further that short interviews were also conducted with the principals of the two schools. The two schools were intentionally chosen as they were known to have both experienced the *amakhosi* incidences. The learners were chose by the principals and the School Governing Bodies (SGB) of the two schools. It was made sure that there was an equal gender representation of participants.

During the interviews learners were made to feel free and also given a chance to ask questions of clarity where they did not understand. Learners and the principals were also all given a chance to suggest other questions that they felt were important to them and for achieving the objectives of the study. The researcher also explained to learners and the principals that the participation was voluntary and they could withdraw from the study at any time they wished so. The pilot study enabled the researcher to correct shortcomings and also improve questions to ask in the future

interview guide. The researcher also took note of the time required to conduct the interviews. The pilot interview made the researcher aware of the importance of structuring the questions appropriately in the final interviews, to make it easier for the analysing the data afterwards. In the piloting process the researcher realised that too many irrelevant questions would make the interview too long given that learners did not have much time and as a result some of the questions were adjusted in the final schedule. The interview guide was then modified to produce data that were more closely suited to what the researcher was hoping to achieve with the study.

3.3 Data Collection

Data was collected through a literature study and fieldwork. Firstly, literature reviews of primary and secondary documents were used. In this regard, newspapers, books, documents and other literature written by different authors were consulted. The literature study carried out both pre-and post-fieldwork in order to complement the fieldwork data. Secondly, key informant interviews were conducted with learners, teachers, parents and individuals who are cultural experts and *amagqirha* who might provide a between understanding on the relationship between the traditional understanding of *amakhosi* and the current spirit possession found in schools.

3.3.1 Literature study

The research method used for the study was literature and qualitative study. Literature was used for a better appreciation of the meaning of spiritism and possession including the traditional meaning of *amakhosi* possession. Literature study was made of South African as well as international literature that examines spirit possession and the role of discipline in securing a safe learning environment in schools. The use of the work *amakhosi* possessions as previously mentioned are not new hence it was pertinent to ascertain its use from traditional background, mainly from literary sources, especially the early accounts on the topic. Sources dating as far back as the nineteenth century were consulted. Most of these sources were obviously not necessarily looking at *amakhosi* but on spirit possession and were helpful in allocating the context and the background of *amakhosi* and the researcher was able to access how the traditional meaning differed with the current occurrence.

3.3.2. Fieldwork

As previously mentioned, this study used the qualitative approach method of data collection and this case interviews and group discussions were used. According to McMillan and Schumacher (2006: 316), qualitative research design involves relatively small-scale studies for in-depth investigations with the aim of understanding social phenomenon from participants' perspective, using interactive strategies in real life situations. As this study investigate the perspective of learners, principals or senior managers. Qualitative approach was found to be the most appropriate method as the aim of the researcher was to examine the reality and the day to day experiences and the nature of spirit possession as experienced by the possessed, learners and educators at the chosen schools. Further that the researcher wanted to understand the control measures and discipline challenges that high schools and their staff face on the daily basis regarding the provision of safe environment for learners to study.

Therefore ,the researcher made an effort to gather as much as true feelings, beliefs and ideals, experiences, thoughts, and actions of the participants as possible, as suggested by McMillan and Schumacher (2006 : 373).Qualitative research was considered appropriate for this study because it enabled the researcher to gain understanding and insight into the challenges teachers and learners experience regarding *amakhosi* possession and into how this can be addressed to promote a safe learning environment for all in this Eastern Cape province that has already have problems in education.

Qualitative research always attempted to study human actions or behaviours from the 'insider's' perspective with a purpose of focusing on the process rather than just the outcome (Babbie and Mouton 2001:279). The advantage of this kind of research method is that its purpose is to understand the meaning of the informant's world without judging them. A qualitative approach is a necessity, given the topic of this study, to obtain as much detailed data as possible from a variety of sources and informants. The qualitative approach allowed participants /informants to speak out. It was also enabled the in identifying abstract and unmeasured behaviors and characteristics features of *amakhosi* possessed participants. The case of Mdantsane

was adopted because it assisted the study to achieve its aim of investigating the nature of *amakhosi* spiritual culture and its impact.

The researcher is a sportsman (rugby coach for juniors) and has an experience of working with young people. Consequently, participants were open and willing to share their situations and solutions with the researcher on a personal level during the interviews. By interacting with the principal, School Governing Body and senior management, the researcher focused on what issues or problems were regarding spirit possession and the maintenance of discipline or control measures at the level of each school as a whole.

The group discussions provided shared experiences and perceptions of all the participants which benefited them all. This was the case as for the first time the principals, teachers, SGB members and the learners shared their views and experiences of *amakhosi* to each other and also talked about effective mechanist to deal with them.

According to Hughes (2002: 211), when respondents all answer the same questions in structured interview, it increases the comparability of the responses; however, there is little flexibility in relating the interview to particular individuals and circumstances. Thus, the researcher used the semi-structured interview format. The advantage of using an interview guide, according to Patton (1990: 283) is flexibility and that it helps to make interviewing across a number of different people more systematic and comprehensive. An interview guide is thus prepared in order to make sure that basically the same information obtained from a number of people covering the same material (Patton, 1990:283). All the respondents were asked the same questions; however, the interviewer adapted some of the questions during the interviews, depending on the flow of the conversation. Probes were also used to clear up vague responses and encourage interviewees to elaborate on incomplete answers.

3.4 Type of interviews used

Semi-structured interviews (formal interviews and informal discussions) were conducted on the schools identified for the research. The purpose of the interviews was to derive interpretations, not facts or laws, from the informants (Rubin 1993:23). The interviews were based on conversation, with the emphasis on the researcher asking questions and listening, and the informants answering. Group discussions with learners, teacher, SGB members and principals were conducted. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for this study which provided free willing quality of the unstructured interviews and requires all the same skills (Bernard 1988:205). The difference is that a semi-structured interview is based on the use of an interview guide, a written list of questions and topics that need to be covered in a particular order and it demonstrates that one is fully in control of what they want to achieve from the interviews but leaves a room for both the researcher and informant to follow leads (Bernard 1988:205). The interview schedules used created a positive atmosphere and freedom where the informants were free to share their experiences and views without intimidation.

3.5 Recording of the interview data

In the research process the data can be obtained in three ways, by audio recording, video recording or recording on a notebook.

The researcher chose to use both the audio recording and note recording techniques for the following reasons:

The audio recording is convenient, inexpensive and obviates the necessity of writing during the interview, which may sometimes have a negative effect, both on the researcher and the informants. Interviews recorded on audio may also be played back as often as necessary for complete and objective analysis at a later stage. In addition to the words, the tone of voice and emotional impact of the respondent is preserved by the audio recording. In some case a note book was used to note some important concepts and issues that might not be captured by the tape. Further that, in some cases some informants might be uncomfortable with recording, and then only note taking was used.

3.6 Observations

The most reliable type of recording the ethnographer can apply is, of course, an event that he/she had witnessed (Gitywa 1971:21). Hence in addition to interviews most anthropologists uses simple or participant observations as a research gathering tools. In this case simple observations were adopted for this study due to the fact as much as a research was a participant by being a Xhosa male but he was also an outside as he had limited knowledge and experience of the new form of *amakhosi*. With simple observations the research was able to see for myself the behaviours the media have been talking about and also get a better understanding of the *amakhosi* possession in action. Observations also assisted me since that the *amakhosi* possession is not a permanent state it is more of a staging phenomena where a person act in a certain way at a particular moment and then later come to their senses, the only way to gain insight into that world one would have to observe them. The other advantage for observations was that some of learners with *amakhosi* did not want to talk about their possessions as to them it was a secrete and so the only way was to observe them during their staging.

3.7 Sampling

The researcher made use of purposive sampling in the process of data collection. In selecting information-rich cases for a small-scale study, there is no need to generalize and the purpose is to understand the perceptions of the participants in some depth. This is also non-random sampling, as only 10 to 15 learners per school were asked to take part in the research. Purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose a case because it illustrates some feature in which the researcher is interested, and in terms of its relevance to the study (Silverman, 2000:10). The research did not necessary make a call to interview learners who were possessed so as not to discriminate against them. There other reason was that in almost all the schools the chosen, learners had in one or another experienced *amakhosi*, either by witness those who were possessed or by being possessed themselves and also teachers had to deal with such cases at first hand. In that was both learners and

teachers had experience of *amakhosi* without necessary being possessed or showing signs of possession.

3.8. Target population

A sample of convenience was used with a total of between 10 and 15 taken from both males and females from the chosen schools in Mdantsane, East London in the Eastern Cape. All the participants were between 14 and 21 years of age except the teachers and SGB members. It was decided to carry the investigation among the high school excluding the primary school since most of the incidence reported took place in high schools. The learners were all black and Xhosa speaking residing in various areas of Mdantsane and Duncan Village. Informants were affiliated to a variety of religious denominations with most being Christians from Church groups. Best and Khan (1993:13) define population as a group of individuals that have one or more characteristics in common, that are of the interest to the researcher. The population under study consists of learners, educators, parents, traditional and spiritual healers and police officers of all the participants. Five high schools will be chosen; five learners from each school, one teacher and one principal or deputy principal will be chose. The following six high schools will be chosen;

- 1) J.S. Mati
- 2) Masixole
- 3) Philemon Ngcelwane
- 4) Buchule
- 5) Wongalethu

3.9 Area chosen for the study

As previously mentioned, the research was conducted in Mdantsane Town Ship which is a South African township situated between East London and Kind Williams Town and also is now part of what is called Buffalo City Municipality. Mdantsane was established as part of Ciskei homeland in the 1960s. Its primary purpose as settlement was to keep African people out of the city of East London which was only demarcated for white people at the time (Dauda, 1996). The Township of Mdantsane had the roots of its establishment buried in the apartheid era of South African History. In the 1950s the East London City Council undertook to move the majority of the

inhabitants of East and West Bank to a new dormitory township of Mdantsane, located 25 km outside the city.

