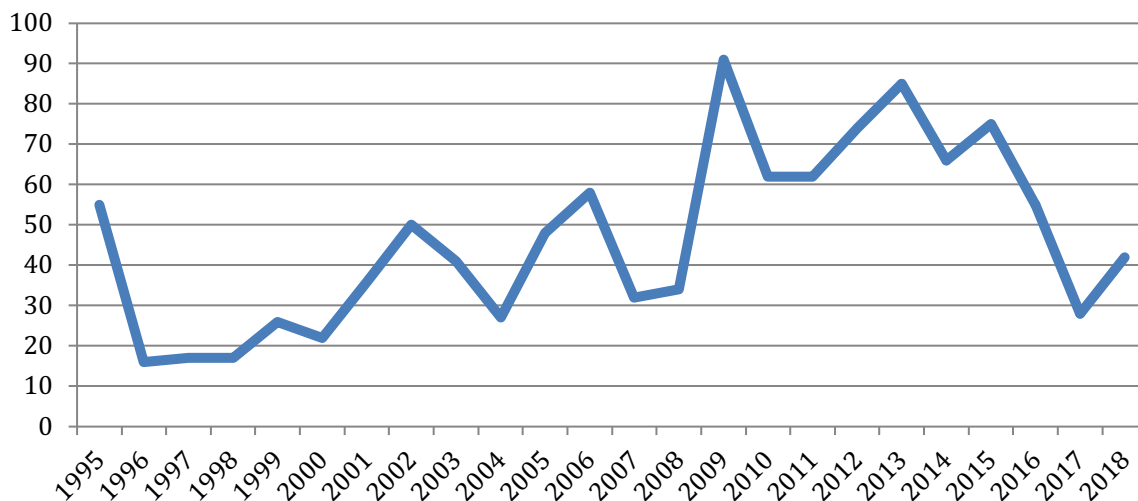


## Initiation deaths in the Eastern Cape

Dr. Dingeman J. Rijken



Year	Deaths	Source
1995	55	Kepe (2010)
1996	16	Kepe (2010)
1997	17	Kepe (2010)
1998	17	Kepe (2010)
1999	26	Kepe (2010)
2000	22	Kepe (2010)
2001	36 (24 + 12)	ECDoH (2007)
2002	50 (33 + 17)	ECDoH (2007)
2003	41 (21 + 20)	ECDoH (2007)
2004	27 (14 + 13)	ECDoH (2007)
2005	48 (23 + 15)	Kepe (2010)
2006	58 (26 + 32)	ECDoH (2014)
2007	32 (24 + 8)	ECDoH (2014)

Year	Deaths	Source
2008	34 (5 + 24 + 5)	ECDoH (2014)
2009	91 (55 + 36)	ECDoH (2014)
2010	62 (41 + 21)	ECDoH (2014)
2011	62 (26 + 36)	ECDoH (2014)
2012	74 (49 + 25)	ECDoH (2014)
2013	85 (40 + 45)	ECDoH (2014)
2014	66 (38 + 28)	Daily Dispatch
2015	75 (29 + 46)	Daily Dispatch
2016	55 (24 + 31)	Daily Dispatch
2017	28 (11 + 17)	Daily Dispatch
2018	42 (19 + 23)	Daily Dispatch
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1118</b>	

**Please note:** the total number of deaths underestimates the real magnitude of the problem, as underreporting of deaths is common. For example, the official EC statistics for 2013 does not include a death that occurred in September (Daily Dispatch, 1 October 2013, 'Transkei initiate dies, three others rescued') and a death that occurred in February 2014 (one of my patients who was circumcised in December 2013).