The aim had been to create a fully-fledged town, semi-autonomous but economically integrated into white urban areas. Between 1964 and 1970, thousands families were re-settled in Mdantsane, but the envisaged growth into a city never materialized. Even today Mdantsane is still overpopulated and underprivileged and educational standards of school in this area is generally deemed to be weaker and carry the historically disadvantage as compared to multi racial school in East London. Mdantsane is one of the areas characterized by unemployment and poverty, along with violence and crime. The high schools chosen for the study are in various units or zones in Mdantsane Township.

3.10 Ethical Consideration

According to Babbie (2001:470), everyone who is involved in research needs to be aware of the general agreement or conduct of what is proper and improper in scientific research. Since the study involved human subjects, the researcher was aware of his role in making sure that all ethical procedures were taken into consideration. This was done by making sure that the rights and welfare of all informants were protected at all times during the study. Informants were informed of the purpose and the goals of the study. Informed consent was requested and re-negotiated with each individual participant. Throughout the fieldwork and writing-up phases of this research study, the anonymity and confidentiality of informants were guaranteed in the sense that their names and address were not recorded or written. Informants were not coerced in any way to participate in interviews and they were given an opportunity to withdraw at any point if they wished to do so. A letter explaining rights of the informants and responsibilities of the researcher was handed to them prior to the research taking place.

Given that most of this research took place at schools, the researcher received a permission letter from the Eastern Cape Department of Education prior to approaching the schools. The letter from the Department of Education had to be produced to all schools visited and it was given to the principal or deputy principal. In

case where learners were under the age of 18, permission was sought from their parents or guardians. Full disclosure of the topic, aims and purpose of the research and in addition, the researcher was provided the informants with a letter of verification from his promoter that specified the details of his institutional affiliation and the research project.

3.11 Limitation of the Study

This study was not without limitations. One of the main challenges for the study undertaken was that it is spiritual phenomenon which is very difficult to study and to prove. For an example possession is not a permanent state but the possessions manifest it's self at certain times which would be seen by the weird behaviour of the person possessed and then after some time it goes away and the person becomes normal again. The issue was that some of the learners when possessed they were either distracted or violent and the researcher could not interview them and when they were in their normal state most could not fully explain their possessed experience.

One of the limitations was that this study concentrated on High Schools and during the process of the research the researcher became aware that there were also incidents of *amakhosi* possessions in some primary schools and it would have been interesting to have a sample of possession experiences of those under the age of 14 years. Because this research took place during school hours, at most of the schools the researcher was only given limited time and so he had to keep on coming back and as a result the research too longer than expected. Further that this gave him limited time to observe the scenes or demonstrations and performances that were said to be interrupting learning in the schools.

Lastly, it also needs to be considered that only five schools from Buffalo City Municipality were chosen among more than 100 high schools in the Municipality and also more than 20 in East London area. Therefore the findings cannot be generalized to the whole Buffalo City Municipality or Eastern Cape Province. However, such findings may provide some insight in the *amakhosi* spirit possession occurrences and also due to the fact such a possession usually spread so these findings may assist

the schools where this possession have not be manifested yet. They will be better prepared to understand its consequences in case it does take place also at their schools.

3.12 Data analysis

Data analysis involves 'breaking up' the data into themes, patterns, trends and relationships that are manageable (Babbie and Mouton 2001:108). The rationale of data analysis is twofold: firstly, to establish the relationships that exist between concepts, constructs or variables, and secondly, to ascertain whether any patterns or trends can be identified or isolated (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:108). Vivian (2008:118) asserts that there are no rules for the interpretation of qualitative data as each set is unique to the researcher and his or her subject matter and further that it is difficult to duplicate a qualitative researcher's data.

In order to analyse the raw data, the qualitative data method of content analysis will was used. Traditionally content analysis is usually divided into two types, namely conceptual and relational analysis (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:492). Conceptual analysis has to do with establishing themes whereas relational analysis has to do with finding relationships between the elements of one's data rather than the elements themselves. The researcher used conceptual analysis to analyse and interpret the raw data. The researcher used the eight conceptual steps as outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2001:492). These steps are as follows:

- 1) Deciding on the level of analysis
- 2) Deciding how many concepts to code for
- 3) Deciding whether to code for the existence or frequency of a concept
- 4) Deciding on how to distinguish among concepts
- 5) Developing rules for the coding of texts
- 6) Deciding what to do with irrelevant information
- 7) Coding texts

3.13 Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher has provided the method that was adopted for this study and the reasons for the choice. The qualitative research method was chosen

for this research due to data gathering tools which are phenomenological in nature and which also appreciate the cultural phenomenon and the indigenous nature of the topic under study. This chapter also recognises the ethical procedures of research and the some limitations and challenges the researcher went through during the fieldwork process. Social anthropologists are interested in why people do what they do. In other words, they are fascinated by how people make sense of the world, the values they hold, the ideals and the norms and the ways in which those ideals and norms are adhered or not adhered to. The aims of the discipline are to understand people's behaviour through the eyes of the people that are the participants of the study (Hastrup, 2004). As modern Xhosa male with minimum knowledge and experience of African spirituality and spiritism the methods used in this research enabled me ask questions I have never asked before and see things I have never seen and never believed in.

CHAPTER 4

4. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Findings

4.1.1. Introduction

This chapter is a presentation of findings and its analysis. As already mentioned in chapter three, these findings are based on the interviews with teachers, SGB members, school principals, teachers, traditional leaders and healers, church leaders, learners and observations of the researcher. Some of the learners interviewed had *amakhosi* possession and some did not necessary have them. The church leaders who deals with spirits or do exorcism were also interviewed. The findings give a picture of the effect of *amakhosi* possession partly in the community and mainly at school. The reporting of findings was guided by major themes which came from the main questions guiding the study. The following themes are considered as major ones in the presentation and analysis of the of findings;

- 1) What are the *amakhosi* possessions?
- 2) Is the current trend related to the orthodox type?
- 3) How are amakhosi acquired?
- 4) Why are the *amakhosi* more prevalent in Township high schools?

4.1.2. What is *amakhosi*?

In chapter two the orthodox meaning of *amakhosi* has been discussed at length and it was noted that the use of the word *amakhosi* is not a new one; it has been in use for more than 30 years. This chapter will focus more on the current trend of *amakhosi* possession in order to ascertain how it differs from the orthodox one already discussed in chapter two.

4.1.3 Amakhosi as demons

The church leaders argued that *amakhosi* possession were just demons and the works Satan. The church believes that praying is the only solution to end this epidemic. Spiritual leaders and most educators just understand *amakhosi* as one of the demon families that possess the youth to destroy their lives or to do the evil activities. According to the spiritual leaders who also do exorcism, *amakhosi* and *amafufunyana* are demons and there is no good and bad in demons. It is only the acts of Satan to cheat people and to destroy the universe through youth because youth is the future of the world.

According to them, this epidemic of *amakhosi* is not surprising as stated the bible that these will be revealed when the world is about to end. The only way to respond is just the prayer and the belief in God. Some educators just refer *amakhosi* as the acts of witchcraft. According to them the only solution to take out *amakhosi* is praying and that is why religious leaders were called in most occurrences of *amakhosi* in schools. It was further explained that some parents even. Those who attend church confessed that they feel pressure when attending church service and forced to unbutton their shirts to relieve themselves. Some do not stand the praying as some collapse and shake due to the fact that the *amakhosi* possession does not want Church and prayer.

4.1.4 The current use of the word *amakhosi*

4.1.4.1 Elder's opinion

All elders and older people responded that the relationship between the current trend of *amakhosi* and the old one is the naming and the source. The naming in the sense that the current occurrence is also called *amakhosi* and the source in the sense the people who started selling them are those who have the orthodox form of *amakhosi*. It was further explained that it is not all of people with *amakhosi* were involved in this and those who are against it say it is an abuse of good spirit and it has discredited those who have been operating with *amakhosi* for good reasons. They raised various reasons for their concerns about the current form of *amakhosi* such as;

- 1) The strange behaviours associated with the current trend is totally different from what amakhosi really are, eg., violence, fighting, drug abuse, disobedience of parent and elders, climbing walls and other strange behaviours
- 2) The manifestations are among the youth which was rare in the traditional form, in the traditional form it was middle aged and older they were managed in such a way that people who had amakhosi were feared and respected in communities.
- 3) The current trend seems to be more for personal gain, for power struggle and for displaying while the old one was usually used to heal, ukukhupha isimnyama, for prophesy and protection.
- 4) The current trend is easy accessible due to ill-disciplined of those who amakhosi healers are as they started by just performed ukuthwaliswa kwamakhosi (initiation into amakhosi traditional healing).

4.1.4.2. Youth opinion

Young people agreed with old people that this is a new form of *amakhosi* but it a high in rank and usually associated with *amakhubalo* or *amakhehle* (ancestors) which have always been part of the *amakhosi* family and are also high ranking. It was explained that that *amakhubalo* or *amakhehle* are spirits from the diseased family members operating spiritually the possessed person. This type of *amakhosi* do not need a *igqirha* or *ixhwele lamakhosi in this case* meaning a specialist of *amakhosi* but anybody who is possessed can be taught how to possess others easily.

However, for one to be able to perform different duties and scenarios they would have to at least have to achieve possessing not less than ten types of *amakhosi* and most of them were called *iibaba* (meaning fathers) or *ibaba* (in singular). This type of *amakhosi* can also be borrowed from a friend and then can be returned when one is done with them or does not longer need them. For an example, a young man can never go to initiation school with them. According to respondents, *amakhubalo* do not stand the affliction of pain and other treatment undergone during initiation process. So it was said that the boys who go for initiation would normally lend their friends and then get them back when they return from initiation.

It was said that there was *amakhosi* gatherings taking place every night, sometimes a three times a week or when it was deemed necessary with intentions to order practice their performances. These gatherings are held in the bush or hidden areas and only the possessed and the new recruits that are allowed to attend. Among other things, the activities includes the alcohol drinking, smoking cigarettes and dagga, performing different styles of different kinds of *amakhubalo*, teaching the newly recruits how to make *amakhosi* to perform *ukuwanyusa* (going high or to do performances), disciplining the wrong doers and as well as the sexual activities.

The *iibaba* who were leaders were the ones responsible to give instructions and guidelines to the group. Those who are at the stage of *Ibaba* are the experienced that have the connection with traditional healers and can operate as agents or recruiters that can possess others as well. The time is usually at night and no one is allowed to speak of what is happening in the gatherings. The ages of the group are ranging from ten to twenty years in both males and females. They are restricted to eat staff like ginger, fish or seafood as well as pork because they are believed to be unclean. It was said that there were various types of *amakhubalo* and people can have more than one only in certain cases like the *iibaba* had a lot of them.

4.1.5 Types of *amakhubalo*

1) *Bawo Ngonyama*

This name comes from Lion referring to powerful. Somebody possess this kind of *ikhubalo* becomes powerful and is used mostly during the fighting times.

2) *Bawo Mfene (Jambase)*

This kind is useful during fighting times using baboon style as the name derived from baboon. It is used to display the best between different styles.

3) *Bawo Sigcawu (Spider)*

Sigcawu is used to perform magic such as climbing the wall like spider.

4) *Bawo Schoolboy*

This is for school activities. Schoolboy can write a paper for the learner without the learner's realization. A learner can just seat in front of a paper, raise them to be active (nyusa) and the work is just done.

5) *Bawo Chamaboy*

This for boys only used to be attractive and get attention from the opposite sex.

6) *Ma Rose*

It is popular among girls used to attract boys.

7) *Bawo Maseven*

Is known for being in love with money and is popular to those who wish to live the crime life. This associated with the gang numbers that are normally found in correctional service canter's inmates. They use him for stealing and robbery.

4.1.6 How are *amakhubalo* acquired?

Some learners acquire *amakhosi* from traditional healers, while others from peers and friends. They pay an amount of money ranging from R 50 to R 300. In addition to monies paid some form of ritual had to be conducted which involved a bottle of white brandy, a stout beer and a white chicken. It was said that when a person pays the full amount of money and perform *amakhubalo* rituals are they are given a powder enclosed in a small bottle worn on a beaded necklace, or rubbed into a goat skin bangle. The initial sample of the *muthi* is said to cost as little as R5 but if one wanted a more potent version they need a bottle of brandy or a white chicken to the herbalist or traditional healer. To get the potency of the *muthi* renewed or increased, it cost anything from R50 to R250 and it was also the same case in Khayelitsha in Cape Town (West Cape News, 2012). Some learners said that it costs R50 be to introduce the *amakhubalo* by drinking *muthi* mixed with brandy and beer. This is not the end of the process though as there is a further R300 that needs to be paid by the person to accept them and the person than has to stop eating food with oil for a period of seven day and there after must not eat sea food and pork. Basically *amakhosi* are bought for a certain amount of money and one would have to perform rituals and drink certain kind of traditional medicines in addition to that they would have to renew once

in a while. Anybody is entitled to get *amakhosi* as long as they follow the procedure and its taboos including not eating certain kinds of food, not talking too much English and obeying leadership of the *iibaba*.

4.1.7 Background of learners possessed by *amakhosi*

Most of learners who were possessed were males and a few females. It is an estimations of around 60-70 learners from all schools combined. Most learners came from poor families and as a result they were either staying at the informal settlements or at the Reconstruction Development (RDP) houses. Their household earners were ranging from domestic, gardeners, to unskilled workers, while most were unemployed. Most of them said that their households were led by grandparents who depend on social grants. Most of these learners were either raised by their relatives, single mother and grandparents. Very few of them were staying with both their parents. Some of them came from child headed households where it was their siblings who had to find ways to support them and sometimes depended on neighbours for food. For instance, one of the girls said that she was responsible to support three of her siblings as her mother was an alcoholic and she made money by shops lifting at Mdantsane City Mall and *amakhosi* were helping her not to get caught.

Some of the said that whether they slept at home or did not come back no one really cared. Others confessed that they possess *amakhosi* to be invisible during the theft since they have the limited resource in their homes to satisfy their needs and to be on the same status with their peers who are coming from the well-off families. A large number of possessed learners live in an area called *Nkomponi* near NU 9. The area is made up of RDP houses known to be the most hazardous zones where there is a high rate of crime and more serious incidents of violent behaviour occur. Most of those from that area said that they needed *amakhosi* for protection since that area is known for serious crimes ranging from robbery to violent crimes by the gang stars. Further that *Nkomponi* was also known for its youth residents and a lack of adults which also means that post learners were living by themselves or with friends of their same age with not adult guidance.

4.1.8 What are the reasons for *amakhosi* possessions?

Most learners interviewed and media reports confessed that their main reason for possession is the protection and to be powerful. This was confirmed by the media reports which have highlighted a number of incidences of physical violence, bullying and victimization in schools in the Eastern Cape. In a country-wide investigation by the national education ministry, it was found that secondary schools in the KwaZulu Natal and Eastern Cape provinces suffered most because of crime and violence. Fagan and Wilkinson (1998:74) state that there is relationship between violent crimes in schools and the abuse of alcohol and drugs. In township communities, where alcohol and drugs are easily available to under-aged children, the availability of these commodities places those who live in these communities at higher risk of violent encounters.

According to the study by the SAIRR, when South Africa pupils were asked whether they felt safe at school , and whether they experienced incidences of stealing , bullying and injury to themselves or to others , only 23% said they felt safe (South Africa : School safety influences literacy rate, 2008:1) . It is also seem that violence and crime are not limited to high schools. These types of disruptive behaviour must have a definite influence on the maintenance of school and in the whole process of managing the school. There are number of reasons led to the possession of *amakhosi* by the current generation ranging from the social pressures up to academic activities. Some of the reasons are already discussed above.

A seven-year-old girl interviewed in Cape Town (West Cape News, 2012), said she got *amakhosi* from a friend who had bought two bracelets from herbalist at the train station. She was promised that *amakhosi* would help her to win physical fights and protect my family. The report continued that the girl confessed that she awake them in a fight, she have to go down on her knees ,open all the buttons shirt and pant and shoes .She just say 'Vuka' (meaning wake up) and the fight begin. She said the first person she fought was another girl who she beat till she was bleeding from her head. She said she had since removed the bracelet but the spirits were still inside her.

Children purchase muti called *amakhosi* that makes them to behave mysteriously. This shows that there are no uniformity in the incidences and that learner do anything

to get attention from their peers or teachers to satisfy their interest. Some callers associate the amakhosi with incidences with the use of drugs by the youth and some with spirituality of the ancestors. As it has been mentioned in this study that there are various reasons for the youth to want to have amakhosi, such as the following;

4.1.8.1. Protection from witchcraft

It is believed that in township there is a lot of witchcraft going on, “people are witching each other all the time and for me I am safe due to protections by *amakhubalo*”, said one of the informants. The youth believe that *amakhosi* give them protection and as a result they cannot be witched when they have them. The parent and the student in school disciplinary meeting in which I observed, an aunt to the child confessed that the child with his peers was chased away from his home by resident because they destroyed the shack of woman whom they accused of being a witch and the child confirm that he was told by *amakhosi*.

4.1.8.2. Getting attention from the opposite sex

Some believe that *amakhosi* give them *ihozahoza* (to be liked by opposite sex) as a result they are able to charm for relationships. Some believe that one can take over ones girlfriend or boyfriend when using *amakhosi*. The *amakhosi* owned by boys to impress girls are called charmer boy and the owned by girls to impress boys is called ma-Rose and there was not form or homosexuality mentioned among them. According to both boys and girls, they just have to stare at the target and the will automatically develop feelings for them. They also practice among each other during their gatherings.

4.1.8.3. Having supernatural powers

Supernatural powers relates to doing impossible things and not being scared of anything. This includes performing magic and performances such as climbing walls, jumping high fences and others that a normal person would not usually be able to do. Some are able to be invisible when stealing at the shops and not get caught while some can escape from prison.

4.1.8.4. For academic purposes

Some learners believe that *amakhosi* assist one to reason better and do well in their studies, some said that even without studying one is able to get a good luck and the teacher just give them high marks. Also *amakhosi* were said protect them from those who use *muthi* during examinations. Learners can also know the examination paper with answers before presented to them by the examiner and that will make them to get good marks through the help of *Bawo Schoolboy*.

4.1.8.5. To be accepted by peers

It seems that others involved themselves with *amakhosi* due to peer pressure since it is becoming one of the strongest going township cultures. So for them to be accepted as cool they must also have *amakhosi*. *Amakhosi* are a strong group among boys and girls more especially for boys who have not gone to initiation. Few of them continue after initiation as most after *amakhosi* then would belong to *amakrwala* where *amakhosi* is not popular.

4.1.8.6. Win fights and Bullism

Most learners who have possession of *amakhosi* are used for protection against *bullism* because with *amakhosi* during fighting one become powerful with the help of *Bawo Ngonyama*. It was said that at schools there is lot of bullism going on and so those with *amakhosi* were not scared and at times they also protect some of their siblings and friends from bullism.

4.1.8.7. Prophecy and warning

They (*amakhosi*) can also tell you when one is about to be in danger by giving signals. The other reason is that when somebody lost something, they can be used to search the lost object and find it.

4.1.9. Growing of social tension

As expected in any community there are those possessed and non-possessed. The possessed are usually be the small group which conflicts with accepted norms of the particular community being rejected in some way or looked down upon. The *amakhosi* is no different from that. According to those with *amakhosi*, they know each other through certain feeling and senses which makes them to be connected and being together in most cases. People that are not possessed have a negative attitude towards them and this cause the potential of conflict between the groups. Furthermore, since the group has an extra power from *amakhosi* and the fact that they are young and energetic, immature, they have a potential of willing to prove their superiority and dominance through fighting using *amakhosi* and as a result could cause social tension.

The *amakhosi* possession was said to have been causing social tension in various ways and at different levels. Possessed youth were said to have been involved in crime related incidents in the community and at schools. As noted earlier, elders are seriously concerned about this trend of *amakhosi* which seem to perpetuate crime and violence in the community. In one incidence the young boy who was said to be possessing organised a crowd of youth and influenced them against going to schools as a result he was beaten by community members. The community further reported the matter to the councillor and the boy together with his parents was ordered to leave the area immediately for their own safety.

In another incident the boys with *amakhosi* burnt down the shack of the one of the community member whom they accused of witchcraft. The community then ordered the boys in a violent manner together with their families to leave the area with immediate effect. One of the main issues with the possession is that the kids with *amakhosi* organised themselves more in some kind of gangster with as strong influence to the point that when they do something they do it as a unit. This was the case with cases where they commit crime. In one of the incidents they beat up one young man, who they accused of talking bad about them, saying they were demon possessed. This created rifts among community members some were supporting the kids with *amakhosi* saying the kid who accuse them was wrong while some were supporting the kid whom was beaten. As a result the communities where there was a

heavy presents of *amakhosi* were always worried that one day this might lead to deaths of many people as most of the time the community gets divided on how to deal with *amakhosi*. Some of the leaders said that the community was divided due to be witched by *amakhosi* as there was not one in their right mind who could support the kids with *amakhosi*.

4.1.10 Relationship between *amakhosi* position and drugs

It seems there is a strong relationship between *amakhosi* possession and use of drugs like dagga, tik and mandrax. Some of learners were said to be taking drugs while some were not but most of the boys were said to be taking drugs. The researcher found out that most of learners were not on drugs before *amakhosi* possession but then join drugs during possession for the first time in their lives. One of the learners was suspended from school was said to be one of the best rugby player before possession but after possession he became a drug addict. As previously mentioned, during the secrete evening meeting of *amakhosi* possessed were characterised by the use of drug. Further, teachers mentioned the escalating issue of drugs at school and they also associated that with the emerging of *amakhosi*. One of the principal said that drug use has always been present in schools but with the emerging of *amakhosi* it worsened.

4.1.11. *Amakhosi* at the schools

De Wet (2003: 95) examined the perceptions and experiences of the educators regarding safety at their schools, and from the educators' responses in the Eastern Cape it was found that the environment in which the schools were located caused a problems regarding safety. Some potential problem areas were identified, namely the school grounds, empty classrooms, parking areas and learner bathrooms (De Wet, 2003: 95). In the case of this study of *amakhosi*, most of the performances reported to take place at schools and specifically in these afore mentioned places. It was also reported in this study that even though many educators try their best to maintain order in their classes, a number of teachers are finding it hard to enforce discipline and complain that learners are unruly, disrespectful and have a "don't care" attitude towards their work .De Wet (2003: 95) further reported that in some of the researched schools, the educators complained that they often found themselves in classroom

situation where they could not handle certain behaviours. For an example, in some schools the SGB, teachers and Principal resorted to let those who are in possession of *amakhosi* to the hands of their parents (while most of them do not even stay with parents) to cast out and come back when they back to normal senses. In most cases such kids do not come back and as result end up being a bad influence to other learner when they meet in township. Those could be the kids that become *iibaba* among the *amakhosi* groups

According to Gaustad (1992:1), schools have two main goals, firstly to create an environment conducive to learning and secondly, to ensure the safety of learners and educators. Failing to make schools safe and compatible for learners, without a fear of harassment especially by spirits like *amakhosi* and bullying, could result in serious discipline problems. It is also a teacher's legal responsibility to act as an immediate parent where it concerns the safety of learners while they are placed under the teacher's care by the parents. In relation to matters concerning learners' physical welfare, Steward (2004 : 321) says that schools are required to implement management system to protect learners from harm, including incidents of bullying and the *amakhosi* are also falling under the category that require management system.

The law expects of educators that they will act like reasonable persons in the education system at all times. Dealing with children requires a higher degree of care than is normally the case when professionals deal with adults, so their conduct as professional persons will be subject to more stringent test (Beckman and Russo, 1998:53). Nevertheless it has been reported that some educators act irresponsibly by leaving their classes unattended and that creates an opportunity for more bullying and the other unruly behaviour like performing the acts of *amakhosi*. It is always a response of responded educators about the acts of *amakhosi* that the incidences took place in an unattended space.

It seems as if all the high school educators tend to leave playground duty to prefects or monitors (who are also students) to watch over the learners at break-time and in free periods. Nevertheless, it seems that all the schools do have some kind of structure in place to protect their learners. How efficient and structured they are, is however, questionable. When the respondents were asked whether they thought that

the educators and learners felt safe at school, there were very different reactions. The responses from the interviews with the educators showed that the educators like to believe that the learners are safe. Some of the principals and SMT members commented that it seems that inside the school, learners do feel safe, but they're not sure about how safe they feel on the way to or from the school. As one principal said; 'most of them are scared to come to school on foot early in the morning; also because of the area, they are also scared when they are dropped off outside the gate, mainly of gangsterism'.

Nevertheless, the majority of respondents said that their learners should feel safe because all the schools were fenced in, and most schools had alarm systems and two of the schools also had security guards on duty at the gates. On the other hand, the responses of the learners show that even though almost 60% of the learners in the high schools indicated that they did feel safe at school, there were almost 40% that felt that they only sometimes felt safe at school. Oosthuizen et al. (1998:75) state that; ... 'the lack of supervision of learners and the failure to take precautionary measures to protect learners are the causes of the majority of problems regarding the safety of learners at school or during school activities'.

4.1.12. Witnessing on *amakhosi* performance in schools

Most of the responses from educators and principals was that they never witnessed the learners doing their performances under the influence of *amakhosi* as it was said that they occur mostly the playgrounds and when in class they occur during breaks. They say that they always receive reports from other learners when only after the incidents have taken place. in their absence and in classroom but only reported by learners after the incidence and those who were doing performances were said to have admitted to have *amakhosi* possession. Educators said there were incidents of uncontrollable noise and chaos during breaks where students seem to be watching something like a movie and when the teachers come the students immediately disperse and they were suspecting that is the time when performances were done. Educators said that what is prevalent is cases of students fighting among themselves to the point of badly hurting each other and when asked

the reason for fighting was not explained apart from saying *ubani uyandidelela* (so so undermines me).

Sometimes learners would just not want to talk at all when teachers talk to them even if the principal is called they would just keep quiet and result to talk and this made teachers think that such a behaviours is somehow connect to some evil spirits. Some behaviour that were prevalent were disobediences of not doing homework, lack of cooperation in class, high levels of bullying and dagga smoking on the school premises and educators said that such occurrences are necessary do to *amakhosi* but kids are like that all over.

Learners were the most people that witness the acts of *amakhosi* as most of the incidences happen in their presents at school. They said they witnessed some young men climbing the wall with their hands crawling up the roof and coming down from the other side of the wall. At times when there were things lost the *amakhosi* group could find them, for instance one day a cell phone was stolen by one of the students and a student with *amakhosi* was able to tell who took the phone and as result it was found. One of the learners narrated a story where they were walking and a big bull dog came and looked like it was going to bite them and one learner with *amakhosi* just commanded it in isiZulu language to go away and the dog immediately moved back. Some said that among the *amakhosi* possessed there were those who performed *ukugquma*, more like making noise of a lion and a person could really think it was a lion as the noise was to loud and scary.

Some of those who were interviewed did acknowledge that they had *amakhosi*, some said a year, some less than six Months while some longer. Most of them did talk about how they are acquired but refused to expose other details. Most of those who provided information that is recoded in this chapter were those who were possessed and then denounced it, some either got born again while others were persuaded by their families to denounce them. Some of them were not willing to talk about the matter as the fear of their counter parts that they may be in danger after the interview. They fear of punishment by *amakhosi* since they believe that *amakhosi* can hear those who talk bad about them. According to them, they witness cases of prophecy where their cell phone was stolen, people with *amakhosi* did manage find for them. Those who were willing just talk were only doing that to the certain limits

and that they do not have a right to disclose everything as they are also aware of the consequences of disclosing from their counter parts.

4.1.13. Discipline problems at schools

The researcher wanted to find out the most common misbehaviour problems teachers have to deal with in schools. The researcher was trying to find the relevance of *amakhosi* with misbehaviour and discipline. The principals and SMT members reported that the following constitute the most common discipline problems: substance abuse, violence, disrespect towards teachers, not doing homework, coming late to school and sexual harassment. Most educators stated that after the outbreak of *amakhosi*, the misbehaviour incidences escalated ranging the use of drugs, fighting and general lack of discipline in their teachers. This affects their school performance as well. The researcher observed in a disciplinary meeting in one school where among the cases of *amakhosi*, there was also a case of five female learners who were caught chewing dagga at school. The learners responded that the act was just for fun and to make them to laugh.

It seems as if the lack of parental involvement is of great concern to many teachers, since the educators see the role of the parent as playing an important part in how learners react towards discipline at school. Most learners interviewed that are in possession of *amakhosi*, are from broken families with a single parent, mostly headed by women, residing in informal settlements and within low income.

This was confirmed by the responses from the question asked by a researcher in which respondents were asked what they thought could improve discipline at school. All the educators replied that one of the things that would definitely improve discipline would be for parents to become more accountable and involved in their children's school activities. The learners on other side stated that parents were unaware of the status and most parents called by the school confirmed that. These responses tend to support Ngcobo's finding (1988:19) that if parents did not involve themselves in disciplining their children, any attempt from the school to change the undesired behaviour would fail. Ngcobo (1988:24-5) also states that discipline at home forms part of school discipline. As one principal commented: "...I think it's the breakdown

between the parents and the child, that in my opinion is the reason why we have discipline, the code of conduct and all those, but at the end of the day it is how the parents equip their child for school”

This was confirmed by the responses from the question asked by a researcher in which respondents were asked what they thought could improve discipline at school. All the educators replied that one of the things that would definitely improve discipline would be for parents to become more accountable and involved in their children’s school activities. According to educators, in Townships parents are too distant in their children’s education although efforts are made to call them to meetings and most of them are not employed. The learners on other side stated that parents were unaware of the status and most parents called by the school confirmed that.

4.1.14. Support from the Department of Education with regard to discipline

Most of the educators seemed to be less confident to the Provincial or National Departments of Education, commented that they often have to resolve matters themselves and that they had never received any support from the Provincial or National Departments of Education, and most said that they found it difficult to make contact with the Provincial Department regarding discipline problems.

The researcher had an opportunity of observing the disciplinary case between the SMT members and the learner who accepted that he was an agent of spreading *amakhosi* to other learners. The parent was also part of the meeting where the decision was to let the learner to the care of the parent to cast out *amakhosi* while the learner is not allowed to come to the premises of the school until proven clean.

As reported by the media, in some violent incidences of *amakhosi*, law enforcement were called, which were also unable to offer assistance because of the lack of legislation for incidences such as *amakhosi* or spirit possession and eventually Christian leaders were managed to calm the situations. The researcher observed that some the principals and SMT members are in denial of *amakhosi* as problem and others responded negatively in the interviews when they were asked whether the Provincial Department of Education had given them any assistance in maintaining

discipline in their schools when they requested it. Some laughed in response, and others who made comments about not ever receiving any feedback from the Department, commented on how difficult it was to get hold of the Department of Education to report violent incidents.

4.1.15. Disciplinary procedures and punishment in schools

To find out whether the educators have control of the discipline in their schools was a sensitive issue to embark on especially *amakhosi* related practices, and required a genuine, honest response from the respondents. In response to that question, some respondents replied that teachers have discipline under control at their school; however, some respondents disagreed. As one SMT member replied: “No, the kids know that the teachers are scared to punish them and they use that against them”. Corporal punishment is the only way that they will listen, and it works. The educator was of the opinion that learners just intimidate and seek attention. It is the mindset of educators such as these that could in fact contribute to a climate in which *amakhosi* possession becomes endemic in a school. However, it is not only educators that are guilty of using physical punishment to make learners do as they say; children frequently learn from parents or caregivers how to behave and interact with others, and they may internalise inappropriate guidelines regarding acceptable and unacceptable behaviour.

Another SMT member responded that “... For a number of families, violence is the order of day. The children step out of line, and the parents beat them into submission, and that’s how they learn to use their fists, not their mouths. It is different to the values that we try to teach them at school”

The National Department of Education states that corporal punishment promotes the notion that it is okay to hurt children (DOE, 2007), and advises adults who are concerned with the disciplining of children to negotiate with young people to set limits, consequences and rewards; this empowers children and gives them a sense of responsibility. According to a manual on the alternatives for corporal punishment by the National Department of Education, young people and adults need to know that children have a right to express their views (DOE, 2007).

This is in accordance with the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12 (1989) which states that “the child who is capable of forming his or her own views, has the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, and ... the views of the child should be given due weight, in accordance with the age and maturity of the child”. Even if the views of learners differ from those of educators, as seems to be the case in one school, channels of communication need to be kept open and young people should be allowed to develop their own ideas and visions. A difference of social, cultural backgrounds and opinion between learners and educators should not make the educator feel threatened so that they resort to corporal punishment as the only way they can control the situation.

The principal from another school replied that a lot of teachers struggle with learners that have no respect for adults; often a teacher will start crying because of the way they treat him/her. Goodman (2003:20) explains that some teachers appear to express exasperation and rebuke, as well as a desire to protect the authority of the disciplinarian. According to Goodman (2003:20), what discipline means to them is a temporary ‘fix’, not a solution for the problem. In its manual (DOE, 2007), the Department of Education advises educators that it is vital to treat any person, including a child, with respect. If there is respect for a child’s thoughts and feelings, he/she will be more likely to act respectfully, even when punishment is being meted out to him/her.

However, according to the principals and SMT members, the disciplinary methods that are used in most of the researched schools are mostly positive rather than negative, and respondents said that positive measures form the basis of their schools’ disciplinary procedures. It seems that after a series of interventions to solve a discipline problem, most schools would take serious misconduct such as violence with the intent to do bodily harm to their governing bodies, so that further steps could be taken according to the schools’ codes of conduct.

Intervention methods that were most commonly used were a demerit system, detention, placing learners on special report and community service, depending on the seriousness of the offence. Respondents from one school said that placing

learners on special report seemed to have positive results, where a written report of the learners' progress must be given by the teachers and signed by the parents on a daily basis. Mohapi (2007:131) suggests that the above-mentioned measures should be followed. It seems that according to the interviews findings, educators seem to struggle to decide which discipline approach is to be favoured – preventive or punitive. However, there was consensus that no matter which approach is used; learners need to be helped to take responsibility for their actions.

One principal said that learners should take responsibility for their school property. In his school the rule is that whenever there is a case of vandalising of school property, perpetrators are told to fix it themselves, whether it is by cleaning walls, fixing windows or sanding desks. On the other hand, Gosselin (2003:308) cautions educators that instructing learners to do something they do not want to do could result in anger and resentment against those who handed out the punishment and it does not always change the attitude of the learner nor create the responsibility that educators want learners to develop. Gosselin draws on Dewey's notion of responsibility, that a person should be held responsible or accountable for his or her actions in order for that person to become responsible towards others.

Furthermore, Dewey (1934) states that the one who holds the other accountable, the educator, must make these demands in such a manner that it holds the greatest possibility for the development of responsibility in the learner. Otherwise the learner may turn away from the opportunity. Thus, according to Gosselin (2003:310), educators need to make learners understand that the punishment they receive is there to guide them into changing their behaviour and learning something about themselves. Lastly, according to Gosselin (2003:309), it is Dewey (1934) who points out that the learner bears responsibility in this relationship as well, and that the learner's responsibility lies precisely in the development of good habits and the change of bad tendencies.

The reported success of the implementation of the different disciplinary methods used in the researched schools was compared. Two respondents from the high schools admitted that suspension as a disciplinary method was not successful in their schools. An SMT member from one school said *that* learners think of it as a holiday.

The concern was shared by all the respondents that some of the suspended learners might not be supervised by their parents and some either do not have parents or do not even respect them. Therefore, when they are sent home for a week, and that these learners could become the target of school drop-outs selling drugs. A few respondents agreed that this could create further discipline problems when the suspended learners return to school.

Respondents were of the opinion that only some learners have learnt their lesson, or changed their behaviour after one week of suspension. Holding the learner accountable for his or her own actions in order to compel the learner to understand the meaning of his or her actions is a strategy that seems to work in some cases but not in all, since it entails the learner admitting that she/he was in the wrong, and it also usually requires that the learner be helped to change his or her behaviour.

Four of the nine principals or SMT members testified that in their schools a verbal warning is first given to the perpetrator if the case is not regarded as a serious misdemeanour, and that if this fails the parents would be contacted, either by phone or by letter. "Serious misdemeanours", in terms of Subsection 3 of the South African Schools Act of 1996, means that the Provincial Executive Council responsible for education must, by notice in the Provincial Gazette, indicate which conduct of the learner would constitute serious misconduct in a public school in the specific province (Oosthuizen *et al.* 1998:68). One wonders where the letter would be sent to in cases of informal settlements where most of the kids live or who exactly would the school talk to when most of these learners do not even have guardians.

Serious misconduct is regarded as Grade 3 and 4 offences, according to an example of a code of conduct from the National Department of Education (DOE, 2007). It was reported by all the respondents that holding the learner accountable for his or her own actions in order to come to understand the meaning of those actions, and what those actions mean with respect to the teacher, seems to work in some cases but not in all. The learner needs to take responsibility for his or her actions and therefore has to admit that she/he was in the wrong and should be helped to change his/her behaviour or actions. Nevertheless, all respondents agreed that learners must be

made fully aware that all misdemeanours have consequences, and that this should instil a sense of responsibility rather than fear among learners.

Only in one school did the respondent say that “the only way learners would listen is when they are given a hiding” However, the other schools all agreed that if the misdemeanours were to continue, the disciplinary action would gradually become more serious, which could lead to suspension and eventually, depending on the severity of the misdemeanours, to expulsion. Oosthuizen *et al.* (1998:476) point out that one should take into consideration the seriousness of the misconduct, but also the age, attitude, the time of the misconduct, and the impact of the misconduct on the teaching-learning environment. It was reported by all the respondents that only a few cases go as far as a disciplinary hearing and result in suspension and expulsion

4.2. Analysis

4.2.1. Introduction

This section discusses data analysis which is based on the findings of this study. In addition, the researcher’s own experiences through the fieldwork and opinions are also added. The analyses are arranged according to the main questions of the study.

4.2.2. *Amakhosi* as spiritual phenomenon?

Based on the findings of this study one can conclude that *amakhosi* possession are a spiritual phenomenon, by the fact that their source is said to be a spiritual possession called *amakhubalo* which is part of the orthodox *amakhosi*. As discussed in literature *amakhosi* were said to be good spirits who were used to exorcise bad spirits which were *amafufunyana*. Further, that they were also used by those who wanted to be healers and most of them from Zionist Churches. *Amakhosi* have always been understood to be a spiritual phenomenon and as a result the current trend cannot be excluded from being spiritual phenomena hence the schools have always relied on religious leaders and traditional healers for guidance in dealing with *amakhosi*. This study also shows that to some extent this phenomenon is associated with some strange and unexplained behaviour even though to a lesser extent than portrayed in the media, but there is a strong spiritual element involved. This possession is also

said not to be connected to kinship cultural ties but are a youth social influence. Most of the possessed kinds were influenced by the peers and friends and their families are not in any way involved in it.

Amakhosi possession are also not just a possession but are more related to the concept of *ukuthwala* where a person pays a traditional healer a fee in order to be given some powers to be rich or perform extra ordinary miracles. These young people do not just wake up with possession but they go either to their peers or some traditional healers and pay money in order to get the possession. As discussed in literature spiritual possession has been known to possess or attack people and in most cases without their concern. In this case it is the youth themselves who go out of their way to buy this possession.

Further that it is also interesting to note that a person can even borrow from another just to perform certain activity and return them back and also that when boys return from initiation they do no longer return to the *amakhosi* possession groups. As much as *amakhosi* are also a social phenomenon, one must not rule out or deny their strong spiritual meaning as such a denial attitude can result in strong Satanism elements where kids kill themselves, their friends and family members just like in the recent cases happed in Gauteng school where two 10 classmates ranging between 13 and 15 years old boys kill a girl in Lukhanyo Secondary school near Randfontein (SABC 1 news 6 March 2013) and other province such as Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal.

4.2.3. *Amakhosi* and *ukuthwala*

Amakhosi are also not just a possession kind of group like in the case of *amafufunyana* coming upon a person and cases described by Lewis studies where a certain spirit attack people. As discussed in the literature spiritual possession has been known to possess or attack a certain group or individuals and in most cases without their concern. In this case it is the young themselves who go and buy the possession and this is more related to the concept of *ukuthwala* as discussed already. These young people do not just wake up with possession but they go either to their peers or some traditional healers and pay money in order to get the

possession. There are similarities to the discussion by Lewis in the sense that these young people have a similar need in common as already discussed but the main difference is that most of these kids choose the possession. Further that as much as they are at the current state in life but the fact that that they go out to get amakhosi indicates a generation of people who are trying to help themselves and are trying to earn recognition and space in the society Further that it is also interesting to note that a person can even borrow from another just to perform certain activity and return them back and also that when boys return from initiation they do no longer return to the *amakhosi* possession groups.

4.2.4. *Amakhosi* as social phenomenon?

One can also conclude that this possession is more of a social than a spiritual phenomenon. As already explained, during this study the researcher never observed any dramatic occurrences as portrayed by media. Furthermore even teachers responded that they had never seen dramatic performances which were due to *amakhosi* possession. Yes there were instances of bullisim, disobedience of teacher and unruly behaviours associated with the *amakhosi* groups but it was not as dramatic as portrayed in media, for instance there was no climbing of the walls and walking on the roof with bear hands. Some of the parents agreed to notice the odd behaviour from the children who were possessed by *amakhosi* but it was not in the same manner portrayed by news papers. The observations of the teaching, parents and the researcher shows that this is more of a controlled behaviour rather than a spiritual which it suppose to control by itself as other spiritual possessions do such as *amafufunyana*, *intwaso yobugqirha* or other spirits already discussed in chapter two.

One can argue that the need to want possession is more related to learners experiencing feelings such as rejection, failure, discouragement, hunger and lack of purpose and the possession seem to make them feel important noticed and accepted. While some learners feel that they underperform at school and as result believe that *amakhosi* possession would assist them to perform better. Some are hungry and want to support themselves and some are being bullied and abused as a result they want to stand up and fight for themselves.

As already mentioned, most of the *amakhosi* members are not involved in any other extra mutual activities like sport, music, drama or Church and they find meaning and life in the *amakhosi* group and for them it is a source of socialisations. This also have a strong connection with age and socialisation as explained by Erikson theory development (Erikson, 1964). For an example as mentioned in the findings that the boys cannot go to initiation school with *amakhosi* and after returning from initiation they no longer belong to the *amakhosi* possession groups. After initiation they now belong to the *ubukrwala* group which is a socialisation group for initiation graduates. After initiation they now regard themselves as men and grownups and can have nothing to do with *amakhosi* as they called *amakhosi* possession which is associated with the uncircumcised and children. the main contention here is that *amakhosi* possession are more like other popular youth cultures like, *izikhothani* where youth wear and burn the most expensive clothes just for attention and to be noticed although most of them are not from the well off families and are also not employed. The *amakhosi* scenario is related to the fact that in order to acquire a strong and healthy ego-identity the young person must receive consistent and meaningful recognition, from significant, of his achievements and accomplishments (Erikson, 1964).It is possible that whatever staging, the students have done a normal and can be done by any person who is desperate and seeking attention which could be the case here. There were climbing of walls observed even that any normal person can do, more especially if that act would make them popular and celebrated.

The findings of this study also suggests that most of these children come from poor families and disadvantaged areas such as informal settlement and RDP houses where there is a high level of crime. For instance the NU9 where one of the most affected schools is situated is an informal settlements called *Manyano* and *Nkomponi* and RDP houses where there is high level of crime and NU 3 is where there is a famous gang called Fifty Niggers that specialises on criminal activities around Mdantsane. Most boys also confirmed that in such areas one have to belong to a group or a gang in order to survive and protected from being a victim of crime like robbery or even stabbed. *Amakhosi* act as an individual protection and are respected by peers and the possessed feel protected and powerful.

One of the major issues that have to be noted is that these kids have not been integrated into the so called 'new' South African. At their level they do not see themselves as residents of South Africa but as Mdantsane boys and girls. Most of them are not like some other kids who attend multiracial schools in East London Town and are well travelled. Most of them only go to East London (town) few times and only during Christmas with their parents in order to buy clothes while some go for criminal activities in most cases ranging from stealing and robbery. In their perception, schooling is not really a means for a better future but just a reason to go and have a place where they would spend their time. Education is no means of acquiring knowledge but just a place for "*ukuhambisa ixesha*" (just to spend time) as they put it. Most of them do not believe they will go to grade 12, let alone going to tertiary educations.

The fact that this possession is more prevalent in Township schools and not in schools located in town and multiracial schools is itself an indication of social phenomenon. These children feel rejected as they see the big gap between them and those who are at multiracial schools since most children of affording families now study in town. The numbers of students in their schools decreased and those few left may feel as rejects and get frustrated. The act of being possessed can be an answer to lift them up and be recognized, this seems to be in line with Socio-cultural theory which suggested that abnormal behaviour may have more than to do with social ills or failures of society than with problems within the individual. This suggests that the act of *amakhosi* is a symptom of social class, racial, ethnic and cultural background and hence it is prevalent in township schools which are predominantly attended by the poorest of the society who are also from the lower class.

It is also interesting to find out that most of the possessed kids do not have a strong family support. Most of the kids who were involved in *amakhosi* were from single parent families, while some are from women headed households, some are raised by their grandparents and others are from child headed households. Very few of them were from families where there is both parents, even those who had both their grandparents, the grandparents were already very old to enforce discipline. This shows a situation where kids grow without proper guidance and a situation where there is lack of fatherhood and boys grow up without strong guidance and role

models. This also explains why such kids become disobedient of their teachers and also why they have ample time to be involved in *amakhosi* as they have all the time as they do not have to be home at certain strict time and perform home chores.

Most of the *amakhosi* incidents take place at school grounds during break times and free periods in the absence of educators. During such times there is also intimidation and bullism taking place and this is an indication that township schools are not safe places and it has been shown in chapter two. One of challenges with township schools is that there is a lot of free time for learners and as a result they are found with a lot of time to perform irregularities on school grounds. The *amakhosi* possession seem to take advantage of the free time that learners have at school, during free periods some teachers are expected to come for class and for some reasons do not turn up and as result learners are left un-attended and this is rare in multiracial and private schools.

One of the major challenges found by this study is that teachers are not sure exactly how to discipline learners in the absence of corporal punishment. Most of the teachers said that during corporal punishment it was easy to discipline children and children were scared of being punished as a result they were more co-operative. The banning of corporal punishment created various problems for them. For an example corporal punishment is a form of punishment teachers themselves understand and that is how they were trained and in addition to that it is a kind of punishment they use at home to their kids. Moreover the Department of Education only told them to no longer use corporal punishment and use a different system of punishment which uses strategies such as detention, points, extra duties, etc.

The main problem with that is that educators were never trained to use such a system and according to them it is non African and township children do not adhere to. Some educators agreed to be using corporal punishment in some instances in consultation with parents and it seem to have brought better results for most of the kids but that was done with knowledge that the Department of Education prohibits it. This situation has placed educators at confusion in the sense that they have to apply a new way of disciplining children which they never experienced and also do not practice to their own children as a result school children are left without being

disciplined. Such a situation has been worsened by the acts of *amakhosi* when children are disciplined by giving them duties they end up not coming to school as school is not a priority for them they just come to waste time as it has been discussed already.

One of the main concerns from the findings of this study is the lack of parental/guardian involvement in the education of their children. The educators see the role of the parent as playing an important part in how learners react towards discipline at school. Educators were concerned that parents do not respond to meetings called at the schools. Educators seem to have done all in their power to have parents sit and deliberate on how the *amakhosi* possession and other problems at school can be dealt with but to no success. Most parents have not pitched at all and this had made it very difficult for educators to deal with issues affecting the children. The only parents who have been active are those who are in the School Governing Board otherwise most are less interested. One principal said that one day in his school he asked all kids to bring their parents and most kids did not come to school that day, it was only a few parents present that day. This can be due to various reasons such as that kids themselves do not want their parents/guardians to come to school as they will know the sort of behaviour they show at school, some parents/guardians might be less interested in the education of their kids, while some kids do not have a strong family background and support.

This study also shows a strong relationship between *amakhosi* possession group and use of alcohol and drugs. Most of the learners said that prior to possession they were not involved in alcohol or drugs and it was only after the possession that they were involved in drugs and dagga smoking. Most said that during the *amakhosi* initiation period they were on fasting and were not supposed to use alcohol and drugs and it was only after the fasting that could use alcohol and drugs. This poses danger and drug use among youth is one of the major problems South Africa is faced with and it could also mean that most of the occurrences and staging takes place under the influence.

4.3. Conclusion

The complexity of the phenomenon explored in this study challenged the selection research methods appropriate for the provision of a broader and clearer insight into *amakhosi*. In addition, methods are selected that would bring out the voices of young people and authentic owners of such knowledge such as traditional healers. A narrative approach was an ideal approach for this purpose (Chapters 2). The approach also influenced the methodology and techniques applied in collecting, transcribing and analysing the data, as well as the presentation of the findings. The conclusion of this chapter is that *amakhosi* are a spiritual but mainly as a result of a social problem. In literature chapter 2, I argued that from an African perspective there is no difference between what is man and what is spiritual, life is viewed as a whole. For an example there is no difference between religion and culture, spirituality and metaphysics and there is a strong connection between the living and the dead. The spiritual problems have a strong impact on the “unspiritual” issues visa versa. Even though Lewis received a lot of criticism with his spiritual model related to poverty but the fact remains that when people are depressed and suppressed they start having spiritual problems and also when people have spiritual problems they start having physical problems. The contention here is that this study shows a strong relationship between ‘a social’ and ‘a spiritual’ phenomenon and this leads one to collude that *amakhosi* possession is a spiritual problem that is a result of a social problem.

CHAPTER 5

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters of this study have all attempted to illustrate the complexities involved in amakhosi possession and associated behaviour. The study focused specifically on perceptions of *amakhosi* in Mdantsane schools in the Eastern Cape and what the implications were of such behaviour for school management, community, law enforcement policy and practice. Chapter four of this study provided a detailed analysis and interpretation of data gathered from both community and school informants in various schools in Mdantsane. From the data analysis and interpretation various issues and problems emerged that in one way or another can be linked to the phenomenon of *amakhosi* possession.

This chapter suggests recommendations that could be used to assist school management, law enforcers and communities in their efforts to address amakhosi or any other spirit possession. Since the study is based on data gathered in Mdantsane in the Eastern Cape, the recommendations made are of specific relevance to the Mdantsane context. This is intentional as no study of this nature has been conducted in Mdantsane or in the Eastern Cape and the data generated from this study is much needed within the context of the Eastern Cape. The recommendations suggested in this chapter are aimed at assisting not only the school management, but also local communities and various other stakeholders who may benefit from these recommendations.

This chapter concludes the study by drawing conclusions about the possibility of the successful intervention on *amakhosi* possession in school and in communities, disciplinary strategies in the classroom and school in order to reduce or eliminate violence since the *amakhosi* behaviour reported to act violently intimidating both learners and educators, making some policy recommendations and recommendations for further study, and discussing the limitations of the study.

5.2 Conclusion

The information collected by the researcher, shows that current trend of *amakhosi* (*amakhubalo*) are not connected to kinship cultural ties but rather societal. All the interviewees possessed *amakhosi* first heard from friends and possess by the friends without the involvement of their families and for the societal reason such as fighting or being powerful, attention from opposite sex and stealing. The acts of the current *amakhosi* as discussed in previous chapters (1 to 4) are magical instead of being cultural as they range from climbing the wall with bare hands, unbelievable strength, groaning violently and strange like lion, fighting like a baboon, be able to attract opposite sex ,prophecy and stealing without being caught.

As discussed, among others, the contributing factor as to why children possessed *amakhosi* is the high rate of crime in township where the schools located, bullism in communities and in schools, societal pressure such as poverty and seeks of attention. The findings of this study shows the lack of parental involvement in the children's well-being, the lack of legal framework to deal with such incidences of *amakhosi* or cultural practices and the clear support on the education system as teachers were also intimidated and not having the remedy for the behaviour. This boils down to a lack of discipline in schools since most of the children manage to hide their status from their parents and in community. The question to be asked is to why the behaviour is more prevalent at schools than in communities where these learners live?

Many learners interviewed confessed that they were neither drinking nor smoking before the possession of *amakhosi* and started during the possession period. The current *amakhosi* (*amakhubalo*) can be possessed by anyone who possessed as opposed to *amakhosi* of the olden days that required a highly trained traditional healer to facilitate the possession and exorcism. This shows no connection to cultural background or ancestors as possessed claim that they use ancestors (*amakhehle*-meaning old people). This is just an act or magic that can be passed from one person to the next with no prior consideration of certain qualities of the candidate. This can also be categorize as an attention seeking resulted to a lack of good conduct or

discipline and response to economic and social pressures. As previously mentioned there are similarities between Lewis (1966) notion that spirit possession usually occurs among marginal, subordinate, and underprivileged people. The current state of *amakhosi* is associated to the marginalisation, low status and vulnerability of township youth and widening gap between social expectations and everyday realities. Spirit possession offers them power, a social status and success image among their peers. This study also differs with from Lewis assertions in the sense that these youth do not see themselves as victims and it is not just a certain spirit that comes upon them. It is the youth themselves who go out to acquire the possession which they are willing to pay for. The contention here is that irrespective of their marginal and vulnerability, they are able to take initiatives to help themselves. As already mentioned in this study, to young people this spirit possession assist them to get the attention and satisfaction they need, when possessed they are noticed and recognised and as result people pay attention to them

5.2.1 The role of educators and other role players in the establishment and maintenance of discipline in school

The data collected should provide evidence of the effectiveness of establishing preventative disciplinary measures as a means of preventing inappropriate *amakhosi* and the violent behaviour or changing it to behaviour that is more acceptable. It is of paramount importance that all school role players understand that without discipline a school cannot function properly. The educator interviewees concurred that violent behaviour constitutes a definite problem among learners in high schools, and that bullying is a common problem that needs to be addressed. This in is another major contributor of *amakhubalo (amakhosi)* possession since most learners interviewed stated that for them, *amakhubalo (amakhosi)* are for protection and being powerful. This general concern about a lack of discipline in classes and schools was also shared by most learners in all of the schools researched. Most of the learners and educators also agreed that it is important that discipline measures need to be in place to punish those who disrupt classes. This also applies to 'less serious' offences such as vandalism, insolence against educators such as disrespect, and verbal abuse. As reported by the media (see chapter 1), the goals of discipline are to provide a safe behaviour intimidated learners and educator and create a safe environment for all

learners and educators, but it is also the responsibility of the learners to show respect and accept discipline from their educators.

While positive school rules are imperative for effective schools, it is vital that rules should be clearly understood by learners, teachers and parents, and be openly discussed. Schools should also keep in mind that it is important to keep the founding values of the Constitution, namely human dignity, equality and freedom in mind when exercising learner discipline in schools. The responses of the learners to the questionnaires showed that they felt that consistency is very important for effective discipline. It seems that learners react to what teachers do, and not to what they say they are going to do. It is the duty of parents, teachers and the community to identify behaviour problems at an early stage and implement effective behaviour modification or preventive programmes in order to help learners cope with aggressive behaviour.

5.2.2 The experiences of learners and educators in the maintenance of discipline in the classroom

The objective of this study was to obtain insight into *amakhosi* relate behaviour and how educators and learners with regard to the different forms of violence at school. The results in this study revealed that both the primary and high school educators experienced violence in their schools as a serious reality. Although educators do not always do the “right” thing according to the learners, they are facing huge challenges on a daily basis, perhaps more than many other occupations, and therefore they need the support of parents and other role players in education to help them to succeed. All the interviewees agreed that the involvement of parents would definitely improve discipline in schools. The very nature of the violence experienced at school would seem to have escalated to the extent that those who want to learn are too disempowered through intimidation and physical force to actually perform academically to the best of their ability. Sadly, it would seem that the inability of one generation to unite in creating or preserving a culture of responsible education might be removing the opportunity from the next generation, of knowing the benefits of discipline and respect in a responsible, supportive learning environment.

5.2.3 The role of school rules and codes of conduct

The responses in both the interviews and questionnaires revealed that many learners in the researched schools did not have much knowledge of their school rules, and many learners commented on teachers who were not consistent when it came to discipline. While positive school rules are imperative for effective schools, it is vital that rules should be clearly understood by learners, teachers and parents, and be openly discussed. In addition, codes of conduct and school rules seem meaningless to learners, parents and educators when it is not written in a language everyone can understand. Schools should also keep in mind that it is important to keep the founding values of the Constitution, namely human dignity, equality, the cultural practices and freedom in mind when exercising learner discipline in schools. When there is a clear understanding of what is expected from the learners as stated in the school rules and code of conduct, learners seem to accept the consequences of their actions.

Furthermore, school rules seem worthless to many learners if they are not implemented consistently by the teachers in charge. Often learners know the consequences of unacceptable behaviour, but because of the inconsistency of teachers when administering punishment, many learners ignore the rules, because they know they will get away with bad behaviour anyway. Joubert *et al.* (2004:83) state that; “School rules, especially those that relate to acceptable behaviour and the consequences of breaking them, should be clearly specified and communicated to staff, learners and parents”.

Once the rules have been communicated, fair and consistent enforcement is necessary to maintain learners’ respect for the school’s disciplinary system. Educators should also support principals by ensuring that the learners know the school rules as stated in their code of conduct, and be held responsible for any misbehaviour.

5.3 Recommendations of this study

The empirical survey in this study was limited to one township in the Eastern Cape Province although similar incidences and practices are also reported in other townships in Port Elizabeth and in the Western Cape Province townships. Further

research should be done which includes more respondents from other provinces to provide more generalisability.

The following are the recommendations generated by the research undertaken for this study:

More academic research into spirit-related practices in the Eastern Cape is required to address the lack of academically sound data on the topic as it was difficult to get literature of the spirit possession in the Eastern Cape.

Uniformity must be reached among local traditional healers and traditional healers from African nationals regarding the issue of amakhosi possession. This study revealed that among traditional healers there was no uniformity of why and how amakhosi are possessed hence local traditional healers accused of the current trend of amakhosi as magic from other African nationals' traditional healers. This has a potential of mob justice even xenophobia. African nationals are accused making money in expense of local children's health as it was difficult to find the principal possessor during the fieldwork.

Traditional healers based in urban communities have a special role to play in addressing the perceived relationship between cultural activities and crime. Traditional leaders should engage with community leaders and school officials in their respective areas to educate communities about cultural activities. Such engagement could facilitate greater co-operation between traditional healers and communities and school officials.

It is recommended that law enforcers receive specific training in how to investigate spirit-related incidences. Spirit-related incidences cannot be treated in the same manner as the police would investigate any other case. An understanding of the socio-cultural context of spirit beliefs and practices is critical if investigations are going to have any hope of success. Police officers should undergo cultural sensitisation training in order to create an awareness of ethnocentric attitudes and prejudices that could become obstacles during investigations. Most, if not all, police investigators may not themselves believe in the reality of spirit possession, while there may be some who

do. However, what must be understood is that it is not their beliefs that are relevant to the investigation but the beliefs of the people and communities in which these incidences are occurred.

School management should implement Life Orientation support programmes focusing on parent guidance to help parents with educating their children on anger management and the prevention of violent behaviour at school. Parent involvement needs to be encouraged, as the lack of parent involvement was highlighted by all the interviewees. Government need to be involved to clearly legislate incidences:

- Educators should be made aware of the damaging consequences of being inconsistent or ambiguous in their responses to misbehaviour especially when related to cultural activities.
- The Department of Education needs to give support to schools with discipline problems, even supporting cases where expulsion is required, for the sake of learners' safety.
- Educators should know the law concerning education, to protect themselves and their learners. Workshops need to be run by the Department of Education on educational law.
- The Department of Education needs to run workshops regarding cultural practices in school, bullying, how to handle violent situations at school, and effective strategies to cope with class discipline.

5.4 Conclusion

What this study has found, and what is evident from the recommendations suggested above, is that this study is by no means conclusive. This study has merely been a step towards suggesting potential opportunities for much-needed further research. What is clear is that the issue of amakhosi/spirit-related incidences is not simply a 'school issue' or the problem of Department of Education alone. It requires a holistic approach that involves multiple stakeholders including local communities, traditional leaders, traditional healers, church leaders, health professionals, legal professionals, provincial and local government, the SAPS and academics. This gives an indication of how wide the issue of spirit-related cases is and therefore this one study has in no way addressed the magnitude of scope that the issue presents.

Thus, the point is that for all intents and purposes the researcher cannot regard this research study as being concluded. However, it should be clearly stated that although much scope exists for further research and further studies on the issue of *amakhosi*/spirit-related incidences, the recommendations that have been generated by this specific study should be given serious consideration. Finally, although spirit-related behaviours presents a complex challenge to all of the stakeholders involved, it is the responsibility of all stakeholders to take up the challenge not only for the sake of those who may become potential victims of such incidences, but more importantly, for the sake of those who have fallen as victims of spirit-related performances.

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APPENDICES

ANNEXTURE: A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

FOR LEARNERS

Gender

Age

Grade/std

Background

Tell us about yourself

Where were you born?

Are parents married, single or divorced?

Where did you grow up?

Currently where do you stay?

For how long have you been staying there?

Currently with whom do you stay with?

What is your home religion?

What is your involvement in the community (social activities).

Do you use drugs, smoke or drink alcohol?

If you drink alcohol or smoke for how long now have you been drinking or smoking?

If you use drugs what kind do you use?

For how long have you used them?

Have you ever heard about Amakhosi?

What is your understanding of amakhosi possession?

Do you have amakhosi or do you someone who has amakhosi?

How do people get the possession or how do they require amakhosi?

If you have them when and why did you decided to have Amakhosi?

Please tell us about your possession experience?

Do you know where one can acquire amakhosi?

If you have amakhosi are your parents / guardian aware about your situation?

How do you describe people's attitude towards you?

Educators

How does your current situation affect /change your life as a person, at school, home and in the community?

How do you communicate with Amakhosi?

What are the main characteristics of the possessed (dressing or wearing of beads)

How would you explain your feelings, failures and successes in your new life of Amakhosi?

Have you heard about Amakhosi?

Are there any incidences/practices of Amakhosi at your school?

When did such incidents begin?

How do such incidents affect learning at school?

When learners are possessed by amakhosi what do they normally do or what kind of behaviour do they usually display?

What has the school and the community done to control such incidents?

After such interventions was there a change?

Is there anything else you would like to tell us about amakhosi possessions among the school children?

Communities leaders

What is your position in the community?

Have you heard about Amakhosi possession?

Do you know or have encountered a school child possessed by amakhosi?

Have you ever been called by a school to help resolve an *amakhosi* related matter?

In your opinion what cases amakhosi?

Are they bad or good, do they help or bring destruction?

Is it a spiritual or a physiological issue?

5. West African
6. Other (specify)

1.5

Marital status

1. Married
2. Single
3. Divorced
4. Widowed
5. Living together

**Enter
code**

1.6

**Where do you stay in
East London**

1. Quigney
2. Southernwood
3. Amalinda
4. Town Central
5. Bacon Bay
6. Nahoon
7. Braelyn
8. Mdantsane
9. Other (specify)

**Enter
code**

1.7

**What grade are you
enrolled for**

1. Grade 8
2. Grade 9
3. Grade 10
4. Grade 11
5. Grade 12

**Enter
code**

- 1.8** **Which High School are you attending?**
- 5 **J.S. Mati** **Enter code**
- 6 **Masixole**
- 7 **Philemon Ngcelwane**
- 8 **Buchule**
- 9 **Wongalethu**
-
- 1.9** **Do you still have parents?**
1. **No** **Enter code**
2. **Yes**
3. **Have a mother**
4. **Have a father**
-
- 1.10** **Are you staying with your parents at home?**
1. **Yes** **Enter code**
2. **No**
-
- 1.11** **If no with whom are you staying with**
1. **Enter code**
-
- 1.12** **Have you ever been possessed or heard of someone possessed by amakhosi?**
1. **Yes I was possessed** **Enter code**
2. **Heard of some**

	possessed	
	3. No	
	4. Not sure	
1.13	If it was someone else, where did you hear about them?	
	1. Your school	Enter code
	2. Other school	code
1.14	If not your school, which school?	
	1.	Enter code
		code
1.15	In your knowledge what is <i>Amakhosi</i> possession?	
	1.	Enter code
		code
1.16	How do they possess a person?	
	1.	Enter code
		code
117	What does a possessed person do as a sign of possession?	
	2.	
1.17	If you were once possessed how did it happen	
	1.	Enter code
		code
1.18	When did it start?	
	1.	Enter

		code
1.19	Is it something that you like?	
	1.	Enter code
1.20	What was its impact your studies?	
	1.	Enter code
1.21		
	1. Good	Enter code
	2. Bad	
1.22	If yes, in what way?	
	1.	Enter code
1.23	Were your parents or guardians aware of you spirit possession?	
	2.	
12.4	Are you still possessed now?	
	3.	
1.2.5	4. If no, how were you freed from possession	
	5.	
1.2.5	Would you recommend possession for other learners?	
	6.	
	Is there anything else you would like	

**to say about spirit
possession and
Amakhosi?**

7.

Thanks for your participation in the study

APPENDIX: B

LETTER REQUESTING PARTICIPATION

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Sipiwo Meveni and I am a Masters student at the University of Fort hare. I am currently conducting research on the existence of spirit possession called *amakhosi*. The purpose of this research is to better understand this possession by interviewing those who have experienced it.

I would like to request your participation in this research by recording in writing or by tape, your knowledge, thoughts and experience regarding the topic understudy.

I wish to assure you that your name will not be recorded and therefore confidentiality will be maintained.

Your participation is voluntary and I want to assure you that you are free to discontinue with the interview whenever you feel so.

Your participation is highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Sipiwo Meveni

SIGNATURE

DATE

CONSENT AGREEMENT

I.....hereby give consent to voluntary participate in your research on the existence of spirit possession called *amakhosi*. I understand that the information will be recorded without using my name. I further understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time. I wish to clearly state that no pressure has been placed on me to participate in this study.

SIGNATURE

DATE.....



Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
EDUCATION

STRATEGIC PLANNING POLICY RESEARCH AND SECRETARIAT SERVICES
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Enquiries: Dr Heckroodt

Email: bernetia@iafrica.com

05 July 2012

Mr. SD Meveni

P.O. Box 9083

University of Fort Hare

East London

5200

Dear Mr Meveni

**PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE A MASTERS' THESIS: IS IT A SPIRITUAL, DRUG RELATED
OR A PERFORMANCE PROBLEM: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE AMAKHOSI POSSESSION
AND BEHAVIOR AMONG SCHOOLS IN MDANTSANE**

1. Thank you for your application to conduct research.
2. Your application to conduct the above mentioned research in six (6) Secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the East London District in the Eastern Cape Department of Basic Education (ECDBE) is hereby approved on condition that:
 - a. there will be no financial implications for the Department;
 - b. institutions and respondents must not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation;
 - c. you present a copy of the written approval letter of the Eastern Cape Department of Basic Education (ECDBE) to the District Directors before any research is undertaken at any institutions within that particular district;
 - d. you will make all the arrangements concerning your research;



- e. the research may not be conducted during official contact time, as educators' programmes should not be interrupted;
 - f. should you wish to extend the period of research after approval has been granted, an application to do this must be directed to the Director: Strategic Planning Policy Research and Secretarial Services;
 - g. the research may not be conducted during the fourth school term, except in cases where a special well motivated request is received;
 - h. your research will be limited to those schools or institutions for which approval has been granted, should changes be effected written permission must be obtained from the Director – Strategic Planning Policy Research and Secretariat Services;
 - i. you present the Department with a copy of your final paper/report/dissertation/thesis free of charge in hard copy and electronic format. This must be accompanied by a separate synopsis (maximum 2 – 3 typed pages) of the most important findings and recommendations if it does not already contain a synopsis. This must also be in an electronic format.
 - j. you are requested to provide the above to the Director: The Strategic Planning Policy Research and Secretarial Services upon completion of your research.
 - k. you comply to all the requirements as completed in the Terms and Conditions to conduct Research in the ECDBE document duly completed by you.
 - l. you comply with your ethical undertaking (commitment form).
 - m. You submit on a six monthly basis, from the date of permission of the research, concise reports to the Director: Strategic Planning Policy Research and Secretariat Services.
3. The Department reserves a right to withdraw the permission should there not be compliance to the approval letter and contract signed in the Terms and Conditions to conduct Research in the ECDBE.
 4. The Department will publish the completed Research on its website.
 5. The Department wishes you well in your undertaking. You can contact the Director, Dr. Annetia Heckroodt on 043 702 7428 or mobile number 083 275 0715 and email: annetia.heckroodt@edu.ecprov.gov.za should you need any assistance.


DR AS HECKROODT

DIRECTOR: STRATEGIC PLANNING POLICY RESEARCH AND SECRETARIAT SERVICES

